

# **AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES**

**POLI 4060**, Section 1, Spring 2021

**Course location:** Tureaud 204

**Course time:** MWF, 10:30-11:20

**Course instructor:** Dr. Michael Toje ([mtoje1@lsu.edu](mailto:mtoje1@lsu.edu))

**Office:** Howe-Russell 153B

**Hours:** MW, 1:00-4:00, or by appointment

## **Course Description & Objectives**

The post-Cold War era marks the first time that the majority of the world's governments were democratic. However, the norm for the vast majority of human history was rule by a dictatorship in one form or another. This class aims to draw a deeper understanding of the historical, cultural, and political contexts that shape modern authoritarian regimes, past and present. This course, then, will introduce students to concepts, ideas, and theories in the field of authoritarian studies, and their application and practice in the real world. The class consists of three parts: the first part explores approaches and rough classifications of authoritarian regimes. The second part examines the policies, preferences, and outcomes of various authoritarian regimes. The third and final part of the class looks at the lifespans of authoritarian regimes, including their continuance and demise, as well as the complicated process of democratization.

## **Course Requirements**

The following several components make up the final grade:

- Participation – The class is structured as a seminar. As such, participating in class lectures and discussions in an active and constructive manner is an integral part of this class. Earning participation points in a class you are not regularly attending will be difficult. Participation will make up 15% of your overall score.
- “Simulocracy” Simulation – Five times throughout the semester the class will run a simulation. Students will learn firsthand how an authoritarian regimes operates, apply concepts and theories learned in class in running the mock regime, and possibly learn how difficult democratization is. In addition to the simulation itself, the entire assignment will also consist of pre-game and post-treatment papers to help students think about their roles, actions, and objectives. Simulocracy will comprise 25% of your overall grade.
- Midterm exam – One in-class exam will be given during the course, encompassing the material covered in the first half of class. The midterm exam will be worth 25% of your overall score.
- Final Exam – The course will have a final exam that covers material from the second half of the class. The final exam will be worth 35% of your overall grade.

## **Final Grades**

A+	100-97	B	89.9-87	C+	79.9-77	D+	69.9-67	F <60
A	96.9-93	B	86.9-83	C	76.9-73	D	66.9-63	
A-	92.9-90	B-	82.9-80	C-	72.9-70	D-	62.9-60	

## **Assignment Policy**

The instructor reserves the right to change the listed assignments. Students will receive a revised syllabus if the listing of course assignments changes.

## **Attendance Policy**

Class attendance is the responsibility of the student, and each student is expected to attend all classes. Any student who must miss class assumes responsibility for making up examinations, obtaining lecture notes, and otherwise compensating for what the student may have missed from class. The instructor will determine the validity of a student's reason(s) for any absences and will assist those students who have valid reasons and documentation.

Valid documentable reasons for absences include:

1. Illness
2. Serious family emergency
3. Special curricular requirements such as judging trips or field trips
4. Court-imposed legal obligations such as subpoenas or jury duty
5. Military obligations
6. Serious weather conditions
7. Religious observances

## **Disability Code**

The Office of Disability Services assists students in identifying and developing accommodations and services to help overcome barriers to the achievement of personal and academic goals. Services are available for students with temporary or permanent disabilities. Accommodations and services are based on the individual student's disability-based need. Students must provide current documentation of their disabilities. Students should contact the office early to arrange the necessary accommodations. ~ LSU General Catalog

## **Late Work**

Please avoid turning in late work. I realize life happens and that you may not always be able to submit your work on time. I will accept one unexcused late assignment at a deduction of 10% for each 24 hours it is late. Any additional unexcused late assignments will receive a deduction of 20% for each 24 hours they are late. An assignment is late when an assignment is not available, or incomplete, on the date it is due.

## **Academic Integrity**

LSU set high academic and personal standards for its students when it adopted the Commitment to Community guidelines in 1995. All students are expected to read and familiarize themselves with the LSU Code of Student Conduct (especially Sec. 10) to know both what is expected from them and of the consequences for any offences. [SAA website](#)

## **Plagiarism and Citation Method**

As a student at LSU, your responsibility is to refrain from plagiarizing another's academic property. To this end, you must utilize an appropriate citation method for all coursework. Ignorance of a citation method is no excuse for academic misconduct. Plenty of citation sources exist online (my favorite is Purdue OWL), in print, and even Microsoft Word even has a built-in references function that will generate a reference or works cited page for the information you input. I am familiar with MLA, APA, and Chicago/Turabian styles, so if you cite any outside sources in any paper, please use whichever of these styles is most comfortable for you.

