



Academic Program (Short Version)

“Unlike Twin?! Comparing Autocracies and Democracies”

15-17 March 2017 at the University of Tübingen, Germany

Conference of the Section “Comparative Politics“ of
the German Political Science Association (DVPW)

Local Organizers:

Institute of Political Science

Rolf Frankenberger, Thomas Altmeyden, Mirjam Edel, and Oliver Schlumberger

- Conference Theme -

Identifying and comparing political systems in various perspectives is at the very heart of Comparative Politics as a discipline. In previous decades, the focus of the highly differentiated comparisons in the discipline's subfields lay on democracies rather than on autocracies and systematic comparisons have frequently been eschewed. It is only in recent years that comparative research on autocracies skyrocketed. A fast growing body of literature investigates in autocratic institutions, power, legitimation, policies and so on. As a result, comparative politics now can draw much more differentiated pictures of how authoritarian regimes function, succeed, and fail in terms of regime persistence. Empirical developments such as the (more or less surprising) resilience and economic prosperity of autocracies, transitions from democracy and authoritarian shifts inside and outside the EU, increasing inequalities within and between societies and the uprising and spreading of extremism and terrorism in Europe and elsewhere make systematic comparisons of democracy and autocracy even more important. Keeping in mind the developments in the discipline it seems to be helpful to step back and to discuss the foundations, approaches, methods and basic concepts, including the dimensions of polity, policy and politics that we have started to discuss at the previous conference of the section „Comparative Politics“ in Hamburg (February 2015).

- List of Panels -

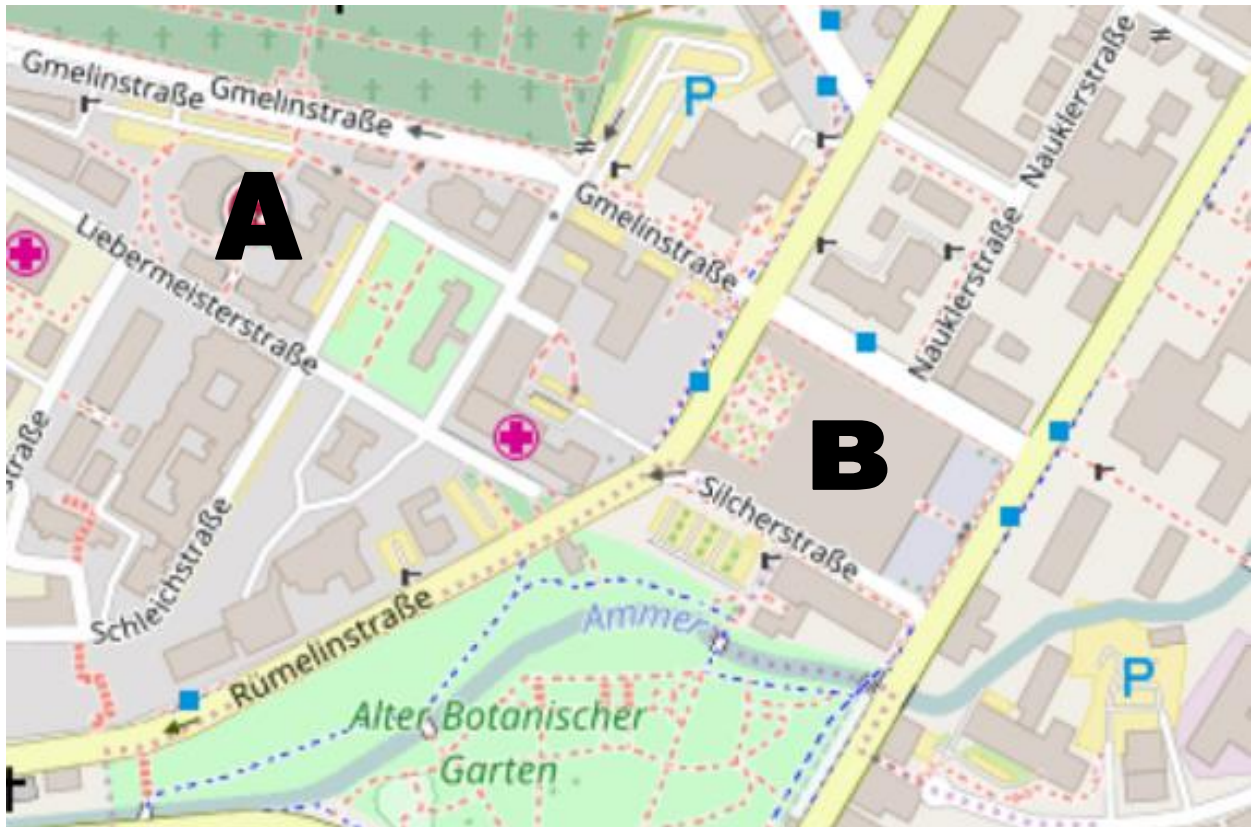
1. Parliamentary Representation in Non-Democratic Regimes
2. Macht Religion politische Systeme autokratisch? (Double Panel)
3. Same, same but different? Comparing the International Promotion of Democracy and Autocracy
4. State Spending and Taxation in Democracies and Autocracies: Comparing Patterns of Resource Management (Double Panel)
5. Dimensions of Authoritarianism (Double Panel)
6. Challenging the Churchill-Hypothesis Policy-Performance in Democracies and Autocracies in Comparison” (Double Panel)
7. Bridging Comparative Politics and Area Studies
8. Why Wrong Is Right: Justifying Exclusion and Repression in Autocracies and Democracies
9. Disentangling the State-Regime Nexus (Double Panel)
10. Welfare-Production-Regime Triangle: Comparing Welfare State and Capitalism in Democracies and Autocracies
11. Rule of Law vs. Rule by Law: How Do Autocracies & Democracies Govern?
12. Concept Formation and Explorative Methods: What and How Can Methods Contribute to Regime Classification in Comparative Politics?

