

# Authoritarian governance in Eurasia: the creation and contestation of institutional legitimacy

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*Program, 27 November 2013*

*Conference of the project network "Institutions and Institutional Change in Postsocialism" (KomPost), Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*

*28-30 November 2013, Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung, Munich, and Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich*



*Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung*

GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium  
für Bildung  
und Forschung

## ***Concept***

Eurasian states hold regular elections, but few political regimes in the region meet democratic standards. Non-democratic arrangements of governance have emerged and persisted despite the 'color revolutions' and their challenge to incumbents manipulating elections. This situation has generated significant scholarly interest and has resulted in a growing number of studies examining the sources of authoritarian stability. However, this field of research in the social sciences has hitherto been dominated by instrumentalist views of institutions that emphasize the engineering of institutions by utility-maximizing political actors. Institutions are sets of rules structuring interactions, but they are also defined by their legitimacy functions that are embedded in shared historical and cultural understandings. Due to this embeddedness, authoritarian rulers may not create political institutions at will. Rather, political elites depend on their ideational abilities to communicate their actions as meeting expectations of appropriateness. These abilities enable and constrain actors' use of available frames, discourses, traditions, norms and practices in order to confer legitimacy on the institutions they seek to reform and build.

The envisaged workshop focuses on these legitimacy functions of institutions and the legitimation strategies of political actors in consolidating and contesting authoritarian governance: How do ruling political actors draw on the repertoire of legitimations available in a given national culture and history? How do they generate popular loyalty and elite-wide acceptance for institutions stabilizing their political authority, given that any authoritarian pretensions would be normatively unacceptable in public discourse? Sources of institutional legitimacy include culturally ingrained ideas of national identity, historical experience, constitutional rule, effective government, political leadership, economic development, but also the rituals of waging and solving social or political conflict. Ruling elites interpret these ideas in ways that link their particular institution-building projects to historically and culturally accepted practice.

The proposed focus on legitimation implies that political domination can not rely on coercion or repression alone, but also presupposes voluntary compliance of people or elite groups that is based on beliefs about legitimate authority. Since rulers can not enforce such compliance unilaterally, it is appropriate to conceive this process of claiming and granting legitimacy as 'governance', a term introduced to highlight the non-hierarchical and societal dimensions of governing. In accordance with this broader view, the workshop asks how institutional legitimacy is contested, eroded and destroyed. Which legitimacy strategies are chosen by protest and opposition actors and how have these strategies altered the symbolic political field of legitimation?

By linking institutional politics and change to culture and history, the workshop seeks to facilitate scholarly exchanges across disciplinary boundaries. In addition, the workshop intends to look beyond Eurasia and encourage comparisons with legitimacy struggles and authoritarian governance in other regions of the world.

## **Authoritarian governance in Eurasia: the creation and contestation of institutional legitimacy**

Interdisciplinary workshop of the project network "Institutions and Institutional Change in Postsocialism: Between History and Global Adaptation Pressures" (KomPost)  
([www.kompost.lmu.de](http://www.kompost.lmu.de))

Workshop languages: English and German

<b>Thursday, 28 November 2013</b>
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Venue: Siemens-Stiftung am Nymphenburger Schloss, Südliches Schloßbrondell 23 80638 München

14.30 Welcome chats, snacks and refreshments

### **15.00 Welcome and introduction**

Petra Stykow, KomPost / München

### **15.30-17.30 Literature, Neo-Imperial Thought, and Authoritarian Politics in Ukraine and Russia**

Chair: Alfred Sproede, University of Münster

Mykola Rjabčuk, Kievo-Mohyljans'ka Akademija Kyjiv: Our Quasi-Minority, Postcolonial Ambivalence, and the Functioning of Ukrainian Culture in Ukraine (A Quasi-Diasporic Model)

Vitalij Černec'kij, Kansas University: Contesting Zhadan: A Literary Conflict at an Imperial Border

Alfred Sproede, University of Münster: Literature, Paternalism, and Authoritarian Governance. Current Ukrainian Writing and Its Imperial/Russian Backwaters

Oleksandr Zabirko, University of Münster: Russian Authoritarianism and Its Literary Justification

### **17.45 Launch of a web portal on the memories of Communism in internet communities**

Jürgen Danyel, Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam

Martin Schulze Wessel, LMU

Dirk Uffelmann, Universität Passau

Public event in cooperation with the Honours Master's Programme East European Studies, University of Munich

### **19.00 Reception**

<b>Friday, 29 November 2013</b>
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Venue: Siemens-Stiftung am Nymphenburger Schloss, Südliches Schloßrondell 23 80638 München

**9.00-11.00 Internationale Interventionen und die Legitimität autoritärer Regime**

Chair: Hans-Henning Schröder, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin  
Christian von Soest, German Institute for Global and International Affairs, Hamburg  
Lars Brozus, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin  
Jörn Grävingholt, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn  
Hans-Henning Schröder, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin

**11.30-13.00 State capitalism in Eurasia**

Chair: Joachim Ahrens, PFH Göttingen Business School  
Joachim Ahrens, PFH Göttingen Business School and Herman W. Hoen, University of Groningen  
Christian Timm, PFH Göttingen Business School: Economic Regulation and State Interventions. Georgia's Move from Neoliberalism to State-Managed Capitalism  
Adele del Sordi, IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca

**13.00 Lunch**

**14.00-15.30 Political economy of post-Soviet authoritarianism**

Chair: Alexander Libman, Frankfurt School of Finance and Management, Frankfurt/Main  
Andrei Yakovlev, Higher School of Economics, Moscow: Means of Production Versus Means of Coercion: Can Russian Business Limit the Violence of a Predatory State? (co-authors: Anton Sobolev, Anton Kazun)  
William Pyle, Middlebury College, United States: A De Soto Effect in Industry? Evidence from the Russian Federation (co-authors: Alexei Karas, Koen Schoors)  
Alexander Libman, Frankfurt School of Finance and Management, Frankfurt/Main: CPSU Legacy and Regional Democracy in Contemporary Russia (co-author: Anastassia Obydenkova)

**16.00- 17.30 Legitimität, Geschichtsmedien und historische Narrative**

Chair: Martin Schulze Wessel, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne: "Legitimation and Legitimacy in Russia Revisited"

Ekaterina Makhotina, LMU München, Abteilung Geschichte Osteuropas: „Museen als Medien der Geschichtskultur“

Philipp Bürger, KomPost, LMU München: „Staatliche Programme und die Institutionalisierung von Erinnerung in Russland“

*17.30 Transfer from Siemens Stiftung to Oettingenstr. 67, München*

**18.15- 19.45 Electoral fraud in Russian elections**

Sergey Shpilkin, Moskau

Public lecture, Hörsaal B 001, Oettingenstr. 67, München

<b>Saturday, 30 November 2013</b>
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*8.40 Transfer from hotels to Munich University (Public transport)*

Venue: LMU-Senatssaal, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz 1, München

**9.30- 11.00 Justiz und Autoritarismus- aktuelle Tendenzen in Russland**

Alexei Trochev, Nazarbayev University, Astana: Suing Russia at Home

Kirill Koroteev, Moskau

Caroline von Gall, University of Cologne, Institute of East European Law

**11.30 KomPost und die Regionalstudien in Deutschland: Bilanz und Perspektiven**

Chair: Petra Stykow, LMU

Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne

Peter A. Kraus, Universität Augsburg

Matthias Middell, Universität Leipzig

Martin Schulze Wessel, LMU

**13.00 Ende der Veranstaltung**