

ABSTRACT

Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes and Their Path to Democracy

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Do bureaucratic authoritarian regimes democratize in a specific way and why does this matter? This thesis looks at bureaucratic authoritarian regimes and their characteristics as well as their pathway to democracy. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes are a specific type of authoritarian regime characterized by having a government made up of highly bureaucratized officials and focusing on industrializing the economy. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes democratize by the population inciting rebellion against the leader and, subsequently, the regime making democratic concessions. Eventually, the democratic concessions made by the leader causes the regime to lose power and ultimately democratize. This process occurred in numerous countries in Latin America, including Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, as well as East Asia, including South Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines. This model is important because it can theorize how current bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, such as Russia, will eventually democratize.

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BUREACRATIC AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES AND THEIR PATH TO DEMOCRACY

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CHAPTER ONE

Spain as a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Nation and its Resulting Democratization

February 23, 1981: Military leaders, with the familiar phrase used by Francisco Franco and his supporters in 1936, “sin novedad” (nothing new), took over the Spanish Parliament building and guaranteed the novice king, Juan Carlos, of their support. In this moment, the new Spanish democracy was threatened by the military attempting to takeover for the monarchy and the world was uncertain on whether or not it would be able to survive. However, much to everyone’s surprise, Juan Carlos upheld his support for the new democratic regime and ordered an end to the mutiny (Eder 1981, Markham 1981). Barely five years after the creation of a new constitution, the new democratic regime had to prove its strength against a threat. Typically in the past, the monarchy in Spain has allied with the military and, together they had gone against democracy (Rudnick 1981, 118). However for the first time in Spanish history, the monarchy sided with the new democratic regime to the point of saying the military leaders attempting the coup were committing treason and if they did not back down, they would be charged accordingly (Rudnick 1981, 119). How did a regime, that only five years before was under the control of a dictator, become democratic and have the ability to survive a military coup? This chapter will give a brief introduction into regime types. Then it will show that Spain under Franco was actually a specific time of authoritarian regime, specifically a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. Then it will go into greater detail about why and how Spain under Franco was a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. Finally this

chapter will trace the path of democratization in Spain from their bureaucratic authoritarian regime to a strong democracy. This chapter will serve as an introduction to the rest of the thesis that argues that bureaucratic authoritarian regimes transition into democracy in a particular way, namely that the regime attempts to democratize to legitimize their control after the population shows unrest. By looking at case studies from Latin America, specifically Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and East Asia, specifically South Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines, this democratization process will predict the pattern of democratization of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes.

What are the Types of Regimes a Country Can Have?¹

A country can have many different types of regimes. However when looking at Spain under Franco, 1939-1975 political scientists identify three important regime types, that include totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic. Totalitarian regimes are characterized by having an ideology, one party that is behind this ideology, some type of secret police and total control of the population (in mass communications, weapons, and economic structures) (Linz 2000, 65). While there are several types of authoritarian regimes, a generalization is that it is a system with limited political pluralism, a mentality, not an ideology, limited mobilization, and a leader that has power, but typically acts in a predictable way (Linz 2000, 159). The major differences between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes are that a totalitarian regime typically has complete, total, control of the population that is very strict and tense, based on an underlying ideology. On the other hand, an

¹ This section will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

authoritarian regime is thought of as being less strict and tense and more stable (Linz 1964, 293). A democratic regime is defined as the population having opportunities to compete (peacefully) for political power, and that power is nonexclusive (Linz 2000, 58). For a regime to be a complete democracy, it must have peaceful transitions of power on a regular basis, with no threat of the newly elected government being overthrown (Linz and Stepan 1996, 5). Spain under Franco was typically thought of as being totalitarian; however, this thesis argues that it was actually an authoritarian regime.

Was Spain Totalitarian or Authoritarian?

Typically, political scientists argue that Spain's regime under Franco was totalitarian because of Franco's close relationship to Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy (Large 1990, 233). Although Spain under Franco did have totalitarian tendencies, and appeared to be totalitarian, some consider it to be an authoritarian regime (Linz 1964, 293). There are many reasons that Franco's regime was authoritarian; these reasons include the lack of a unified, totalitarian ideology, limited mobilization, and the predictable power of Franco (Linz 1964, 293).

Franco's regime did not have an ideology, like totalitarian regimes, but rather a mentality. A totalitarian ideology is the "institutionalization [of a set of]...dogmas, symbols, rites, and commandments" that is inflicted by the regime on the population (Gentile 2013, 12). On July 18, 1936, Franco released a manifesto in which he described the anarchical situation in Spain and gave the tenants of his party (Linz 1964, 302). In this manifesto, Franco seemed to be describing the doctrine of the

Catholic Church in Spain, which was one of his major allies during his reign (Linz 1964, 303). Because of his dependency on the doctrine of the Catholic Church, an institution that had control over the doctrine, Franco's manifestos are not considered ideologies, but rather mentalities (Linz 1964, 304). He uses the Church's doctrine in his regime, but he does not carry it in the way totalitarian regimes do. It would be difficult to call the doctrine of the Catholic Church Franco's ideology because it did not come from him, nor did he have control over it (Linz 1964, 304).

Franco's regime allowed limited mobilization and political activity.² One of the main reasons for this lack in political activity is that Franco lacked motivation in keeping the same level of activity that the previous regime, a Republic, had (Linz 1964, 306). Also it would have been extremely difficult for Franco to encourage political activity because he depended on its absence to maintain power (Linz 1964, 306). If Franco had political activity of the masses, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for him to have complete control over every aspect of Spanish politics and society.

Franco came into power because of his role in the defeat of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War. He achieved his legitimacy through his charisma and the traditional support of the Catholic Church (Linz 1964, 320,322). Although he did have legitimacy to part of the population, the majority of Spaniards had such a low participation in politics, that they did not question his legitimacy (Linz 1964, 320).

² This topic will be discussed more in-depth later in this chapter.

What is Bureaucratic Authoritarianism?

Bureaucratic authoritarianism can be defined in numerous ways. The best way to describe this regime type is by looking at the characteristics of bureaucratic authoritarian states that is given by Guillermo O'Donnell. One characteristic is higher governmental positions being occupied by people who come to them after successful careers in complex and highly bureaucratized organizations, such as the military. Another characteristic is political exclusion, in that the regime aims to close channels of political access to the popular sector, and its allies, so they do not have any political power. They exclude the lower classes from political power not only through repression but also through the imposition of controls by the state on organizations for the popular sector, such as labor unions. Another characteristic is economic exclusion, whereby the regime reduces, or prohibits, the popular sector from being able to participate in the economics of the regime. Another characteristic of a bureaucratic regime is that the regime turns social and political issues to problems that can only be resolved through the interactions in the bureaucratic governmental agencies (also called "depoliticization"). The final characteristic is that the regime is in a stage of economic development that involves the capital growth of the economy and is characterized by extensive industrialization that is dependent to the country and in the peripheral of the country (O'Donnell 1978, 6).

Was Spain a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime?

When examining at the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime and the characteristics of Franco's regime, one can see similarities between the two. These similarities are enough for one to argue that Franco's regime was actually a

bureaucratic authoritarian one. Franco came into power after the Spanish Civil War in 1936-1939 using an alliance with the military, the Church, and the elites, and he later used those groups in establishing and maintaining his regime. After King Alfonso XIII abdicated from the throne in 1931, voters established a precarious democratic republic in Spain. This Republic attempted to make significant changes to Spanish society. Its first change was to separate church and state, especially in the area of education, which caused it to lose support of the Church (Large 1990, 225). The Republic also alienated the military by attacking the military's power, limiting the number of high-ranking officers (Large 1990, 225-226). Additionally, the Republic infuriated the agrarian elite and aristocracy because of their policies on land reform and support for the peasants (Large 1990, 226). All three of these groups had enormous power in Spanish society and started the coup d'état against the Republic in 1936; they would also play a huge role in Franco's regime after the war.

The Spanish Civil War began in 1936 with the double assassination of a Republican assault guard and a rightist politician (Large 1990, 230-231). The two sides of the war were The Republic, supporting the elected Republican government, and the Nationalists, who were mainly made up of the military supported by the church, aristocracy, and upper bourgeoisie. The Nationalists were able to receive aid from both Germany and Italy, because they appealed to the totalitarian sides of those two regimes (Large 1990, 234-235). Although the Nationalists received much international aid, the Republic was unable to get significant aid from other European countries, except for Russia. Although Franco was not the only general in

charge of the Nationalists, he played the biggest role in getting international support and conquering Spain from the Republic (Large 1990, 235).

Franco's forces were able to take control of most of the southern part of the country at the very beginning of the Civil War (Large 1990, 243). But by December 1936, the Nationalists were focused on capturing the capital of Madrid because of its central location (Keene 1987, 81). However, when this assault was unsuccessful, they moved to the northern front, which contained the industrial, Basque regions (Large 1990, 247, 249). The Republicans attempted to start a counterattack so the Nationalists would not conquer the north, but their efforts were unsuccessful (Keene 1987, 82). Franco was able to reach the Mediterranean in April of 1938, and with that, he split Spain into two parts (Keene 1987, 84). Eventually Franco succeeded in defeating the Republicans in March of 1939 (Keene 1987, 85). After his defeat of the Republicans, he was able to take complete control of the country and turn the regime into his own.

