

# **AUTHORITARIANISM, TYPES, AND SURVIVAL**

*Comparative Politics*

Guillermo Toral

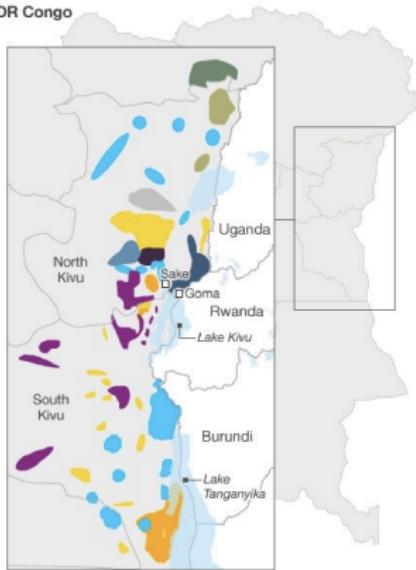
IE University

# Review on the bandits in Congo, state-building, and regression

## Rebel groups in eastern DR Congo

UN forces and the Congolese army are present in large towns

- ADF-NALU  
Ugandan-led Islamists
- APCLS  
Mai Mai group
- FDLR  
Mostly Hutu Rwandan rebels
- FRPI  
Based in gold-rich Ituri region
- M23  
Mostly Tutsi, said to be Rwandan-backed
- Rai Mutomboki  
Anti-FDLR group
- Sheka  
Mai Mai group
- UPCP  
Loose coalition of smaller nationalist groups
- Mai Mai groups  
Local forces claiming to act in self-defence
- Other armed groups



Source: Oxfam

\*An estimate of where armed groups were in November 2012 based on the best available information.  
The conflict is changing daily.

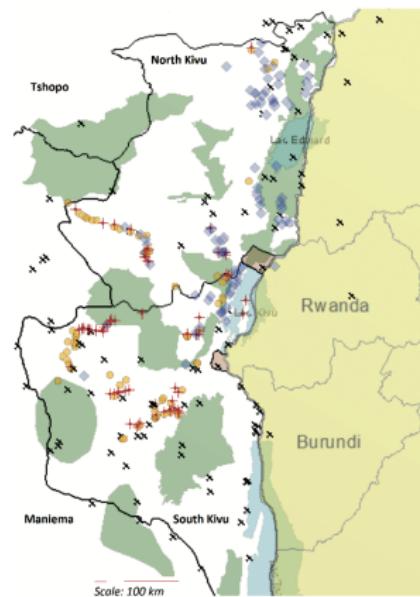
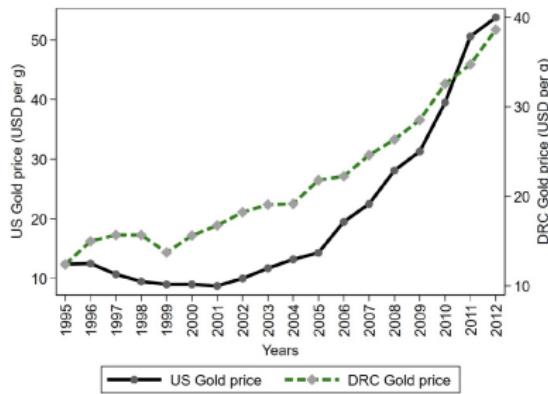
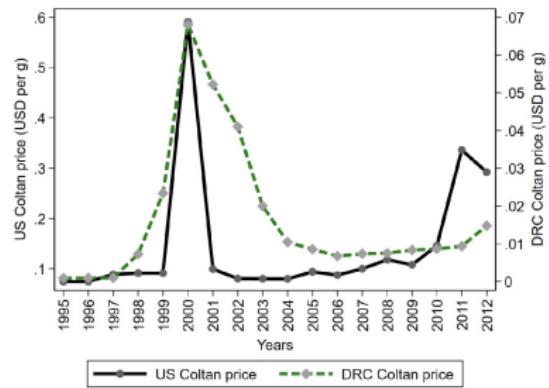


FIG. 2.—Locations of the support villages in the sample. Support villages with at least one coltan mine are marked with a cross. Support villages with at least one gold mine are marked with a circle. Support villages with neither gold nor coltan mines are marked with a diamond. The economy of such municipalities is based on cash crops—coffee, cacao, beans—less prevalent in northern part of the sample (cassiterite and tungsten), or, for a small sample, subsistence agriculture (Kalehe). Airplanes indicate local airstrips.

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TABLE 1  
EXPLAINING THE RISE OF TAXES ON PRODUCTION, STATIONARY BANDITS, AND PROTECTION

VARIABLES	MUNICIPALITY ATTACKED (1)	MINE					VILLAGE		
		Customs Tax (2)	Entry Fees (3)	Stationary Bandit (4)	Security Service (5)	Extensive-Margin Index (6)	Stationary Bandit (7)	Security Service (8)	Extensive-Margin Index (9)
Coltan <sub>i</sub> × $p_{ct}$	.15*** (.03)	.06** (.02)	.01 (.02)	.07*** (.03)	.06** (.02)	.16*** (.06)	.04 (.03)	.02 (.02)	.07 (.05)
Gold <sub>i</sub> × $p_{gt}$	−.02 (.03)	−.04 (.02)	−.04* (.03)	.05 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.10 (.07)	.12*** (.04)	.15*** (.04)	.33*** (.08)
Observations	4,158	4,046	4,052	3,991	4,032	3,903	4,302	4,302	4,302
R <sup>2</sup>	.39	.59	.69	.60	.62	.65	.50	.42	.50

NOTE.—Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the results from specification 1, using as dependent variables the extensive-margin outcomes. Column 1 uses as dependent variable whether the municipality was attacked in a given year (in any of its mines or its support village, by any actor). Columns 2–6 show the outcomes at the production site (mine), and cols. 7–9 those at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 2 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor imposed customs taxation on mining output at the exit of the mine (enforced through a roadblock). Column 3 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor imposed an entry fee to work at the mine (enforced through a roadblock). Column 4 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor had established a monopoly of violence at the mine. Column 5 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor provided a security service at the mine. Column 6 uses the extensive-margin index at the mine as dependent variable. The extensive-margin index at the mine is constructed as the mean of customs taxation, entry fees, stationary bandit, and security service, normalized to mean zero and standard deviation of one. Column 7 uses instead a dummy indicating whether an armed actor had established a monopoly of violence at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 8 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor provided a security service at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 9 uses the extensive-margin index at the support village as dependent variable. The extensive-margin index at the support village is constructed as the mean of stationary bandit and security service at the village, normalized to mean zero and standard deviation of one. There are 239 municipalities in the sample, broken down into 239 support villages and their 411 corresponding mining sites. The mine × year-level data are collapsed at the municipality/year level. All columns include year- and municipality-level fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the level of the municipality to account for autocorrelation in the dependent variable, the mineral endowments (which are time invariant), and the mineral price. Appendix sec. E describes 13 robustness checks. The results are presented in tables F.2, F.5, and F.6 and figs. F.4–F.8. Table F.7 and fig. F.9 show the effect of the price shocks on the composition of stationary bandits. Table F.8 shows the results excluding the FARDC, and table F.9 shows the results including only the FARDC.

