

## **PO8056: Varieties of Authoritarianism**

Syllabus

Hilary Term 2021

Time and location TBA

**Instructor:** Dr Noah Buckley

**Email:** [buckleno@tcd.ie](mailto:buckleno@tcd.ie)

**Office:** C6-003 in TRiSS in the Arts Building, 6<sup>th</sup> floor

**Office Hours:** TBA, online by appointment

### **Module Description and Objectives**

This graduate seminar provides an overview of how authoritarian regimes are structured and the different strategies that authoritarian leaders use to stay in power. Each week we will discuss a set of “varieties” of authoritarian rule or dynamics of these regimes. Much like democracies come in many shapes and forms, so to do non-democracies. The goal of this module is to introduce you to the richness of styles and approaches that authoritarian leaders use to maintain their authority.

### **Assessment**

#### **Participation (15%)**

Student attendance, participation, and discussion is crucial to this seminar. Students are expected to have read all required readings before class. You should plan on digging in deeply with each reading—you are advised to develop critiques of readings, connections between them, suggestions for improvement or future research, and to build links to other political science research before you arrive to discuss them with the group in class.

Students will be evaluated on the quality of their input in discussions. Asking questions, bringing evidence, explaining your views and thoughts, and debating issues of significance, relevance, research design, real-world applicability, accuracy, and other factors will be important in participating fully.

#### **Reading Responses (20%)**

Students will be required to submit four short responses—one in each of the four weeks of the module. These can be fairly short and informal. Each one should **not** offer a summary of the readings for that week, but, rather, they should engage with the readings in some substantive. Critiques, establishment of connections between readings, questions, and other insightful thoughts coming from a critical perspective are all good elements to include, where appropriate.

Each response paper should be 1-2 pages in length, double-spaced in 12pt font. They should be submitted to Blackboard by 9pm on the evening before class.

### **In-class Presentation (15%)**

Students will each make one short, live presentation to the class in weeks 2-5 of the mini-term. The topics and structure of the presentations are TBA and scheduling will depend on module enrollment.

### **Final essay (50%)**

Students are required to submit a final, long essay at the end of the mini-term. The essay should show engagement with the material from across the mini-module as well as readings, concepts, and ideas from the recommended reading list and/or other sources.

Details on the specific essay assignment will be provided in the first half of the module.

The essay should be about 2,500 words in length including everything but the reference list; double-spaced in 12pt font. The deadline for submission to Blackboard is **11:59pm (midnight) on [DATE TBA]**. Creativity, clear and strong argumentation, a good structure, and clear writing are important features of a good essay. The essay should not focus on literature review, historical narrative (or other narrative rather than analytical approaches), or pure summarization. I want to hear your thoughts and analysis.

### **Plagiarism**

Please do not plagiarize. Academic dishonesty is a serious matter, with serious consequences that can result in receiving no credit for an assignment, a failing grade for the module, and even expulsion from the program. It is never permissible to turn in any work that contains others' ideas without proper acknowledgment. It is your responsibility to make sure that your work meets the standard of academic honesty set forth in the College Calendar (see <http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/calendar>). If you are paraphrasing, cite the source. If you are quoting, use quotation marks and appropriate citation. Remember that academic integrity is a reflection of one's character. In addition, we strongly recommend that you visit <http://www.plagiarism.org/> for more information on what is and is not plagiarism. Lastly, students are required to only submit "new work" in each module, which means work that has not been submitted previously in any other university module. Students who wish to use previously submitted work as part of a new project will need the approval of the lecturer.

### **Readings**

Some readings for the mini-module, such as book chapters, will be made available on Blackboard. Other readings can be found through the university library, on Google Scholar, etc.

**Note:** I may adjust the contents of the syllabus somewhat in the next few weeks as we work through the readings.

## CLASS SCHEDULE

### 1. Autocracy and Autocratic Institutions ()

- Svobik, Milan. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge. Chapter 1.
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1279-301.
- Truex, Rory. (2014). "The returns to office in a "rubber stamp" parliament." *American Political Science Review*, 108(2):235–251.
- Wright, Joseph. (2008). "Do authoritarian institutions constrain? How legislatures affect economic growth and investment." *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2): 322–343.
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., and Morrow, J. D. (2005). *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Chapter 2.

