

Questions for Presentation

- Deadline: October 20 (email)
- Prepare three questions
 - Topics that you find interesting
 - & that are linked to the themes of the module
 - “How does the political finance regime of Irish referendums shape power dynamics between political parties?”
 - “What is the lobbying regime at the EU level?”
- Individual oral assessment in week of 26 November
 - One of three questions will be picked at the time of assessment
 - You can use a preparation in print (but not as a script: still a presentation!)
 - About 5 min of presentation, followed by about 5 min of questions/discussion

Grading Rubric for Presentation

Criterion	0-40	40-59	60-70	70+	Max
Well-structured	Confusing and structurally lacking presentation	Generally understandable structure	Easy-to-follow presentation with minor inconsistencies	Flawless, well-structured, and highly convincing presentation	25
Accurate content	The content of the presentation is clearly inaccurate and contains several falsehoods	The content of the presentation is generally accurate and does not make any major false claims or contradictions	The content of the presentation is accurate and convincing	The content of the presentation answers the question precisely and to the point	25
Use of theories and concepts of the class	No use of any potentially relevant theories and/or concepts	One or more relevant theories and/or concepts are mentioned but not always used correctly	One or more relevant theories and/or concepts are mentioned and used correctly	A relatively complete set of theories and/or concepts are used correctly and engaged with critically	25
Ability to answer questions	Unable to answer the questions	Questions are answered, but not always in the most convincing manner or in a roundabout way	Convincing answers that are concise and to the point	Complete and thoroughly convincing answers that display knowledge of the topic and ability to think critically	25
Overall					/100

Grading Rubric for Exam

Reminder: 2 essay questions!

Example: “Discuss the following statement: **campaign spending leads to electoral success.** Illustrate your

Criterion	0-19	20-29	30-34	35+	Max
Nuanced answer	The answer does not take a position regarding the statement	The answer takes a position regarding the statement but is too straight-forward and lacks nuance	The answer takes a nuanced position, taking opposite views into consideration to at least a minimal extent	The answer is nuanced and does not only provide ample argumentation in favour, but also discusses evidence against the presented position and how the position prevails	10
Adequate reference to and application of relevant theory and/or concepts	No reference to any relevant theories and/or concepts	One or more relevant theories and/or concepts are mentioned, but their relevance to the statement/argument is not discussed	One or more relevant theories and/or concepts and their relevance to the statement/argument are discussed	A relatively complete set of theories and/or concepts, as well as their relevance to the statement/argument, are critically and convincingly discussed and combined	15
Convincing and relevant academic work and real-world examples are used to illustrate the argument	The argument is not illustrated with any academic or real-world evidence	The answer refers to one or more pieces of academic or real-world evidence, but they do not adequately support the argument	The answer refers to one or more pieces of academic or real-world evidence to partially illustrate the argument	Every point of the argument is supported either by academic research or real-world evidence that is convincingly presented and discussed	15
Clear, convincing, and accurate presentation	Confusing and inaccurate writing and presentation of argument	Largely accurate and generally understandable writing and presentation of argument	Accurate and easy-to-follow writing and presentation of argument	Flawless, well-structured, and convincing writing and presentation of argument	10
Overall					/50

MPD in the News: Chinese Exceptionalism?

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Fight against corruption makes China different

By Khalid Taimur Akram | CHINA DAILY | Updated: 2025-10-14 08:06



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Fight against corruption makes China different



