

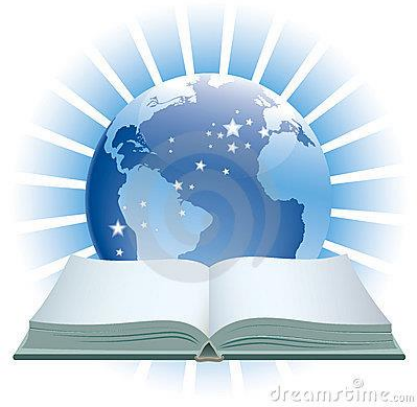
## **GVPT 4590: Politics of Authoritarian Regimes**

**Spring 2018**

**TuTh 11:00am-12:15pm**

**Location: TYD 0102**

Syllabus v.1.0



### **Dr. Jennifer Wallace**

Email: [jwallace@umd.edu](mailto:jwallace@umd.edu)

Office: TYD 1153

Office Hours: M 5:45-6:45; Th 12:30-1:30 and by appointment

### **Course Design:**

The study of democracy receives great attention in the field of political science, as students focus on electoral behavior, constitutions, the legislative process, and other institutions of democracy. However, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, less than 5% of the world population lives in a full democracy, with more than half living under authoritarian or hybrid regimes. The study of politics is thus incomplete without careful consideration of what leads to the formation of authoritarian systems, as well as their durability within an increasingly globalized international context.

This course will allow students to develop a greater understanding of authoritarian regimes by starting with basic concepts, such as differentiating authoritarian regime types and their ideological foundations. We will then build upon these concepts to tackle more complex questions about regime survival, state-society relations, and the role of technology and external influence in challenging – or supporting – authoritarian rule. We will take a thematic approach to the study of authoritarian regimes, but in order to reinforce the arguments presented the lessons will be supplemented by a case study approach, through which students will contribute to the lecture and discussions by presenting the results of their own case study analyses. The course thus combines theoretical and empirical research, lecture and class discussion, in order to dissect the characteristics of authoritarian regimes and to provide students with a rich environment to learn about the diversity of these regime types, past and present.

### **Learning Objectives:**

At the end of this course, each student should:

- 1) Understand the different types of authoritarian regime types and associated ideologies, and be able to apply these concepts to contemporary case analysis;
- 2) Know what factors make societies more susceptible to authoritarianism or democratic backsliding;
- 3) Understand the complex relationship between authoritarian regimes and their citizens, including some of the ways in which authoritarianism may hold appeal or include some forms of political participation;
- 4) Be able to present an informed argument on the future of authoritarian regimes in the context of globalization and the decline of US hegemony.

### **Course Readings:**

- There are no required textbooks for this class. All readings will be available online, either through the course page (on ELMS), links to websites, or academic journals.

### **Course Requirements:**

1. Case Study Presentation and Analyses (2 – 15% each): 30%
2. Midterm: 25%
3. Final Exam: 30%
4. Participation and Attendance: 15%

**Case Study Presentation and Analyses:** As noted below on the syllabus, approximately 20 case studies are scheduled throughout the semester to provide practical application to the thematic structure of the course. Students are expected to sign up to present two of these case studies; one in the first half and one in the second half of the course. Students who are presenting should read the required reading in advance, as well as additional supplementary reading on their case study. (In some cases, I will direct you to suggested readings.) As the case study experts, students should explain in class how their case study fits in with the theme of the class in a presentation that is approximately 10-15 minutes in length. The main focus of the presentation should be the discussion question noted on the syllabus and how it applies to the specific case, with students providing background information about the country as necessary. The presentations are loosely structured: Students may use PowerPoint but are not required to do so. Students should coordinate with the other students assigned to the same case study to avoid duplication in presentation, but do not necessarily need to present together. (Grades will be given individually.) The purpose of this exercise is to apply the more conceptual and theoretical knowledge of authoritarian regimes to practical examples, and dividing this responsibility among students allows us to study a wide variety of countries beyond what can be covered in assigned texts.

In addition to the class presentation, students should prepare a written paper that addresses the question associated with the case study. These papers should be approximately 5 pages in length not including the bibliography. The papers should cite least 5 sources, including at least two texts that are not listed on the syllabus. These written assignments are due within one week following your presentation, i.e., should be uploaded to ELMS by 11am either the Tuesday or Thursday following your presentation (whichever is one week from the day you present). A more structured rubric for how the presentation and written assignment will be graded will be provided on ELMS.

