

AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
MONDAYS 2–4:30 PM, NEW CABELL HALL 191
FALL 2016

PROFESSOR ANNE MENG
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OFFICE HOURS: TUESDAYS 3–5 PM, GIBSON HALL S284

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The overwhelming majority of governments throughout history have been undemocratic. Despite the “third wave” of democracy after the Cold War, many authoritarian regimes have remained surprisingly resilient. A third of the world’s countries and about half of the world’s population still live under autocratic rule today. The purpose of this class is to study how autocratic leaders try to stay in power. Why do some dictatorships seem stable and long-lived while others are weak and susceptible to breakdown? Why do some authoritarian regimes have parties, elections, and legislatures? When do autocrats rely on repression, censorship, and military rule in order to maintain order? We will root theories of authoritarian politics in current events as well as historical case studies and consider modern day regimes in places such as China, Africa, and the Middle East.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Attendance and Participation – 20%

Attendance and participation are especially important in seminars, and we will take advantage of the small class size to have many student led discussions of the material. Attendance for this class is mandatory. Students are expected to have completed all the assigned readings before class and be prepared to engage in critical discussions of the works.

2. Discussion Questions and Papers – 30%

Discussion Questions (15%): Each student should email me 2 discussion questions every week by midnight on Saturday before each class.

Discussion Papers (15%): Each student is required to write 2 discussion papers throughout the semester. Discussion papers should be posted online at the portal by midnight on Saturday before the class. Students can pick any 2 weeks between September 5 and December 5 that they would like to present. Other seminar participants should read the discussion papers before class and be prepared to discuss them.

Discussion papers should be 2 pages in length and focus on any 2 articles (or book chapters) assigned for that week. The discussion papers should consider the following questions: What is the puzzle the author is trying to explain? What is the argument? What kinds of evidence does the author provide that supports his thesis? Are there any

remaining questions that should be discussed? How can we think about the two articles in relation to each other?

Students who wrote discussion papers will be the point person for the seminar that week. We will open the discussion with brief presentations where the student will provide key ideas, themes, and questions that we can discuss.

3. Research Paper – 50%

Proposal (5%) – due October 17

Draft Literature Review and Working Theory (10%) – due November 14

Peer Review (5%) – due November 21

Final Paper (30%) – due December 13

The field of authoritarian politics is an active research topic with a number of open questions remaining. The main assignment of this class is to produce a research paper that addresses a question you find interesting and propose a way to test your argument. Your research paper should include all the components of an article published in a political science journal, minus the section presenting empirical results.

Your paper should include the following sections: (1) An introduction that identifies the research question and explains why this question is important. (2) A literature review that summarizes existing research on this topic and a discussion of how your paper relates to these existing studies. (3) Your own theoretical argument and discussion of key factors that you think explain the outcome that you are looking at. (4) Proposed test of your theoretical argument. Your proposed empirical test can be either qualitative or quantitative. For qualitative proposal, propose case studies you would examine. For a quantitative proposal, identify existing data that you could use to test your hypothesis.

We will write the paper in three main stages. First, a one-page proposal that describes your research question will be due on **October 17**. Second, a draft of the research question, literature review, and working theory (approximately 5-6 pages) will be due on **November 14**. Each student will exchange their draft with an assigned partner and provide feedback on their partner's draft. The feedback should be at least 1 page in length and will be due on **November 21**. The final research paper should be 20 pages doubled-spaced and will be due on Tuesday, **December 13**.

I highly encourage students to come talk to me during office hours about the research paper throughout the semester, and especially during the proposal stage! I can give you early feedback about the feasibility of the topic and we can discuss possible arguments and strategies for testing the argument.

COURSE POLICIES

Late assignments

I **do not** accept late assignments, so please plan ahead and complete all assignments on time. If you really are facing an extenuating circumstance (such as documented medical issue), please come talk to me.

Re-grade policy

If a grade dispute arises, please provide a one-page memo explaining why you believe the grade you received is incorrect. A copy of the graded assignment should be included along with the memo. Re-grade requests must be submitted within a week from the time the grade was first received. Note that re-grade requests may result in a higher *or lower* grade, so utilize this option carefully.

Classroom etiquette

All cell phones, laptops, tablets, and related devices must be turned off and stowed away during class.