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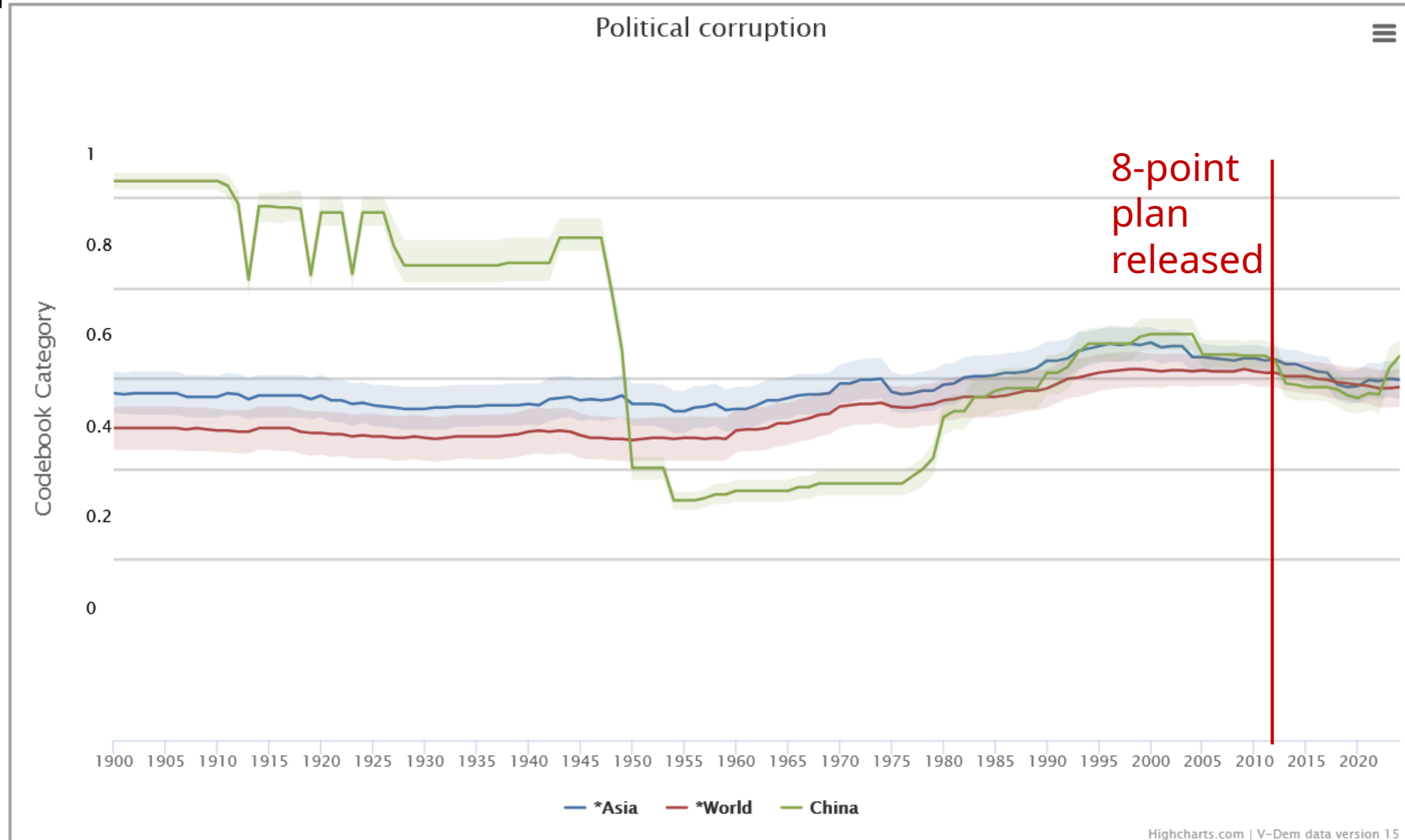
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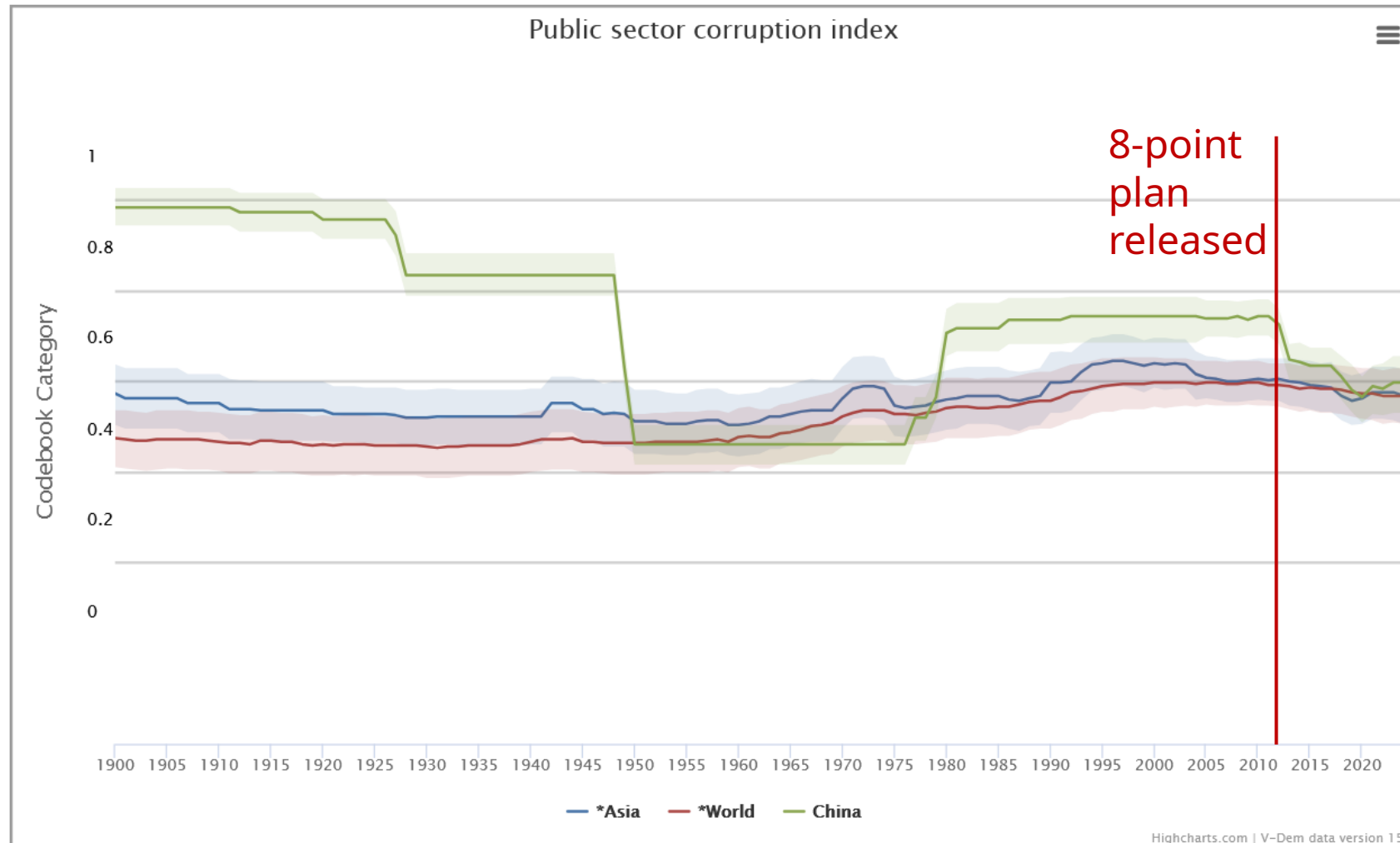
Communards' Wall still worth