\*  $p < .1$ .

\*\*  $p < .05$ .

\*\*\*  $p < .01$ .

# What are we covering today?

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- Exercise: How can democratization in Russia be promoted?

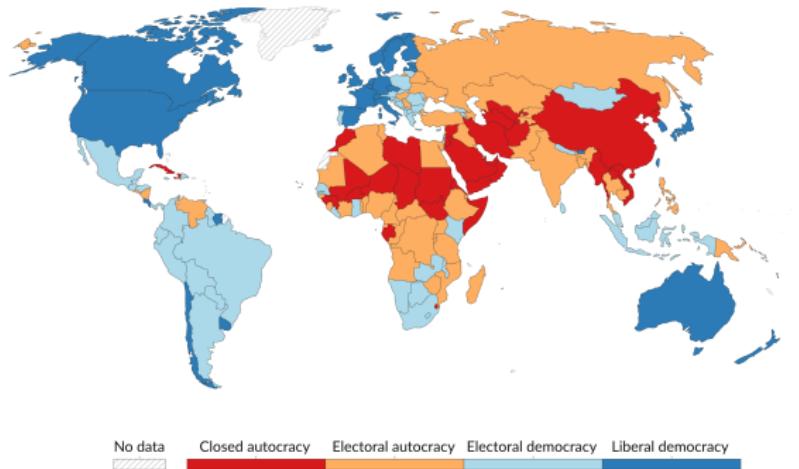
## What is authoritarianism?

# Political regimes around the world

## Political regime, 2023

Based on the classification<sup>1</sup> by Lührmann et al. (2018) and the estimates by V-Dem<sup>2</sup>'s experts.

Our World  
in Data



Data source: V-Dem (2024)

[OurWorldinData.org/democracy](https://OurWorldinData.org/democracy) | CC BY

Note: The Chart tab uses numeric values, ranging from 0 for closed autocracies to 3 for liberal democracies.

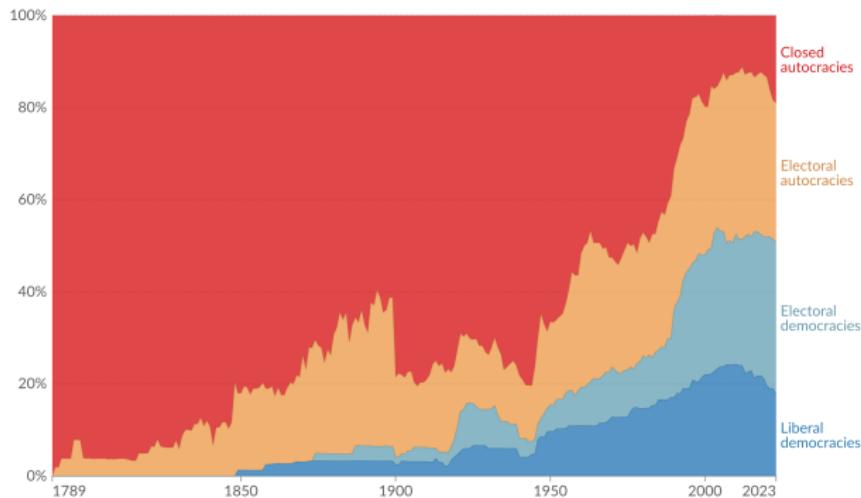
1. **Regimes of the World's regime classification:** Closed autocracy: citizens do not have the right to choose either the chief executive of the government or the legislature through multi-party elections. Electoral autocracy: citizens have the right to choose the chief executive and the legislature through multi-party elections; but they lack some freedoms, such as the freedoms of association or expression that make the elections meaningful, free, and fair. Electoral democracy: citizens have the right to choose the chief executive and the legislature in meaningful, free and fair, and multi-party elections. Liberal democracy: electoral democracy and citizens enjoy individual and minority rights, are equal before the law, and the actions of the executive are constrained by the legislative and the courts. [Read more](#) in our article: The 'Regimes of the World' data: how do researchers measure democracy?

2. **V-Dem:** The Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project publishes data and research on democracy and human rights. It relies on evaluations by around 3,500 country experts and supplementary work by its own researchers to assess political institutions and the protection of rights. The project is managed by the V-Dem Institute, based at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Learn more: Democracy data: how do researchers measure democracy? The 'Varieties of Democracy' data: how do researchers measure democracy? The 'Varieties of Democracy' data: how do researchers measure human rights?

# Political regimes across history

## Countries that are democracies and autocracies, World

Political regimes based on the classification<sup>1</sup> by Lührmann et al. (2018) and the estimates by V-Dem<sup>2</sup>'s experts.



Data source: V-Dem (2024)

OurWorldinData.org/democracy | CC BY

Note: The share of closed autocracies increases a lot in 1900 because V-Dem covers many more countries since then, often colonies.

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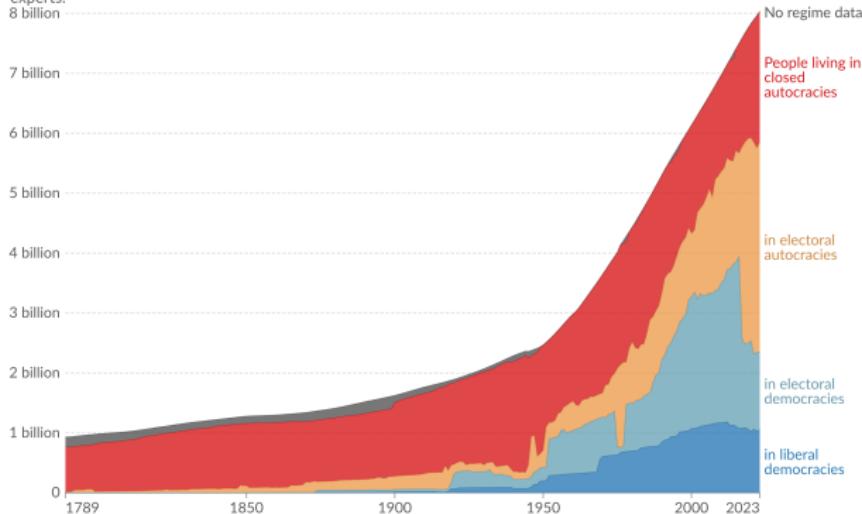
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# People living in political regimes across history

Many more people live in democracies now than 200 years ago

Political regimes are based on the classification<sup>1</sup> by Lührmann et al. (2018) and the estimates by V-Dem<sup>2</sup>'s experts.  
8 billion

Our World  
In Data



Data source: V-Dem (2024); Population based on various sources (2023)

OurWorldInData.org/democracy | CC BY

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# State-building and authoritarianism: Hobbes



