POLITICAL PROTEST IN HYBRID REGIMES

Irina V. Soboleva, sobolevaiv@gmail.com, http://www.hse.ru/en/staff/ivsoboleva

2013/2014 academic year at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow

1 Course Description

The course analyses the political protest in hybrid regimes, characterized by the electoral authoritarianism, and focuses dominantly on the postcommunist Eurasia, although covering some of the Latin America and Arab region political peculiarities.

The main goal is to explain the variation in protest movement within the regimes, which failed to build sustainable democratic institutions after the collapse of USSR, but at the same time have not concentrated and centralized the power to become isolated dictatorships. These hybrid regimes are characterized by limited political freedom, high corruption level and lack of feedback from civil society. In some countries like Georgia and Ukraine the opposition became an integral part of the political process, formed the parties and has been embedded to the political election cycles. In other polities political protest was isolated and forbidden by party in power or ruling elite. In both types of regimes, however, elections are used by ruling elite to stabilize power and to legitimate regime.

The course describes the scenarios of political protest, explaining the conditions which determine whether the political protest will be successful in power bargaining and attracting popular support. It is essential to understand the inherent logic of the political process in the regimes with electoral authoritarianism to be able to understand, explain and predict the changes and evolution of these regimes.

2 Requirements

The course is elective for the master program.

The students are expected to complete successfully the following courses:

1. The Modern Political Thought;
2. Political Sociology;
3. Political Economy;
4. Political Theory;
5. Political Regimes and Transformations;
6. Research Methods and Techniques;
7. Political History / Political Geography.

Students interested in the course participation need to be familiar with basic political science concepts and preliminary knowledge in political economy and sociology. The course is based on an interdisciplinary research. The course assessment requires participation in class discussion with reports and presentations and preparation of essay as a home task.

3 Course schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Literature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23.01.2014</td>
<td>Political Regime: the Course Agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.02.2014</td>
<td>Explaining Democratic Failure: General Ideas, Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. New York:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Topic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.04.2014</td>
<td>Power Reaction</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4 Graduation

1. Research paper / Research proposal (50% of the final grade)

Deadline: 10.06.2014, 23:59
Send to: sobolevaiv@gmail.com

Recommended topics:
- Case-study of the political protest in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Colombia, Venezuela, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Iran, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Kuwait, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, other regimes chosen by the author (1990 -)
- Comparative analysis (most similar / most different cases) of the protest in two/three hybrid regimes (2000 -)

3500 - 7000 words (including references, excluding appendixes, if any). The international students only can chose Russia as a case, the Russian student are proposed to analyze another polities.

The compulsory structure of the Research paper:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research structure (% of the final score for the paper)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Research question (5%)                              | The clear and logic research question, research problem / puzzle / collision.  
  - “Why the political protest in … failed / succeeded?”  
  - “What explains the variation in repertoires/ techniques of protest in…?”  
  - “Why … has / has not happened in … despite …?” |
| 2. Literature review (20%)                             | Be sure to analyze both compulsory and recommended literature and browse your own sources on the chosen topic. |
| 3. Author’s Argument and / or Hypothesis (10%)          | The working hypothesis and your argumentation. |
| 4. Research design (10%)                               | Methods and techniques of the research (qualitative, quantitative, mixed). Do not forget to describe the data you chose for your research. |
| 5. Analysis (35%)                                      | The empirical analysis of the chosen case-study. |
| 6. Discussion (10%)                                    | Critically evaluate whether the results of analysis are:  
  - Valid, valuable;  
  - Address the research question;  
  - Meet the standard methodological requirements (robust / falsifiable / etc).  
  Explain whether you satisfied with the research results and provide the reader with the clear answer on the research question. |
| 7. Conclusion (10%)                                    | Summing up the arguments and results |
If you are not able to find the satisfactory data, you can write a research proposal. The theoretical part of it, however, should be extended to the critical review of 3 papers on the topic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research proposal structure (% of the final score for the paper)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Research question (5%)</td>
<td>The clear and logic research question, research problem / puzzle / collision.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- “Why the political protest in … failed / succeeded?”</td>
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<td>- “What explains the variation in repertoires/ techniques of protest in…?”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- “Why … has / has not happened in … despite …?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Critical referee of the scholarly literature (30%)</td>
<td>If you select the research proposal writing, be sure to write an extensive critical review of the 3 papers devoted to the case-study you analyze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Theoretical framework of the research (30%)</td>
<td>Should be consistent with the previous section, logically coherent and researchable. The theory should be borrowed from the literature, although the author’s revisions are available if they are logically well-founded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Author’s Argument and / or Hypothesis (10%)</td>
<td>The working hypothesis and your argumentation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Research design (20%)</td>
<td>Methods and techniques of the research (qualitative, quantitative, mixed). Describe the data you need for your research, provide the reader with the links and critical analysis of the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Conclusion (5%)</td>
<td>Summing up the arguments and results</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Presentation + participation on the seminar (30% of the final grade)
Students are required to make at least one presentation during the seminar sessions.