- Conference Venue -

All panels will be held in seminar rooms of the faculties of theology (**A**) while the keynote lecture and the public panel discussion will take place in the main building (**B**):

Theologicum (A)
Liebermeisterstr. 12-18
72076 Tübingen

Neue Aula (B)
Geschwister-Scholl-Platz
72074 Tübingen



- Travelling -

The city of Tübingen is located 40km south of Stuttgart between the Schönbuch forest and the Swabian Hills. Most long-distance travellers will access Tübingen via Stuttgart, the capital of the State of Baden-Württemberg.

By plane: If you are not flying to Frankfurt (Main) but to Stuttgart, take bus 828 ("Airport-Sprinter"), departing right in front of terminal 1 (6,80€ one-way, payable on the bus). The final stop is Tübingen main station (ca. 1h). The last bus leaves the airport at 22:15.

By train: Most train routes lead via Stuttgart main station which is a hub for local trains to Tübingen (every 30 minutes). If you are travelling to Tübingen from Switzerland (Zurich) you will have to transfer to another train in Horb.

- Accomodation -

Tübingen is a lovely small city, but in the first instance, it is small. As an effect, hotel rooms are quite limited. We were able to make 75 room pre-reservations with selected hotels. You can either book one of these directly at these hotels (see list below) or look for other accomodation opportunities.

Please complete your booking in a timely manner. Rooms are limited and will not be reserved after the indicated deadlines.