<https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202510/14/WS68ed9423a310f735438b4c30.h>

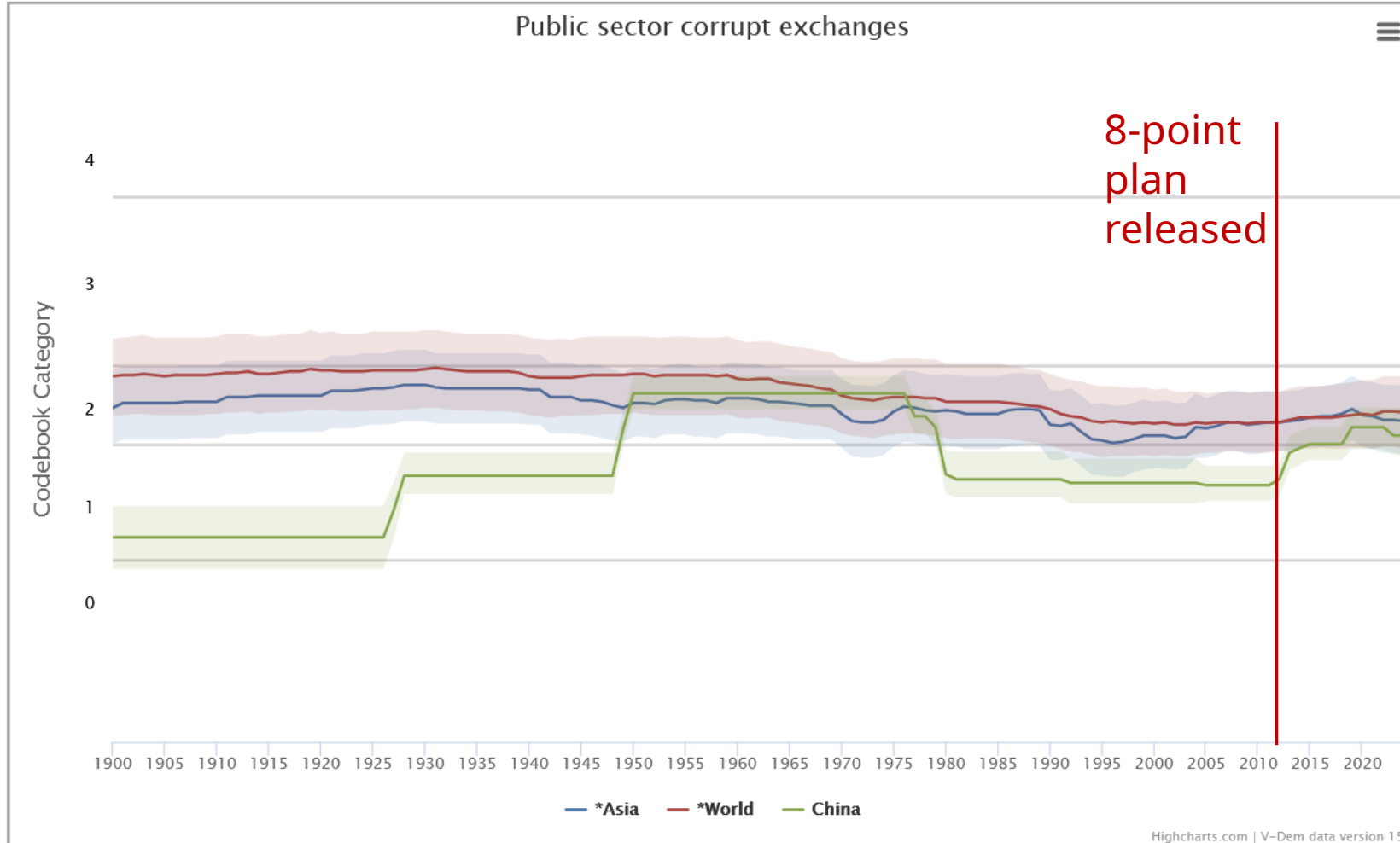
