

How Do Political Parties Capture New Democracies?

Hungary and North Macedonia in Comparison

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Recent democratic backsliding in Eastern Europe challenges the optimism of two decades of scholarship on post-communist democratization. The most severe form of backsliding—state capture by ruling parties—has occurred in countries formerly regarded as paradigms of successful democratic transition. Despite research on different kinds of capture, little is known about the overall process by which political parties capture a state. In response, we develop a conceptual framework that identifies four interconnected strategies and corresponding tactics: (1) exploiting crises to advance political agendas, (2) deactivating controls to constrain oversight, (3) milking cash-cows to generate income, and (4) manipulating the political system to institutionalize rents. To demonstrate the analytical value of the framework, we compare how Fidesz in Hungary and VMRO-DPMNE in North Macedonia achieved a state of capture. Notwithstanding contextual differences, the analysis shows that the political parties of interest employed the same set of strategies.

Keywords: *state capture; political parties; democratization; Hungary; North Macedonia*

How do political parties capture newly democratic states? Explorations into democratic subversion and state capture have been dominated by queries into their causes and consequences. Despite extensive research, scholars have paid little attention to the processes of democratic subversion that result in state capture. This gap limits scholarly knowledge of state capture—understood as a situation in which a group of actors gain control over a significant number of state bodies, procedures, and policies with the intent to subvert their effectiveness for the group's benefit. Empirical work on state capture originated in the late 1990s from the World Bank Institute, where a group of economists described state capture as a phenomenon in transition economies in which firms influenced the “rules of the game” through illicit payments to public officials.¹ The term has undergone a conceptual transformation over the years and morphed to include the capture of any state institution by any political or economic group, including parties, incumbents, and bureaucrats.²

Political Parties In New Democracies

Kay Lawson



Political Parties In New Democracies:

Political Parties in New Democracies Ingrid van Biezen, 2003-07-01 Ingrid van Biezen provides a comprehensive comparative analysis of party formation and organizational development in recently established democracies. She focuses on four democracies in Southern and East Central Europe and addresses political parties from a cross regional perspective. Featuring a wealth of new information on party organization, this book provides a valuable theoretical and empirical contribution to our understanding of political parties in both old and new democracies. **Confronting the Weakest Link** Thomas Carothers, 2006 Beginning with a penetrating analysis of party shortcomings in developing and post communist countries, Thomas Carothers draws on extensive field research to diagnose chronic deficiencies in party aid, assess its overall impact, and offer practical ideas for doing better. **Political Party Membership in New Democracies** Alison F. Smith, 2020-05-12 This book explores the impact of electoral rules on political party development in Central and East Europe. It finds that high district magnitude proportional electoral systems encourage centralised organisational development and campaigning where communication with voters is conducted primarily via mass social and digital media, while small electoral districts stimulate grassroots campaigning. As a result, low magnitude electoral systems are more likely to create an active role for party members stimulating membership recruitment. The book further examines how parties organise and campaign on the ground. The analysis of in depth surveys and interviews with party elites in Estonia, Lithuania, and Slovakia sheds light on areas of party life that are rarely examined, including party fundraising. Overall, the effects of electoral systems on party organisation and campaigning reflect patterns previously observed in Western Europe, demonstrating that a degree of convergence has occurred. **Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies** Katrin Voltmer, 2006 This book examines how political communication and the mass media have played a central role in the consolidation of emerging democracies around the world. Covering a broad range of political and cultural contexts, including Eastern and Southern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, this new volume investigates the problems and conflicts arising in the process of establishing an independent media and competitive politics in post autocratic societies. Considering the changing dynamic in the relationship between political actors, the media, and their audience, the authors of this volume address the following issues: changing journalistic role perceptions and journalistic quality; the reasons and consequences of persisting instrumentalization of the media by political actors; the role of the media in election campaigns; the way in which citizens interpret political messages and the extent to which the media influence political attitudes and electoral behaviour; the role of the Internet in building a democratic public sphere. This book will be of great interest to all those studying and researching democracy and democratization, comparative politics, political communication, journalism, media, and the Internet. **Party Politics in New Democracies** Paul D. Webb, Stephen White, 2007-09-20 This book is the sequel to *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford, 2002). It offers a systematic and rigorous analysis of parties in some of the world's major new

