

# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Rise of Personalist Politics	5
1.3 Previewing the Argument	7
1.4 What Do We Mean by Democracy?	10
1.5 Contemporary Patterns of Democratic Collapse	11
1.6 Existing Explanations of Democratic Backsliding	14
1.7 Contributions of the Book	17
1.8 Plan of the Book	19
2. What Are Personalist Parties?	22
2.1 Conceptualizing Personalist Political Parties	23
2.2 Measuring Personalism in Ruling Political Parties	25
2.2.1 Addressing Endogeneity	27
2.2.2 Underlying Indicators	29
2.2.3 What Our Measure Can and Cannot Capture	31
2.3 Related Concepts and Measures	33
2.3.1 Party Personalism and Populism	33
2.3.2 Other Related Concepts and Measures	38
2.4 Basic Facts and Features of Ruling Personalist Parties	40
2.4.1 Trends in Ruling Party Personalism over Time	40
2.4.2 Geographical Distribution of Personalist Parties	42
2.4.3 Personalist Parties and Ideology	44
2.4.4 Personalist Parties and Populism	47
2.4.5 Institutional Arrangements and Personalist Parties	50
2.5 Why Do Personalist Parties Win Elections?	52
2.6 Conclusion	54
2.7 Appendix A: Measurement Model of Ruling Party Personalism	56
2.7.1 Internal Consistency and Reliability	57
2.7.2 Face Validity	58
2.7.3 External Validity	59
2.8 Appendix B: Regression Results	60
2.9 Appendix C: Selection into Ruling Party Personalism	60
3. The Argument	63
3.1 The Argument	64
3.1.1 Underlying Assumptions	65



3.2	Executive Restraint in Incumbent Support Parties	67
3.2.1	Incentive	67
3.2.2	Capacity	71
3.3	Empirical Patterns	74
3.3.1	The Political Experience of Elites	76
3.3.2	Party Nominations	84
3.3.3	Local Party Strength and Party Funding	86
3.3.4	The Duration of Cabinet Appointee Tenures	88
3.4	Conclusion	93
3.5	Appendix A: Regression Results	94
4.	The Evidence	97
4.1	Case Studies	99
4.1.1	El Salvador under Nayib Bukele	101
4.1.2	Hungary under Viktor Orban	104
4.2	Ruling Party Personalism and Democratic Backsliding	108
4.2.1	Repression of Political Civil Liberties	108
4.2.2	Democratic Backsliding Broadly	111
4.2.3	How Do Democracies Collapse?	120
4.2.4	Personalism Matters Most When Ruling Parties Dominate	125
4.3	Conclusion	130
4.4	Appendix A: Regression Results	131
5.	Institutional Pathways	132
5.1	Executive Constraints in Democracies	134
5.1.1	Legislatures	136
5.1.2	Judiciaries and Bureaucracies	137
5.1.3	How Do We Know When Institutional Actors Constrain?	139
5.2	Empirical Tests	140
5.2.1	Legislative Constraints on the Executive	141
5.2.2	Judicial Constraints on the Executive	144
5.2.3	Bureaucratic Constraints on the Executive	145
5.2.4	Term Limit Extension Attempts	147
5.3	Conclusion	149
5.4	Appendix A: Regression Results	150
6.	Societal Pathways	151
6.1	Are Citizens to Blame for Decreasing Vertical Constraints?	154
6.2	Polarization	155
6.3	Shifting Democratic Norms	159
6.4	Case Studies	161
6.4.1	Turkey under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	161
6.4.2	Brazil under Jair Bolsonaro	163



6.5 Empirics	166
6.5.1 Does Ruling Party Personalism Boost Polarization?	166
6.5.2 Does Ruling Party Personalism Shift Norms?	177
6.6 Conclusion	189
6.7 Appendix A: Regression Results	190
7. Personalist Politics, Democracy, and the Path Ahead	193
7.1 Summary of the Book	195
7.2 Countering the Perils of Personalism	197
References	202
Index	220