The goal of presentation is to explain the political protest in country that you have chosen. It should have a clear and specific research question, research problem / puzzle / collision like

- “Why the political protest in … failed / succeeded?”
- “What explains the variation in repertoires/ techniques of protest in…?”
- “Why … has / has not happened in … despite …?”

The schedule of the presentation is determined by the students on the first lecture on the course.

**Recommended Structure**

<p>| Slide 1 | 1.1. Historical background: has the country ever been a democracy? |
| Slide 1 | 1.2. Waves of democratization (if any) |
| Slide 2 | 1.3. Influential political actors |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide 3</th>
<th>1.4. Political characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.4.1. Polity IV score (i.e. +5, 50/170 in the year of protest)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 3</td>
<td>1.4.2. Freedom House</td>
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<td>Slide 3</td>
<td>1.4.3. TI</td>
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<td>Slide 3</td>
<td>1.4.4. WB Governance Indicators</td>
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<td>Slide 4</td>
<td>1.5. External context</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Social and economic indicators</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 5</td>
<td>2.1. HDI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 5</td>
<td>2.2. GDP per capita</td>
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<td>Slide 5</td>
<td>2.3. Gini index</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 5</td>
<td>2.4. Religion</td>
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<td>Slide 5</td>
<td>2.5. Diversity (if any)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Political protest</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 6</td>
<td>3.1. Year and trigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 7</td>
<td>3.2. Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 8</td>
<td>3.2.1. Actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 9</td>
<td>3.2.2. Demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 9</td>
<td>3.2.3. Actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 10</td>
<td>3.3. Power reaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 11</td>
<td>3.3.1. Actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 12</td>
<td>3.3.2. Actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 12</td>
<td>3.3.3. Rating of approval (before and after the protest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Consequences</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Slide 13</td>
<td>4.1. Results for society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide 14</td>
<td>4.2. Final analysis: use the theory that we discuss on the seminar to explain the political outcome of the protest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Final test (20% of the final grade)
For those students, whose score for the Research paper is less than 69/100 or whose score for the Research proposal is less than 79/100, the final test is compulsory.
For those students, whose score for the Research paper is higher than 70/100 or whose score for the Research proposal is higher than 80/100, the final test is optional.
Final test is based on the seminar material.

5 Literature
1. Hybrid Regimes Typology
1.1. Political Regime

1.2. Electoral Authoritarianism


1.3. Competitive Authoritarianism


1.4. Various Hybrid Forms

Alternative classifications and their empirical implications.

Compulsory reading


Kuntz, Philipp and Thompson, Mark R. “More than Just the Final Straw: Stolen Elections as Revolutionary Triggers,” Comparative Politics 41, no. 3 (April 2009)


Supplementary reading


2. Theoretical Framework: Political Protest in Hybrid Regimes

2.1. Protest and Regimes


2.2. Opposition Strategies


2.3. Power Reaction


2.4. People's Choice


Compulsory reading


Bunce, Valerie J. and Wolchik, Sharon L. Defeating dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. World Politics 62, no. 1 ( January 2010), 43–86


Supplementary reading


3. Methods and Techniques of Political Protest Analysis

3.1. Methods


3.2. Handicaps and solutions: doing research in hybrid regime

Availability and reliability of data collection. Opinion polls in hybrid regimes: obstacles and limitations. How to collect the data on the political protest in hybrid regimes. The problem of politicized sociology.

3.3. Case-study: Russia


**Compulsory reading**


**Supplementary reading**


*Greene, Sam.* 2013. Beyond Bolotnaia: Bridging Old and New in Russia’s Election Protest Movement. Problems of Post-Communism, forthcoming


4. Comparative analysis of political protest in hybrid regimes

Workshops: Political protest in hybrid regimes of Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Colombia, Venezuela, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Iran, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Kuwait, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, Singapore.

Compulsory reading


Supplementary reading


6 Sample questions and topics

6.1 For the research paper

Recommended topics:
- Case-study of the political protest in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Colombia, Venezuela, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Iran, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Kuwait, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore (1990 - )
- Comparative analysis (most similar / most different cases) of the protest in two hybrid regimes (2000 - )

Topics for the research paper / research proposal are discussed with the instructor and can be easily modified in accordance with the student’ priorities and research focus.

6.2 For the final test

- Explain the factors which make the participation in protest rational;
- Discuss the universal rules that drive the expansion of any political protest;
- What factors determine the success of political protest?
- What factors determine the success of opposition repression?
- Describe the logic which underlies the power elite’s decision to communicate with the opposition or to start the reaction;
- Explain the role of social networks in 2011-2012 Moscow protest;
- Define what types of social capital impact on the democratization;
• Compare success and failure stories of collective action problem solution;
• Describe the problem of alienation and atomization;
• Provide the example of the role of symbolic politics in protest;
• Why the emotions and symbols could be an integral part of political protest?
• Discuss the role of dignity or self-esteem as an impulse of participation.

Final test is based on the seminar and lectures material. The example questions on the specific topic are provided to the students at the end of every seminar/lecture.

Author: Irina V. Soboleva