Recommended reading:

- Boix, Charles and M. W. Svobik. 2013. "The foundations of limited authoritarian government: Institutions, commitment, and power-sharing in dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics*, 75(02): 300-316.
- Gehlbach, Scott, and Philip Keefer. "Investment without democracy: Ruling-party institutionalization and credible commitment in autocracies." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 39, no. 2 (2011): 123-139.
- Gehlbach, Scott, and Philip Keefer. "Private investment and the institutionalization of collective action in autocracies: ruling parties and legislatures." *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 2 (2012): 621-635.

### 2. Personalism, Single-Party Rule, and Military Rule ()

Please read **each** of these:

- Geddes, Frantz, and Wright. "Military rule." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 147-162.
- Svobik, Milan. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge. Chapter 3 or 5 or both.
- Greene K., 2010, "The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), pages 807-834.

And (at least) **one** of these:

- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies." *World Politics* 59(04): 595–628.
- Menaldo, Victor. 2012. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs" *Journal of Politics*. 74.3.
- Juan J. Linz (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Ch. 3: Traditional Authority and Personal Rulership. (Sorry, I don't have a copy of this to provide.)
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4): 715-741.

Recommended reading:

- Smith, Benjamin. 2005. “The Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single party Rule” *World Politics* 57(3).
- McGregor R., 2012, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*, Harper Collins, Chapter 1 "The Red Machine: The Party and the State."
- Amos Perlmutter (1980) “The Comparative Analysis of Military Regimes: Formations, Aspirations, Achievements,” *World Politics*, 33:1
- Frantz, E., & Kendall-Taylor, A. (2014). “A dictator’s toolkit: Understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(3): 332-346.
- Mancur Olson, “Democracy, Dictatorship, and Development,” *American Political Science Review* 87,3 (1993)
- Svobik, Milan. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge. Chapter 3.

### 3. Hybrid Regimes and Electoral Authoritarianism ()

- Magaloni, Beatriz. (2006). *Voting for autocracy: Hegemonic party survival and its demise in Mexico*. Read the **introduction** and at least two chapters (your choice) of chapters 2-8.
- Levitsky, S., and L.A. Way. 2002. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. “The Menu of Manipulation.” *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 36–50.

Recommended reading:

- Hale, Henry. 2010. “Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1(1).
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2008. “Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence from Egypt.” Working Paper.
- Dawn Brancati (2014) “Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17:2
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Graeme Robertson. 2015. “Elections, Information, and Political Change in the Post-Cold War Era.” *Comparative Politics*.
- Harvey, Cole J. 2016. “Changes in the Menu of Manipulation: Electoral Fraud, Ballot Stuffing, and Voter Pressure in the 2011 Russian Election.” *Electoral Studies* 41 (March): 105–17.
- Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. “Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace” *World Politics*.
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013 “Field Experiment Estimate of Electoral Fraud in Russian Parliamentary Elections.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110(2).
- Diamond, Larry. 2002. “Thinking about Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 13: 21-35
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* 76: 22-41.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2010. “The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 751–65.

#### 4. Hybrid Regimes and Electoral Authoritarianism ()

- Levitsky, S., and L.A. Way. 2002. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. “The Menu of Manipulation.” *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 36–50.
- Magaloni, B. (2006). *Voting for autocracy: Hegemonic party survival and its demise in Mexico*. (Introduction: pp 1-42).
- Hale, Henry. 2010. “Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1(1).
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2008. “Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence from Egypt.” Working Paper.

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- Harvey, Cole J. 2016. “Changes in the Menu of Manipulation: Electoral Fraud, Ballot Stuffing, and Voter Pressure in the 2011 Russian Election.” *Electoral Studies* 41 (March): 105–17.
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- Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* 76: 22-41.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2010. “The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 751–65.

#### 5. Regime Change and Regime Cycles ()

- Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. “Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes.” *World Politics* 62(1): 43–86.
- Kim, N. K., & Kroeger, A. M. (2018). “Regime and leader instability under two forms of military rule.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(1): 3-37.
- Barbara Geddes. 1999. “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-44.
- Hale, Henry. 2005. “Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia.” *World Politics*. 58(1): 133-165.
- Powell, Jonathan. 2012. “Determinants of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups d’Etat. 2012. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 56(6)

#### Recommended reading:

- Roberts, T. L. (2015). “The durability of presidential and parliament-based dictatorships.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(7): 915-948.
- Brett Allen Casper and Scott A. Tyson, “Popular Protest and Elite Coordination in a Coup d’état,” *The Journal of Politics* 76, no. 2 (April 2014): 548-564.
- 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?
- Brownlee, Jason. 2010. “Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3).