Higher Governmental Positions

One of the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is that higher governmental positions are filled with people who had previously been a part of a bureaucratic organization. This was prevalent in Franco's regime in many ways. After the war, Franco had the power to completely restructure the government. He did this through staged elections during which the population would appear to have a vote. The majority of the "elected" officials in Spain consisted of landholding farmers and veterans (Sánchez 2009, 54). The people who supported the coup against the Republic included "economists, academics, lawyers,

military officers, medical doctors, priests and businessmen,” and these people rose to power under Franco (Richards 1998, 74). Franco restructured the government to be made up of these people who were formerly part of bureaucratic organizations, leading to a highly bureaucratized regime.

Political Exclusion

Another characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is the political exclusion of the majority of the population to the point that they essentially have no political power. This characteristic was also common in Franco’s regime in many aspects of society. After Franco rose to power, he began to weaken the state politically because the regime focused its efforts on strengthening the country economically. Franco’s regime did this by organizing the working population into state-sponsored labor unions, which essentially were just there to appease the masses (Richards 1998, 76). Also, anyone who did not join the single party, “Falange Española Tradicionalist de las Juntas de Ofensivas Nacional-Sindicalistas” was excluded from Franco’s “New Spain” (Richards 1998, 76; Sánchez 2009, 50). Although Franco wanted the population of Spain to feel as if they had a place in this new regime, Franco organized these unions and parties in such a way that they were only for show, because essentially there was only one union and one political party.

Transformations of Economy/Industrialization

Although Franco’s regime, at the beginning, tried to be self-sufficient, it was not entirely possible and he was forced to trade with other countries. When Franco first came into power, he relied heavily on the concept of “autarky” (or self-

sufficiency). On the surface, he believed that Spain should industrialize and have the ability to produce goods for the entire country without outside help.

Industrialization was viewed as the only way to stop Spain's decline and as a way to modernize the country (Richards 1998, 103-104). However, Franco recognized that Spain could also benefit from trading with other countries. During Franco's emphasis on autarky, traded goods from the United States and Britain, and assistance from Italy and Germany were important in the process of Spain's industrialization (Richards 1998, 102). Although on the surface Spain seemed to become self-dependent in regards to the economy, Spain actually traded with a significant number of foreign countries, and this trade was a very important part of their industrialization.

Economic Exclusion

Economic exclusion is also characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarianism and was present in Spain under Franco. Because of Franco's focus on industrialization, the industrial elites were able to gain more power as industrialization increased. The agrarian elites were also able to gain more power because of their agreements with the industrial elite. This situation caused the industrial elite and the agrarian elite to form a type of economic coalition.

Additionally, because of the focus on industrialization and the power of the elite, the working class was pushed to the fringes of society (Richards 1998, 106). Franco's regime, with the support of the Catholic Church in Spain touted poverty as a positive virtue. There was also an increase in economic coercion by the regime. The economic coalition, the emphasis on the moral virtue of poverty, and the economic

coercion helped to cause the political, and economic, decline of the working class (Richards 1998, 98).

Depoliticalization

The regime in Spain under Franco was very skilled at essentially ignoring political issues. Franco believed that politics are what ruined Spain under the Republicans and they could only further hurt Spain. To resolve this hatred towards politics, Franco created a system for elections. The government would pretend to have elections, and would have the people “elect” officials (who were chosen by the government). While these elections were going on, there would be debates and other political discussions. However, as soon as those elections were over, the civil governors would put a halt to all politics and debates (Sánchez 2009, 54). Franco’s regime also made efforts to encourage the population to focus only on their own lives and to depend on the regime to do everything else. This “depoliticalization” by the regime made the Spanish population apathetic towards anything relating to politics and gave the regime the power to control essentially every aspect of society (Sánchez 2009, 175).

How Did Spain Democratize from a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime?

Surprisingly, the Spanish democratic transition appeared to be a relatively easy and painless process. Because of the complex nature of the bureaucratic establishments that Franco had in place, it was difficult for the new regime just to fill the positions with democratic leaders (Linz and Stepan 1996, 91). After Franco’s death, Juan Carlos ascended the throne and with the support of Adolfo Suárez, the

Minister-Secretary General, helped to transition Spain into a democracy. Adolfo Suárez believed that the only way to transition into a democracy, legally and completely, was through a popular vote (Linz and Stepan 1996, 93). To do this, he needed the Cortes, the legislature created by Franco, essentially to vote for their disbandment and for free elections, which was called the Law for Political Reform (Linz and Stepan 1996, 94). He achieved this by explaining, on national television, that it would be “ethically and historically correct” for the Cortes to allow for free elections and their disbandment and appealing for Spaniards to vote for approval (Linz and Stepan 1996, 95). While still on national television, he also declared that one of the final goals of this new regime was free and open elections (Linz and Stepan 1996, 94). Eventually the Cortes passed the Law for Political Reform and the people voted on it in a referendum (Linz and Stepan 1996, 95).

The transition to democracy was relatively easy compared to that of other countries. However, because of the heterogeneous character of Spain, there were complications in Catalonia and the Basque Country (Linz and Stepan 1996, 99). During the democratization process, the Basque terrorist organization, the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), which had begun terrorist attacks during the Franco regime because of his treatment of the Basque, continued killing Spaniards, but at an escalating rate (Linz and Stepan 1996, 99). However, this was not as big a problem as it could have been. From the beginning of the transition, the new regime had established democratic legitimacy by having statewide elections, and this tactic reduced the regional problems the Catalans and Basques could have caused.

Because of these elections, the population in the Catalan and Basque regions felt that

they had a say in the new regime and it was harder for terrorist organizations, like the ETA, to take control (Linz and Stepan 1996, 100).

One of the reasons that the democratic transition in Spain was so successful was because of the commitment to democratization the leaders had. The transition was elite-led, having support from the new king, the minister Suárez, the communist party, the Church, and the army. The elites were able to combine efforts to achieve the same goal of democratic transition under the influence of Juan Carlos (Linz and Stepan 1996, 92-93). If the leaders of the new regime had not been so adamant about forming a democratic regime, it is unlikely that the transition to democracy would have been as successful as it was (Linz and Stepan 1996, 115).

Although it seemed as if the new democratic regime was strong, there was still a test to its strength five years after the transition that showed how complete the transition to a new regime really was. In 1981, the monarchy sided with the democratically elected government against the army leaders that attempted the military coup and punished the military leaders involved with that coup (Linz and Stepan 1996, 108). After this event, the Spanish democracy was completely legitimized and consolidated, and the Spanish population had confidence in their new, democratically elected government.

Another reason that the democratic transition in Spain was successful was because of the regime that Franco had established. Linz and Stepan describe it as a “civilianized-authoritarian regime” defined as having the “organizational base” made up of civilians who are pro regime, while still having a leader as the head of state (Linz and Stepan 1996, 110-111). This regime is similar, if not the same, as a

bureaucratic authoritarian regime because both regimes are made up of civilians who had bureaucratic background (Linz and Stepan 1996, 110-111). Linz and Stepan argue that this regime had fewer obstacles to overcome than other regime types, such as totalitarian, sultanistic or military (Linz and Stepan 1996, 111). When Spain began its transition, it inherited a regime that already had characteristics of democracy, except for political society (Linz and Stepan 1996, 112).³ This situation helped the new regime leaders because they had a civil society that was already established, an economic system that was moderately successful, a state structure that only needed to be tweaked, and a fairly strong tradition of the rule of law (Linz and Stepan 1996, 113). Once the new regime changed the political structure of Spain to allow for democracy, by creating a new constitution in 1978 and allowing for free elections, it was not too difficult to create a democratic regime.

