CPO 6938: Politics of Authoritarian Regimes

Tuesdays 6:00pm – 8:50pm - - Fall 2019

Instructor: Konstantin Ash (Konstantin.Ash@ucf.edu) Office Hours: Tuesday and Wednesday 1-3p @ HPH 302I

Prerequisites: Admission to a graduate degree-seeking program or C.I. or instructor approval.

Course Description

More than half of the world's population is governed by authoritarian regimes in one form or another. The goal of this course is to understand how such regimes come about, how they stay in power and to clear up misconceptions about authoritarian government that may be advanced in the popular consciousness.

There are several additional learning goals for the course. **First,** the readings the readings are intended for you to gain a broad understanding of research on authoritarian regimes and be able to engage with the topic as fellow researchers. Many of the works we will read are either classics or represent the state-of-the-art in the field. **Second,** as graduate students and potential future practitioners in the field, it is vital for you to engage critically with the work already done, thus, we will do our best to not only understand the readings, but to find flaws in them and potential avenues for improvement in future research. **Third,** It is vital that, again, as researchers, you are able to produce your own research that both engages with prior work on authoritarian regimes AND clearly improves upon that work in some capacity. This is why you will be required to develop a research paper in this class through several set deadlines. As we are on a semester system, we have the advantage of being able to delve deeper and develop more complete research products.

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Assignments

Research Paper

Students will be expected to complete a research paper during the course. The research paper should take the form of an academic article that students could conceivably submit for publication and/or submit to a conference. In order to facilitate the smooth flow of research throughout the semester, there will be several deadlines for developing the paper:

- September 28 @ 11:59p. Submit research question and *at least* five articles or books that have answered the same research question or a similar question.

- October 19 @ 11:59p. Submit critical literature review that incorporates previous articles or books, as well as other relevant or suggested articles or books, along with your answer to your research question, which should take up the theory.
- November 9 @ 11:59p. Submit hypotheses based on your theory and ways you envision testing the hypotheses. This could include, but is not limited to, qualitative case study methods, survey methods or large-N statistical analysis. If using qualitative methods, please outline which cases you are selecting and why they are appropriate. If using quantitative methods, please identify potential data sources or feasible original ways of gathering data within the next month.

Please submit the above three assignments to me through e-mail. The only boundary for this article is that it must, in some conceivable fashion, fall in the realm of the study of authoritarian regimes.

Original work for this type of paper is preferred, but please talk to me if you would like to continue on working on a project you have submitted for a previous class (I will probably like to see what you have done in advance) or if you would like to continue on something you've been working on independently as a side project (this is more acceptable and even encouraged). I must approve the use of projects from a previous class *before* the research question deadline for the assignment.

Multiple submissions to this class and another class you're taking this semester are discouraged. More in-depth empirical work must be conducted (beyond the scope of the paper you would have written for just this class) for this to be acceptable. Please consult with me for further information before submitting a research question.

The research paper is due on **Saturday, December 14 @ 12:00p**. If you conduct empirical statistical tests (i.e. descriptive statistics, regressions, etc.) you must include the data you used and the regression code so I may replicate your analysis.

Discussion Papers

For **two** of the weeks after week 1, students are expected to submit discussion papers and then lead discussion that week. The discussion papers should be 4-5 page **critical analyses** of **at least** three of the required or recommended readings from the assigned week. As part of a critical analysis, students should include a **brief** summary of an author's argument or research design, a passage on how the papers fit together as part of the broader research agenda for that week and a broader passage on aspects of either/both the papers or the broader research agenda that the student believes could be improved upon.

In addition to the paper, students writing papers in a particular week are expected to write **3-5** questions that are intended to provoke discussion in the class and to briefly discuss their findings and present the discussion questions during class in the relevant week.

Summaries of the readings alone submitted as discussion papers will receive at least a letter grade penalty. Please coordinate with your classmates to ensure that you are not writing a paper on the same readings if two people are writing discussion papers on the same week.