**Midterm:** A midterm will be held in class in Week 7 of the course and will be mixed format (multiple choice, response, essay), with the precise structure to be confirmed in advance. The exam will emphasize major concepts covered through that point in the semester, including types of authoritarian regimes and historical trends and ideologies.

**Final Exam:** A take-home final exam will be posted on ELMS after the final class of the semester and will be due on Saturday May 12 at 12pm in accordance with the university's final exam schedule. The exam will be in essay format, with questions that will cover themes that were discussed over the duration of

the course. Students who have kept up with the course readings and who have actively participated in class discussions should be well prepared for the exam.

**Participation:** Your participation will be measured by your attendance AND your involvement in classroom discussions. Unexcused absences will lower your participation grade. In accordance with university policy, students may, one time per course per semester, provide a self-signed excuse as documentation of an absence from a single class that does not coincide with a major assessment or assignment due date. In addition to a strong attendance record, full participation points will be awarded to students who come prepared to class, are actively involved in discussions, and who do not use phones/laptops for purposes unrelated to the course.

**Grading Scale**

A = 93-100	C = 73-76
A- = 90-92	C- = 70-72
B+ = 87-89	D+ = 67-69
B = 83-86	D = 63-66
B- = 80-82	D- = 60-62
C+ = 77-79	F = < 60

### **Course Policies and Expectations**

1. Assignments that are turned in past the due date will be penalized **one letter grade per day** or fraction thereof that the assignment is late.
2. With respect to quizzes and exams, there will be **no make-up** unless: 1) there is an official excuse for having missed an exam (proper documentation is required); or 2) prior arrangement is made. Medical excuses will only be accepted with a doctor's note on official letterhead with a contact phone number.
3. Neither cheating nor plagiarism in any form will be tolerated. The penalty for having committed either one of these violations is a **failing grade for the course**. Should you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please do not hesitate to contact me via email or during office hours.
4. Cell phones and other such disrupting devices must be **turned off** before you enter the classroom. Laptops may be used to access course material as needed, but must be put away during classroom discussions. If you are checking your email or social media, you are not giving this course your full attention. If I see it, you will be considered "absent."
5. Any student with disabilities/special needs or who will miss class due to a religious observance should contact me **during the first week of classes** so that the proper arrangements can be made.
6. I know that some students find class participation challenging. If you have particular concerns or anxieties about participating in class discussion, let's talk about it **early** in the semester. I will gladly work with you over the course of the semester to make your participation less stressful and more effective. But I can only work with you to make that happen if we talk about your concerns and develop a strategy to respond to them. Think of this class as a comfortable place to develop the communication skills you will need later on. Getting more comfortable with participation and public speaking could be a major personal accomplishment this semester, with this class as the vehicle.
7. Please see the **university webpage** <http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html> for additional information about your rights as a student and university procedures regarding misconduct.

Note: The reasons for setting the above, seemingly strict, ground rules are to provide everyone with a **fair and honest** environment for academic pursuits.

### **Course Structure:**

<b>PART 1:</b>	<b>TYPOLOGIES OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES</b>
<b><u>Week 1</u></b>	<b><u>Course Introduction and Syllabus Review</u></b>
Jan 25	Syllabus Review
<b><u>Week 2</u></b>	<b><u>What is Authoritarianism?</u></b>
Jan 30	Defining Authoritarian Regime Types

- Robert A. Dahl (1971) *Polyarchy. Chapter 1: Democratization and Public Opposition*
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita (2012) *The Dictator's Handbook. Chapter 1: The Rules of Politics*
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl (1991) "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2:3.

Feb 1

Historical Overview: Democratic Waves and Backsliding

- Samuel P. Huntington (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century: Chapter 1: What? and Chapter 5: How Long?*

**Week 3**

**Origins of Authoritarian Regimes: Domestic and International**

Feb 6

Democratic Breakdown: Domestic Context

- Hannah Arendt. (1951) *The Origins of Totalitarianism. Chapter 10: A Classless Society*
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1978) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes. Chapter 2: Elements of Breakdown*

Feb 8

Foreign Influence and Authoritarian Survival

- Laurence Whitehead (1988) "International Aspects of Democratization" Chapter 1 in O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (eds.) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*
- Sean L. Yom and Mohammad H. Al-Momani (2008) "The International Dimensions of Authoritarian Regime Stability: Jordan in the Post Cold-War Era," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 30:1.