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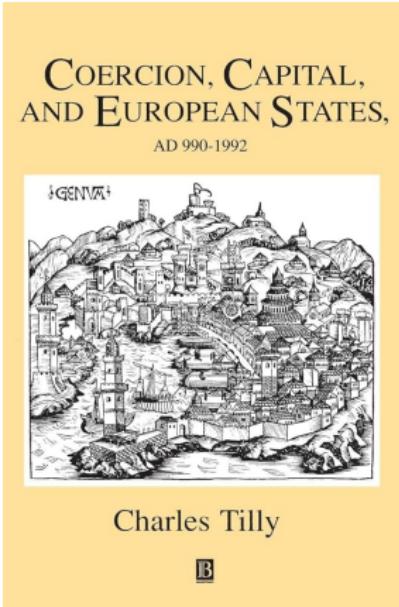
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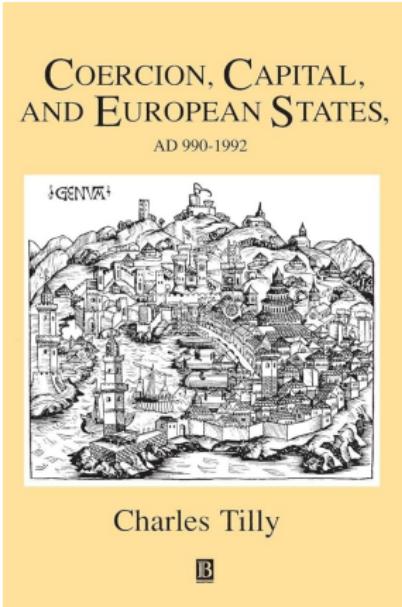
- In Hobbes' theory of the state, the ruler is an absolutist sovereign
- In his view, the ruler holds power on his own
- The ruler's authority is unconstrained
- There is full security (except in the international arena)

# State-building and authoritarianism: Tilly



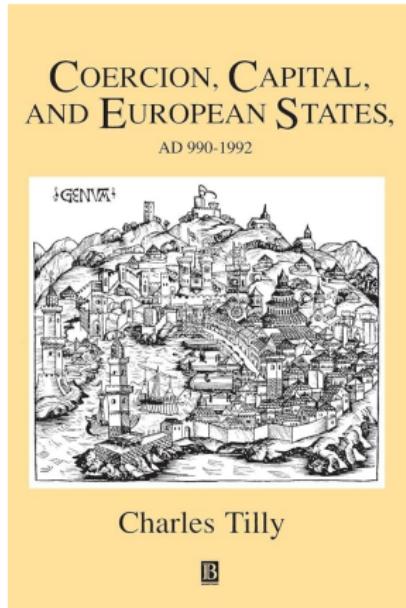
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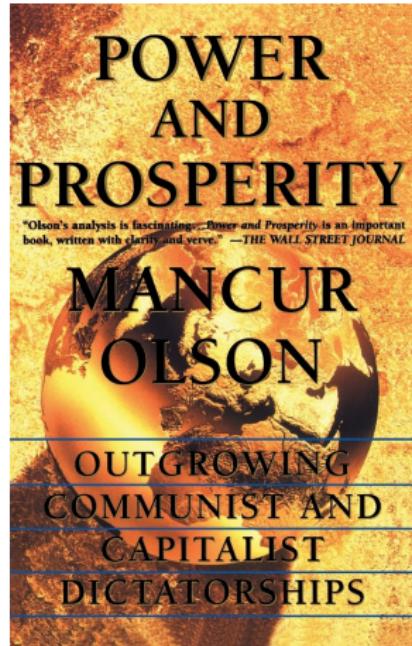
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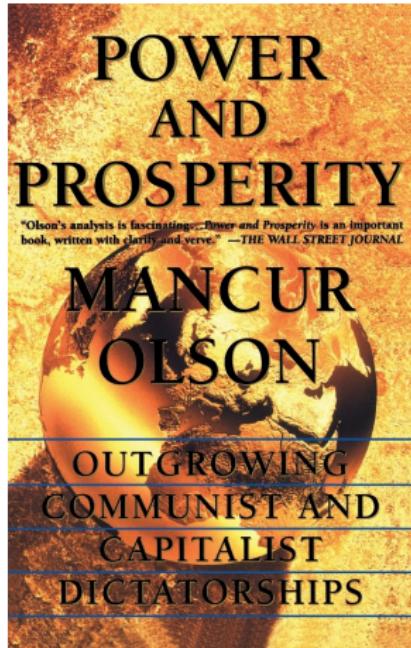
- For Tilly, states develop authoritarian or at least violent
- Limited government, concessions, and public service delivery emerge out of processes of state-building
- Rulers' self-interest (and in particular they need for extraction and self-preservation) drives those processes

# State-building and authoritarianism: Olson



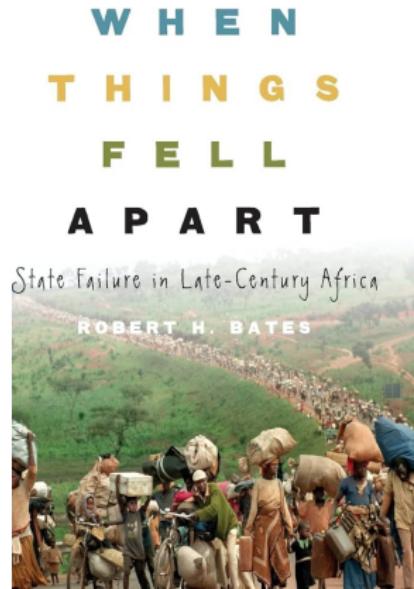
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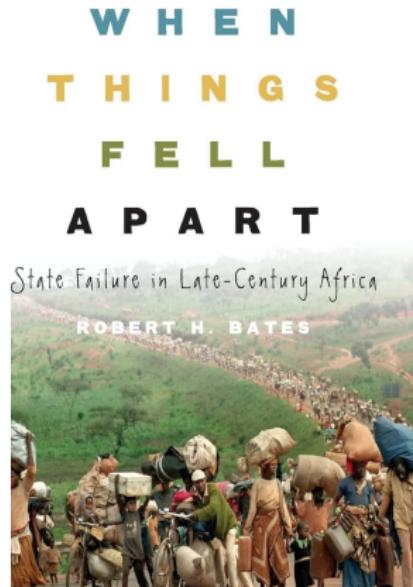
- For Olson, anarchy or the absence of the state can be seen as **roving bandits** doing uncoordinated and competitive theft. Anarchy destroys the incentive to invest and produce, leaving little for either the population or the bandits.
- Olson sees dictatorship as a **stationary bandit**: a ruler who monopolizes and rationalizes theft in the form of taxes. It is in the dictator's self interest to provide peaceful order and public goods to increase production.