democracies focusing on Latin America and postcommunist Eastern Europe Political Parties and Democracy Kay Lawson, 2010-07-20 Native scholars explore the relationship between political parties and democracy in regions around the world The development of political parties over the past century is the story of three stages in the pursuit of power liberation democratization and de democratization Political Parties and Democracy is comprised of five stand alone volumes that probe the realities of political parties at all three stages In each volume contributors explore the relationship between political parties and democracy or democratization in their nations providing necessary historical socioeconomic and institutional context as well as the details of contemporary political tensions Contributors are distinguished indigenous scholars who have lived the truths they tell and are thus able to write with unique breadth depth and scope They show the parties of their respective nations as they have developed through history and changing institutional structures and they explain the balance of power among them and between them and competing agencies of power today **Party Politics in New Democracies** Paul Webb, Stephen White, 2007-09-20 Comparative Politics is a series for students and teachers of political science that deals with contemporary government and politics The General Editors are Professor Alfio Mastropaolo University of Turin and Kenneth Newton University of Southampton and Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin The series is published in association with the European Consortium for Political Research The sister volume to Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies this book offers a systematic and rigorous analysis of parties in some of the world s major new democracies Drawing on a wealth of expertise and data the book assesses the popular legitimacy organizational development and functional performance of political parties in Latin America and postcommunist Eastern Europe It demonstrates the generational differences between parties in the old and new democracies and reveals contrasts among the latter Parties are shown to be at their most feeble in those recently transitional democracies characterized by personalistic candidate centred forms of politics but in other new democracies especially those with parliamentary systems parties are more stable and institutionalized enabling them to facilitate a meaningful degree of popular choice and control Wherever party politics is weakly institutionalized political inequality tends to be greater commitment to pluralism less certain clientelism and corruption more pronounced and populist demagoguery a greater temptation Without party democracy s hold is more tenuous Political Parties and Democracy Larry Diamond, Richard Gunther, 2001-12-21 Political parties are one of the core institutions of democracy But in democracies around the world rich and poor Western and non Western there is growing evidence of low or declining public confidence in parties In membership organization and popular involvement and commitment political parties are not what they used to be But are they in decline or are they simply changing their forms and functions In contrast to authors of most previous works on political parties which tend to focus exclusively on long established Western democracies the contributors to this volume cover many regions of the world Theoretically they consider the essential functions that political parties perform in democracy and the different types of parties Historically they trace the emergence of parties in Western democracies and the

transformation of party cleavage in recent decades Empirically they analyze the changing character of parties and party systems in postcommunist Europe Latin America and five individual countries that have witnessed significant change Italy Japan Taiwan India and Turkey As the authors show political parties are now only one of many vehicles for the representation of interests but they remain essential for recruiting leaders structuring electoral choice and organizing government To the extent that parties are weak and discredited the health of democracy will be seriously impaired Contributors Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther Hans Daalder Philippe Schmitter Seymour Martin Lipset Giovanni Sartori Bradley Richardson Herbert Kitschelt Michael Coppedge Ergun Ozbudun Yun han Chu Leonardo Morlino Ashutosh Varshney and E Sridharan Stefano Bartolini and Peter Mair

Political Parties and Democratic Linkage Russell J. Dalton, David M. Farrell, Ian McAllister, 2011-09-30 Is the party over Parties are the central institutions of representative democracy but critics increasingly claim that parties are failing to perform their democratic functions This book assembles unprecedented cross national evidence to assess how parties link the individual citizen to the formation of governments and then to government policies Using the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems and other recent cross national data the authors examine the workings of this party linkage process across established and new democracies Political parties still dominate the electoral process in shaping the discourse of campaigns the selection of candidates and mobilizing citizens to vote Equally striking parties link citizen preferences to the choice of representatives with strong congruence between voter and party Left Right positions These preferences are then translated in the formation of coalition governments and their policies The authors argue that the critics of parties have overlooked the ability of political parties to adapt to changing conditions in order to perform their crucial linkage functions As the context of politics and societies have changed so too have political parties Political Parties and Democratic Linkage argues that the process of party government is alive and well in most contemporary democracies

Political Parties and Partisanship John Bartle, Paolo Bellucci, 2014-06-11 Political Parties and Partisanship provides an up to date examination of the conceptualizations causes and consequences of partisanship in both new and established democracies in Eastern Europe