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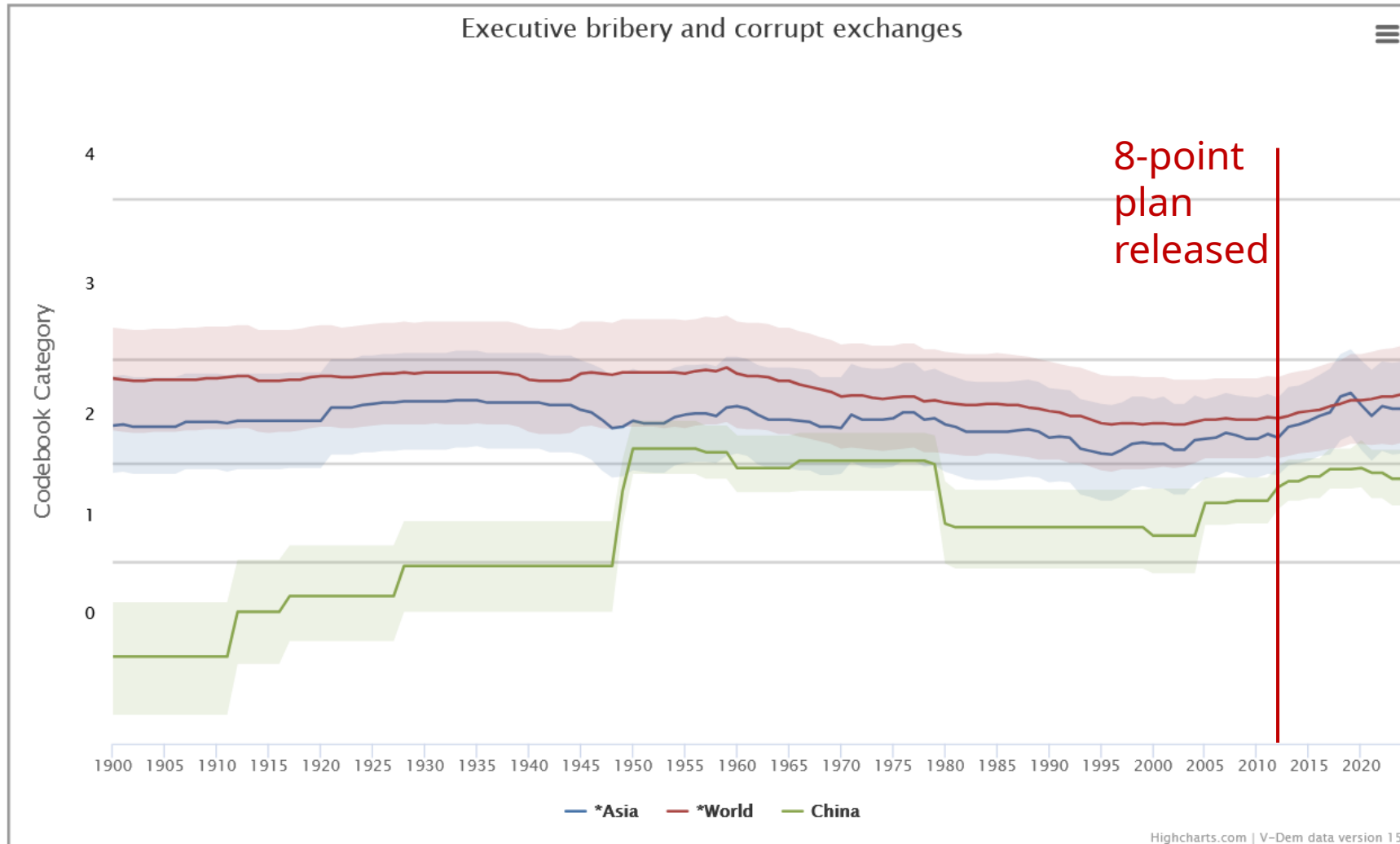
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POL1050: Money, Power & Democracy

