Course Description:
It has been said that politics is the study of who gets what, when, where, and how. This course is an advanced introduction to the politis of authoritarian regimes. Historically, most of the world’s political regimes have been authoritarian. Since the end of the Cold War, democratic countries have come to outnumber those with authoritarian forms of government; but 40% of the world’s governments remain authoritarian, and over half of the planet’s population lives under non-democratic rule. Any effort to understand the foundations comparative politics would be incomplete without a consideration of non-democratic regimes.

We will begin the course by investigating conceptual and operational differences between authoritarian and democratic regimes. We will then ask if those differences matter. The course then proceeds to examine the question of ‘who governs’ in authoritarian regimes. We will look at conceptual distinctions between and empirical examples of personalist, monarchical, military, and single party regimes. The course then moves to consider the means by which authoritarian governments maintain and exercise their power. We will examine issues related to ideology, coercion, cooptation, electoral manipulation, patronage distribution, and political socialization. We will also look at how authoritarian governments manage relations with opposition forces and elites. Most of our focus will be on the political dynamics of contemporary authoritarian regimes, although we will also review the workings of authoritarian regimes from decades past in order to contextualize our discussions.

Although the primary focus of our course is not on democratic transitions, we will be vigilant in identifying the ways that the study of authoritarian rule can inform the study of democratization processes. In addition, your paper assignment will address this issue. Our approach to the material will be thematic. So we will not spend a great deal of time exploring the histories and details of particular cases, but our readings include empirical material from countries in all regions of the world.

Course Objectives:

In this course you will:

1. gain a firm understanding of the difference between democratic and authoritarian regimes
2. become familiar with the different types of authoritarian rule
3. learn about how authoritarian governments exercise and perpetuate their power
4. gain exposure to several modern and historical cases of authoritarian government
5. gain useful ‘real-world’ knowledge about contemporary authoritarian regimes
6. use the analytic toolkit of social science to examine why we observe certain political outcomes in authoritarian regimes

Requirements:

1) Attend class sessions and participate
   The format of this seminar will be discussion. Your participation includes both attendance and engagement in class discussion.
   I will lecture briefly at times, but most of our class time will be spent discussing the themes and arguments presented in our readings. Everyone should have something to say in every class. Your comments need not dazzle every time. Often times, the most productive contributions to class discussions are questions. If you don’t understanding something in the readings, say so. The authors we read are not perfect; their prose may not always be clear and their arguments will never be bulletproof. Speak up and air your grievances if you are confused. We will all be better for it and you will be rewarded some evaluation time.
   Attendance is mandatory. Our class is very small, and therefore, you cannot free ride on your fellow classmates. Your absences will be noticed by all and have a palpable impact on our sessions. Please try to let me know in advance if you will need to be absent.

2) Complete assigned readings before the date indicated on the syllabus
   In order to participate effectively in discussion, you will need to have done the required readings for that day. Much is expected in terms of reading, but you are up to the task. The suggested readings are not required, but are listed to help you if you want to go deeper into a topic for your paper or for your own edification.

3) One quiz: The Geography and History of Authoritarianism
   No, this is not high school. But in order for you to engage knowledgeably with our material, it is important that you have a firm ‘real-world’ grasp of our subject matter. This early semester quiz will push you to acquire that grasp.

4) Four 2-4 page reaction papers/presentation
   Over the course of the semester, you will write four reaction papers on a reading (or readings) of your choice from a class session.
   These papers should have three components:
   1) The paper should briefly (one paragraph) sum up the main argument made by the author and the evidence provided.
   2) It should contain an evaluation and critique of the author’s argument and evidence. Does the author’s argument make sense? Why or why not? Does his evidence (if any) comport with his/her argument? Why or why not? Do you know of other evidence that undermines (or supports) the author’s argument? Does one of the other readings for that day offer a perspective that is discordant with the perspective offered by the author? This section should constitute the lion’s share of the paper.
   3) The paper should conclude with some questions for the class that flow from your evaluation/critique.
You will give a short 5-minute presentation on your paper to kick off our discussion of that reading. Your questions should help us in our discussion.

