

Hybrid Regime and its Social Support in the Regions of Russia

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Outline

- What is hybrid regime?
- Institutions and masses: same dependent variable?
- Working hypothesis
- Data
- Research strategy

“Hybrid regime”

- Political regime
- Not democratic (liberal democracy)
- Not authoritarian
- Are quite stable over time (Cassani, 2014)

Is characterized by both democratic institutes and authoritarian governance

Table 1. An overview of regime types.

Regime	Democracy		(Hybrid)	Authoritarianism		Totalitarianism
Subtype	Classic	Diminished		Diminished	Classic	
Qualifier	Functioning	Defective		Electoral	Closed	
Examples	Majoritarian vs. Consensus democracy	Exclusive Delegative Illiberal Democracy with reserved domains		Electoral authoritarianism	Military dictatorship One-party state Personalist rule	

Democratization

Note: Based on Merkel et al., *Band 1: Theorie*; Lauth, *Demokratie und Demokratiemessung*; Schedler, *Electoral Authoritarianism*; Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*; Brooker, *Non-Democratic Regimes*.

Matthijs Bogaards “How to classify hybrid regimes? Defective democracy and electoral authoritarianism.” *Democratization* 16.2 (2009): 411

Research problem

- Hybrid regimes are scrutinized by qualitative research mainly.
 - Can we express the qualitative concept as empirical category?
- Russian case is seen both as delegative democracy (Henry Hale) and competitive/electoral authoritarianism (Lewitsky & Way; Schedler).
- RQ: Why do people in Russia support hybrid regime?

Approaches-1

- Studying elites & masses
- Authoritarian personality is highly aggressive and intolerant towards outgroups, innovations and variety (Steward & Hout, 1959). Social context can influence the view of people (Gabennesh, 1972).
- Revised modernization theory by Inglehart, Welzel (2005). The level of development of society predicts the transition to democracy: higher adherence to self-expression values in postindustrial society.

Approaches-2

- Elections have different purpose in comparison to democracies: the justification of patron-client relationships (Morgenbesser, 2014).

However,

- HR cannot last long without support of population (O'Donnel, 1994; Magaloni, 2006): perspective and retrospective voting, no trust to opposition.
- Ekman, 2009: introduction of quantitative framework to analysis of the HR.
- “Working class authoritarianism” (Lipset, 1959). The level of education influences the views of people more than social classes (Dekker & Ester, 1987). Social class has influence on view too but there is distinction between economic and ideological views (Houtman, 2003).

Working hypothesis

1. The richer the population of the region, the higher is electoral support for the UR;
 2. Support for the UR is lower in case of paucity of money in conjunction with the level of income;
 3. People with lower income, have lower level of education and affiliate themselves as working class will tend to sustain existing political regime.
- Controls: age, city/rural area, prevailing Islamic population

Data

- 8 regional surveys conducted by LCSR in 2011-2012, 6313 cases
- Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Altai territory, Leningradskaya oblast', republic of Bashkortostan, Chuvash republic, Kabardino-Balkarian republic, Tatarstan republic.

H1-3: If there were an election to State Duma tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote? (Dependent)