Class 10 – Case Study 2: MPD in Competitive Authoritarian
Regimes 15/10/2025

Schedule

This week: MPD in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes (CAR)

- Monday: what are CARs?
- Today: Political finance, business interests and corruption as tools to sustain CARs
 - Strategic curbing of corruption
 - Abuse of money and power
 - Cases: Hungary and Turkey

Reminder: Competitive Authoritarian Regimes

- (Diminished) form of authoritarianism
- **Hybrid regime:**
 - Formal democratic institutions = principal means to obtain & exercise political authority (**democratic**)
 - BUT incumbents systematically and aggressively violate these rules in order to gain advantage (**autocratic**)

Reminder: Competitive Authoritarian Regimes

- (Diminished) form of authoritarianism
- Hybrid
- **Different from democracies & full authoritarianism**

	Democracy	CAR	Full Authoritarianism
Status of core democratic constitutions (elections, civil liberties)	Systematically respected. Widely viewed as only route to power	Exist and are meaningful, but systematically violated in favor of incumbent. Widely viewed as primary route to power.	Nonexistent or reduced to façade status. Not viewed as a viable route to power
Status of opposition	Competes on more or less equal footing with	Major opposition is legal and can compete openly, but is significantly disadvantaged by incumbent abuse.	Major opposition banned, or largely underground or in

Reminder: The New Face of Competitive Authoritarianism

Previously countries with

- Low income
- No democratic tradition
- Weak institutions or ROL
- Underdeveloped private sector and civil society
- Feeble opposition

Easy to create a CAR

Now countries with

- strong and established democratic traditions
- Developed economies
- Robust private sectors and civil society
- Strong opposition parties
- Facing greater external scrutiny due to stronger ties with West

Reminder: The New Face of Competitive Authoritarianism

Hungary, Philippines, Turkey, Venezuela (and US?): need for greater skill, more sophisticated strategies, and far more extensive popular mobilization

1. Create sizeable electoral majority
2. Use referendums or hypermajoritarian strategies to change rules of the game
3. Weaken opponents, lock in prospective autocrats' hold on power

Role of political finance, business interests, and corruption?

CARs and anti-corruption measures?

- CARs (and hybrid regimes in general) are most prone to corruption of all regime types (McMann et al. 2020)
 - Redistribution of wealth and economic opportunities
 - Concentrates wealth among incumbents and its allies
 - Can thereby help consolidate and maintain power for incumbents
- But recently: significant measures to curb certain types of corruption
 - Hungary: effective in limiting police bribes, more transparency in public sector, less tax evasion

How can we explain this?