Party Governance and Party Democracy Wolfgang C. Müller, Hanne Marthe Narud, 2013-05-15 Given the centrality of political parties in modern democracies most research on these systems either directly address their internal functioning and activities or question their critical role Political science has moved from describing institutions to the thorough analysis of behavior within these institutions and the interactions between them The inevitable consequences of the maturing and institutionalization of the discipline of political science in many countries include the forming of sub fields and specialized research communities At the same time the number of democracies has vastly increased since the 1980s and although not each attempt at democratization was eventually successful more heterogeneous systems with some form of party competition exist than ever before As a consequence the literature addressing the large issues of party democracy spreads over many research fields and has become difficult to master for

individual students of party democracy and party governance The present volume sets out to review the behavior and larger role of political parties in modern democracies In so doing the book takes its departure from the idea that the main contribution of political parties to the working of democracy is their role as vehicles of political competition in systems of government Consequently the focus is not merely in the internal functioning of political parties but rather their behavior the electoral legislative and governmental arenas Thus several chapters address how political parties perform within the existing institutional frameworks One more chapter looks at the role of political parties in building and adapting these institutions Finally two chapters explicitly address the party contributions to democracy in established and new democracies respectively

Politicians and Economic Reform in New Democracies Kent Eaton, 2010-11 As economic reform in developing countries has shifted from macroeconomic stabilization to liberalization opportunities for legislators to influence the process and outcome of reform have increased and their role has become more important This book focuses attention on differences in institutional structure in political parties and electoral rules to show how they create incentives that can explain the varying ways in which legislators respond to policy initiatives from the executive branch In Argentina and the Philippines presidents proposed similar fiscal reforms in the 1990s expanding tax bases strengthening tax administration and redesigning tax revenue sharing with subnational governments Drawing on archival research and interviews with policy makers Kent Eaton follows the path of legislation in these three areas from initial proposal to final law to reveal how it was shaped by the legislators participating in the process Obstacles to the adoption of reform he demonstrates are greater in candidate centered systems like the Philippines where the cultivation of personal reputations is paramount than in party centered systems like Argentina s where loyalty to party leaders is emphasized To test his argument further Eaton looks finally at other kinds of reform ventured in these two countries and at tax reforms attempted in some other countries

Media and Politics in New Democracies Jan Zielonka, 2015-10-08 This book analyses the relationship between the media and politics in new democracies in Europe and other parts of the world It does so from both theoretical and empirical angles How is power being mediated in new democracies Can media function independently in the unstable and polarised political environment experienced after the fall of autocracy Do major shifts in economic and ownership structures help or hinder the quality of the media How much can new media laws alter old journalistic habits and political cultures And how do new technologies impact the media and democracy The book examines these questions drawing on a vast set of data assembled by a large international project Media and Politics in New Democracies focuses chiefly on new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe but chapters analysing new democracies in Latin America Africa and Southeast Asia are also included These new democracies represent a variety of what sociologists call glocalism homogenisation and heterogenisation coexist revealing hybrid models and multiple modernities It is local culture that assigns meaning to global and regional influences Ideal liberal models and best practices are being promoted and aspired to but these models and practices are often being adopted in

opaque ways generating results opposite to those intended The book finds many new democracies to be fragile if not deficient and tries to show what is really going on in these countries how they compare to each other and what they can learn from each other **Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey** P. Musil,2011-12-22

Conducting a comparative case study among four parties in the Turkish political system this study shows how the variance in interest configurations and the power resources of local party activists constitute these changing patterns **Political Parties in the Arab World** Francesco Cavatorta,2018-03-07 Explores the interaction between sculpture and cinema