Participation

Since this is a graduate seminar, participation is integral for the smooth flow of the course. My role is not to lecture or even present the readings to a great extent, but to facilitate discussion among yourselves. This means that your participation is necessary for the class, both in relaying the topics of the assigned readings and then analyzing and criticizing the arguments and empirical approaches in those readings.

Plagiarism

There is a ZERO tolerance policy on plagiarism. If you are found having copied any substantial portion of your paper from other sources without having first accredited them, you will either have large amounts of points deducted from your paper grade or will fail the class altogether. Please consult the UCF Office of Student Conduct's Rules of Conduct for more information.

Grade Breakdown

Research Paper – 40%
Discussion Papers – 20% each
Participation – 20%

Course Schedule and Readings

Each week's courses will follow the same structure. There are required readings that should be done before each class and recommended readings that you should look at if you are either the discussant for that week or writing a research paper on a subject that broaches the week. This is also a good list to have for future literature reviews on papers related to politics of authoritarian regimes.

Week 1 (August 27) - Defining Authoritarianism

Required Reading:

- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. What do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years. Annual Review of Political Science 2: 115-144.
- Juan J Linz and Alfred Stepan. 1996. Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe. 38-55
- Milan Svolik. 2012. The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Week 2 (September 3) - Types of Authoritarian Regimes: Single Party

Required Reading:

- Brownlee, Jason. Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization. Cambridge University Press, 2007. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Smith, Benjamin, 2005. Life of the party: The origins of regime breakdown and persistence under single-party rule. World politics, 57(3), pp.421-451.

- Milan Svolik. 2012. The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico. New York: Cambridge University Press: Introduction and Chapter 1.

Recommended Reading:

- Malesky, Edmund, and Paul Schuler. "The Single-Party Dictator's Dilemma: Information in Elections without Opposition." Legislative Studies Quarterly 36, no. 4 (2011): 491-530.
- Levitsky, Steven R., and Lucan A. Way. "Beyond patronage: Violent struggle, ruling party cohesion, and authoritarian durability." Perspectives on Politics 10, no. 4 (2012): 869-889.

Week 3 (September 10) - Types of Authoritarian Regimes: Personalist and Military Rule

Required Reading:

- Milan Svolik. 2012. The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 and 5.
- H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. 1998. A Theory of Sultanism: A Type of Nondemocratic Rule. In Sultanistic Regimes, eds. H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. pp 2-25
- Polese, Abel, and Slavomir Horak. "A tale of two presidents: personality cult and symbolic nation-building in Turkmenistan." Nationalities Papers 43, no. 3 (2015): 457-478.
- Powell, Jonathan. "Determinants of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups d'etat." Journal of Conflict Resolution 56, no. 6 (2012): 1017-1040.
- Remmer, K.L., 1989. Neopatrimonialism: The politics of military rule in Chile, 1973-1987. Comparative Politics, 21(2), pp.149-170.

Recommended Reading:

- Marinov, Nikolay, and Hein Goemans. "Coups and democracy." British Journal of Political Science 44, no. 4 (2014): 799-825.
- Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. "Military rule." Annual Review of Political Science 17 (2014): 147-162.
- McMahon, R. Blake and Branislav Slantchev. 2015. The Guardianship Dilemma: Regime Security through and from the Armed Forces. American Political Science Review.

Week 4 (September 17) - Types of Authoritarian Regimes: Competitive Authoritarianism

Required Reading:

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. Competitive Authoritarianism. 2010. Chapters 1-2.
- Schedler, Andreas. "Electoral authoritarianism." The Dynamics of Unfree Competition. Ed. Andreas Schedler. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006. 77-94.

- Lust-Okar, Ellen. "Elections under authoritarianism: Preliminary lessons from Jordan." Democratization 13, no. 3 (2006): 456-471.
- Menaldo, Victor. 2012. The Middle East and North Africa's Resiliant Monarchs. Journal of Politics. 74.3
- Truex, Rory. "Consultative authoritarianism and its limits." Comparative political studies 50, no. 3 (2017): 329-361.