*In what ways have foreign powers contributed to the emergence or survival of authoritarian regimes?*

CASE STUDY: GUATEMALA (1954-86)

CASE STUDY: IRAN (1953-79)

**Week 4**

**Totalitarian Systems 1: Introduction and Fascism**

Feb 13

Defining Totalitarian Regimes

- Juan J. Linz (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes. Chapter 2: Totalitarian Systems (up to page 128).*

*What factors led to the rise of fascism in Italy before the Second World War? Was Japanese statism at the time also a fascist movement?*

CASE STUDY: ITALY (1922-1943)

CASE STUDY: JAPAN (1926-1945)

Feb 15

Fascist Society and the Escalation of Violence

- Christopher R. Browning (1992) *Ordinary Men, Chapters 7-9*

**Week 5**

**Totalitarian Systems 2: Communism**

Feb 20

Communism in Theory and in Practice

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1848) *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*

- Patrick Van Inwegen (2011) *Understanding Revolution*, Chapter 5: *The Role of Ideology* (until page 91)

Feb 22

Modern Variants of Communism

- Ronald J. Hill (1992) *Beyond Stalinism: Communist Political Evolution*, Chapter 1: *Communist Politics: An Evolutionary Approach*

*How have modern communist nations adapted to increasing economic and political interdependence?*

CASE STUDY: CUBA

CASE STUDY: CHINA

**Week 6**

**Authoritarian Institutions, Part I**

Feb 27

Coups d'états and Military Regimes

- Amos Perlmutter (1980) "The Comparative Analysis of Military Regimes: Formations, Aspirations, Achievements," *World Politics*, 33:1.
- Gain Cawthra and Robin Luckham (2003) *Governing Insecurity*, Chapter 1: *Democratic Strategies for Security in Transition and Conflict* and Chapter 13: *Democratic Control and the Security Sector*

*What is the relationship between the military and civilian governments? Why are some countries more vulnerable to military coups?*

CASE STUDY: THAILAND

CASE STUDY: GUINEA-BISSAU

March 1

Personalistic Dictatorships and Monarchical Regimes

- Juan J. Linz (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Ch. 3: *Traditional Authority and Personal Rulership*
- R. Jackson and C. Rosbery (1984) "Personal Rule in Theory and Practice in Africa," *Comparative Politics*, 16:4.

*To what extent do contemporary monarchies rely on repression, as opposed to legitimacy, to maintain their rule?*

CASE STUDY: BRUNEI

CASE STUDY: JORDAN

**Week 7**

**Authoritarianism Institutions, Part II and Midterm**

March 6

Hybrid Regimes and Illiberal Democracy

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2002) "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13:2.
- Dawn Brancati (2014) "Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects" *Annual Review of Political Science* 17:2

*How do leaders bypass institutional constraints to secure their power? What is the effect on democracy?*

CASE STUDY: RUSSIA

CASE STUDY: TURKEY

March 8                   **\*\*MIDTERM EXAM\*\***

**Week 8**                   **Movie: The Last King of Scotland**

March 13               Movie: Part I

- *No Reading Assigned*

March 15               Movie: Part II and Discussion

- *No Reading Assigned*

**\*\*\* 😊 ENJOY YOUR SPRING BREAK! 😊 \*\*\***

**PART 2:**               **THE "APPEAL" OF AUTHORITARIANISM**

**Week 9**               **Culture and Religion**

March 27               "Asian Values" and Authoritarianism

- *Zakaria, Fareed. (1994). "Culture is Destiny: a Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." Foreign Affairs.*
- *Hood, Steven J. (1998). "The Myth of Asian-style Democracy," Asian Survey, 38:9.*
- *Mark Thompson (2001) "Whatever Happened to Asian Values?" Journal of Democracy 2:4.*

March 29               Political Islam

- *James DeFronzo (2015) Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements. Chapter 8: Islamic Revolutionary Movements*
- *Jocelyne Cesari, (2018) What is Political Islam? Chapters TBC*

*What is the relationship between Islam and politics?*

*CASE STUDY: EGYPT*

*CASE STUDY: TURKEY*

**Week 10**               **Political Economy of Authoritarian Regimes**

April 3               Patronage Politics

- *William Reno (1999) Warlord Politics and African States. Chapter 1: The Distinctive Political Logic of Weak States*
- *Frederico Finan and Laura Schechter (2012) "Vote-Buying and Reciprocity," Econometrica, 80:2.*