Political Parties in Multi-Level Politics Nicholas Aylott,Magnus Blomgren,T. Bergman,2013-02-18 Political parties are essential for the functioning of parliamentary democracy but how have parties adapted to the challenges created by the growth of a new layer of political decision making at the supranational level i e the EU This comparative survey focuses on parties in four Nordic countries including Norway which remains outside the EU Political Parties and the Crisis of Democracy Thomas Poguntke,Wilhelm Hofmeister,2024-06-25 Democracy is in decline and the share of world s population living in freedom under democratic government has decreased considerably as authoritarian practices proliferate Surprisingly most of the analyses that study these developments give little attention to the role of political parties in the decline of democracy although there is a broad consensus about the relevance of political parties for the functioning of democracy How parties can contribute to democracy is best understood by looking at a very diverse range of cases in different parts of the world Instead of taking a regional approach which dominates the literature on political parties this volume takes a global perspective It brings together experts from four continents which opens up fresh comparative perspectives on the role of political parties in the democratic process *Political Parties and the Crisis of Democracy* asks how parties contribute to the consolidation of democracy why they fail today why new parties emerge and displace old parties and also what parties need to do in order to survive cutthroat competition above all with a new and sometimes not so new variants of populist parties It takes a unique global focus covering old and new democracies in different regions of the world It covers Western and Central Europe Asia Pacific Latin America and Africa Turkey and Israel including presidential semi presidential and parliamentary democracies and also some countries where democracy is seriously threatened or eroding This volume offers unique comparative perspectives combined with a detailed analysis of individual countries and their party systems It shows that parties are central actors for the consolidation of democracy but that organisational reforms are necessary to cope with social change such as individualisation the decline in party membership and the impact of new media and modern communication thus counteracting the fragmentation of party systems and the decay of democracy This is an open access title available under the terms of a CC BY NC ND 4 0 International licence It is free to read at Oxford Scholarship Online and offered as a free PDF download from OUP and selected open access locations **Organizing**

Political Parties Susan E. Scarrow,Paul D. Webb,Thomas Poguntke,2017-06-23 Political party organizations play large roles

in democracies yet their organizations differ widely and their statutes change much more frequently than constitutions or electoral laws How do these differences and these frequent changes affect the operation of democracy This book seeks to answer these questions by presenting a comprehensive overview of the state of party organization in nineteen contemporary democracies Using a unique new data collection the book's chapters test propositions about the reasons for variation and similarities across party organizations They find more evidence of within country similarity than of cross national patterns based on party ideology After exploring parties' organizational differences the remaining chapters investigate the impact of these differences The volume considers a wide range of theories about how party organization may affect political life including the impact of party rules on the selection of female candidates the links between party decision processes and the stability of party programmes the connection between party finance sources and public trust in political parties and whether the strength of parties' extra-parliamentary organization affects the behaviour of their elected legislators Collectively these chapters help to advance comparative studies of elections and representation by inserting party institutions and party agency more firmly into the centre of such studies Comparative Politics is a series for researchers teachers and students of political science that deals with contemporary government and politics Global in scope books in the series are characterised by a stress on comparative analysis and strong methodological rigour The series is published in association with the European Consortium for Political Research For more information visit www.ecpr.net The series is edited by Emilie van Haute Professor of Political Science Université libre de Bruxelles Ferdinand Müller Rommel Director of the Center for the Study of Democracy Leuphana University and Susan Scarrow Chair of the Department of Political Science University of Houston

Political Parties and Interest Groups in Norway Elin Haugsgjerd Allern, 2024-10-31 How do today's political parties relate to other organisations Do they prefer rather distant relationships with a wide range of interest groups or have they virtually detached themselves from civil society altogether Scholars seem to agree that traditionally close relationships such as those between social democratic parties and trade unions have grown weaker since the 1960s But to date only limited systematic research has been conducted While parties and interest groups attract a great deal of attention from political scientists the links between them have been largely overlooked This book is an attempt to bridge the gap starting from the party side of the relationship It throws new light on the topic by presenting a theory-driven comprehensive study of Norway's seven major political parties and their relationships with interest groups at the beginning of the new millennium Based on original and extensive data including party documents in-depth interviews with key players and a survey of national party elites Elin Haugsgjerd Allern paints a nuanced picture of the nature and significance of these relationships and the factors that shape them A major conclusion is that Norway's parties tend to maintain rather distant but wide-ranging relationships with interest groups today However some parties still have fairly strong links with their traditional associates and a narrower network of links with other groups Hence Allern also shows that significant differences exist between parties that are

apparently exposed to the same social political and institutional environment **Labor Relations in New Democracies** J. Alemán, 2010-04-12 Labor Relations in New Democracies explores how democratization has changed the material and political fortunes of workers in the new democracies of Europe Latin America and East Asia It also examines how workers have responded to their newly found environment

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