Rooms are reserved at:

- [Hotel Meteora](#). (Arrival at 15. March) pre-reservations hold **until 14. February**. Password: DVPW-Tagung
- [Hotel am Schloss](#). (Arrival at 15. March) pre-reservations hold **until 15. January**. Password: DVPW-Sektionstagung
- [Hotel Domizil](#). (Arrival at 15. March) pre-reservations hold **until 15. January**. Password: DVPW-Sektionstagung
- [Hotel IBIS Styles](#). (Arrival at 14. or 15. March) pre- reservations hold **until 14. February**. Password

Further Links to accomodations

- The Tourist Information Office hosts a [search tool for accomodation](#)
- [Youth Hostel Tübingen](#)
- [Hotel Stadt Tübingen](#)
- [Hotel Hospiz](#)
- [Hotel Krone](#)
- [Hotel La Casa Tübingen](#)

- Conference fee and Registration-

Conference fee: in order to provide adequate service, rooms and an interesting general program including a reception, it takes up a small contribution from your side. Thus, we impose a conference fee on all participants: chairs, discussants, and paper givers as well as interested scholars visiting the conference. We kindly ask you to register until 15. January 2017. After this deadline registration is still possible, but with raised fees.

Participants	Fee
Students and graduate students:	20 €
Doctoral students:	30 €
Postdocs and Professors:	35 €
All those to register after 15. January	50 €

Please register via E-mail to rolf.frankenberger@uni-tuebingen.de, but be aware that your registration will not be completed until we have received your conference fee! You will receive separate information on remittances of the conference fee via e-mail.

Regular registration: We strongly suggest to register by 15. January 2017.

Late registration: Late registration is still possible, but only with raised fees (€ 50)

- Child care -

University of Tübingen is a family-friendly workplace. We are aware of family and child care obligations. If any participant needs assistance in child care during the conference, please let us know. We can arrange professional and certified child care during working hours of the conference between 08:30 and 18:00 onsite.

- Contact -

You have further questions? Please do not hesitate to contact the local organizers.

Rolf Frankenberger: rolf.frankenberger@uni-tuebingen.de

Oliver Schlumberger: mena@ifp.uni-tuebingen.de

- Timetable -

Wednesday, 15.03.2017	<i>In this timetable, the titles of some panels have been abbreviated for editorial reasons. For details, please refer to the list of panels.</i>			Room
15:00-16:00	Welcome Address			Theologicum, Lecture Hall
16:00-17:45	(1) "Parliamentary Representation in Non-Democratic Regimes"	(3) "Comparing the International Promotion of Democracy and Autocracy"	(12) "Concept Formation and Explorative Methods:"	Theologicum
18:00	Keynote Lecture by Andreas Schedler			Neue Aula, Audimax
19:30	Reception			Neue Aula, kleiner Senat
Thursday, 16.03.2017				Room
9:00-10:45	(7) "Bridging Comparative Politics and Area Studies"	(11) "Rule of Law vs. Rule by Law: How Do Autocracies & Democracies Govern?"	(2.1) „Macht Religion politische Systeme autokratisch?“ (Session 1)	Theologicum
11:00-12:30	Mitgliederversammlung			Theologicum, Lecture Hall
14:00-15:30	(4.1) "State Spending and Taxation in Democracies and Autocracies 1"	(9.1) "Disentangling the State-Regime Nexus" (Session 1)	(2.2) „Macht Religion politische Systeme autokratisch?“ (Session 2)	Theologicum
16:00-17:30	(4.2.) "State Spending and Taxation in Democracies and Autocracies 2"	(9.2) "Disentangling the State-Regime Nexus" (Session 2)	(10) "Comparing Welfare State and Capitalism in Democracies and Autocracies"	Theologicum
18:00	Public Panel Discussion			Neue Aula, Audimax
Friday, 17.03.17				Room
9:00-10:45	(6.1) "Policy Performance" (Session 1): The Economy	(8) "Why Wrong Is Right: Justifying Exclusion and Repression"	(5.1) "Dimensions of Authoritarianism: International Factors" (Session 1)	Theologicum
11:00-12:45	(6.2) "Policy Performance" (Session 2): The Social and Ecological Sphere	-	(5.2) "Dimensions of Authoritarianism: Identity, State, & Regime" (Session 2)	Theologicum
13:00	End of Conference			Departure