Cost-benefit analysis of curbing corruption in CARs (Hajnal, 2025)

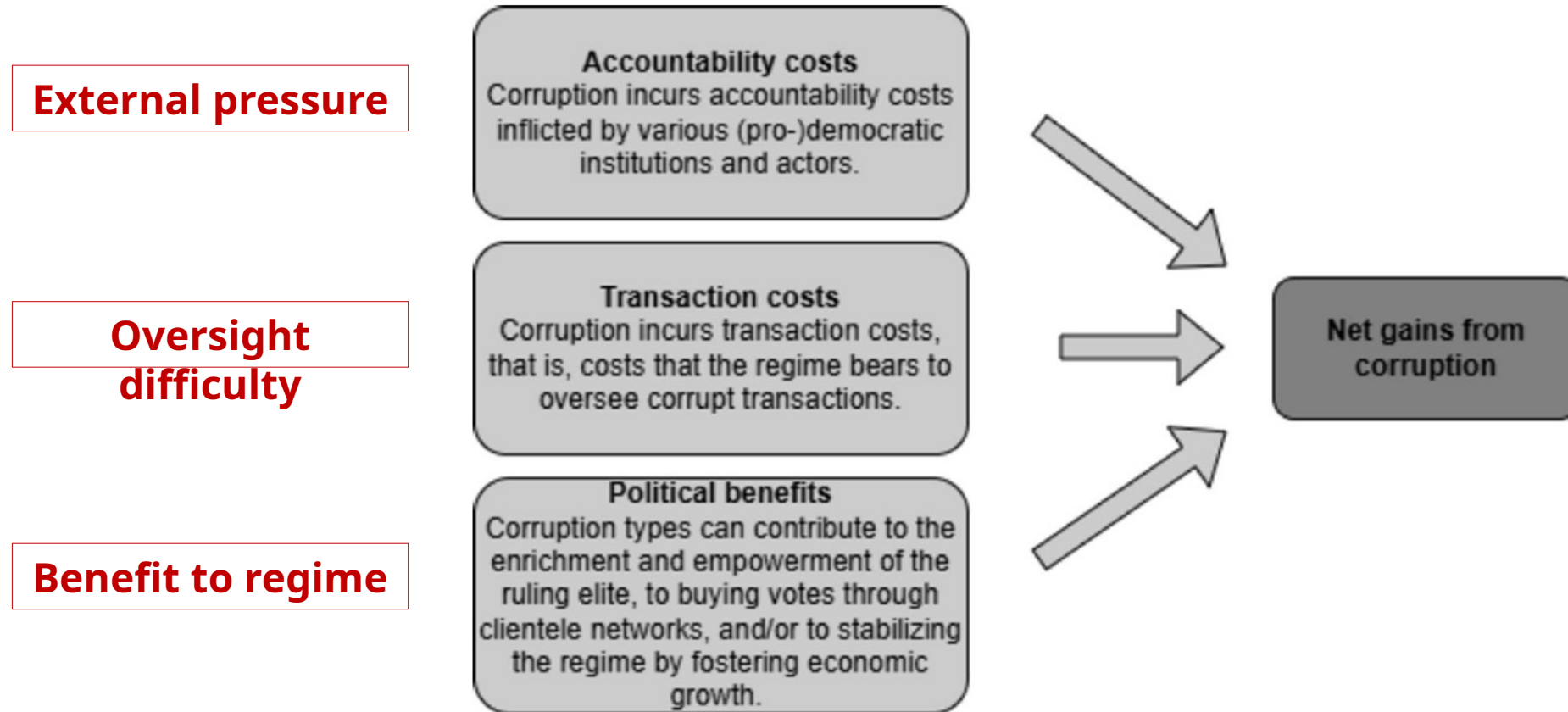


Fig. 3 Summary of the explanatory framework. *Source* created by author

Corruption can create **net gains** for a regime, i.e. the **benefits** minus the **costs**, and this determines whether a certain **type of corruption** is banned

Application to Hungary (Hajnal, 2025)

- Two Hungarian corruption cases:
 - Informal payments (IPs) being served to physicians in exchange for better services (Case A)
 - Clientelism in rewarding tobacco retail concessions (Case B)
- Case A was curbed by effectively criminalising IPs, while nothing was done about Case B. **Why?** Take into account:
 - Case A (**curbed**): Not very visible, limited media attention, far from political leadership
 - Case B (**not curbed**): visible, high media attention, governed by central authorities

Application to Hungary (Hajnal, 2025)

Table 3 Summary of costs and benefits associated with the two cases (Legend: + : limited/no benefits; + + : moderate benefits; + + + : substantial benefits; \$: limited/no costs; \$\$: moderate costs; \$\$\$: substantial costs). *Source* created by author