Each week we will determine who will write reaction papers for the following week. I will ask for volunteers.

Note: Some of our readings are not social science texts that follow the argument-hypothesis-evidence format. Therefore, for the following readings you have the option of writing an expert book review: Dahl (January 23) Kapuschinski (February 13), and McAuley (March 6). In these expert book reviews, you will review the book (or book selections) with an eye toward its usefulness for political science majors like yourself. The book review should mix summary of the book with commentary on its style, argument, prose, clarity, and/or case material. It should conclude with some recommendations about why you would (or would not) recommend this book for a political science major to read (in his/her free time). This is NOT the same as the midterm book review.

5) Mid-term book review: You will write a 5 page review and discussion of one of the books listed below. This will be by email on March 8. Please choose from one of the following selections. If there is a book on authoritarian regimes that you would like to review that is not on this list, please see me. I will be happy to accommodate such requests. All of these have been placed on reserve at Rhees library, but I suggest that you acquire your own copy.

Non-Fiction:
Hertog, Steffen. Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats.

Khlevniuk, Oleg V. Master of the House: Stalin and his inner circle.


Treisman, Daniel. The Return: Russia's Journal from Gorbachev to Medvedev

Fiction:
Vargas Llosa, Mario. The Feast of the Goat.

Zamyatin, Evgenii. We

Memoirs:
Ginzburg, Eugenia. 1967 Journey into the Whirlwind.

6) One Final Paper

Your most important assignment in this class will be a 15-30 page research paper. In this paper, you will undertake original research on a topic within one of the following three themes:

1) How some aspect of authoritarian rule affects democratization or regime change. Aspects of authoritarian rule that we will examine in this class include the existence of ruling parties, the maintenance of legislatures, the role of the military, the use of elections, control of the media, repression, coercion, electoral fraud, political socialization, and patronage. Authoritarian regimes vary along all of these dimensions. Under this theme, your paper would examine how one of these aspects affects regime change or democratization.

2) How some aspect of authoritarian rule affects policy or political outcomes (aside from democratization). Under this theme you might examine how one of these aspects affects the prevalence of protest or violence in authoritarian regimes. Or you might examine how it affects economic growth, development, social spending, or human rights.

3) The causes of some aspect of authoritarian rule. So, for example, you might ask: why do some authoritarian regimes have legislatures? Why do some regimes engage in electoral fraud? Why are elections held in some regimes, but not in others? The comparison set should be other authoritarian regimes.

The research paper should contain an argument and evidence for that argument. Either the argument or the evidence should be original. In other words, you can develop your own theoretical argument and bring original evidence to bear on it. Or you can take a theoretical argument that we examine in the course and test its validity against new empirical evidence. Or you can use existing data or case material to examine a novel theoretical argument. Any of these strategies are acceptable.

I am open to many strategies of empirical testing in your paper. The evidence you choose to support your argument can be statistical, or you can compare several cases that vary on a key variable. Alternatively, you can use temporal variation in a single case. Here you might compare Nigeria before and after a military coup or China's human rights record over time. You can also examine a single case (possibly with no variation). BUT if you choose this option, then the case must be 'surprising' in light of some existing theoretical argument AND you must provide a provisionary argument for why it does not conform to the predictions of existing theory. For example, it is said that military regimes are the least durable type of authoritarian regime. If you know about a long-lived military regime, you could examine this regime and elaborate on the reasons why you think it defies conventional wisdom. This is how many social scientists develop new theories.

In late January we will discuss the methods of writing a research paper in more detail. On January 30, I will distribute an extensive list of example topics, and I will solicit individual appointments with each of you to discuss your strategy. We should have these meetings in early February. Then, on February 27, I will ask each of you to submit a topic along with an outline. On April 3, I will ask each of you to submit a written mid-term progress report on your research. Details on this progress report will be provided in February.

The full draft of the paper will be due on April 24th. On May 1, you will each give a 10 minute in-class, power point presentation of your findings.
A final revision of your paper will be due on May 13th. This revision should take into account my feedback on the full draft and the feedback you receive during your presentation. NOTE: This is not a revision to change the final grade on your paper. Only your revisions will be graded for this component.