Recommended Reading:

- Zakaria, Fareed. "The rise of illiberal democracy." Foreign Affairs. 76 (1997)
- Schedler, Andreas. "The menu of manipulation." Journal of democracy 13, no. 2 (2002): 36-50.
- Brownlee, Jason. "Portents of pluralism: How hybrid regimes affect democratic transitions." American Journal of Political Science 53, no. 3 (2009): 515-532.

Week 5 (September 24) - Regime Transition: When do Democracies become Autocracies

Required Reading:

- Kapstein, Ethan B., and Nathan Converse. Why democracies fail. Journal of Democracy 19, no. 4 (2008): 57-68.
- Houle, Christian. 2015. Ethnic Inequality and the Dismantling of Democracy: A Global Analysis. World Politics.
- Maeda, Ko (2010). Two modes of democratic breakdown: A competing risks analysis of democratic durability. The Journal of Politics 72(4), 1129-1143.
- Bermeo, Nancy. On democratic backsliding. Journal of Democracy 27.1 (2016): 5-19.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. The myth of democratic recession. Journal of Democracy 26, no. 1 (2015): 45-58.
- Slater, Dan. Democratic careening. World Politics 65, no. 4 (2013): 729-763.

Recommended Reading:

- Gibler, Douglas M and Kirk A Randazzo (2011). Testing the effects of independent judiciaries on the likelihood of democratic backsliding. American Journal of Political Science 55(3), 696-709.

Week 6 (October 1) - Regime Transition: When do Autocracies become Democracies

Required Reading:

- Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: The human development sequence. Cambridge University Press, 2005. Chapter 1.
- Luebbert, G.M. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe." World Politics.
- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chs. 1-2.

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, The Logic of Political Survival. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003. Chapter 3.
- Bratton, M. and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. Democratic Experiments in Africa. Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Przeworski, A. Democracy and the Market: Chapter 2.

Recommended Reading:

- Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," American Political Science Review 87: 567-76.
- Moore Jr., B. 1966. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press: Chapters 7-9
- Boix, C. Democracy and Redistribution (Cambridge) Chs 1-2.
- Paul Dower, Evgeny Finkel, Scott Gehlbach, Steven Nafziger. 2018. "Collective Action and Representation in Autocracies: Evidence from Russia's Great Reforms" American Political Science Review. 112 (1): 125-147.
- Samuel P. Huntington. The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Mancur Olson, Power and Prosperity. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Hirschman, A. 1978. "Exit, Voice, and the State." World Politics 31(1): 90-107.

Week 7 - (October 8) Repression in Authoritarian Regimes

Required Reading:

- Wintrobe, Ronald. 1998. The Political Economy of Dictatorship. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Gerschewski, J., 2013. The three pillars of stability: legitimation, repression, and co-optation in autocratic regimes. Democratization, 20(1), pp.13-38.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 1998. Acting "As If": Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 40(3): 503-523
- Chestnut Greitens, Sheena. Dictators and their secret police: Coercive institutions and state violence. Cambridge University Press, 2016. Chapter 2.
- Arturas Rozenas and Yuri Zhukov. 2019. Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger' American Political Science Review.
- Bishara, Dina. "The politics of ignoring: Protest dynamics in late Mubarak Egypt." Perspectives on Politics 13, no. 4 (2015): 958-975.

Recommended Reading:

- Fariss, Christopher. 2014. Respect for Human Rights has Improved Over Time: Modeling the Changing Standard of Accountability. American Political Science Review.

- Escriba-Folch, Abel. "Repression, political threats, and survival under autocracy." International Political Science Review 34, no. 5 (2013): 543-560.
- Hassan, Mai. "The strategic shuffle: Ethnic geography, the internal security apparatus, and elections in Kenya." American Journal of Political Science 61, no. 2 (2017): 382-395.