List of Panels & Papers

Panel 1 – “Parliamentary Representation in Non-Democratic Regimes”

Chairs: **Katharina Buck**, University of Bremen (k.buck@uni-bremen.de),
Esther Somfalvy, IFSH – Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy
at the University of Hamburg (somfalvy@bigsss-bremen.de)

- **Anja Osei** (University of Konstanz): “Glass Half Full or Half Empty? Government-Opposition Interaction in the Authoritarian Legislature of Togo”
- **Daniel Stockemer** (University of Ottawa): “(Democratic) Regime Change and the Representation of Women in Parliament”
- **Irene Weipert-Fenner** (PRIF – Peace Research Institute Frankfurt): “Detector and Agent of Change: The Autocratic Parliament in Mubarak’s Egypt”
- **Esther Somfalvy** (IFSH): “Do Different Kinds of Regimes Represent Their Citizens Differently? Evidence from the Parliaments of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic”
- **Kristin Eichhorn** (Technical University Chemnitz): “Electoral Competitiveness and Turnout in Autocracies”

Panel 2 – „Macht Religion politische Systeme autokratisch?“ (Double Panel)

Chairs: **Gert Pickel**, Universität Leipzig (pickel@rz.uni-leipzig.de),
Oliver Hidalgo, Universität Münster (hidalgo@uni-muenster.de)

Session 1:

- **Oliver Hidalgo** (Münster): „Religion als ‚autoritäres‘ Gegengewicht zur Demokratie? Theoretische und ideengeschichtliche Zugänge“
- **Christoph Trinn & Thomas Wencker** (Heidelberg): “No State is an Island: Inter-Regime Cooperation in Transnational Conflicts”
- **Susanne Pickel** (Duisburg): “Gods Own Country: Religion, politische Religion oder Religiosität als Spoiler of Democracy?”
- **Marlene Mauk** (Mainz): „Macht Religion Menschen autokratisch?“
- **Gert Pickel** (Leipzig): „Verhindert der Islam Demokratisierung? Perspektiven aus der Sicht der politischen Kulturforschung“

Session 2:

- **Cemal Öztürk & Toralf Stark** (Duisburg): „Das ‚türkische Modell‘ in der Krise: Sind religiöse Individuen in der Türkei ‚genuine Demokraten‘? Eine Überprüfung der Kompatibilität von ‚Islam‘ und ‚Demokratie‘ auf Grundlage der politischen Kulturforschung“
- **Jörg Baudner** (Osnabrück): “From Religious to Populist Party (and Back)?”

- **Ludger Viefhues-Bailey** (Syracuse): “Religion for the Illiberal State: The Example of Religious Liberty Laws in the U.S.”
- **Julia Gerlach** (Leipzig): „Wie der Tempelberg in Jerusalem: Heilige Orte und russischer Diskurs um die Annexion der Krim“
- **Fabian Poetke** (München): „Politische Anreize zur religiösen Aneignung der liberalen Demokratie: Das Fallbeispiel westdeutscher Bildungspolitik 1945-1965“

Panel 3 – “Same, Same but Different? Comparing the International Promotion of Democracy and Autocracy”

Chairs: **Julia Leininger**, DIE – German Development Institute & the German Research Network External Democracy Promotion (julia.leininger@die-gdi.de), **Anna Lührmann**, V-Dem Institute at the University of Gothenburg, SWE (anna.luehrmann@v-dem.net)

- **Christoph H. Stefes & Betsy Jose** (University of Colorado, Denver): “Contesting and Shaping International Norms: The Neglected Side of Autocracy Promotion”
- **Agnes Cornell** (Aarhus University) & **Anna Lührmann** (University of Gothenburg): “The Role of Political Context in the Allocation of Democracy Aid”
- **Pavel Satra** (Leuphana Universität, Lüneburg): “Autocracies’ Counterintuitive Delegation Preferences to International Human Rights Organizations”
- **Julia Bader** (University of Amsterdam) & **Christine Hackenesch** (DIE – German Development Institute – DIE, Bonn): “What Drives Authoritarian Party to Party Interaction? The Chinese Communist Party and African Ruling Parties”
- **Tina Freyburg** (University St. Gallen) & **Julia Leininger** (DIE – German Development Institute, Bonn): “Democracy Promotion Needs Democrats: How Societal Values Matter”