# State-building and authoritarianism: Bates



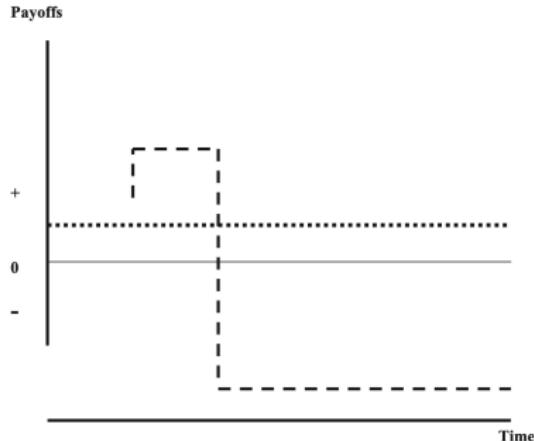
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# State-building and authoritarianism: Bates



- Bates sees political order as an equilibrium in which rulers (aka “specialists in violence”) choose to protect the creation of wealth rather than prey upon it, and when private citizens choose to set weapons aside and to devote their time to production (and leisure)
- State failure correlates with ethnic diversity, natural resources, democratization, and poverty – because they affect the calculations of the ruler

# State-building and authoritarianism: Bates



Payoffs on the equilibrium path

.....

Payoffs from defection and subsequent punishment

- - -

For Bates, political order thus depends on the interplay between level of public revenues, the rewards from predation, and the ruler's rate of discount

# How can we define authoritarian regimes?

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- Absence of free and fair elections in which multiple parties compete for office
- Absence of elections and no key freedoms (e.g., freedom of expression, of association)
- “No independent authority has the power to enforce agreements among key actors and violence is the ultimate arbiter of conflicts” (Svolik 2012)

## Key limitations of existing definitions

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- Excessive focus on state-level authoritarianism

## How can we classify authoritarian regimes?

# Typologies of authoritarian rule

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- **More vs less competitive** authoritarian regimes

# Typologies of authoritarian rule

State–Society Relations in Different Political Regimes			
	Democracy	Non-Democracy	
Key Characteristic		Authoritarianism	Totalitarianism
<b>Use of ideological indoctrination</b>	None	Limited	Extensive
<b>Extent of coercive mobilization</b>	None	Limited or minimal; <i>de-mobilization</i> emphasized	Extensive
<b>Degree of Social or political pluralism permitted</b>	Extensive	Limited	None
<b>Examples</b>	Canada, Japan, Israel	Brazil (1964–1985), Mexico (1929–2000), Greece (1967–1974), Egypt (1952–2011)	USSR (1917–1991), Nazi Germany (1933–1945), Italy (1922–1943), North Korea

# Typologies of authoritarian rule

Table 6.2 Forms of authoritarian rule

Type	Features	Examples
Absolute monarchy	A ruling sovereign exerts control, with other members of the royal family in key political and military posts.	Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates
Personal rule	The presidency dominates government and the media, with opponents kept off-guard and the opposition marginalized.	Several former Soviet republics (including Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan), and sub-Saharan African states (including Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Zimbabwe)
Ruling parties	Rule by a single party, often combined with a strong president.	Many African states and remaining communist states
Military government	Government by the military, often ruling through a junta comprising the leaders of each branch of the armed forces.	Many African, Asian, and Latin American countries in the decades following World War II. Less common today
Theocracy	A rare form of rule in which religious leaders govern directly.	Iran

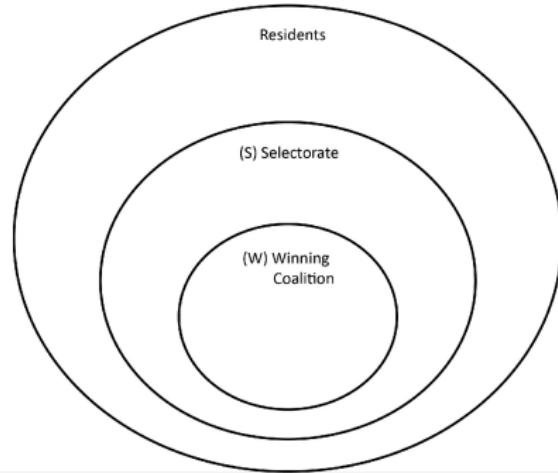
# How do different types of dictatorships fare in terms of survival and performance?

**Replacement of Dictators by Type**

Type of Current Dictator	Type of Successor				
	Monarch	Military	Civilian	Democrat	Total
Monarch	11	6	4	1	22
Military	0	89	38	52	179
Civilian	2	53	103	29	187
Total	13	148	145	82	388

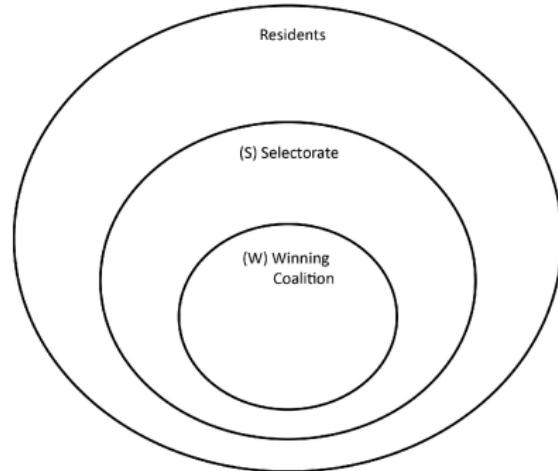
Note: Excludes dictators who died of natural causes while in office or who were still in office as of 1996.

# Selectorate theory



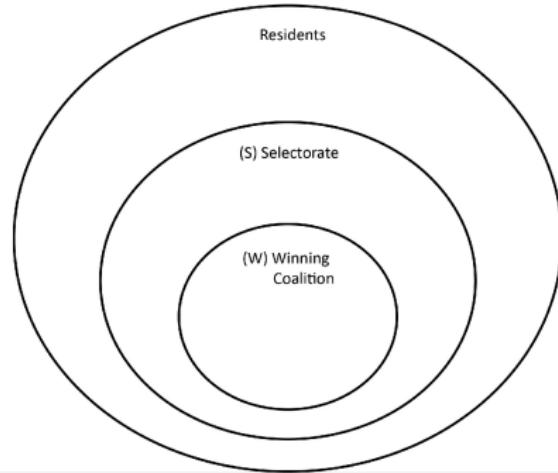
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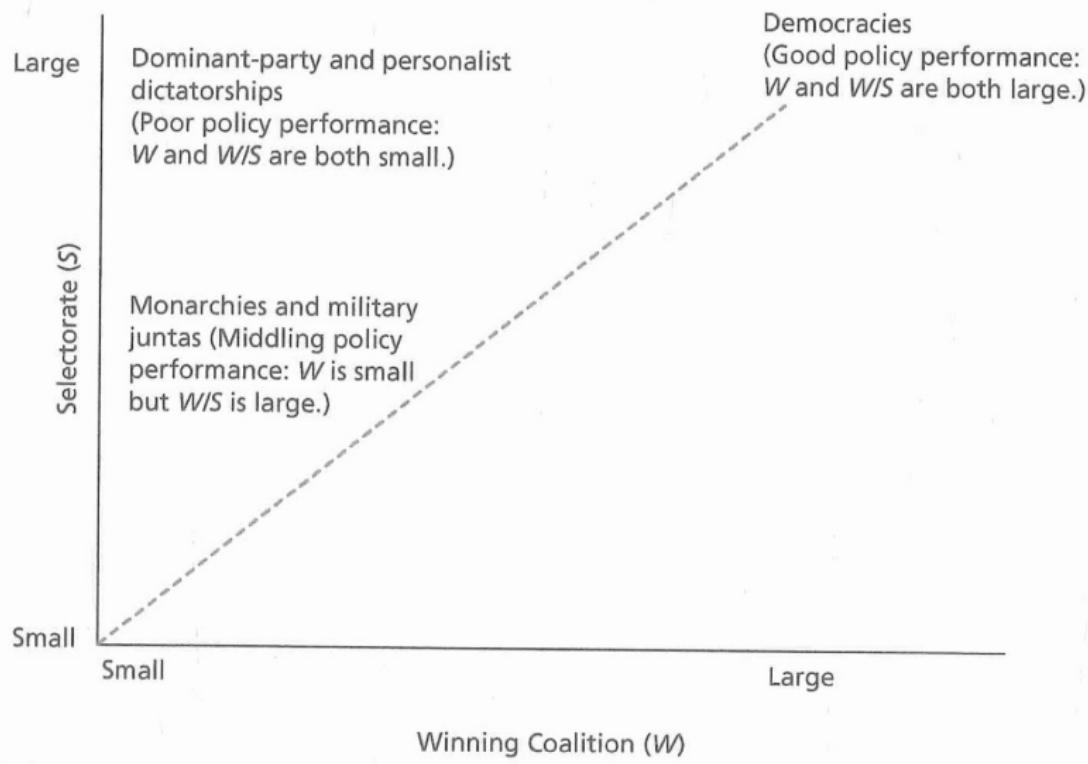