Academic Honor Code

All students are expected to submit work that is a reflection of their own ideas and to properly cite published sources when referencing the ideas of others. If you have any questions about proper citation practices or what constitutes plagiarism, please come talk to me. Plagiarism will result in a failing grade for the course.

SCHEDULE

We will read all (or most) of the following books. They are all available (new and used) on Amazon and at the student store.

H.E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. 1998. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Richard McGregor. 2010. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. Harper.

Ryszard Kapuscinski. 2005. *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. Vintage.

Barbara Demick. 2009. *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*. Spiegel & Grau.

The rest of the readings can be accessed on Collab. The PDFs of each reading is listed by the author's last name and year.

Week 1 (8/29): Introduction

Week 2 (9/5): What is Authoritarianism?

Larry Diamond. 2002. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 21-35.

Barbara Geddes. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:115-144.

Milan Svoblik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-2.

Week 3 (9/12): Personalist Dictators

H.E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. 1998. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapters 1 and 2 (Theory), Chapter 4 (Dominican Republic), Chapter 8 (Iran)

Dan Slater. 2006. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia," *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.

Week 4 (9/19): Military Rule and Coups

Barbara Geddes, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. 2014. "Military Rule," *Annual Review of Political Science*. 17: 147-162.

Karen Remmer. 1989. "Neopatrimonialism: The Politics of Military Rule in Chile, 1973-1987," *Comparative Politics*. 21(2):149-170.

Philip Roessler. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics* 63(2): 300-346.

Week 5 (9/26): Hegemonic Party Regimes

Benjamin Smith. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule," *World Politics* 57(3): 421-451.

Beatriz Magaloni. 2008. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule," *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(4): 715-741.

Anne Meng. 2016. "Ruling Parties in Authoritarian Regimes: A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change," Manuscript.

Week 6 (10/3): Reading day – No class**Week 7 (10/10): Elections and Legislatures**

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1279- 1301.

Ellen Lust-Okar. 2006. "Elections Under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan," *Democratization* 13(3): 456-471.

Edmund Malesky and Paul Schuler. 2010. "Nodding or Needling: Analyzing Delegate Responsiveness in an Authoritarian Parliament," *American Political Science Review*. 104(3): 482-502.

Week 8 (10/17): Transferring Power: Leadership Succession

[Research Proposal due]

John H. Herz. 1952. "The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Regimes: A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions," *Journal of Politics* 14(1): 19-40.

Jason Brownlee. 2007. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics* 59(4): 595-628.

Andrew Nathan. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience: China's Changing of the Guard," *Journal of Democracy* 14(1): 6-17.

Bert Hoffman. 2009. "Charismatic Authority and Leadership Change: Lessons from Cuba's Post-Fidel Succession," *International Political Science Review* 30(3): 229-248.

Week 9 (10/24): Distributive Politics

Leonardo Arriola. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.

Kenneth Greene. 2010. "The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance," *Comparative Political Studies* 43(7): 807-834.

Michael L. Ross. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy," *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.

Treisman, Daniel. 2010. "Is Russia cursed by oil?" *Journal of International Affairs*, 63(2):85-102.

Week 10 (10/31): Media

Barbara Geddes and John Zaller. 1989. "Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 319-347.

Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression," *American Political Science Review*. 107(2): 326-343.

Macolm Gladwell. 2010. "Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted," *The New Yorker* 86(30): 42-49.

Week 11 (11/7): Protest and Repression

Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce. 2013. "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations Against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 753-769.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics*. 44(1):7-48.

Dan Slater. 2009. "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology* 115(1):

203-254.

Week 12 (11/14): Middle East and the Arab Spring
[Draft Literature Review and Working Theory due]

Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36(2): 139-157.

Lisa Anderson. 2011. "Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya," *Foreign Affairs* 90(3): 2-7.

Jack Goldstone. 2011. "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011," *Foreign Affairs* 90(3): 2-7.

Wendell Steavenson. 2011. "Who Owns the Revolution? The Army or the people?" *New Yorker* 87(22): 38-57.

Week 13 (11/21): China and the Chinese Communist Party
[Peer Review comments due]

Richard McGregor. 2010. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. Harper.

Week 14 (11/28): The Personalist Dictator: Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

Ryszard Kapuscinski. 2005. *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. Vintage.

Week 15 (12/5): North Korea

Barbara Demick. 2009. *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*. Spiegel & Grau.

[December 13: Final Research Papers Due]