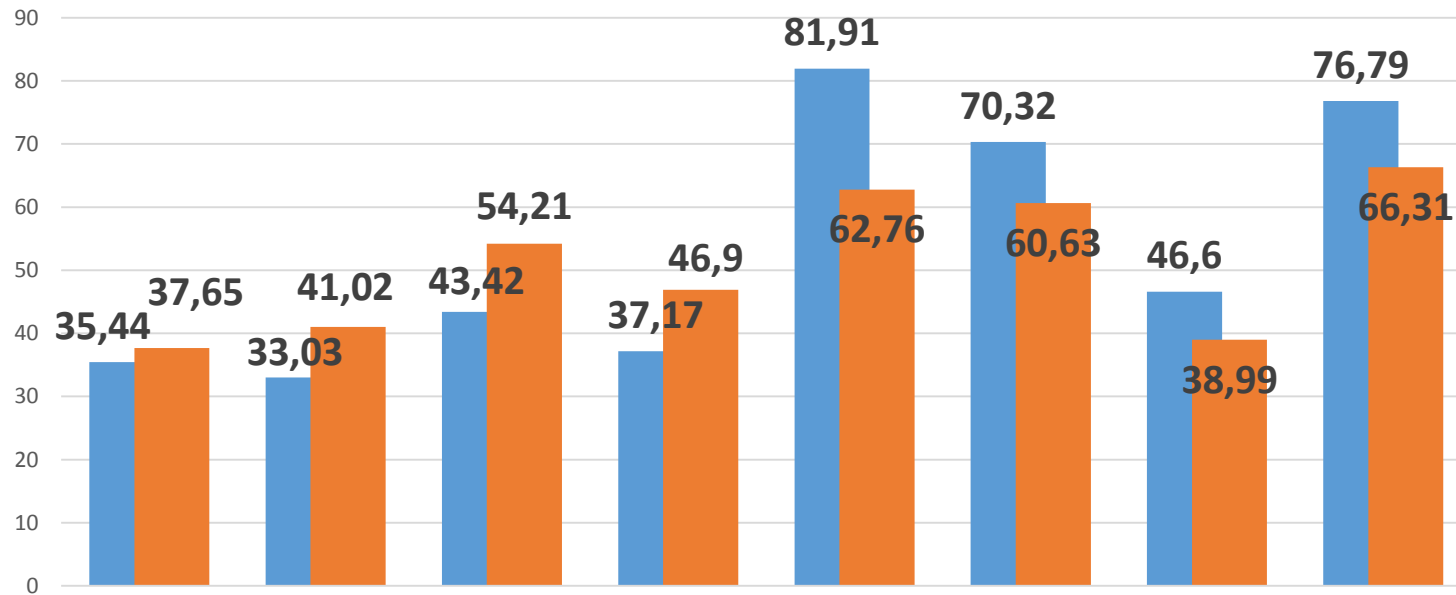
In the last 12 month, how often have you or your family Gone without a cash income? (Predictor)

In what group your household is. Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in... (Predictor)

People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the... (Predictor)

What is the highest educational level that you have attained? (Predictor)

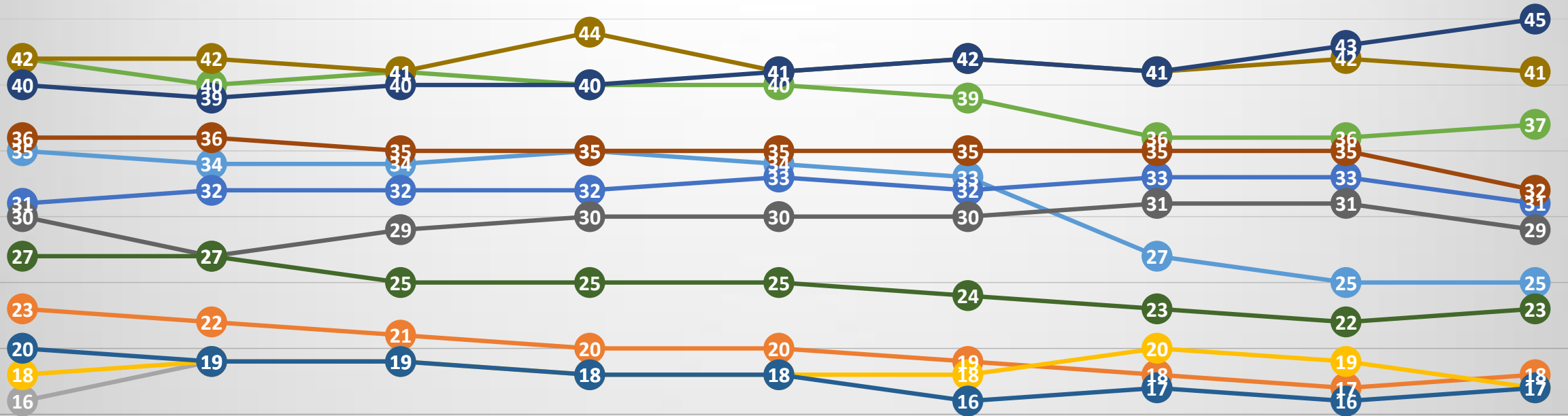
Percentage of people who voted for “United Russia”



■ % Voted in elections (according to CEC Russia)

■ If there were an election to State Duma tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote? United Russia