- Size of the selectorate (S)
- Size of the winning coalition (W)
- The ratio W/S - the loyalty norm

# Selectorate theory, applied to types of dictatorships

Characteristics of the Selectorate in Non-Democratic Regimes					
Type of Non-Democracy	Size	Membership Criteria	Rules for Leadership Selection	Relationship between Leader and Selectorate	Examples as of 2011
Monarchy	Ruler's family	Family relationship	Family descent	Institutionalized, limited reciprocal accountability	Saudi Arabia, Brunei
Single-Party Regime	Variable	Party membership; rise through ranks	Determined by party rules	Institutionalized reciprocal accountability	Cuba, China, Vietnam
Military Regime	Typically limited to high officer corps	Military member; rise through ranks	Determined by military high command	Institutionalized reciprocal accountability	Myanmar, Fiji, Mauritania
Oligarchy	Small	Informal	Unclear and informal	Informal reciprocal accountability	1990s Russia
Theocracy	Variable	Member of a religious order; rise through the ranks	Variable	Variable	Vatican City, Iran
Personalistic Regime	Limited to ruler's cronies	Leader hand-picks	Unclear and Informal	Reciprocal accountability, but unclear and unstable	Libya (until 2011), Burkina Faso, Belarus

# Predictions from selectorate theory on performance of political regimes



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- **Individuals**: focus on how specific people and in particular leaders shape outcomes
- **International environment**: focus on how global pressures shape domestic politics

## What are the key factors for authoritarian survival?

# Data on authoritarian survival

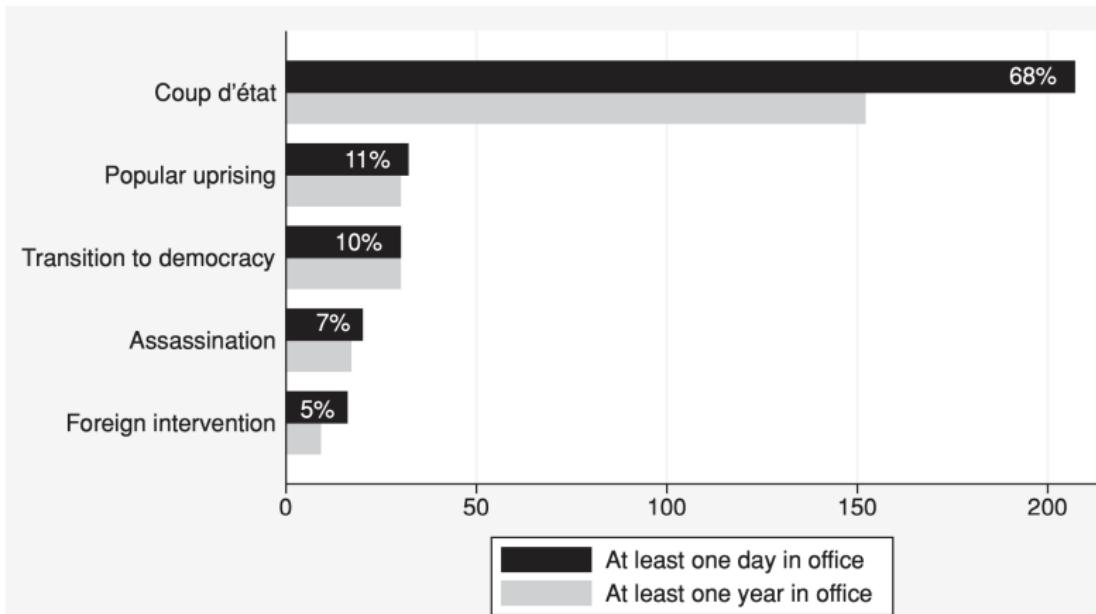


FIGURE 1.1. Nonconstitutional exits from office of authoritarian leaders, 1946–2008.  
Note: Percentages refer to a category's share of all nonconstitutional exists. Exits of interim leaders are not included. Unambiguous determination of exit was not possible for thirteen leaders.

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- Two key tools at the disposal of the regime: repression and cooptation
- Cooptation can take place through handouts (rents, jobs) or through institutions
- Repression is a double-edged sword because it empowers the security forces

# The guardianship dilemma

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- A military strong enough to protect the regime against mass unrest and foreign threats is also strong enough to overthrow it through coup
- Military leaders can use this leverage to demand rents and policy concessions
- How can dictators address this dilemma?

# Rebel regimes are better at solving the guardianship dilemma

From a study on **powersharing and authoritarian stability** (which you can download at [www.guillermotoral.com/cp/meng.pdf](http://www.guillermotoral.com/cp/meng.pdf))