### **Expectations of Written Work**

All papers are to be college-level papers. This means that they are to be typed, spell-checked and edited, well written with a logical flow of thought, and correctly cited. LSU's Communication across the Curriculum center is a terrific resource for help with writing papers.

### **Group Work and Unauthorized Assistance**

Each student must complete all work without assistance from a classmate or group, unless stated explicitly by the instructor so that the instructor can assess individual performance on each assignment. If the students have a group- or partner-based project assigned, each student may still have individual work to complete. Read the syllabus and assignment directions carefully. When in doubt, e-mail the instructor or ask during class. Seeking clarification is the sole responsibility of the student. Assuming group or partner based work is acceptable without permission constitutes a violation of the LSU Code of Student Conduct.

### **Special notices**

1. Per LSU safety protocols, masks are mandatory for coming to class. The official response to someone not wearing a mask is to call LSU PD. Please don't make me do that.

Also, if you feel safer staying home away from the crowds, I will be live-streaming my lectures during the normal class period. [Course Zoom link](#)

2. A note on discussion: this course should be an open forum for debate. I am rather old school about intellectual freedom, so please feel free to share. I want to hear what you have to say, but please be respectful of the space and others in the class. If discussion wanders too far afield or becomes toxic, I will shut it down.

3. Similarly, do not take things in the simulation personally, nor make things in the simulation to be personal. Non-democratic regimes can be utterly ruthless and monstrously brutal, and while I do want to simulate the workings of a non-democratic regime in our classroom, I do not want recreate the worst excesses of some of these regimes.

### **Important Semester Dates**

Jan 18 (Monday) – Martin Luther King Day

Jan 20 (Wednesday) – Final date for dropping courses without receiving a grade of “W”

Jan 21 (Thursday) – Final date for adding courses for credit and making section changes

Mar 12 – Mid-semester break

Mar 26 (Monday) – Final date for rescheduling final exam dates, and for dropping classes

Apr 2 – Good Friday holiday

Apr 21-25 (Wednesday – Sunday) – Concentrated Study Period

Apr 26-May 1 (Monday – Saturday) – Final Exam Week

### **Simulation dates:**

Jan. 29 (Friday)

Feb. 19 (Friday)

Mar. 19 (Friday)

Mar. 31 (Wednesday)

Apr. 23 (Friday)

## Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

### **Part 1: Regime Types**

#### *Week 1, Jan. 11-15: Syllabus; Conceptualizing Democracy and Dictatorship*

Svolik, Milan. 2013. "Incentives, Institutions, and the Challenges to Research on Authoritarian Politics." *APSA Comparative Democratization Newsletter*.

Przeworski, Adam. 1999. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense." In *Democracy's Value*, eds. Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### *Week 2, Jan. 20-22: Theories and Classifications*

Brooker, Paul. 2009. *Non-Democratic Regimes*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (Excerpt)

Friedrich, Carl J., and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers. (Excerpt)

Kaufman Purcell, Susan. 1973. "Decision-Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Theoretical Implications from a Mexican Case Study." *World Politics* 26 (1): 28–54.

#### *Week 3, Jan. 25-29: Monarchical and Personalist Authoritarianism*

Gill, Graeme. 1984. "Personality Cult, Political Culture, and Party Structure." *Studies in Comparative Communism* XVII (2): 111–21.

Ilkhamov, Alisher. 2007. "Neopatrimonialism, Interest Groups and Patronage Networks: The Impasses of the Governance System in Uzbekistan." *Central Asian Survey* 26 (1): 65–84.

Yom, Sam L., and F. Gregory Gause III. 2012. "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On." *Journal of Democracy* 23 (4): 74–88.

\*Simulation round #1 (Jan. 29; post-game papers due by 10:30 am on Feb. 1)

#### *Week 4, Feb. 1-5: Military Authoritarianism*

Finer, Samuel E. 2002 [1976]. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. (Excerpt)

Dix, Robert H. 1994. "Military Coups and Military Rule in Latin America." *Armed Forces & Society* 20 (3): 439–56.