Week 8 - (October 15) Political Institutions in Authoritarian Regimes

Required Reading:

- Gandhi, Jennifer 2008, Political Institutions Under Dictatorship. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2 and 3
- Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2005. Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Chapters 2-3
- Meng, Tianguang, Jennifer Pan, and Ping Yang. "Conditional receptivity to citizen participation: Evidence from a survey experiment in China." Comparative Political Studies 50, no. 4 (2017): 399-433.
- Tsai, Lily L. "Solidary groups, informal accountability, and local public goods provision in rural China." American Political Science Review 101, no. 2 (2007): 355-372.

Recommended Reading:

- O'Donnell, G. 1973. Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism. Berkeley: University of California Berkeley.
- Boix, Carles and Milan Svolik. 2013. "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions and Power-sharing in Dictatorships." Journal of Politics
- Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," Comparative Politics vol. 36, no. 2 (January): 139- 157
- Malesky, Edmund and Paul Schuler. 2010. Nodding or Needling: Analyzing Delegate Responsiveness in an Authoritarian Parliament. American Political Science Review, 104(3): pp. 482-502.

Week 9 - (October 22) Economic Development in Authoritarian Regimes

Required Reading:

- Wintrobe, Ronald. 1998. The Political Economy of Dictatorship. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6 and 14.
- Wright, Joseph, 2008. Do authoritarian institutions constrain? How legislatures affect economic growth and investment. American Journal of Political Science, 52(2), pp.322-343.
- McFaul, M. and Stoner-Weiss, K., 2008. The Myth of the Authoritarian Model-How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back. Foreign Affairs, 87, p.68.
- Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2010. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? a Reappraisal of the Resource Curse" American Political Science Review. 105(1).
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, The Logic of Political Survival. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003. Chapter 4.

Recommended Reading:

- Michael L. Ross, 2001. Does Oil Hinder Democracy?, World Politics 53 (April 2001), 325-61
- Olson, M. 2000. Power and Prosperity New York: Basic Books: Chapters 1-4

Week 10 - (October 29) Politics of Patronage in Authoritarian Regimes

Required Reading:

- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico. New York: Cambridge University Press: Chapters 3 and 4.
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2011. Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 6.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. "Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa." In Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition, edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. "Getting ahead in the communist party: explaining the advancement of central committee members in China." American Political Science Review 106, no. 1 (2012): 166-187.

Recommended Reading:

- Geddes, Barbara and John Zaller. 1989. Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes. American Journal of Political Science 33(2): 319-347
- Susan Rose-Ackerman, Corruption and Government. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Week 11 - (November 5) Media in Authoritarian Settings

Required Reading:

- Pearce, K.E. and Kendzior, S., 2012. Networked authoritarianism and social media in Azerbaijan. Journal of Communication, 62(2), pp.283-298.
- King, G., Pan, J. and Roberts, M.E., 2013. How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression. American Political Science Review, 107(2), pp.326-343.
- Gunitsky, Seva. "Corrupting the cyber-commons: Social media as a tool of autocratic stability." Perspectives on Politics 13, no. 1 (2015): 42-54.
- Peisakhin, Leonid, and Arturas Rozenas. "Electoral effects of biased media: Russian television in Ukraine." American Journal of Political Science 62, no. 3 (2018): 535-550.
- Kern, Holger Lutz, and Jens Hainmueller. "Opium for the masses: How foreign media can stabilize authoritarian regimes." Political Analysis 17, no. 4 (2009): 377-399.
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. "Media and political persuasion: Evidence from Russia." American Economic Review 101, no. 7 (2011): 3253-85.

Recommended Reading:

- King, G., Pan, J. and Roberts, M.E., 2017. How the Chinese government fabricates social media posts for strategic distraction, not engaged argument. American Political Science Review, 111(3), pp.484-501.
- Rod, Espen Geelmuyden, and Nils B. Weidmann. "Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes." Journal of Peace Research 52, no. 3 (2015): 338-351.

