

Political Science 333  
**Advanced Topics in Global Politics:  
Authoritarian Regimes (online)**

Fall 2015

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**Instructor:** Amir A. Moheet

**Class Schedule/Location:** Online

**Office Hours:** via email.

**Prerequisites:** Any POLS 100 level course or instructor consent.

**Email:** [moheet@hawaii.edu](mailto:moheet@hawaii.edu)

**Texts** (required) The following books will be available for purchase at the UH bookstore. Alternatively, you can purchase or rent them from Amazon or other bookstores and online merchants. Limited copies may also be available at Hamilton library.

- Jeff Goodwin. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Lisa Wedeen. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Andreas Schedler. 2006. (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

**Supplementary Readings:** Most of the readings will not come from the required course texts. They will all be posted electronically via Laulima under the “assignments” tab.

**Course Description:**

A surprising number of authoritarian regimes continue to endure despite the global spread of democracy. Roughly forty percent of all countries—and half the world’s population—still live under non-democratic rule. As a result, a growing body of research has emerged that examines the factors that sustain authoritarian regimes. This course will introduce students to the major theoretical and conceptual issues inspired by this ongoing debate, such as: Why do some authoritarian regimes appear to be so durable whereas others are weak? What types of political institutions make dictatorship more or less stable? Is there a reason why so many of them hold elections? What role do social movements play in contesting authoritarian power? Why are revolutions so rare? And what are the economic factors that strengthen and weaken these regimes?

It should be noted that this is principally a course on the dynamics of authoritarian persistence, not authoritarian breakdown. Although some overlap is both inevitable and necessary, we will be mostly concerned with examining how authoritarian regimes function, not necessarily how they collapse.

**Course Philosophy:** A Chinese proverb states that, “tell me and I’ll forget; show me and I may remember; involve me and I’ll understand.” Therefore, this course asks you to be active participants in your own education and to critically engage the wide range of topics we will

address in online discussions as much as possible. The structure of an online course is especially well suited (and restricted to) written communication. Your participation in the discussion thread, for instance, will demonstrate your commitment to exploring and engaging the content of course.

**Readings:** Read! Since this is an online course and because of the nature of distance learning, we will be reading and reflecting upon quite a bit of literature. This need not deter or dismay you. If you do the readings, are punctual with the submission of assignments, and make an attempt to participate online, there is no reason why you shouldn't perform well.

### **Course Requirements:**

**1) Threaded Discussion Posts (25%):** You are required to respond to at least one (1) of the questions I pose which will be based on the readings of the week. You are also required to respond to at least one (1) of your classmates' postings. Thus, **you must have a minimum of at least two (2) discussion posts per week.** Each post should be at least two paragraphs, for a total of four paragraphs for your two posts. I will post the questions every Sunday. You will have until the following Sunday to complete your two discussion posts for the week. Each weekly post is worth 50 points, for total of 100 points per week.

As a major component of any online course, the discussion thread is critical for the overall success of the class as well as the success of individual students. In addition to constituting a significant portion of your grade, discussion posts act as a proxy for your "attendance." Although this is an online class, the discussion thread will not only reflect your commitment to reading and writing about the course literature, but it will also demonstrate your ability to be punctual with the submission of your posts. You must be prepared to discuss the readings and thoughtfully contribute to our online discussions. Assigned readings should be completed in full before you post to the discussion thread. If you fail to complete the readings, your submission posts will reflect as much. At the same time, if you fail to post at all, it will similarly demonstrate that you have not done the readings. The discussion thread will automatically end at 11:59 pm the Sunday it is due, which means you will be locked out of the discussion thread and will not be able to post if you attempt to submit past the deadline.

Your discussion posts will be graded based on the following criteria:

- Punctuality and logical coherence of posts.
- The persuasiveness of your argument, partially reflected by supporting theoretical and conceptual evidence found in the readings.
- Form and style (spelling, grammar and composition).

Accordingly, posts will be downgraded if they:

- Suffer from sloppy/colloquial writing
- Do not address the questions and demonstrate that you have not done the readings.
- Are insulting in tone. This will absolutely not be tolerated under any circumstance.

**2) Quizzes (25%)** There will be a quiz every week (with the exception of Thanksgiving and finals week). They will be based on the assigned readings. They are not designed to be difficult. They *are* designed, however, to make sure that you understand the basic conceptual and theoretical ideas expressed in the readings. You can access the quiz in the “*Assignments Tool*” tab of Lulima. The quizzes will consist of 25 multiple-choice questions. I will post them on Thursday at 12pm. You have until Friday, or just 24 hours, to upload your response via the Dropbox tab on Lulima. I will accept quizzes that are late up until 3 pm. Friday, but you will receive an automatic ten-point deduction for every hour it is late. I will not grade or accept quizzes that are submitted after 3 pm. Please clearly identify your answers, upload the document, and title them as QUIZ #1, QUIZ #2, etc. Each quiz is worth 100 points.

**3) Short Research Paper (15%):** You are required to write a 5-6 page research paper on any topic of your choosing as long as it relates to the politics of authoritarianism in undemocratic regimes. **It is due by Sunday, December 6.** This need not be a topic that was addressed in class. But your essay must integrate theoretical and conceptual issues addressed in class readings and discussions. Remember, this is not a book review or a descriptive piece; you must critically engage the relevant literature and apply theories and concepts from class to make your own argument. The research paper is worth 100 points. Each essay should include a full bibliography and abide by standard rules of citation. *APA citation*, often referred to as parenthetical or in-text citation, is the easiest and quickest way to document your research. It avoids the tedium of writing footnotes or endnotes and does not break the reader’s attention (although you can use endnotes or footnotes for explanatory notes).