**Evaluation:**

Class Attendance and Participation: 20%
Geography Quiz: 5%
Reaction Papers: 20%
One Mid-term Book Review: 10%
Final Draft of Final Paper: 30%
Final Presentation: 5%
Revision of Final Paper: 10%

**Required Texts for Purchase:**


**Recommended Texts for Purchase:**


Other required readings can be accessed either through the Rochester library or through our blackboard site.

**Academic Honesty:**

All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester’s Academic Honesty Policy. Plagiarism will not be tolerated in this course and any plagiarism on any assignment will result in a failing grade for the course. *When in doubt, cite.* If you have questions about attribution, please see me. I am here to help! More information is available at: [www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/](http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/)
COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I-WHAT IS AUTHORITARIANISM?

January 16—Introduction and Overview


Required:


Suggested:


January 30—Geography, Facts, Trends, Data! How do we know an authoritarian regime when we see one? Does it matter how we define democracy? Waves of democratization? Introduction to classifying authoritarian regime types. Geographic distribution of authoritarian regimes.

Required:
“Freedom in the World 2012” Release Booklet
(Familiarize yourself with methodology, maps, and charts in this booklet)

Fish, M Steven. Democracy Derailed in Russia, pp 15-20 [Blackboard]


Quiz! The Geography and History of Authoritarianism

Required:


Bruce Russett 1994. Grasping the Democratic Peace Chapters 1 and 2. pp 3-42 [Blackboard]


Translated Excerpts from Interview with Advisor to Russian Presidents Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, Vladislav Surkov. Vedomosti. 15 February, 2010. [Blackboard]

Suggested:


PART II: WHO GOVERNS IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES?

February 13 – Personalist Regimes—What is traditional authority? Charismatic authority? Dynasties. The foundations of personal rule. Are personalist dictators more prone to violence? Are they more prone to suffer coups?

Required:


Suggested:


February 20 – Military Regimes—How does a military regime differ from other types of authoritarian regimes? Do military leaders have Are military regimes different from personalist regimes? Why are there so few military regimes in the world today?


Suggested:


Paper Outlines Duel

Required:


Brownlee, Jason. 2007. Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization. Introduction and Chapter 1 pp1-44. [Blackboard]


Suggested:


Brownlee, Remainder


**PART III: HOW AUTHORITARIAN LEADERS RULE**


**Required:**


**Suggested:**


March 8—Mid-term book review due by email.

March 13—Spring Break—Use this time to work on your papers.


Required:

Readings on Great Terror TBD


Suggested:

March 27- Patronage and Natural Resources How do authoritarian leaders use state resources to appease citizens and social groups? Are they different from democracies in this sense? What factors inhibit their ability to gain privileged access to state resources? Clientelism and political machines. Is some form of representation and accountability possible under authoritarianism?

Required:

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. “Meet the New Boss, Same as the Old Boss”? The Evolution of Political Clientelism in Africa”. In Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson Eds., Patrons, clients, and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition. pp50-67 [Blackboard]

Fish, M Steven. Democracy Derailed in Russia, Chapter 5 [Blackboard]


Suggested:


**April 3—Hybrid Regimes**—What is a hybrid regime? The gray area between democracy and authoritarianism. Are these the only ‘modern’ form of non-democratic regime?

**Required:**


**Suggested:**


**April 10—Authoritarian Elections**— Why do authoritarian leaders hold elections? Elections as precursors to democratization? Elections as mechanisms of authoritarian rule?

**Required:**


Teorell, Jan and Axel Hadenius. 2009. “Elections as Levers of Democratization” in Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition. [Blackboard]


Suggested:


Required:


Suggested:


Final Draft of Paper Due !!!!!

Required:


Suggested:


Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy. Chapters 7 (and skim Chapter 5 for main idea)


May 1—Student Presentations
May 4—Constructive Critiques Due

May 13—Final Versions of Final Paper Due by Email