Panel 4 – “State Spending and Taxation in Democracies and Autocracies: Comparing Patterns of Resource Management“

Chairs: **Thomas Richter & Christian von Soest**, beide GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg (thomas.richter@giga-hamburg.de, christian.vonsoest@giga-hamburg.de)

Session 1:

- **Christian von Haldenwang** (DIE – German Development Institute, Bonn): “What Impact Does Political Regime Durability Have on Public Revenue Collection?”
- **Ane Karoline Bak Foged** (Aarhus University): “Taxation, Revenue Bargains and the Effect on Accountability Institutions in Developing Countries
- **Anne Mette Kjær & Marianne Ulriksen** (Aarhus University): “The Unexplored Side of Fiscal Contract Theory: Revenue Bargains and Public Policy Provisions in Africa”

- **Thomas Richter** (GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg): “Taxation and the Formation of Political Institutions: An Explorative Analysis”

Session 2:

- **Rachel Beach** (University of Aarhus): “Benin & Togo: the Unlike Twins of Revenue Mobilization in West Africa”
- **Christian von Haldenwang** (DIE – German Development Institute, Bonn): “Does the political resource curse affect public finance? The vulnerability of tax revenue in resource-rich countries”
- **Solveig Richter** (University of Erfurt): “Competing for Power and Money. State Capture and Limited Political Competition in Transition Countries”

Panel 5 – “Dimensions of Authoritarianism” (Double Panel)

Convener: **Ahmad Maati & Oliver Schlumberger**, University of Tübingen
(ahmed.maati@uni-tuebingen.de & schlumberger@uni-tuebingen.de)

Session 1: “International Aspects of Authoritarianism”

Chair: **Andreas Schedler** (CIDE, Mexico City / University of Tübingen)

Discussant: **Rolf Frankenberger** (University of Tübingen)

- **Marianne Kneuer, Thomas Demmelhuber, Tobias Zumbrägel, Raphael Peresson Natalia Afanasyeva** (University of Hildesheim & University of Erlangen): „Regional Organizations as Transmission Belt and Learning Room of Authoritarianism: Comparative Perspectives and Empirical Evidence”
- **Steven Heydemann** (Smith College, Northampton): “Democracy Promotion, Institutions, and Authoritarian Resilience”
- **André Bank** (GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg): “Authoritarian Learning and Transnational Diffusion”

Session 2: “Identity, State, and Regime”

Chair: **Andreas Schedler** (CIDE, Mexico City / University of Tübingen)

Discussant: **Thomas Demmelhuber** (University of Erlangen)

- **Morten Valbjørn** (University of Aarhus): “What Is So Sectarian about Sectarian Politics? Identity Politics and Authoritarianism in a New Middle East”
- **Ahmad Maati** (University of Tübingen): “Exclusivist Identity Formation, the State, and Authoritarianism
- **Oliver Schlumberger** (University of Tübingen): “Authoritarian Resilience and the State in the Arab World

Panel 6 – “Challenging the Churchill-Hypothesis Policy-Performance in Democracies and Autocracies in Comparison” (Double Panel)

Chair: **Stefan Wurster**, University Trier (wurster@uni-trier.de)

Session 1: “Economic Performance”

- **Henriette Müller** (New York University, Abu Dhabi): “Understudied Parallels: Political Leadership and Economic Growth Across Regime Types”
- **Tobias Rommel** (University of Zurich): “Political Regimes and Foreign Investment Liberalization”
- **Marlene Jugl** (Hertie School of Governance, Berlin): “Small Is Democratic – or Monarchic? Population Size, Regime Type and State Performance”
- **Sebastian Stier** (GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences): “Internet diffusion and Regime Type: Temporal Patterns in Technology Adoption”