	Case (A)—IPs in healthcare		Case (B)—clientelism in awarding tobacco retail con- cessions	
Accountability costs	\$	Limited pressure	\$\$	Mod. pressure
Transaction costs	\$\$\$	Far from gov.	\$	Close to gov.
Political benefits	+	Not very	+ + +	Very beneficial
Outcome	Curbed by the regime		Enabled by the regime	

Abuse of money and power in CARs (Levitsky and Way, 2010)

- **Attack on civil liberties**

- Subtle
- Use of “legal repression”: discretionary use of legal regimes to punish opponents -> **selective and partisan** instead of universal
- Raises costs of opposition activities

Case: Turkey and the prosecution of the opposition

- **Ruling** Justice and Development Party (AKP, Erdoğan) vs. **opposition** Republican People's Party (CHP)
- Over last year: massive crackdown on CHP in name of "Octopus of Corruption" ([read more](#))
 - Over 500 members detained and 220 jailed by July, more since
 - Includes many mayors such as **Istanbul's İmamoğlu**
 - Alleged bribery at 2023 national congress that appointed Ozgur Ozel as leader of CHP
- Result: asset freezing, endless litigation, fragmented leadership
- **Party's organizational survival in peril**

Turkey's Ruling Party Uses the Courts to Defeat its Political Opposition

What began as a series of scattered corruption cases and allegations of procedural irregularities has evolved into a sprawling legal campaign that threatens the CHP's organizational survival, leadership legitimacy, and electoral viability

By Tülin Daloğlu
Middle East & North Africa
October 9, 2025



<https://www.stimson.org/2025/turkeys-ruling-party-uses-the-courts-to-defeat-its-political-opposition/>

Abuse of money and power in CARs (Levitsky and Way, 2010)

- Attack on civil liberties
- **Cultivating an uneven playing field**



Abuse of money and power in CARs (Levitsky and Way, 2010)

- Attack on civil liberties
- **Cultivating an uneven playing field**
 - Exists to a varying degree in all democracies (incumbents usually have access to more funds and donations by private interests), but playing field is truly uneven when:
 - Wide abuse of state institutions for partisan ends
 - Incumbents are systematically favored at expense of the opposition
 - Opposition's ability to organize and compete in elections is seriously handicapped

Abuse of money and power in CARs (Levitsky and Way, 2010)

- Attack on civil liberties
- **Cultivating an uneven playing field**
 - Exists to a varying degree in all democracies (incumbents usually have access to more funds and donations by private interests), but playing field is truly uneven when:
 - **Uneven access to resources**
 - **Less subtle ways:**
 - Direct partisan use of state resources
 - Systematically deploying state machinery for election campaigns (buildings, employees, communication infrastructure, ...)

Abuse of money and power in CARs (Levitsky and Way, 2010)

- Attack on civil liberties
- **Cultivating an uneven playing field**
 - Exists to a varying degree in all democracies (incumbents usually have access to more funds and donations by private interests), but playing field is truly uneven when:
 - **Uneven access to resources**
 - Less subtle ways
 - **More subtle: Monopolize access to private-sector finance through control of credit, licenses, state contracts for enrichment,**
 - Party-owned enterprises
 - Benefit certain firms that contribute to ruling party
 - Deny opposition parties access to resources (tax controls, ...)

Case: AKP's weaponizing of state-business relations Turkey to establish CAR (Esen & Gumuscu, 2017)

- Since coming to power in 2002: AKP promoted capital accumulation among supporters
 - Partisan allocation of natural resources, public property and state monopolies
 - Created and cultivated a pro-AKP business class
 - Cracked down on rival entrepreneurs via taxation
- In return: finance of pro-government media & AKP's electoral campaigns

Case: Hungary's EU-funded "Crony Capitalism"

- **Cronyism** = awarding positions, gov. contracts, loans and advantages to friends/associates
- Fidesz supermajority -> helping favored businesspeople (i.e. family and friends) land state contracts (mostly funded by EU) and EU agricultural subsidies
- Many examples of "cash-burning": <https://telex.hu/english/2024/05/22/abszurd-pen-zegetesek-unios-forrasbol>
- Business now largely dependent on political loyalty -> market for donations is cornered by Fidesz



<https://www.europeaninterest.eu/hungarys-system-crony-capitalism/>

11 wooden observation towers in Tyukod for middle-of-nowhere tourism: almost 700K EUR



Observation point in Bodrogkeresztúr: 103K EUR