TABLE 2. Authoritarian Regime Breakdown

	DV: Authoritarian regime breakdown							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rebel regime	-0.0481*** (0.00918)	-0.0477*** (0.0110)	-0.0574*** (0.0113)	-0.0528*** (0.0115)	-0.0448*** (0.00970)	-0.0459*** (0.0124)	-0.0511*** (0.0131)	-0.0395*** (0.0147)
Col. liberation regime					-0.0828** (0.0363)	-0.0877** (0.0363)	-0.0679*** (0.0125)	-0.0767** (0.0129)
Civil war winner					-0.0540*** (0.0110)	-0.0515*** (0.0121)	-0.0679*** (0.0125)	-0.0737*** (0.0129)
In(GDP p.c.)	0.00203 (0.00516)		-0.0151** (0.00592)		0.00193 (0.00524)		-0.0184** (0.00736)	
In(GDP p.c.) growth	-0.0885** (0.0363)		-0.0828** (0.0376)		-0.0877** (0.0363)		-0.0767** (0.0378)	
In(oil & gas income p.c.)	-0.000192 (0.000718)		0.000463 (0.000722)		-0.000197 (0.000719)		0.000575 (0.000744)	
In(population)		0.00878** (0.00432)	0.0205*** (0.00496)			0.00839* (0.00438)	0.0223*** (0.00534)	
Ethnic frac.		-0.00972 (0.0248)	-0.00798 (0.0240)			-0.00545 (0.0265)	0.00168 (0.0267)	
Religious frac.		0.0112 (0.0194)	-0.00419 (0.0208)			0.0132 (0.0196)	-0.00368 (0.0210)	
British colony		-0.00220 (0.0132)	0.00100 (0.0132)			-0.00376 (0.0134)	-0.00168 (0.0132)	
French colony		0.00884 (0.0103)	0.00303 (0.0110)			0.00740 (0.0107)	-0.00109 (0.0118)	
Portuguese colony		-0.00157 (0.0145)	-0.0108 (0.0166)			-0.00710 (0.0151)	-0.0244 (0.0193)	
Country-years	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352
R <sup>2</sup>	0.013	0.042	0.043	0.047	0.013	0.042	0.043	0.048
Time controls?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE?	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES

Note: Table 2 presents linear regression estimates with standard error estimates clustered by country in parentheses. Every column controls for years since the last regime change and cubic splines. \* $p < 0.10$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

# Rebel regimes are better at solving the guardianship dilemma

TABLE 3. Successful Coups

	DV: Successful coup							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rebel regime	-0.0284*** (0.00702)	-0.0216** (0.00710)	-0.0308*** (0.00771)	-0.0279*** (0.00770)				
Col. liberation regime				-0.0261*** (0.00797)	-0.0215** (0.00886)	-0.0320*** (0.00955)	-0.0248** (0.0111)	
Civil war winner				-0.0329*** (0.00764)	-0.0219*** (0.00751)	-0.0290*** (0.00815)	-0.0325*** (0.00893)	
In(GDP p.c.)	0.000666 (0.00376)		-0.00728* (0.00408)		0.000657 (0.00388)		-0.00811 (0.00524)	
In(GDP p.c.) growth	-0.0513* (0.0294)		-0.0487 (0.0302)		-0.0512* (0.0295)		-0.0474 (0.0305)	
In(oil & gas income p.c.)	-0.000499 (0.000490)		-0.000282 (0.000520)		-0.000499 (0.000490)		-0.000259 (0.000522)	
In(population)	0.00491 (0.00310)	0.0116*** (0.00374)			0.00499 (0.00314)	0.0121*** (0.00416)		
Ethnic frac.	-0.0183 (0.0179)	-0.0186 (0.0169)			-0.0191 (0.0188)	-0.0164 (0.0190)		
Religious frac.	0.0101 (0.0164)	0.000907 (0.0175)			0.00971 (0.0167)	0.000962 (0.0176)		
British colony	-0.00260 (0.0107)	-0.00267 (0.0111)			-0.00229 (0.0107)	-0.00333 (0.0113)		
French colony	0.00739 (0.00822)	0.00493 (0.00820)			0.00767 (0.00829)	0.00391 (0.00868)		
Portuguese colony	0.00528 (0.0180)	0.00120 (0.0189)			0.00631 (0.0186)	-0.00198 (0.0207)		
Country-years	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352	2,352
R <sup>2</sup>	0.011	0.038	0.038	0.040	0.011	0.038	0.038	0.040
Time controls?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE?	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES

Note: Table 3 presents linear regression estimates with country-clustered standard error estimates in parentheses. Every column controls for years since the last successful coup and cubic splines.  
\* $p < 0.10$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

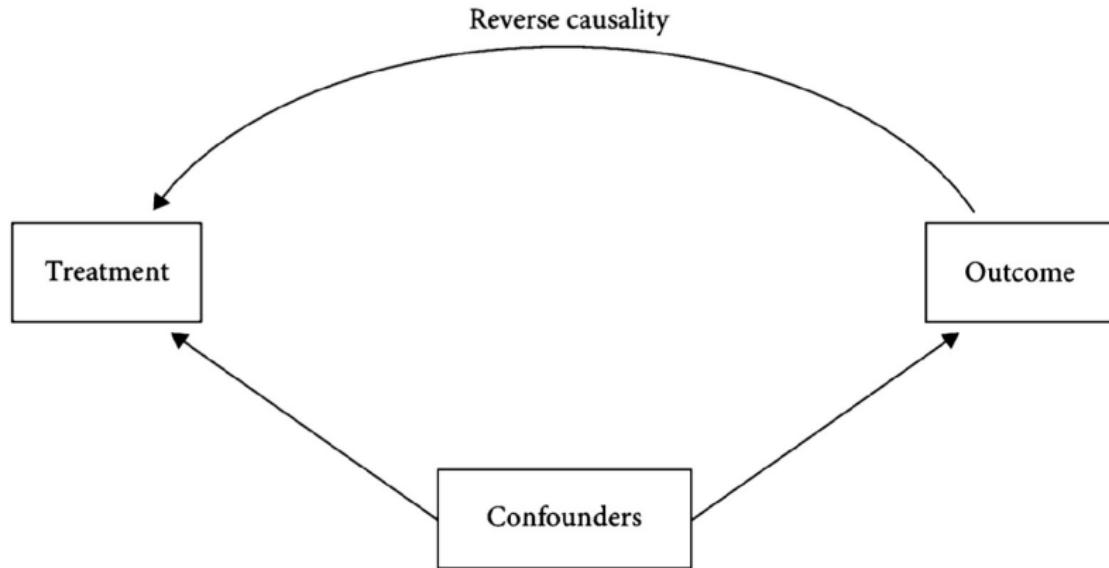
# Rebel regimes are better at solving the guardianship dilemma

TABLE 4. Minister of Defense Appointments

	DV: Defense minister same							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rebel regime	0.315*** (0.0574)	0.252*** (0.0599)	0.206*** (0.0608)	0.206*** (0.0646)				
Col. liberation regime					0.320*** (0.0707)	0.280*** (0.0657)	0.259*** (0.0631)	0.278*** (0.0761)
Civil war winner					0.306*** (0.0812)	0.200** (0.0826)	0.122 (0.0841)	0.0994 (0.0848)
In(GDP p.c.)	0.0119 (0.0231)		0.00849 (0.0365)		0.0101 (0.0236)		-0.0119 (0.0392)	
In(GDP p.c.) growth	0.121 (0.0888)		0.156* (0.0849)		0.130 (0.0909)		0.188** (0.0861)	
In(oil & gas income p.c.)	-0.00140 (0.00270)		-0.00300 (0.00254)		-0.00154 (0.00273)		-0.00244 (0.00245)	
In(population)		0.0287 (0.0254)	0.0274 (0.0347)			0.0254 (0.0251)	0.0395 (0.0347)	
Ethnic frac.		0.187 (0.153)	0.190 (0.152)			0.227 (0.155)	0.249 (0.151)	
Religious frac.		0.0461 (0.139)	0.0470 (0.126)			0.0600 (0.140)	0.0431 (0.129)	
British colony		-0.147 (0.0902)	-0.159* (0.0857)			-0.164* (0.0907)	-0.177** (0.0843)	
French colony		-0.0443 (0.0921)	-0.0375 (0.0884)			-0.0587 (0.0926)	-0.0625 (0.0862)	
Portuguese colony		0.151 (0.125)	0.157 (0.123)			0.104 (0.143)	0.0813 (0.150)	
Country-years	2,263	2,263	2,263	2,263	2,263	2,263	2,263	2,263
R <sup>2</sup>	0.074	0.124	0.158	0.161	0.074	0.125	0.161	0.165
Year FE?	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES

Note: Table 4 presents linear regression estimates with standard error estimates clustered by country in parentheses. \* $p < 0.10$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

# Should we worry about the threats to causal inference?



# The power-sharing dilemma

- Broadening elite incorporation mitigates prospects for outsider rebellions (by either elites excluded from power or the masses), but it raises the risk of insider coups

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Why?
- Because dictators cannot credibly commit to sustain rents.
- How can dictators address this dilemma?