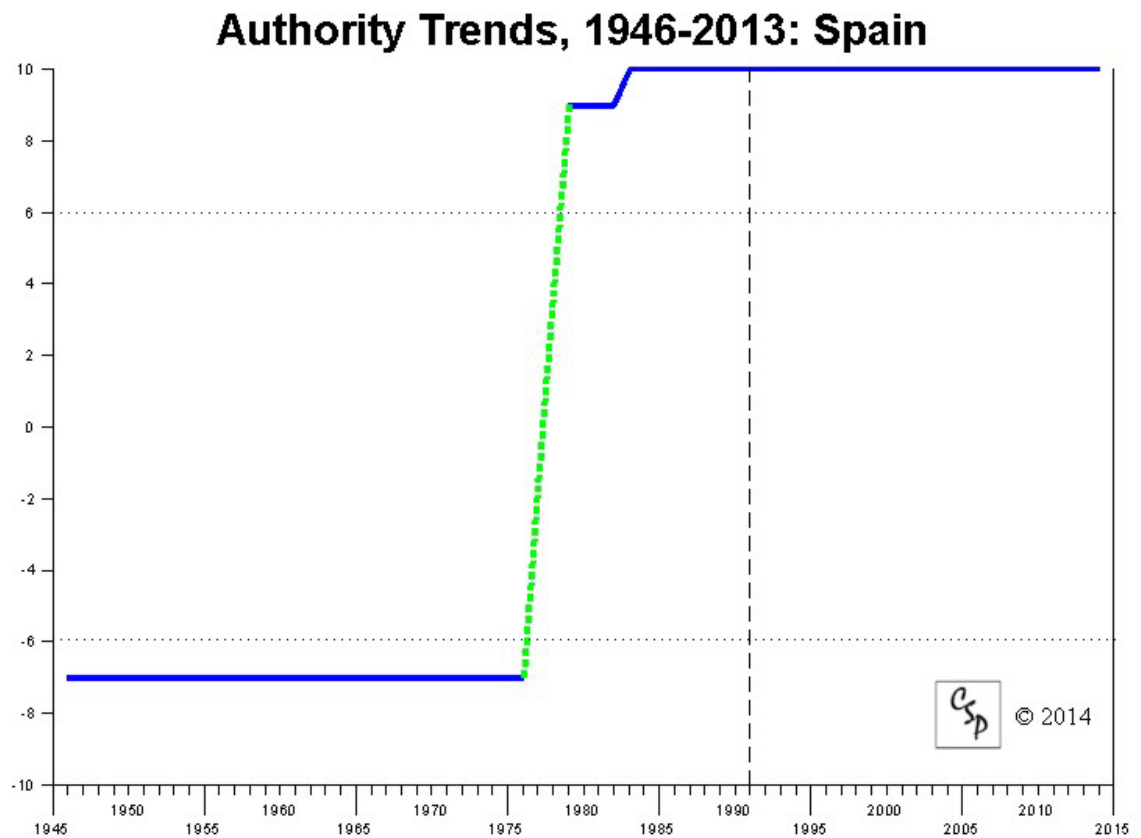
Did Spain Gain Legitimacy in the New Democratic Regime?

The Polity IV Project shows the political regime of a certain country and tracks the changes of regimes that the country has had throughout its modern history (Center for Systematic Peace, The Polity IV Project 2014). The graphs done by Polity IV Project have a scale between authoritarian (-10) and democratic (+10) and give a horizontal line where the regime in that country falls on that scale (Center for Systematic Peace 2014). There are also other conditions shown on these graphs, such as a regime interruption or a transition, noted by dashed lines (Center for Systematic Peace 2014). Accompanying these graphs is a table that summarizes

³ The characteristics of democratization will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

the scores of a country's regimes and gives additional information about the regime in a country.

The Polity IV Project has a graph for the regimes of Spain (shown below). When looking at it, one can see that from 1946-1976 Spain was authoritarian because there is a solid line at a level of -7 (Center for Systematic Peace 2014). Then in 1976, there is a broken line, denoting a transition, which goes up to a +9 in under two years (Center for Systematic Peace 2014). This transition directly corresponds to the democratic transition of Spain led by King Juan Carlos and President Suárez. Although from 1979-1982 the democratic regime in Spain is only at a +9 on the scale, in 1982, after the potential threat to democracy by the attempted takeover of the Parliament building, the line moves to a +10 (Center for Systematic Peace 2014). This signals that Spain is fully democratic, and this line has not changed since then.



(Center for Systematic Peace, 2014)

This graph done by the Polity IV Project shows that outside countries and organizations were able to see the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democracy in Spain. After Franco died and left power to Juan Carlos, Spain was able to transition to a democratic regime because of the support from the elite and the Franco regime's bureaucratic authoritarian nature. This transition led to a democracy that is still strong and stable.

CHAPTER TWO

Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes and Democratization

On October 16th 1998, Augusto Pinochet was arrested in Spain for his murdering of Spanish civilians during his time in power (Connett, Hooper, and Beaumont 1998). After his arrest, exiles from Chile and victims of his crimes cheered because they felt that they would receive justice the atrocities that Pinochet committed during his regime (Connett, Hooper, and Beaumont 1998). Pinochet's regime seems to have been incredibly oppressive; but how did a regime go from a suppressive dictatorship to being a democracy? The previous chapter introduced the concept of bureaucratic authoritarianism. I argued that Spain under Franco was actually a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, not a totalitarian one-party state. I also argued that the democratization process of Spain from bureaucratic authoritarianism was relatively easy because there was already a state with high capacity in place, all that was missing was free elections of the head of government and legislature and participation from the popular sector (Freedom House). The example of Spain's democratization from a bureaucratic authoritarian regime being easier because of the characteristics of the regime is also seen in other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, specifically in Latin America. As shown by Spain, and other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America, a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is easier to democratize because it already has a bureaucratic structure that has militaristic characteristics and has been able to build state capacity. Thus all that

is needed is for the regime to liberalize and introduce characteristics of democracy, such as free elections, a constitution, and political involvement of the people.

A significant number of authors have written about bureaucratic authoritarianism. The prominent author, and the one who initially noticed the trend of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, was Guillermo O'Donnell. When looking at Argentina's authoritarian military regime, O'Donnell noticed a specific type of regime present in the country (O'Donnell 1988, xi). This regime is characterized by a government made up of officials from previously bureaucratic careers, exclusion of the popular sector from politics and the economy of the regime, and an increase in the economy that corresponds with modernization (O'Donnell 1978, 6). This introduction to a seemingly new view of authoritarian regimes in Latin America led other scholars to critique this regime type, such as Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, although they focused more on authoritarianism in general and the democratizing of a regime (Linz 2000, Stepan 1989, Linz and Stepan 1996). Although a few others have written on this subject, the leading scholar on Bureaucratic Authoritarianism is still O'Donnell and his writings on this subject still impact academia. In regards to democratization, Linz and Stepan are also very prominent authors who focus on the different paths that states and regimes can take to transition to and consolidate democracy, and who look at Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe (Linz and Stepan 1996). Scott Mainwaring, another author who studies democratic transition and consolidation is Scott Mainwaring also looks at Latin American countries and their democratization (Mainwaring 1989). He argues that

certain authoritarian regimes are forced to liberalize in order to maintain their power (Mainwaring 1989, 5).

This thesis will go into greater detail than Chapter One about the characteristics of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. Then this thesis will look at other examples of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, specifically Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. This thesis will then explain the democratization process of bureaucratic authorization regimes, while looking at the specific transitions of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile and finding economic decline being a potential initiator of the process.

What are the Characteristics of Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes?

Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes are described as having people from bureaucratic careers in higher governmental positions, political and economic exclusion of the popular sector, depoliticalization, and the economy in the process of industrialization (O'Donnell 1978, 6). A different way to look at bureaucratic authoritarianism, is more conceptual rather than a list, is that a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is an authoritarian regime that seems to be in the process of "modernization," while having the military as an institution in control of this process. (Cardoso 1979, 33, 35). In this regime structure, the executive has the most power, reducing that of the legislature and judicial branches, and the military has significant control over who is in the position of the executive (Cardoso 1979, 41). The rest of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is structured by having bureaucrats retaining the top positions in the state. These bureaucrats have the ability to control which political parties, or factions, may participate in the rest of society (Cardoso 1979, 43). This type of regime has the same characteristics of a bureaucratic

authoritarian regime, as described in the previous chapter; however, this way of looking at it shows the influence the military has on the regime.

Numerous other types of non-democratic regimes are similar and different to bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, such as totalitarian regimes. As previously mentioned in the last chapter, a totalitarian regime is characterized by having an ideology, a single mass party, and the power is concentrated in one individual (Linz 2000, 67). People frequently mislabel the Franco regime as totalitarian rule in Spain. However, as shown in the previous chapter, Franco did not have an ideology and fit in the bureaucratic authoritarian mindset. Any authoritarian regime limited pluralism and focuses on depoliticizing the popular sector (Linz 2000, 54). This structure contains characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, except the bureaucratic authoritarian regime also has highly bureaucratized political power and focuses on industrializing the economy, which is one way these regimes gain legitimacy.

What is Legitimacy?

Legitimacy in this paper is the relationship between the authority that a regime has over the population and the perception the population has on the validity of the authority. There are three main types of legitimacy: traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic (Matheson 1987, 206). Traditional legitimacy is legitimized based on the customs of the organization and the population gives this form of legitimacy based on loyalty (Matheson 1987, 206-207). The second form of legitimacy is charismatic legitimacy, which is when the population gives authority to the regime based on the qualifications the leader seems to have (Matheson 1987,

208). The third type of legitimacy is rational-legal legitimacy, which is when the leader bases his or her authority on the laws that are in place in a regime (Matheson 1987, 209). These laws that are in place can be in the form of norms of the office or specific laws that allow the election of a leader into office (Matheson 1987, 210). This type of legitimacy is most prevalent in bureaucratic authoritarian regimes because the regimes take charge and change the rules and laws to support them. Even though bureaucratic authoritarian regimes do use oppression and violence to maintain their legitimacy, they still attempt to maintain power using this form of legitimacy.

What are Examples of Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Besides Spain?

