



Democracy in the Shadow of the Deep State

Guardian Hybrid Regimes in Turkey and Thailand

Simon Paul WATMOUGH

Ph.D. thesis defence on 07 April 2017

Abstract

This dissertation takes as its focus the emergence of guardian political order – a hybrid political system in which elected officials must contend with non-elected ‘reserved domains’ dominated by state elites that exercise a ‘tutelary’ or ‘guardian’ function in relation to the overall polity – in modern Turkey and Thailand in the second half of the twentieth century.

Its central objective is to explain how guardian regimes emerge and consolidate, and why they assume their distinctive regime morphology – a hybrid constitutional structure bifurcated between elected institutions and unelected tutelary ones. This broad inquiry into puzzling ‘regime outcomes’ entails a subsidiary set of questions. Given that hybrid regimes generally tend to follow in the wake of authoritarian ones, what would induce authoritarian incumbent elites to cede their monopoly of power to a political system bifurcated in this way? How do we explain the substantial variation in the institutional design of guardian structures in different cases when they first come to life? Why have guardian hybrid regimes proved so durable and long-lasting? Finally, how can we account for distinctive regime trajectories – the patterns of ideological–institutional reconfiguration that guardian hybrid regimes undergo over time?

This dissertation advances a novel theory of how guardian hybrid regimes come about, the shape they take when they are born, how they reproduce (institutionally speaking) over time, and also how they adapt or change over time both institutionally and ideologically. It argues that guardian hybrid regimes emerge as contingent outcomes of intra-elite conflict during historical breakpoints in national political development. During these ‘critical junctures’ traditional state elites engage in intense factional contestation over the task of fashioning a new, post-authoritarian political system. Deep, longstanding socio-political cleavages in the body politic and the particular quality of the domestic and international security environment condition elite conflict and elite choices over regime structure during the critical juncture and shape the eventual ‘architecture’ of the new political system. This explains the distinctive institutional morphology of guardian hybrid regimes – a bifurcation of the overall framework of political authority within the state between elected institutions (the ‘political realm’) and guardian tutelary ones (the ‘deep state’).



Jury: Ayse Zarakol (Univ. Cambridge) Simon Paul Watmough (Ph.D. candidate)
Chris Reus-Smit, The University of Queensland (Supervisor)

Bio: Dr Simon P. Watmough was awarded his PhD in April 2017. His research interests sit at the intersection of international relations and comparative politics and include varieties of post-authoritarian regimes, political change in developing societies, the role of the military in democratization, and the foreign policy of emerging democracies in Asia and the Middle East. After receiving a bachelor's degrees in economics from the University of Melbourne and a BA (Hons) from the Australian Nation University, he pursued post-graduate studies in Economic History at the London School of Economics. Since 2005, Watmough has taught international relations, diplomacy, foreign policy, and security studies, as well as Middle Eastern history at universities in Australia and Europe. In 2010-11 he was a research fellow at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at the London School of Economics. His work has been published in international peer-reviewed journals, including the *Journal of Urban Studies* and *Turkish Review*. During his doctoral research, Watmough has been Visiting Scholar at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, Boğaziçi University in İstanbul, and the University of Queensland.