Session 2: “Social and Ecological Performance”

- **Eda Keremoglu-Waibler** (Universität Stuttgart): “Does Consultative Decision-Making Matter for Citizens’ Welfare in Authoritarian Regimes?”
- **Sebastian Ziaja** (Research Center for Distributional Conflict and Globalization, Heidelberg University): “The Democratic Civil Peace Revisited: Assessing the Predictive Power of Political Regime Indicators”
- **Romy Escher & Melanie Walter-Rogg** (Universität Regensburg): „Does the Choice of the Democracy Measure Matter in the Analysis of the Relationship between Democracy and Global Public Good Provision? The Case of Climate Policy Performance”
- **Aron Buzogány** (BOKU Vienna, Institute of Forest, Environmental, and Natural Resources Policy): “Comparing Clean Energy Transitions over the Regime Divide”

Panel 7 – “Bridging Comparative Politics and Area Studies”

Chairs: **Patrick Köllner**, GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies and University of Hamburg (patrick.koellner@giga-hamburg.de), **Andreas Mehler**, Arnold Bergsträsser Institute and University of Freiburg (andreas.mehler@abi.uni-freiburg.de)

- **Patrick Köllner** (GIGA, Hamburg), **Ariel Ahram** (Virginia Tech), **Rudra Sil** (University of Pennsylvania): “Comparative Area Studies: What It Is, What It Can Do?”
- **Christian von Soest** (GIGA, Hamburg) & **Alexander Stroh** (University of Bayreuth): “Comparing across World Regions: Assets and Pitfalls”
- **André Bank** (GIGA, Hamburg): “Comparative Area Studies and the Study of Middle East Politics after the Arab Uprisings”

- **Sophia Schubert** (FU Berlin) & **Alexander Weiß** (HSU Hamburg): “Bridging Political Theory, Comparative Politics and Area Studies: A Plea for Global-transcultural Democracy Research”

Panel 8 – “Why Wrong Is Right: Justifying Exclusion and Repression in Autocracies and Democracies”

Chairs: **Maria Josua & Julia Grauvogel**, GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg (maria.josua@giga-hamburg.de, julia.grauvogel@giga-hamburg.de)

- **Aurel Croissant, David Kuehn, Tanja Eschenauer** (Heidelberg University): “The ‘Dictator’s Endgame’: Explaining Military Behavior in Nonviolent Anti-Incumbent Mass Protests”
- **Dag Tanneberg** (University of Potsdam): “What is dead may never die ... How Restrictions and Violence Defeat Direct Action Campaigns”
- **Jonas Wolff** (PRIF – Peace Research Institute Frankfurt): “Justifying Civic Space Restrictions: Does Regime Type Matter?”
- **Holger Zapf** (University of Göttingen): “Framing Protest: Delegitimizing Contention in Tunisia before and after 2011”
- **Ani Sarkissian** (Michigan State University): “Defining ‘Normal’ Religion: How State Bureaus of Religion Help Governments Manage Opposition and Retain Political Power”

Panel 9 – “Disentangling the State-Regime Nexus” (Double Panel)

Chairs: **Thomas Altmeyen & Mirjam Edel**, University of Tübingen (thomas.altmeyen@uni-tuebingen.de & mirjam.edel@uni-tuebingen.de)

Introduction: **Oliver Schlumberger**, University of Tübingen

Discussants: **André Bank** (GIGA, Hamburg) & **Dan Slater** (University of Chicago)