There are numerous other examples of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes besides Spain. This phenomenon was first noticed by looking at the characteristics of the militaristic regimes in Latin America. Numerous scholars, particularly Guillermo O'Donnell, recognized that these countries had similar regimes that had characteristics of both military and authoritarian regimes. By looking at the characteristics of these regimes, one can see the similarities in regime types in this regime and how they differ from other authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

One example of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Latin America is Argentina. There were actually two bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Argentina. The first bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Argentina came into power on June 28, 1966 when the commanders in chief of army, navy and air force forced the current leader, President Arturo Illia, to step down from power of Argentina (O'Donnell 1988, 39). During this coup, there was almost no resistance from any of

the other government officials or the popular sector because this action was seen as necessary to get rid of the government that was viewed as repressive and unrepresentative (O'Donnell 1988, 40). The new regime that formed in Argentina after the coup from 1966-1973 is one example of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. That regime fell when Perón was elected President and his wife, Isabel Perón, was elected Vice President (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 267). However Perón died in 1974 and after his wife stepped up to the presidency, there was a military coup in 1976 beginning the next bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Argentina (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 267-268).

Before both coups in Argentina, the economy was in a significant recession. The GNP had been decreasing and the loans due to other nations and individuals had been increasing (O'Donnell 1988, 41). Because the economy was in such shambles when the coups occurred, the new governments were faced with numerous complaints and were forced to take action to improve the economy (O'Donnell 1988, 72). In the first bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Argentina, positions in the new Economic and Finance Ministry were assigned to men with backgrounds in the military or who had previously held high positions in highly successfully companies, one of the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime (O'Donnell 1988, 72, 73). The man who was assigned to be in charge, Adalberto Krieger Vasena, was also highly respected among the upper class (O'Donnell 1988, 72). This ministry wanted to focus on making Argentina a capitalist economy; however, these policies would have alienated the upper class (O'Donnell 1988, 78). In response to the lack of support from the upper class, on

which the Bureaucratic Authoritarian regime depends, the Economic and Finance ministry implemented economic policies that benefited the upper class but were also relatively capitalist (O'Donnell 1988, 77, 78). These policies led to an eradication of the main union in Argentina and to a new, corrupt system of unions being founded, among other policies (O'Donnell 1988, 79, 80). In the second bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Argentina, the economy was a significant concern for the regime so the Economics Minister, José Martínez, focused on privatizing industry and cutting tariffs (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 270). This focus on working with the upper class and alienating the popular sector is characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. This regime was made up of groups of people who viewed politics as a hindrance to their ideology of "social integration and harmony" (O'Donnell 1988, 74).

Because of this view of politics, the Argentinian regime, specifically the first one really focused on depoliticalization, another characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime (O'Donnell 1988, 75). The Argentinian regime worked on creating a system whereby it did not need politics. To do this, the regime reduced its role to work only on the "conservation of order" by which they worked to repress society when necessary and make the unions work relatively well as well as make sure there was a positive view of the regime by society (O'Donnell 1988, 76). This depoliticalization was necessary for the Argentinian bureaucratic authoritarian regime so that the popular sector did not feel the need to get involved in politics and the regime could make the policy changes they wanted (O'Donnell 1988, 76).

Another example of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is Brazil. One of the first countries to become a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, Brazil, transitioned into this regime type in a very similar way to Argentina, by a military coup (O'Donnell 1978, 6). This period of bureaucratic authoritarianism began in 1968 and the regime began liberalization in 1973, with elections in 1982 (Lamounier 1989, 43). This regime consisted of senior officers that made up of the core and the hierarchy of the military was very influential in the organization of the regime (Lamounier 1989, 46). The military worked to create a coalition in the upper class, while defeating the popular sector and keeping them on the margins (O'Donnell 1978, 7, 20).

In regards to the economy, capital took a little longer to come into Brazil than it did in Argentina, but it eventually came before there were too many groups opposing the regime (O'Donnell 1978, 20). Once the foreign capital came to Brazil, they opened up to work with the bourgeoisie to create an unofficial coalition that alienated the popular sector (O'Donnell 1978, 20). An alliance with the bureaucratic regime and big businesses worked together to improve the economy (Lamounier 1989, 45-46).

Chile is another example of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Latin America. It began in 1972 when Augusto Pinochet staged a military coup, took control of Chile and established an authoritarian regime that depended on the military to maintain power. Some argue that Pinochet's regime is not a bureaucratic authoritarian one because Pinochet initially had the intention of making a military regime (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 302). However, he eventually achieved

supreme authority and his regime then went about taking control of all forms of the state through similar channels as other bureaucratic authoritarian nations (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 302; Ma 1999, 59).

Once Pinochet took control, he and his regime worked to deactivate the popular sector. They did this through “murders, assassinations, mass executions, and disappearances” (Ma 1999, 59). The regime also created the National Intelligence Directorate to spy on people suspected of posing a threat to the government (Ma 1999, 59). This deactivation of the popular sector is one characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. The next thing that Pinochet did was to work on fixing the economy that had been in decline for decades (Ma 1999, 59, 57). Pinochet created an economic commission to work to get rid of socialist economic policies from the previous government and replace them with more liberal, capitalist policies (Ma 1999, 59-60). This is also characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes because of their focus on improving the economy through modernization. The final thing that Pinochet did was to depoliticize social issues. To do this, his regime removed political parties, prohibited the formation of unions and privatized social security (Ma 1999, 60). As a result, the regime was able to allow the state to run similar to a firm in a very bureaucratic way (Ma 1999, 60).

What Characteristics make it Possible for Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes to Democratize?

As previously stated in this chapter, bureaucratic authoritarian regimes tend to have a military component of their control of power as a result of their highly bureaucratized characteristics. This military component leads to the rule of

bureaucratic authoritarian regimes as typically being highly militaristic. Also as a result of the highly bureaucratized regime, the state has a high capacity because of the bureaucratized intuitions put in place. This capacity is mainly done through the building of infrastructure as a result of the industrialization process that the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes went through. This structure allowed for the regimes to have a state with developed institutions when the democratization process was complete. With another characteristic of this regime type being that the popular sector lacks any outlet to have a say in political rule, there tends to be conflict between the popular sector and the regime. As a result of this conflict, the bureaucratic authoritarian regime begins to lose its legitimacy gained from improving the economy, so the regime is usually forced to make some democratic concessions and limit the restrictions on the popular sector (Linz and Stepan 1996, 150). The regime is sometimes forced to liberalize so that it can maintain most of its power (Mainwaring 1989, 5). The regime is forced to liberalize because of political unrest that can be caused by numerous political and economic factors. The military regime does have civilian allies in the bourgeoisie, and the regime uses those allies to help dictate the terms of the democratic transition (Linz and Stepan 1996, 211). This process of the democratic transition of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes is apparent in the transitions of Latin American countries previously under bureaucratic authoritarian rule, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, although their transitions have different characteristics and successes. The military played a huge part in the transitions to democracy for these countries, but the role the military played in each country varied slightly (Aguero 1998, 7).

In Argentina, the democratic transition of the second bureaucratic authoritarian regime had many reasons for coming into play when it did. The beginning of the bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Argentina saw an alliance between the bourgeoisie, the military, and the regime. This alliance allowed the military and the regime, enabled the exclusion of the popular sector to give power to the bourgeoisie, and gave legitimacy to the regime. However, this alliance began to have tension with the “indiscriminate killing and torture by the military” (Linz and Stepan 1996, 198). This violence led to the idea that the relationship between the military and the regime was impossible. Also, once the legitimacy of the military began to break down as a result of military defeats by the British in the Falklands there were elections that proved to popular parties that they could win power and maintain it for the most part (Aguero 1998, 388, 390; Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 271). This success led to party leaders wanting to continue democracy in Argentina (Linz and Stepan 1996, 199). Another factor that led to the liberalization of Argentina was that once Perón was not in power, the Radical party was seen as the only party that could maintain power (Aguero 1998, 390). Because of the failure of the regime in the Falklands, the leader, Reynaldo Bignone, who was given the presidency by the military, promised an election in 1983 with the ultimate return to a democratically elected government in 1984 (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 271). In the case of Argentina, the military did not have a significant amount of power remaining, so they were forced to liberalize their regime to get popular support (Aguero 1998, 7).

Brazil had an extremely long transition to democracy that lasted 16 years. The regime began its transition in 1974 with the inauguration of General Ernesto Giesel as president (Linz and Stepan 1996, 167). Similar to the way in which Argentina was forced to liberalize its regime so that the military could remain in power, Giesel and his political advisors worked to liberalize the regime in order to check the power of forces that went against military control (Linz and Stepan 1996, 167-168). From the beginning of the transition to 1984, Brazilians elected a civilian controlled government, although the military regime had a role in those elections (Linz and Stepan 1996, 168-169). After the initial beginning of liberalization and, ultimately, democratization, Brazil began to stop the phase of democratization (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 342). This regression began when the current president, Fernando Collor de Mello, isolated the popular sector and had numerous corruption scandals (Linz and Stepan 1996, 170-171). However, he was impeached and Brazil continued the process of democratization (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 343). According to Brazil's system, the only way to form a new government was to impeach the current president. However, the military supported the president and, although Collor was eventually impeached, as a result caused a lot of conflicts within the government (Linz and Stepan 1996, 171). Although Brazil had democratic institutions, the military still played a huge role in influencing the outcomes of elections or the selection of members of the civilian government, and caused the democratic transition in Brazil to move slower than other countries.

