

Research Proposal
When Do Elections Support
Autocracy?

The Incumbent Strategies, Political
Competition and Authoritarian
Regime Survival

Zavadskaya Margarita
PhD Student

The European University at
Saint-Petersburg

Outline

- **Problem and Research Puzzle**
- **Main Argument**
- **Literature Overview (Discussion) and Topicality**
- **Theoretical Framework**
- **Variables Description**
- **Sample&Data Sources**
- **Methods and Analysis**

Problem and Research Puzzle

- when do elections support and legitimize authoritarianism and when can they play a role of a “subversive institution”?**
- In other words, how does the probability of incumbent victory or failure change depending on electoral manipulations (strategies)?**

Main Argument

- not only structural or macroeconomic factors have an impact on the authoritarian institutions survival but also *the use or misuse by incumbent and ruling elites of elections* in other words *incumbent's strategies in electoral arena* also do matter.

Discussion

- a) regime survival problem
 - Legitimacy (Linz, Stepan 1978)
 - type of the regime (Gandhi, Przeworski 2007, Geddes 1999)
 - social inequality and poor economic performance (Acemoglu, Robinson 2007)
 - international environment (Lewitsky, Way 2006)
 - economic prosperity and stable economic

Discussion

b) elections in competitive authoritarianism

- undermine? (electoral revolutions, de-legitimation, subversive institution?)
- Strengthen (ritual? Distributive institution? Recruiting? Loyalty monitoring?)



Theoretical Framework

- institutionalist approach in its rational choice version
- “ institutions are created not to be effective but firstly in the interest of those who are in a position to form new rules” (North 1990:16), therefore institutions can be manipulated and at the same time have unintended consequences
- Concept of competitive or electoral authoritarianism

Variables Description

- Unit of analysis is a national elections both presidential and parliamentarian from 1966 till 2006
- Main dependent variables:
 - 1) incumbent's (or official successor's) victory or defeat which is coded as binomial variable,
 - 2) margin of victory measured as incumbent's vote share relative to the first

Main independent variable

- *level of liberalization* in the electoral arena

NB! In this context liberalization IS NOT
EQUAL to democratization

How to measure?

- change in Political Rights Index which is a part of Freedom House democracy measure

OR

- Additive scale as a sum of positive changes

Informal Rules Changing (refusal from political abuses)

Other Variables Operationalization

- International linkage and pressure: the openness of the national economy, measured through the foreign trade share in GDP (WTO, <http://stat.wto.org/CountryProfile/WSDBCountryPFReporter.aspx?Language=E>) (continuous variable)
- The share of state-controlled sector in the national economy and the state investment share in GDP (Economic Freedom in the World,

Sample

- elections from 1966 till 2006 (may be later) in the competitive authoritarian regimes
- Source: National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) (<http://hyde.research.yale.edu/nelda>) and the Data Set on Leaders 1875–2004 or Archigo v.2.9 containing the information on the political leadership all over the world (Goemans, Gleditsch, Chiozza 2009)

Methods&analysis

- Logistic regression
- Parametric regression

Thank You for Your Attention!