Session 1

- **Thomas Altmeyen** (University of Tübingen): “Blinded by the Light? Michael Mann and the Problem of Conceptual Confusion in the Study of States and Regimes”
- **Dan Slater and Christopher Haid** (University of Chicago), **Ferdinand Eibl** (King’s College, London), and **Steffen Hertog** (LSE, London): “War Makes the Regime: Rebellion Type and the Origins of Authoritarian Regime Types”
- **Maya Tudor** (Oxford University): “Disentangling States and Regime Sequencing in Postcolonial India and Pakistan”
- **Julia Leininger** (DIE – German Development Institute, Bonn): “Eroding Democracy by Building the State: A Comparative Analysis of Mozambique”

Session 2:

- **Rachel Sigman**, (V-Dem Institute at the University of Gothenburg): “State Capacity Types and Regime Outcomes”
- **David Anderson** (Aarhus University): “Political Dilemmas in State-Building: Why Germany and Argentina Finally Settled for Democracy while Thai Democracy is Still Struggling”
- **Alexander Schmotz** (King's College, London): “Revolution Gone Awry: Popular Uprisings, Regime Breakdown, and State Failure”
- **Matilde Thorsen, Alexander Taaning Grundhold, and David Ulrichsen** (Aarhus University): “Motivated and Able to Make a Difference for the Poor? The Complementary Effects of Democracy and State Capacity in Promoting Human Development”

Panel 10 – “Welfare-Production-Regime Triangle: Comparing Welfare State and Capitalism in Democracies and Autocracies”

Chairs: **Daniel Buhr & Markus Trämer**, University of Tübingen
(daniel.buhr@uni-tuebingen.de & markus.traemer@uni-tuebingen.de)

- **Markus Trämer** (University of Tübingen): “Which institutional complementarities underpin authoritarian economies and welfare systems? China, Vietnam and Laos”
- **Aline Grünwald** (SOCIMUM – Research Center on Inequality and Social Policy Bremen): “The historical roots of old age pension systems in democratic and nondemocratic regimes around the world”
- **Hans-Jürgen Bieling** (University of Tübingen): “Varieties of Financialization – on the structure, role and mode of operation of finance in contemporary European capitalism”
- **N.N.**

Panel 11–“Rule of Law vs. Rule by Law: How Do Autocracies & Democracies Govern?”

Chairs: **Mirjam Edel & Rolf Frankenberger**, University of Tübingen
(mirjam.edel@uni-tuebingen.de & rolf.frankenberger@uni-tuebingen.de)

- **Michael Hein** (Humboldt Universität, Berlin): “The Codification of Constitutional Entrenchment Clauses in Democracies and Autocracies”
- **Jörn Knobloch** (University of Potsdam): “Rule of Man Not Rule of Law: Practical Foundations of Authoritarian Regimes and the Impact of Law”
- **David Andersen & Agnes Cornell** (Aarhus University): “Political Regime Dynamics and State Impartiality”

- **Mirjam Edel** (University of Tübingen): “Which Role of Law? Conceptualizing Legal and Judicial Aspects of Political Repression”

Panel 12 – “Concept Formation and Explorative Methods: What and How Can Methods Contribute to Regime Classification in Comparative Politics?”

Chairs: **Toralf Stark**, Universität Duisburg-Essen (toralf.stark@uni-due.de),
Rolf Frankenberger, University of Tübingen (rolf.frankenberger@uni-tuebingen.de)

- **Sebastian Ziaja** (Heidelberg University) & **Martin Elff** (ZU Friedrichshafen): “Latent Dimensions, Latent Classes and Method Factors in Political Regime Data”
- **Seraphine F. Maerz** (Central European University, Budapest): “The Conditions of Authoritarian Persistence: Classifying Autocratic Regimes by Applying Fuzzy-Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis”
- **Christoph Mohamad-Klotzbach & Oliver Schlenkrich** (Universität Würzburg): “The State-Regime Nexus: A Political Culture-Perspective”
- **Ani Sarkissian** (Michigan State University) & **Karrie Koesel** (University of Notre Dame): “Religion and the Authoritarian Toolkit”