Chile was another bureaucratic authoritarian regime that also democratized in a similar way to Spain and Brazil. In order to increase their legitimization,

Pinochet's regime re-democratized certain aspects of the government. First he re-instated political parties so that the popular sector could have more of a voice (Ma 1999, 61). After their re-instatement, the political parties were able to reduce the power of the military eventually leading to Pinochet's defeat in a referendum in 1988 (Ma 1999, 61-62). Pinochet initiated the referendum, hoping that he had enough support to maintain his rule, however he lost the vote and there was a return to a democratically elected government (Skidmore, Peter, and James 2010, 303). In this particular democratic transition, the political parties played a huge role in electing new leaders. However, once elected, these leaders worked to reduce the power of the military and create a democracy in Chile. After Pinochet was unable to earn the percent of votes needed to maintain his presidency, the regime was forced to work with opposition parties to maintain control. Because the regime still had a significant amount of power, it could dictate the terms of the revised constitution, but it did have to concede a little and receive a referendum vote approving the changes (Linz and Stepan 1996, 206; Aguero 1998, 389). While the military and Pinochet, still exercised control by dictating the terms of the constitution, the elected civilian government still had a significant amount of control (Linz and Stepan 1996, 209). However, the democratically elected government was still forced to gain more powers slowly through the rules that the bureaucratic authoritarian regime established (Linz and Stepan 1996, 211).

Even in Spain, where the democratic transition was relatively quick and easy once Franco died, the leader was forced to make democratic concessions in order to remain in power. Before Franco's death, Spain's constitution that allowed for a

legislature system, the Cortes. Although Franco mainly appointed the members of the Cortes, the legislature was still given the power to make political decisions (Linz and Stepan 1996, 92). Also during Franco's regime, in the 1960s, people started to call for the liberalization of Spain (Sánchez 2009, 178). Although most of the liberalization attempts by Franco's regime ended with more repression after the civilians voted for non-Franco approved candidates, there still were attempts to appease the popular sector (Sánchez 2009, 182). Eventually what caused Spain to democratize was the semi-democratic institution of the Cortes voting for the bill that Suarez put forth. However, Franco used some liberal characteristics of the regime that to gain some legitimacy when he was the leader of Spain's bureaucratic authoritarian regime.

One of the reasons that a bureaucratic authoritarian regime may be forced to democratize as a result of popular unrest is because of the economy. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes often focus on industrializing the economy. However if the economy begins to slow, the bureaucratic authoritarian regime could lose its legitimacy. Popular unrest in Argentina could have been a result of the economic downturn because the country had been in recession for a while, with the GDP growth at negative numbers in the two years before Menem was elected, -2.56 and -7.50 respectively (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2015, Argentina). This downturn could have potentially happened in Brazil, although their situation is a little harder to analyze because their transition took longer. In Brazil, the GDP growth fell from 9.11 in 1980 to -4.39 in 1981, .58 in 1982 and -9.41 in 1983, the years before the start of the transition in 1984 (International Bank for

Reconstruction and Development 2015, Brazil). In Chile, the GDP growth goes from 4.73 in 1981 to -10.30 in 1983. Even in Spain the GDP growth had fallen from 7.79 in 1973 to 5.62 in 1974 and .54 in 1975, the year Franco died (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2015, Spain). While there could have been other political factors that led to unrest of the population and the elites, the economy was also a large factor. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes use the industrialization of the economy as a way to increase their legitimacy. However if the economy is not doing well, it is hard for this type of regime to remain legitimate.

Although the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America, and the regime in Spain, were forced to liberalize in order to maintain legitimacy, which had been lost because the population was no longer willing to overlook the oppressive regimes, the military character of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes allowed for the regimes to dictate most terms of the liberalization process. Except in Spain, in which the death of Franco allowed for a new democratic government to gain power relatively easily, the democratization process of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes begins with the liberalization of the regime. However the speed of the transition depends on the power of the military. In Chile, the military was relatively strong so it had more control over the liberalization process and ultimately the democratic transition. However in Argentina, the military did not have as much power so it was forced to concede a lot of power to its allies and liberalize more.

While the countries with former bureaucratic authoritarianism might not have been as quick to democratize as Spain, they still have relatively strong democracies today. According to the Polity IV project, mentioned in the previous

chapter, in 2013 Chile was at a democracy level of 10, the highest level (Center for Systematic Peace 2014, Chile). In 2013, Argentina and Brazil were both at democracy levels of 8, which although lower than Chile, is still considered a democracy by Polity IV (Center for Systematic Peace 2014, Argentina, Brazil). Although these countries are not considered to be as strong democratically as Spain, it is still remarkable to look at the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime because they went through the same processes of the military's slowly liberalizing the regime before the democratic transition could begin.

A bureaucratic authoritarian regime is a type of authoritarian regime that has the government positions made up of highly bureaucratized positions as well as being heavily influenced by the military of a state. In order to gain legitimacy, the military in control of the bureaucratic authoritarian regime is forced to liberalize and bring in components of democracy. While not all of these democratic transitions have the same results, the military's process of liberalization allows for a democratically elected government to gain more control and democratize more eventually. This process of liberalization and eventual democratization is shown in the democratic transitions of Spain, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

CHAPTER THREE

Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Around the World

The past two chapters have introduced and discussed bureaucratic authoritarian regimes and the pattern of democratization of these regimes. Each bureaucratic authoritarian regime has similar characteristics and has had similar transition into democracy. The overall argument of this chapter is that bureaucratic authoritarian regimes democratize by having the regime attempt to democratize when members of the population express grievances but still maintain its power. While there are some differences between bureaucratic authoritarian regimes and their democratization process, ultimately the same general characteristics of the regime and the democratization process are present. First, chapter three will give an overview of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes and will use these characteristics to show that certain authoritarian regimes in East Asia are also bureaucratic authoritarian. Then it will explain how those countries democratized and compare their regimes with how bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin American democratized. In conclusion, chapter three will explain how bureaucratic authoritarian regimes democratize to show that there is a model of democratization for bureaucratic authoritarian regimes.

Are There Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Outside of Latin America?

As earlier noted, bureaucratic authoritarian regime has specific characteristics that distinguish it from other authoritarian regimes, which include:

highly bureaucratized governmental positions, in which the higher government officials have previously been in bureaucratic positions, exclusion of the popular sector in politics and the economy, in which the majority of the population is marginalized in political access and economic activities, depolicalization in which social and political issues are only resolved through the bureaucratic avenues of the government, and an economy that is industrializing (O'Donnell 1978, 6). While the literature argues that the majority of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes have appeared in Latin America, I argue that by looking at the characteristics of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, one can identify indeed bureaucratic authoritarian regimes are in places outside of Latin America. (O'Donnell 1988, O'Donnell 1978, Ma 1999).

| Table 3.1 Is a Regime a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime? | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Characteristics | South Korea | Indonesia | Philippines |
| Are the governmental positions bureaucratized? (Have the higher governmental officials previously been in bureaucratic positions such as the military?) | Yes (Lee 1988, 210) | Yes (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 151-152) | Yes (Crowther 1986, 349) |
| Is the popular sector excluded from politics? (This can be in the form of limits of political parties, forcing of the population to be a part of a specific party, etc.) | Yes (Im 1987, 239) | (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 181) | Yes (Dolan 1991, Political Parties) |
| Is the popular sector excluded from the economy? (This can be in the form of restriction of labor unions, etc.) | Yes (Im 1987, 239-240) | Yes (Heryanto and Hadiz 2005, 264) | Yes (Crowther 1986, 248, 350, 352) |
| Is depoliticalization present? (Are social and political issues only resolved through the bureaucratic government?) | Yes (Im 1987, 240). | Yes (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 162, 165-166) | Yes (Dolan 1991, Employment and Labor Relations) |
| Is the economy industrializing? (Are segments of the economy going through the process of industrialization?) | Yes (Lee 1988, 190, 3, 195) | Yes (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 173-176) | Yes (Crowther 1986, 348, 351) |

How Do Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Democratize?

Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes democratize in similar ways. As mentioned in Chapter Two, because of the bureaucratized, militaristic component of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, there is typically conflict between the majority of the population and the regime as a result of restrictions on their freedom and exclusion in the political and economic sphere, forcing the regime to liberalize their rule and limit the restrictions placed on the population (Linz and Stepan 1996, 150). This liberalization process can sometimes result in the regimes losing the majority of their power or having to ally with the bourgeoisie to maintain their power (Linz and Stepan 1996, 211). While each of the regimes examined in Chapter Two exhibited different characteristics in their democratic transition, the role of the military and their being forced to limit their power is common to all of them. This model of bureaucratic authoritarian democratization can be applied in the broader set of cases from East Asia, to make the case that East Asian bureaucratic authoritarian regimes were democratized in the same pattern of those of Latin America.