## Authoritarian survival conditional on legislatures

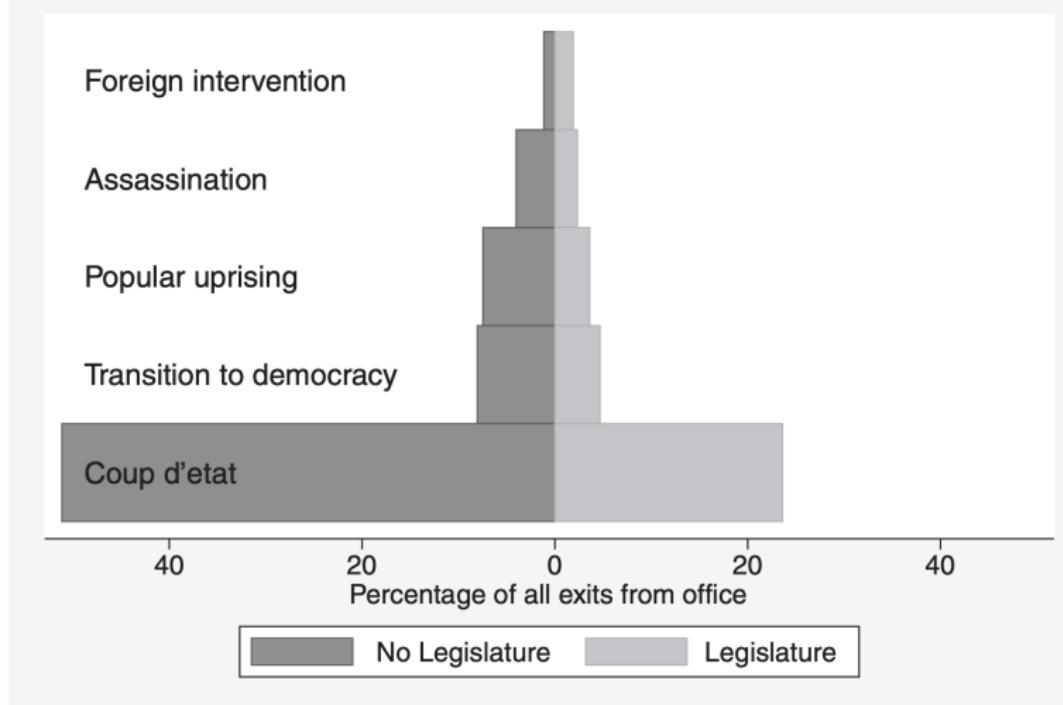


FIGURE 4.4. Nonconstitutional-leader exits from office in dictatorships with and without legislatures, 1946–2008. Note: Exits of interim leaders are not included. Unambiguous determination of exit was not possible for 13 leaders.

# Authoritarian legislatures

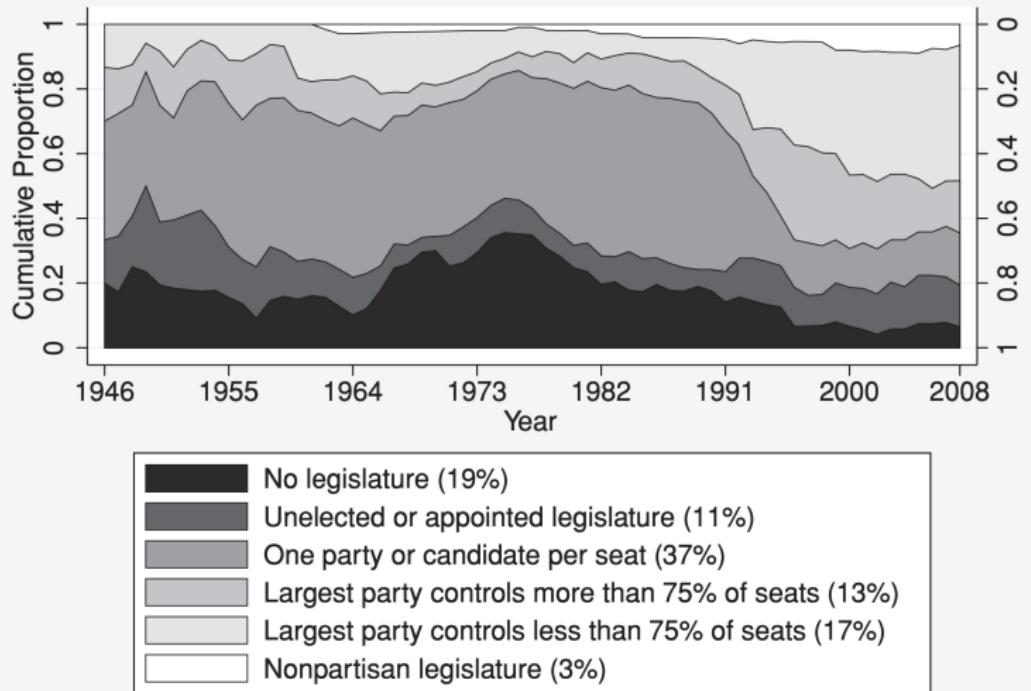


FIGURE 2.6. Legislative selection in dictatorships, 1946–2008. Note: Overall distribution of individual categories in parentheses.