Bünthe, Marco. 2014. "Burma's Transition to Quasi-Military Rule: From Rulers to Guardians?" *Armed Forces & Society* 40 (4): 742–64.

#### *Week 5, Feb. 8-12: Single-Party Authoritarianism*

Lowenthal, Robert. 1958. "Logic of One-Party Rule." *Problems of Communism* 7 (2): 21–30.

Magaloni, Beatriz, and Ruth Kricheli. 2010. "Political Order and One-Party Rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 123–43.

Smith, Benjamin. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics* 57 (3): 421–51.

## Part 2: Regime Features

### Week 6, Feb. 15-19: Consolidation, Legitimacy, and Control

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403–22.

Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014 "A Dictator's Toolkit: Understanding How Co-optation Affects Repression in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (3): 332–46.

March, Andrew F. 2003. "State Ideology and the Legitimation of Authoritarianism: The Case of Post-Soviet Uzbekistan." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 8 (2): 209–32.

\*Sim round #2 (Feb. 19; pre-game papers due by noon, Feb. 18; post-game by 10:30, Feb. 22)

### Week 7, Feb. 22-26: Governance and State-Building

Reuter, Ora John. 2013. "Regional Patrons and Hegemonic Party Electoral Performance in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29 (2): 101–35.

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

Slater, Dan. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36 (1): 81–101.

### Week 8, Mar. 1-5: Midterm review and exam

No readings assigned for this week; review Monday

### Week 9, Mar. 8-10: Political Culture and Political Regime

Almond, Gabriel, and Sydney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Excerpt)

Muller, Edward N. and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 635–52.

Stevens, Daniel, Benjamin G. Bishin, and Robert R. Barr. 2006. "Authoritarian Attitudes, Democracy, and Policy Preferences among Latin American Elites." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 606–20.

### Week 10, Mar. 15-19: Political Economy under Authoritarianism

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1993. "Political Regimes and Economic Growth." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (3): 51–69.

Ross, Michael L. 1999. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse." *World Politics* 51 (2): 297–322.

Wu, Wen-Chin. 2015. "When do Dictators Decide to Liberalize Trade Regimes? Inequality and Trade Openness in Authoritarian Countries." *International Studies Quarterly* 59: 790–801

\*Sim round #3 (Mar. 19; pre-game papers due by noon, Mar. 18; postgame by 10:30, Mar. 22)

### Part 3: Regime Longevity and Transitions

#### *Week 11, Mar. 22-26: Succession*

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

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

Ma, Xiao. 2016. "Term Limits and Authoritarian Power Sharing: Theory and Evidence from China." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 16: 61–85.

#### *Week 12, Mar. 29-31: Rational Choice and Selectorate Theory*

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 2002. "Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival of Leaders." *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (4): 559–590

Gallagher, Mary, and Jonathan Hanson. 2015. "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (23): 1–23.

\*Sim round #4 (Mar. 31; pre-game papers due by noon on Mar. 30; postgame by 10:30, Apr. 5)

#### *Week 13, Apr. 5-9: Democratization and Transition*

Debs, Alexandre. 2016. "Living by the Sword and Dying by the Sword? Leadership Transitions in and out of Dictatorships." *International Studies Quarterly* 60: 73–84.

Zielinski, Jakub. 1999. "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule and the Problem of Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (2): 213–28.

Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2002. "Dealing with the Communist Past or the Politics of the Present? Lustration in Post-Communist Poland." *Europe-Asia Studies* 54 (4): 552–72.

#### *Week 14, Apr. 12-16: Semi-Authoritarianism*

Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Dem.* 13 (1): 5–21.

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 36–50.

Gilbert, Leah, and Payam Mohseni. 2011. "Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46 (3): 270–97.

#### *Week 15, Apr. 19-23: A New Authoritarian Wave?*

Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Yascha Mounk. 2016. "The Democratic Disconnect." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (3): 5-17.

Brunkert, Lennart, Stefan Kruse, and Christian Welzel. 2018. "A Tale of Culture-Bound Regime Evolution: The Centennial Democratic Trend and Its Recent Reversal." *Democratization* 25, 1–23.

Nathan, Andrew J. 2015. "The Authoritarian Resurgence: China's Challenge." *Journal of Democracy* 26 (1): 156–70.

\*Sim round #5 (Apr 23; pre-game papers due by noon on Apr. 22)