South Korea

The bureaucratic authoritarian regime in South Korea technically completed the transition in 1972 (Im 1987, 239). However, this regime came into power through a military coup in 1961 in which Park Chung-hee became the leader (Lee 1988, 206). When the Park regime first came into power, it focused on strengthening the economy and while it had components of authoritarianism, it was not a bureaucratic authoritarian regime until the 1970s (Lee 1988, 206-207). Park's

regime began to experience political instability so the political elites of the regime, made up of the military and technocrats decided to exclude the popular sector politically, while continuing industrialization by becoming more bureaucratic (Lee 1988, 207, 210). This regime's transition was completed with the creation of the Yushin Constitution in 1972, which gave the president complete control and allowed him to ignore the rule of law (Im 1987, 239; Lee 1988, 210).

Many characteristics of the Yushin Regime correlate with bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, as shown by Table 3.1. As previously mentioned, South Korea's regime consisted of previous technocrats and members of the military. The military was an important aspect of Park's regime because it helped him gain and maintain control.

Another characteristic that shows that the Yushin Regime in South Korea was a bureaucratic authoritarian regime was that the popular sector was excluded politically. This political exclusion occurred through the abolition of competitive elections (Lee 1988, 6-7). The popular sector also faced exclusion economically through the prohibition of strikes, and the restrictions on labor unions (Im 1987, 239; Lee 1988, 6-7). The regime also focused solely on economic growth instead of trying to improve the standard of living of the lower class, because the big businesses and the bourgeoisie were the only groups who were positively affected by economic growth (Im 1987, 239-240; Lee 1988, 5).

As already mentioned, the regime in South Korea was highly focused on economic growth. As a result of the United States' involvement, economic development was at the forefront of South Korean policy (Lee 1988, 190). One of the

main ways they attempted to achieve this growth was through the exporting of manufactured goods (Lee 1988, 3). Park's policies were relatively successful in allowing South Korea to enter into the global economy (Lee 1988, 195). Also present in South Korea was the depoliticalization of social and political issues. South Korea's regime attempted to solve social and political issues by technocratic means (Im 1987, 240).

Some argue that South Korea was not a bureaucratic authoritarian regime but rather some sort of state autonomous regime (Cotton 1992). For example, James Cotton argues that South Korea's transition to an authoritarian regime does not match the transition to a bureaucratic authoritarian regime because it did not go through the same industrialization processes, as did Latin American bureaucratic authoritarian regimes (Cotton 1992, 517). Nevertheless, the characteristics of the regime that he, and other authors, gives are very similar if not identical to those of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. Cotton argues that Park attempted to control popular organizations, was really only accountable to the military, was forced to create a bureaucracy, and constantly crushed labor disputes (Cotton 1992, 522-523). Cotton bases his arguments against South Korea's being a bureaucratic authoritarian regime on the type of the transition that the country goes through to become a bureaucratic authoritarian regime; however, just because South Korea did not go through the same transition, it cannot be argued that it is not the same type of regime. Cotton argues against South Korea's being a bureaucratic authoritarian regime; however, his examples are all components of those previously studied.

The bureaucratic authoritarian regime in South Korea ended in 1979 with the assassination of Park by dissatisfied civilian elites (Cotton 1992, 524). The elites had felt alienated by the regime's politics and the rapid growth and felt that the regime needed to end (Lee 1990, 26). In other democratic transitions of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, the regime leaders typically attempt to maintain power by going through the process of democratization; this process is very similar in South Korea (Cotton 1992, 524). The military attempted to remain in control by helping the elites through the transition, similarly to other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes (Lee 1990, 26-27). After the assassination of Park, popular unrest forced the leader who took over after Park's assassination, Choi Kyu-hah, to make some democratic provisions (Cotton 1992, 524). Choi's regime, like those that followed, was very fragmented and liberalization did not really happen in Korea for quite some time (Cotton 1992, 525).

Another potential reason for the elites' being dissatisfied, as in other Latin American countries is slight economic decline. The economy had been declining around 2% each year after growth in 1976, which saw economic gains from around 13.46 in 1976 to 11.81 in 1977 all the way to 8.39 in 1978. While this economic decline was not as large as in other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, there was a relatively consistent decline. (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2015, South Korea).

Thus, while there are differences between the bureaucratic authoritarian regime in South Korea and the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America, they have enough similarities for South Korea's regime to be classified as

bureaucratic authoritarian. Additionally, even though Park was assassinated before he could transition to democracy, his successor did make some democratic provisions and the military did attempt to maintain some power during the transition.

Indonesia

Indonesia's bureaucratic authoritarian regime was more focused on increasing industrialization than other regimes in this region as a result of Japan's influence on it (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 11). During the time of the rise of Indonesia's regime, Japan had a very close relationship with Indonesia including providing aid in exchange for Indonesian resources as well as trading goods (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 11-12). Japan's industrialized economy helped to influence Indonesia to industrialize and modernize its economy, allowing for the rising bureaucratic authoritarian regime to focus on this. Indonesia's bureaucratic authoritarian regime started in 1966 when the army-led coalition groups tried to oust the current regime and their leader, Sukarno (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 146-147). As the army came into power, it had to remove leaders that supported Sukarno's regime in favor of those who supported the new president, General Suharto (also known as General Soeharto) (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 147). This process was extremely violent and numerous communists who supported the previous regime perished (Heryanto and Hadiz 2005, 254).

As previously mentioned, Indonesia's bureaucratic authoritarian regime focused mainly on improving the economy and used this focus to increase support from the masses, which is one characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime

type. At first, the regime's economic plan focused on increasing the agricultural sector of the economy so that it would help to improve other sectors related to agriculture such as textiles and fertilizers as well as increase food production to increase population and improve their standard of living (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 173-174). However, it became clear that it would be more beneficial to focus on more modern industries such as manufacturing because of the need to rebuild the infrastructure that had been destroyed by war and lack of finances (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 173-174). Indonesia began to receive foreign investment, which also helped to increase the modern sector (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 175). The economy in Indonesia during this regime did grow significantly, going up 9.4%, with the manufacturing growing 10.6%, showing that the industrialization attempts by the regime was relatively successful (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 176).

One characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, the control of the regime by previous bureaucratic agents, is present in Indonesia in the military-economic alliance. In order to improve the economy, Indonesia's regime used technocrats from the University of Indonesia and American universities to help make the policy (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 151). Then, it developed an alliance between the military and the technocrats in order to implement this policy (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 152). This process led to the regime's being highly bureaucratized, with the military focusing on securing the political realm and the technocrats working to improve the economy.

It seemed that one of the biggest goals of the bureaucratic authoritarian regime in Indonesia, aside from improving the economy, was depoliticalization.

After Suharto's regime came into power, it promised a vote in two years to weaken forces that threatened them (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 147). However after these elections in 1971, the regime decided to enforce a policy of depoliticalization to show the population that political parties were not necessary and to increase governmental control over the villages (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 162). Slowly the government increased its political control in order to diminish political parties' influence to the point where the parties disappeared or merged with others so there were fewer (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 165-166). The government also passed laws that restricted the political parties and their organizations (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 166). Additionally the government forced social groups to form into organizations that were very corporatist (such as the youths forming the National Committee of Indonesian Youth) and current social groups were encouraged to have governmental officials on the board (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 166-167). This process of depoliticalization was relatively successful, although some groups resisted (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 167).

While Indonesia did not have as much exclusion of the popular sector through political means as other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, it did exclude the popular sector through economic means in the beginning. Although the economy improved, numerous social groups remained disadvantaged. The improvement of the modern sector mainly helped the big businesses and the middle class, whereas the lower class did not receive as many benefits (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 179). Also numerous controls on labor organization led to increased economic exclusion of the popular sector (Heryanto and Hadiz 2005, 264). This economic exclusion led

students to protest by joining student groups and writing newspapers that went against the government (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 180). Such exposition ultimately led to the banning of newspapers and numerous arrests of the leaders, helping to begin the process of political exclusion as well (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 181).

Indonesia's regime from 1966-1998 is considered a bureaucratic authoritarian one and from early on focused on breaking down civil society to gain control while depending on the economic policies to maintain that control (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1988, 151; Heryanto and Hadiz 2005, 267). However during the 1990s, there was suspicion that the government was extremely corrupt which helped to cause dissatisfaction from the population (Carnegie 2010, 94). To add to this dissatisfaction, in 1997 numerous catastrophes broke out in Indonesia including forest fires, ethnic violence, a huge drought and the Asian Financial Crisis (Carnegie 2010, 98). There was also a slight decline in GDP growth from 7.63 in 1996 to 4.7 in 1997 (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2015, Indonesia). These catastrophes and their results led to rioting and student protests as well as elite dissent with. The current regime (Carnegie 2010, 95-99). This eventually led to Suharto's conceding to the masses, leaving power, and allowing for elections (Carnegie 2010, 99). While Suharto's party received a portion of the vote, it was not enough to maintain majority (Carnegie 2010, 99-102). The democratization process that Indonesia went through is very similar to that of other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, although the economy is not as big a factor because of the catastrophes that broke out that impacted the population of Indonesia. This process involves the current regime's having maintained power but

going through a transition in which they were starting to lose support from the elites or the population forcing them to make democratic concessions. This process happened in Indonesia where Suharto had power but because of his control over the regime, as well as events outside his control, he was forced to remove himself from office when people started protesting.