Rate of democracy in regions of Russia (Carnegie Center for

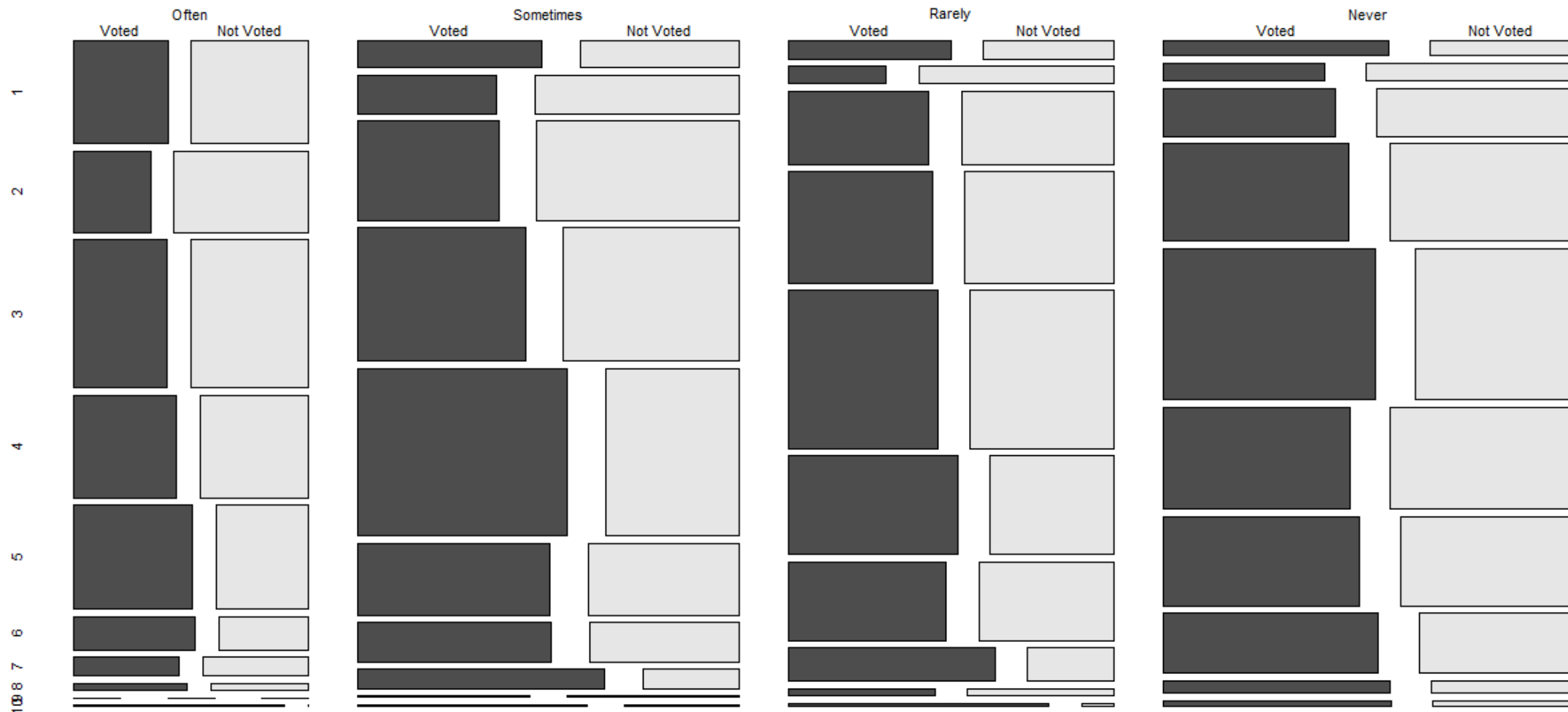


2006-2010 2005-2009 2004-2008 2003-2007 2002-2006 2001-2005 2000-2004 1999-2003 1991-2001

- Altai territory
- Bashkortostan
- Chechnya
- Chukotsky
- Chuvashia
- Irkutskaya oblast'
- Kabardino-Balkaria
- Leningradskaya oblast'
- Moscow
- Perm
- Saint Petersburg
- Tatarstan

In what group your household is. Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in.

The Share of votes for the UR by income and paucity of money



In the last 12 months, how often have you or your family gone without a cash income?

Research strategy

- Tasks:

- 1) Test whether economic determinants have impact on voting behavior of respondents;
 - 1a) If not, turn to alternative approaches: connections with opposition with & values
- 2) Whether it is possible to construct alternative dependent variable.

Thank you for attention!

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