Week 12 - (November 12) Protest in Authoritarian Regimes

Required Reading:

- Rasler, Karen. "Concessions, repression, and political protest in the Iranian revolution." American Sociological Review (1996): 132-152.
- Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "Dynamics of informational cascades: the monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-1991." World Politics 47: 42-101.
- Kuran, Timur (1991). "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." World Politics 44: 7-48.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2014. Pocketbook Protests: Explaining the Emergence of Pro-Democracy Protests Worldwide. Comparative Political Studies
- Lorentzen, Peter L. Regularizing rioting: Permitting public protest in an authoritarian regime. Quarterly Journal of Political Science 8, no. 2 (2013): 127-158.
- Beissinger, Mark. 2013. "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution." American Political Science Review, 107(3), 574-592.
- Rosenfeld, Bryn, 2017. Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia. American Political Science Review, 111(4), pp.637-652.

Recommended Reading:

- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary. 2017. Spontaneous Collective Action: Peripheral Mobilization During the Arab Spring. American Political Science Review
- Hollyer, James R., Rosendorff, B. Peter and James Vreeland. 2015. Transparency, Protest, and Autocratic Instability. American Political Science Review.
- Scott, James. 1985. Weapons of the Weak. Yale University Press: Chapter 8
- Idean Salehyan and Brandon Stewart. 2016. Political Mobilization and Government Targeting: When Do Dissidents Challenge the State? Comparative Political Studies
- Radnitz, Scott, 2010. Weapons of the wealthy: Predatory regimes and elite-led protests in Central Asia. Cornell University Press.
- Tucker, Joshua .A. (2007) Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and PostCommunist Colored Revolutions. Perspectives on Politics, 5(3), pp. 535- 551.
- Pearlman, Wendy. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." Perspectives on Politics 11, no. 2 (2013): 387-409.

- Ulfelder, Jay. "Contentious collective action and the breakdown of authoritarian regimes." International Political Science Review 26, no. 3 (2005): 311-334.

Week 13 - (November 19) Authoritarian Governments and Political Violence

Required Reading:

- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War" American Political Science Review: 475-90.
- Fjelde, Hanne. "Generals, Dictators, and Kings: Authoritarian Regimes and Civil Conflict, 1973–2004." Conflict Management and Peace Science 27, no. 3 (2010): 195-218.
- Zhukov, Yuri M."Population resettlement in war: Theory and evidence from Soviet archives." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59, no. 7 (2015): 1155-1185.
- Petersen, Roger D. Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Wilson, Matthew C., and James A. Piazza. "Autocracies and terrorism: Conditioning effects of authoritarian regime type on terrorist attacks." American Journal of Political Science 57, no. 4 (2013): 941-955.
- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. "Terrorism in dictatorships." The Journal of Politics 74, no. 3 (2012): 810-826.

Recommended Reading:

- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. "Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators." World Politics 67, no. 3 (2015): 423-468.
- Hegre, Havard. "Toward a democratic civil peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war, 1816–1992." American political science review 95, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

No class November 26, work on final papers

Week 15 - (December 2) Student Presentations

Research Paper due Saturday December 14 @ 12:00p through WebCourses

Questions to answer while reading an academic article or book (maybe in this order)[1]

- What is the point of the article?
- What is the author's agenda?
- Is the author trying to explain something? What is it?
- What have other people said about the subject the author is trying to explain?
- Does the author contribute anything beyond what these other people have said?
- What broader research agenda is the author adding to?
- What broader research agenda is the author trying to get rid of?
- What is the author's argument to explain this outcome?
- What claims does the author use to bridge his/her explanation of the outcome with the outcome itself?
- What assumptions does the author make in making these claims?
- How does the author test the claims that he/she made?
- Is this the best possible way to test these claims? Why or why not?
- Does the author test the theory in the appropriate place/time?
- Does the author's test adequately take alternative explanations into account?
- Does the author's test adequately account for biases, such as endogeneity, selection or ecological inference?
- What are the author's findings?
- Are the findings generalizable to other cases?
- How do the findings affect our understanding of the author's research agenda? Other research agendas?
- Has the author convinced you that his/her explanation for the chosen outcome is better than what others have done?

[1] It's also good practice to do this with your own work.