Philippines

The bureaucratic authoritarian regime in the Philippines officially began in 1972 when Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law (Crowther 1986, 339). Marcos' regime had ruled before 1972, but it was in the form of a democratic regime because Marcos was elected president (Crowther 1986, 344-345). However, there were numerous economic problems and significant unrest in social groups, such as the upper class, students, and workers (Crowther 1986, 345). When other solutions failed, Marcos was forced, he thought, to declare martial law in order to remove social institutions and restructure society (Crowther 1986, 347). While critics have debated what type of authoritarian regime Marcos had, and whether the characteristics are strong enough to declare this regime a bureaucratic authoritarian one, it exhibited the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime.

Once Marcos declared martial law and attempted to change society, he replaced the top positions with people of his choosing. Most of the people now part of the government were technocrats who graduated from universities in the United States, as well as military leaders. It included members who used to be in charge of economic groups and governmental agencies. The military also played a large role in

the new regime with its numbers significantly increasing in the first few years of the regime. The governmental organizations of which previous bureaucrats were now a part helped to increase the power and rule of the central government (Crowther 1986, 349).

Industrialization was one of the biggest categories on which the Philippine's bureaucratic authoritarian regime focused. The main goal of the government was to open the economy to foreign influences and reduce labor costs so that countries would outsource to the Philippines (Crowther 1986, 348). While the policies that the Marcos regime enacted to improve production for exports, as well as other policies, they did not have the desired goal of improving the entire economy. Certain sectors, such as the landowners and large corporations, benefited from the policies (Crowther 1986, 350). Also significant foreign financial aid came to the Philippines as a result of their economic policies (Crowther 1986, 350-351).

Economic exclusion was present in the Philippine's bureaucratic authoritarian regime. The regime attempted to implement a plan that would help the workers; however, it had an opposite effect. The economic policies that the regime implemented mainly helped corporate farmers, whereas small farmers were marginalized and landless laborers were not included in the economic growth (Crowther 1986, 350). Additionally the regime focused on reducing wages in order for the Philippines to have a competitive advantage in labor (Crowther 1986, 348, 352). This decrease, as well as the elimination of labor unions, hurt the poor workers in the cities as well as in rural areas (Crowther 1986, 352).

While not as present in Marcos's regime as in other bureaucratic authoritarian regime, depoliticalization was present in the Philippines under Marcos. Strikers were forbidden at the beginning of the martial law period and when they were allowed, it was still with significant limits. This caused workers to have to go through other means, namely politics, if they had problems in the work force, especially considering the labor unions that were present were highly political and under Marcos's wing. (Dolan 1991, Employment and Labor Relations).

Political exclusion under Marcos's regime was achieved mainly through the use of political parties. Marcos forced everyone who wanted to be involved in politics to be a part of his political party, the New Society Movement. Bureaucrats were highly encouraged to join this party, made up of mainly elites. Because the party's composition was mainly elites, the problems present in the Philippines, such as unequal distribution of land and the contrasts between the wealthy and poor, were not addressed (Dolan 1991, Political Parties).

The Marcos regime ended in the Philippines in 1986 when Marcos had an election to legitimize his control. Before this vote, The Philippines experienced a significant number of mass protests that called for national reforms (Boudreau 2009, 249). These protests, like others within previously studied bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, could have been initiated because of the economic decline in the Philippines. Before the Marcos regime ended, the economic growth had gone from 1.87 in 1983 to -7.32 in 1984 and 1985 (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2015, Philippines) Despite having used underhanded methods to win the vote, Marcos and his supporters lost the election and Marcos fled the

country (Dolan 1991, Voting and Election; Martial Law and its Aftermath, (1972-86)). With Marcos fleeing the country, the mass protests that occurred fizzled out and people no longer protested. While Marcos no longer was in control of the regime, the elites that ran the regime under him were still allowed a significant number of votes in the elections and thus maintained power, which was their goal (Quimpo 2009, 341; Boudreau 2009, 249). Democratization in the Philippines was not, and still is not, successful. However, the transition began with the election and followed similar patterns as in other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes.

What are the Similarities and Differences Between East Asian and Latin American Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes?

There are some similarities and differences between the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America and other regimes. The main difference between these regimes is that the Latin American regimes are easier to identify as bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. This distinction makes sense because these are the regimes that O'Donnell used to describe the bureaucratic authoritarian model.

Another difference is that many Asian countries have a lot of different ethnic groups as opposed to Latin America. As a result of the different ethnic groups often there was political repression by the regime was directed to specific ethnic groups rather than the population as a whole. While this is not significant in the characterization of the regimes as bureaucratic authoritarian or the resulting democratization process, it is interesting to look at the differences in the types of political and economic exclusion.

Is There a Pattern of Democratization in Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes?

Even though there are differences between the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America and other places around the world, both can be used to show the democratization process of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. There were differences in the way each regime democratized, however the overall process was similar. The bureaucratic authoritarian regimes had groups that were frustrated with the regimes and wanted to see changes. These frustrations could have been the result of the economic decline in the countries, like in South Korea and the Philippines, or because of disasters that influenced the population of the countries, like in Indonesia. The regimes recognized this frustration and attempted to democratize, while still maintaining power. Although sometimes not successful, as in the case of the Philippines, the regimes still attempted to maintain power. This model of democratization of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes can be used to show that this regime type of military and bureaucratic control, while still attempting to maintain power actually ends up losing legitimacy and starting the process of democratization. The leaders of the regimes, in trying to appease the masses by allowing certain aspects of democracy, actually end up leading the transition to democracy.

| Table 3.2 Democratic Process of Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | South Korea | Indonesia | Philippines |
| Groups of the population are frustrated with the regime and start to rebel (typically elite-led, but can also be the population) | Yes (Lee 1990, 26-27). | Yes (Carnegie 2010, 94-99) | Yes (Boudreau 2009, 249) |
| Regime making democratic concessions while still maintaining some level of control (whether it be creating a constitution, removing the leader from power, etc.) | Yes (Cotton 1992, 524) | Yes (Carnegie 2010, 99-102). | Yes (Boudreau 2009, 249; Quimpo 2009, 341) |

CHAPTER FOUR

The Implications of the Model of Democratization of Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes for the Present and Future

In Russia, Vladimir Putin's regime controls almost every aspect of life for Russian citizens. Some of these restrictions on freedom include: the government's limiting the freedoms of assembly and association, trade unions being limited in their ability to practice, and some industries and companies being subjected to large tax penalties (Freedom House 2016). All of these actions by Putin's regime are similar to the characteristics of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. Is Russia a bureaucratic authorization regime? So, is it possible for Putin to lose power and for Russia potentially to transition into a democracy like other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes? This chapter will expand on how the bureaucratic authoritarian regime examples from the previous chapters were chosen. Then the chapter will detail whether Russia is a bureaucratic authoritarian regime or a One Party Rule regime, arguing that the regime is in fact a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. Then the chapter will explain the implications of the bureaucratic authoritarian nature of Russia's regime on their on their transition to democracy. After that, the chapter will give an explanation of what the model of democratization of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes could potentially mean for the future in that this model can predict the transitions to democracy of current bureaucratic authoritarian regimes.

Are Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Only Confined to Latin America?

The selection of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes from the previous chapters could seem random. However, this selection was not random but was chosen based on certain characteristics of the regime. The first set of countries in Latin America was chosen because those were the countries that Guillermo O'Donnell used to introduce the concept of bureaucratic authoritarianism. O'Donnell saw this pattern when looking at these Latin American countries, so it was important to include them when talking about bureaucratic authoritarianism. The second set of countries were chosen using both the Most Similar and the Most Different Method in which each of the regimes chosen had similar characteristics of the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, such as a highly bureaucratized regime, political and economic exclusion, depoliticalization, and, most importantly, an industrializing economy. These variables were necessary to be controlled because they are the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, if they are not present, then the regime is not bureaucratic authoritarian. The variable that was different was location, all of the regimes needed to be in a different location than Latin America. This method was important because the regimes chosen needed to be most similar to have the characteristics of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes but in a different location than Latin America. This method has shortcomings in that there are not that many bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, but it was successful in identifying those types of regimes in locations other than Latin America. (Seawright and Gerring 2008, 208, 304-306).

Is there a Model of Democratization that Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes Follow?

Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes have specific characteristics that include: having bureaucratized governmental positions, the popular sector's exclusion from politics and the economy, depoliticalization (where political issues can only be resolved through the government), and an industrializing economy. While each bureaucratic authoritarian regime looked at has not been exactly the same in regards to the location, transition to power of the regime, and their eventual transition to democracy, they have all had these characteristics.

All of the countries that had bureaucratic authoritarian regimes have also had relatively similar transitions to democracy. In countries in which there is a bureaucratic authoritarian regime in control state capacity grows. Eventually, the popular sector, elites, or both, become discontent with the regime, due to a decline in GDP growth, as shown in the examples from both Latin America and East Asia, or even certain political factors like those in Indonesia. The regime sees the discontent and begins to make democratic concessions while still attempting to maintain control. One way a regime can make these concessions is by attempting to have elections to increase the legitimacy of the regime, as in Indonesia and the Philippines. The regime leaders can also make these concessions by creating a constitution that allows for elections but still gives the current regime control of the government, as in Chile.