# Authoritarian parties

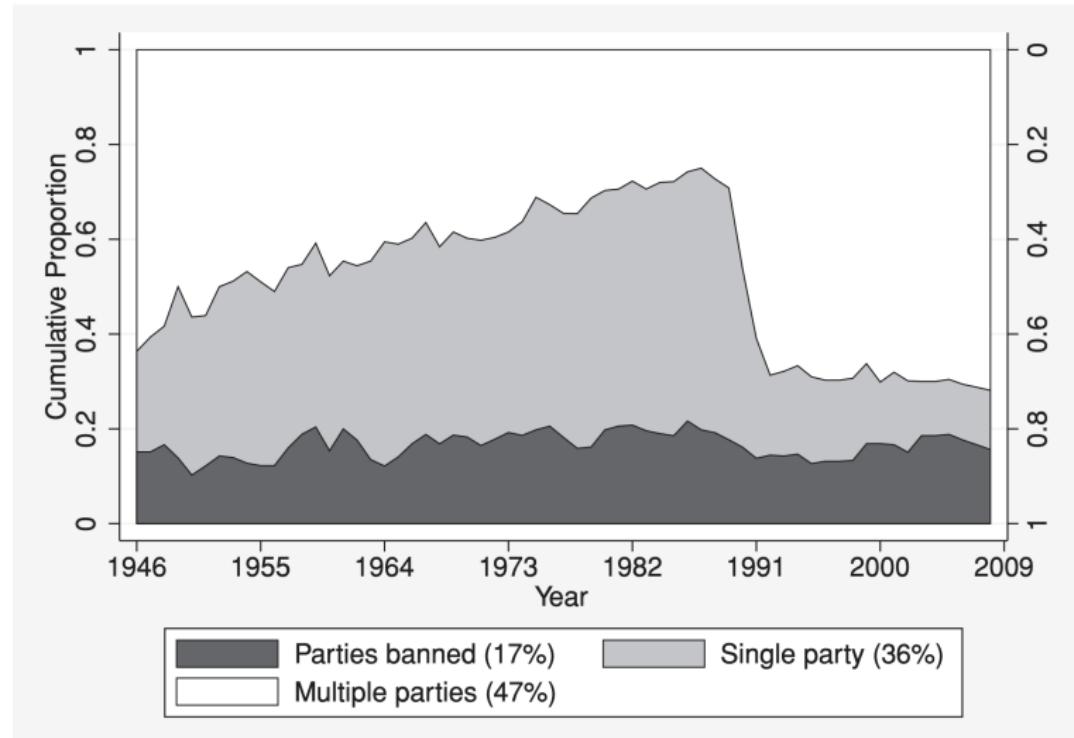
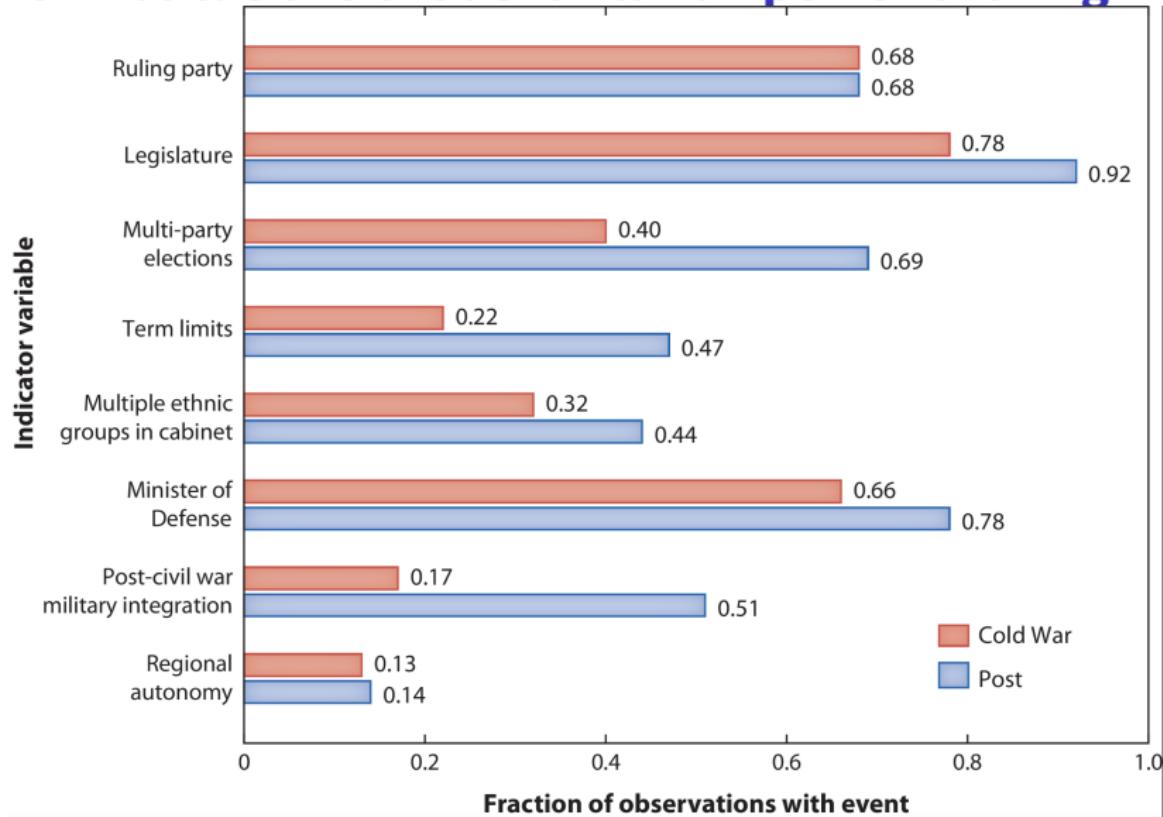


FIGURE 2.4. Restrictions on political parties in dictatorships, 1946–2008. Note: Overall distribution of individual categories in parentheses.

# Other institutions of authoritarian power-sharing



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## Why do dictatorships often have formal and (sometimes) competitive institutions?

- Institutions such as parties and legislatures help authoritarian regimes solve the power-sharing dilemma
- Central to the solution is information: these institutions provide members of the support coalition information about the regime and enable them to influence decisions
- Another key aspect is credible commitments: these institutions may enable members of the support coalition to hold the ruler accountable

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  - Challenger willingness to accept the deal and to not act against the ruler
  - Ruler willingness to accept the constraints and lost rents

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- For example, successful vaccination campaign

## Exercise: How can democratization in Russia be promoted?

# Russia's political regime

## Electoral democracy index

Our World  
in Data

Based on the expert estimates and index by V-Dem<sup>1</sup>. It captures to which extent political leaders are elected under comprehensive voting rights in free and fair elections, and freedoms of association and expression are guaranteed. It ranges from 0 to 1 (most democratic).



Data source: V-Dem (2024)

OurWorldinData.org/democracy | CC BY

1. V-Dem: The Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) project publishes data and research on democracy and human rights. It relies on evaluations by around 3,500 country experts and supplementary work by its own researchers to assess political institutions and the protection of rights. The project is managed by the V-Dem Institute, based at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Learn more: Democracy data: how do researchers measure democracy? The 'Varieties of Democracy' data: how do researchers measure democracy? The 'Varieties of Democracy' data: how do researchers measure human rights?

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- You can include a section on your assessment of Russia, if that helps you justify your strategy.
- Make sure to leverage some of the concepts and theories from class and/or the reading, to justify your claims, and to cite your sources.

# Wrap-up

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- Dictatorships can instead be characterized by the absence of independent authority and the role of violence for arbitrating conflicts
- Counter to a Hobbesian view of authoritarianism, no dictator rules on his own – they all depend on support coalitions
- All dictatorships face the two fundamental problems of authoritarian rule: the problem of authoritarian power-sharing and the problem of authoritarian control.

## Next steps

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  - *Foundations of comparative politics* – chapter 7