*How have authoritarian leaders been able to profit from war?*

*CASE STUDY: LIBERIA*

*CASE STUDY: SIERRA LEONE*

April 5               Natural Resources and the Rentier State

- *Michel Ross (2001) "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics 53:03.*
- *Nathan Jensen and Leonard Wantchekon (2004) "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa," Comparative Political Studies, 37:7.*

*How has natural resource wealth affected the stability of authoritarian regimes?*

CASE STUDY: NIGERIA

CASE STUDY: SAUDI ARABIA

**Week 11**

April 10

**Authoritarianism and Consent**

Choosing Authoritarianism at the Polls

- Amber L. Seligson and Joshua A. Tucker. (2005) "Feeding the Hand that Bit You: Voting for Ex-Authoritarian Rulers in Russia and Bolivia," *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 13:1.
- Steven Levitsky and James Loxton (2013) "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes," *Democratization*, 20:1.

April 12

Diversionsary War

- Jaroslav Tir and Michael Jasinski (2008) "Domestic-Level Diversionsary Theory of War: Targeting Ethnic Minorities," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52:5.
- Jessica Weeks (2012) "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review*, 106:02.

*How do leaders use the threat of violence to consolidate support for their regime?*

CASE STUDY: ARGENTINA/FALKLANDS CONFLICT

CASE STUDY: RUSSIA/CHECHNYA

**Week 12**

April 17

**The Role of the Media: Friend or Foe?**

Propaganda and Indoctrination

- Hannah Arendt. (1951) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Chapter 11: *The Totalitarian Movement*
- Christopher Walker and Robert W. Orttung (2014) "Breaking the News: The Role of State-Run Media," *Journal of Democracy*, 25:1.

*What strategies do states used to promote the authoritarian regime and minimize challenges to the state?*

CASE STUDY: NORTH KOREA

CASE STUDY: MYANMAR

**PART III:**

April 19

**CHALLENGES TO AUTHORITARIANISM**

Media and Social Media

- Malcolm Gladwell (2010) "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted," *The New Yorker*
- Evgeny Morozov (2011) *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*, Chapter 1: *The Google Doctrine* and Chapter 9: *Internet Freedoms and Their Consequences*

*What is the role of social media in facilitating collective action? Does social media present a threat to authoritarian regimes?*



CASE STUDY: EGYPT (2011)

CASE STUDY: UKRAINE

**Week 13**

April 24

**Civil Society in Authoritarian Regimes**

Pluralism in Non-Democracies

- *Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter (1989) Transitions From Authoritarian Rule, Chapter 5: Resurrecting Civil Society (and Restructuring Public Space)*
- *Jessica C. Teets (2014) Civil Society Under Authoritarianism, Introduction (up to page 25)*

*How do citizens participate in acts of "democracy" even within authoritarian regimes?*

CASE STUDY: YEMEN

CASE STUDY: VIETNAM

April 26

Challenging the State: From Inside and Outside

- *Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) Activists Beyond Borders, Chapter 1: Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction*
- *Sidney Tarrow (2005) The New Transnational Activism. Chapter 8: Externalizing Contention*

**Week 14**

May 1

**Transitions from Democracy**

Rejection of Authoritarian Rule

- *Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter (1989) Transitions From Authoritarian Rule, Chapter 3: Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes*
- *Andreas Schedler (2006) Electoral Authoritarianism, Chapter 5: Tipping Games: When do Opposition Parties Coalesce?*

May 3

Revolutions from Below

- *James DeFronzo (2015) Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements, Chapter 1: Social Movements and Revolutions and Chapter 11: The Arab Revolution*
- *Joshua A. Tucker (2007) "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," Perspectives on Politics, 5:3.*

*What factors lead to public mobilization against an authoritarian regime?*

CASE STUDY: ZANZIBAR (1964)

CASE STUDY: CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1989)

**Week 15**

May 8

**The Future of Authoritarianism and Democracy**

Democratic Influence and Authoritarian Regimes

- *Jason Brownlee (2007) Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization. Chapter 1: The Political Origins of Durable Authoritarianism and Chapter 7: Conclusions*
- *Henry S. Rowan "When Will the Chinese People Be Free?" Journal of Democracy, 18:3.*

May 10

Challenges to Democracy in a Globalized World

- *Azar Gat (2007) "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers," Foreign Affairs, 86:4.*
- *Donatella Della Porta (2005) "Globalizations and Democracy," Democratization, 12:5.*

**Final Exam: Due Saturday May 12 at noon (Online)**