Economic decline is an important factor of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, causing it to lose its legitimacy if it is unable to strengthen the economy. The economy began to slow in every regime examined before the democratic

transition. While the economy of these countries might not have been the only reason for the discontent of the population and there was significant variation within the declining, it could explain why the regime felt the need to democratize when it did. If the bureaucratic authoritarian regime does not have legitimacy gained through industrializing and improving the economy, it has to get it in a different way, such as through elections.

Is Russia Under Putin a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime or a One Party Rule Regime and What Does That Mean for Their Future Democratization?

Russia as a Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime

After the fall of the Union of Soviet Social Republics (USSR), Russians elected their first president, Boris Yeltsin. At first, he was relatively popular, but when Vladimir Putin came into power, his ratings had fallen significantly (Treisman 2011, 590). While Russia under Putin has been considered a hybrid regime that combines both democratic and authoritarian regimes, it also seems to have the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime (Colton and Hale 2014, 3). It could also be considered a One Party Rule regime because a dominant party controls the nation (Treisman 2011).

One characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, a government made up of people from previously bureaucratic positions, is present in Russia. Its governmental elite is made up of a significant number of people who came from the military or other state security, totaling around 75-78% of government employees. These bureaucrats under Putin have the authority essentially to make their own

policies regarding rule and do not really have any responsibility to the population (Inozemtsev 2008, 12). Another characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime is depoliticalization, whereby the regime takes issues and makes them bureaucratized, which is also present in Russia because the regime typically views issues as black and white and attempts to reduce issues by oversimplification through interest groups (Inozemtsev 2008, 8). Also present is political and economic exclusion. Putin's regime does not guarantee its citizens protection under the Constitution and prevents them from exercising their legal rights, thus excluding them through political avenues (Inozemtsev 2008, 11). The regime also only allows a small population to participate in economic projects important to increasing wealth and allows the authorities to control the majority of the resources and only dispense them to the businessmen and officials (Inozemtsev 2008, 12-13). The final characteristic, a highly industrializing economy is also present in Russia. At the beginning of the privatization of industry that came with the fall of the USSR, there was a "spiral of deindustrialization" and a struggle to boost the economy. However with the rise of need for raw materials, the economy started improving significantly (Inozemtsev 2008, 19). Currently the regime is focusing on capitalizing large industrial companies and increasing GDP (Inozemtsev 2008, 20). All of these characteristics of Russia under Putin point to Russia's being a bureaucratic authoritarian regime.

Russia as a One Party Rule Regime

One Party Rule regimes, also known as single party rule or dominant party rule, are regimes made up of a single, dominant party that rules most, if not all,

aspects of political life (Smith 2005, 422; Treisman 2011, 501). The Single Party is dominant in political offices and uses its influence to remain in power (Treisman 2011, 503). The dominant party is consolidated by choices made by its leaders and elites to reflect the change in political environment (Treisman 2011, 513). A single party regime can have two different trajectories as well as reasons for the different trajectories. One is that if the party leaders have a strong picture of how they want to build their party and are able to build their party strong early on, they will be able to respond well during a crisis. The other option is if the party leaders have no real clear idea on how to build their party they will not be as strong, even though they look like it, and will not be able to respond well during a crisis (Smith 2005, 430-432).

Russia could be considered a One Party Rule regime because of the efforts of the Kremlin to make United Russia the dominant party in Russian politics (Treisman 2011, 503). The United Russia party mainly became dominant because of the support of Vladimir Putin and his efforts to almost create a political party he could use to remain in power after being chosen as prime minister and Yeltsin's successor (Treisman 2011, 515-516). While Putin was powerful before he was a part of United Russia, he has used this party for his advantage. Putin got support of the political elites and was able to get United Russia the majority of the votes in the 2003 elections, with their receiving 37.6% of the party list votes (Treisman 2011, 517-518). The United Russia Party was also able to align with other parties that were pro-Kremlin, governors, and independent deputies. All of this action ultimately allowed for United Russia to have 310 seats (Treisman 2011, 518). After its success

in 2003, United Russia party still continues to get support from regional executives and governors (Treisman 2011, 518).

Furthermore, as United Russia has gained power, the party has been able to almost control elites and supporters. United Russia members have implied that if supporters deviate from the party there will be repercussions and it has almost become necessary to affiliate with the party in order to gain access to certain parts of politics (Treisman 2011, 519). Because of the Kremlin's involvement with the United Russia Party he is able to have significant support of the governmental members and has helped them by passing legislation that favors the elite (Treisman 2011, 518).

Regardless of if Russia is a One Party Rule regime, it is still considered a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. The main caveat of a One Party Rule is that a dominant party controls aspects of political life. Russia has this dominant party, but the regime also has the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. This combination also occurred in the Philippines and Indonesia with their bureaucratic authoritarian regimes (Smith 2005, 433). In both the Philippines and Indonesia, one party regimes came into power by displacing the current regimes, and these one party regimes also happened to be bureaucratic authoritarian regimes (Smith 2005, 433). While one party rule regimes do not have to be bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, bureaucratic authoritarian regimes can be one party rule, if the ruling regime happens to only allow for one party or have a dominant party. Russia under Putin is a bureaucratic authoritarian regime because of its characteristics of and additionally he chose to extend his power to the United Russia party to help him

gain support. While the United Russia party is the dominant party, it is mainly because Putin happens to support that particular party. These characteristics of Putin's regime mean that Russia is more of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime than a one party rule regime.

Potential Democratic Transition of Russia

Russia's regime under Putin has the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. If Putin's regime is in fact a bureaucratic authoritarian regime, it will follow the model and democratize like other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes previously examined. So their transition to democracy will begin with the population's growing frustrated with aspects of the regime and starting to rebel, possibly led by the elites, the general population, or both. The population could become frustrated with political aspects or, as in other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America and East Asia, with the economy. Then, Russia's Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime will respond to these frustrations by making democratic concessions, all the while still attempting to maintain power. These democratic concessions will eventually lead to a democratized regime. However while Putin's regime may be bureaucratic authoritarian, it will most likely not democratize unless the population rebels significantly because that factor is necessary for the regime to make democratic concessions.

Currently there are economic sanctions on Russia, mainly enacted by the European Union, because of their actions in Ukraine. These restrictions include asset freezes and visa bans on people involved in the annexation of Ukraine. There are also bans on imports in Crimea, unless they come from Ukrainian companies,

prohibition on investing and tourism in Ukraine and numerous others restrictions on Russia that involve the oil industry (European Union Newsroom 2016). These restrictions have had an impact on the economy, leading to a decrease of about 1.5% in Russian economic output, but also causing numerous indirect effects on Russian economy. The low price of oil is also causing a hit on the Russian economy (Emmott 2016). If these restrictions continue, and Russia continues to have significant economic decline, this could potential be the catalyst for people to begin rebelling against Putin's regime. If he cannot handle the pressure of the economic decline, then he will be forced to make democratic concessions like other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes have done.

What Does This Model Mean?

The focus of industrialization and the makeup of the government by bureaucratic officials, characteristic of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, helps to build the capacity of the state by allowing the development of institutions of a strong government. However, eventually the legitimacy of the regime begins to fall and the bureaucratic authoritarian regime loses power, preceding the introduction of democracy. Whether the regime loses legitimacy because of the economy, or other political reasons, the regime attempts to maintain its legitimacy by initiating certain components of democracy. However this plan ultimately backfires and results in the bureaucratic authoritarian regime's loss of power and its ultimate democratization.

This model is significant because it can help predict the collapse of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes. As shown with the regimes in Latin America,

East Asia, and even Spain, one of the causes of the loss of legitimacy of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes is potentially that the economy begins to slow. This causes elites and the population to begin requesting a regime change or demanding more power. If this model of democratization of bureaucratic authoritarian regimes is true, then the current regimes that could loosely be defined as bureaucratic authoritarian would most likely begin the democratization process once their economy begins to slow. It might be crazy to argue that these violent, authoritarian regimes be allowed to remain in power. But it has been shown that bureaucratic authoritarian regimes can help build state capacity to pave the way for the eventual democratization process. It has also been shown that these regimes do eventually democratize. Ultimately, these violent regimes will eventually democratize using this model because of the similarities between them and bureaucratic authoritarian regimes that have already democratized.

While there are not a significant number of obvious bureaucratic authoritarian regimes currently, Russia does have the characteristics of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. If Russia follows the pattern of other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, eventually the population or elites will get frustrated with the regime and call for democratic institutions to be established. This frustration can either be a result of the economy, as shown by previous bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in Latin America and East Asia, or could be the result of other factors, as in Indonesia. Eventually Putin's regime will concede to the masses and allow for there to be aspects of democracy, which will ultimately lead to his regime's downfall and democracy in Russia.

It seems difficult to imagine that Russia could eventually become a full democracy, especially after seeing the power the Putin has over the regime. However, there were other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes that may not have seemed like they would eventually democratize, for example Spain under Franco. As shown in Chapter One, people were greatly repressed under Spain and the regime was very violent, but eventually Spain democratized and is a relatively strong democracy today. If Russia follows the model of other bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, it will eventually democratize, regardless of how powerful Putin seems today.

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