Here’s a tutorial guide to APA citation and formatting:  
<https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/02/>

**4) Final Exam (35%): Thursday December 17.** There will be a cumulative final exam on Thursday December 17. It will consist of 75 multiple-choice questions, at least half of which will come directly from the weekly quiz. The final will be posted at 10am Hawaiian Standard Time (HST). You will have two-and-a-half hours to submit your final via the “*Dropbox*” feature on Lulima, or 12:30 pm HST. You also have the option of emailing the final to me at [moheet@hawaii.edu](mailto:moheet@hawaii.edu) should you encounter difficulty with Lulima. As we approach the end of the semester, I will provide more detailed information about the questions on the final. Needless to say, since half the questions on the final will come from our weekly quizzes, if you perform well throughout the semester it will make it that much easier for your to earn a good grade on the final. For late submissions, I will be abiding by the weekly quiz guidelines.

**\*\*\* IMPORTANT NOTE: \*\*\* If you have trouble uploading your documents on Lulima please submit all assignments via e-mail to [moheet@hawaii.edu](mailto:moheet@hawaii.edu). Please write in the subject line the title and number of the assignment such as QUIZ #2, FINAL EXAM, etc. However, keep in mind that this option is also time sensitive and should be a last resort if you are having difficulty with Lulima. Otherwise, Lulima should be the primary means by which you upload and submit your assignments.**

## **How To Succeed in this Course**

*Do the readings.* Read! Given that this an online course, there is no substitute for the readings. It will be readily clear from our discussion posts and weekly quizzes which students have done the readings. There is no substitute for reading the assigned weekly literature.

*Complete Discussion Posts on Time.* It bears repeating: because there are no class lectures or meetings, class assignments and the discussion thread act as a proxy for class attendance and lectures. Posts on the discussion thread should answer the questions I pose and should be based on a thoughtful articulation of the readings.

*Read critically:* Focus on the big picture to identify the main arguments in the texts and articles. Think about the logical coherence of the arguments. Compare and contrast the concepts and theories in the readings.

*Ask questions and participate.* Although this is an online-based course, you should not hesitate to ask questions or raise issues during online discussions. In fact, you are required to post questions and responses to your fellow classmates. Posts should be based on supporting evidence from the readings. Responses that simply respond with a “good post” or “interesting thought” will not suffice and will be downgraded accordingly. Your comments and questions will only enrich the course for all of us.

*Be civil.* The relative anonymity of an online course can sometimes provoke heated discussion. This is to be expected, particularly in a political science course. What will not be tolerated is personal attacks on the discussion posts of your classmates or otherwise uncivil behavior that is insulting or verges on intellectual and ideological intolerance. Discussion posts should thoughtfully consider the questions and responses of your classmates, including the initial question I pose to launch the discussion thread.

There exist many excellent sources for coverage of topical and not so topical events related to politics in authoritarian countries. The following list is a good place to familiarize yourself with information on why some countries are classified as authoritarian. It might also prove useful in conducting research for your paper:

### **Online Resources:**

Amnesty International: [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)

Human Rights Watch: [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)

Freedom House: [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)

2014 Freedom in the World Rankings:

<https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Freedom%20in%20the%20World%202014%20Booklet.pdf>

List of U.N. member states: <http://www.un.org/en/members/index.shtml>

Quality of Government Dataset: <http://qog.pol.gu.se/data>

International IDEA Constitutions Building Project <http://www.idea.int/cbp/index.cfm>

Comparative Constitution Project: <http://www.comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/>

Constitution Finder (all countries): <http://confinder.richmond.edu/>

International Foundation for Electoral Systems: <http://www.ifes.org/>

Ace Electoral Knowledge Network: <http://aceproject.org/>

Inter-Parliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm>

The Forum of Federations: <http://www.forumfed.org/en/index.php>

Gallup International Voice of the People: [www.voice-of-the-people.net/](http://www.voice-of-the-people.net/)

Asia Barometer: [www.eastasiabarometer.org](http://www.eastasiabarometer.org) and <http://www.asianbarometer.org/>

EuroBarometer: [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public\\_opinion/](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/)

European Social Survey: <http://naticent02.uuhost.uk.uu.net>

International Social Survey Program: <http://www.issp.org/>

Latinobarometro: [www.latinobarometro.org](http://www.latinobarometro.org)

New Europe Barometer: [www.cspp.strath.ac.uk](http://www.cspp.strath.ac.uk)

Pew Global Surveys: <http://pewglobal.org/>

World Values Study 1981-2005: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

World Public Opinion: <http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/>

Committee to Protect Journalists: <https://www.cpj.org/>

Freedom House – Freedom of the Press: <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-press>

Index on Censorship: <http://www.indexoncensorship.org/>

International Federation of Journalists: <http://www.ifj.org/>

UNDP Human Development Report Data: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

CIA World Fact Book: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>

CIA World Leaders: List of Head of State and Cabinet Ministers:

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/world-leaders-1/index.html>

## **Class Schedule**

### **PART I. What is Authoritarianism? Concepts, Issues, and Trends**

#### **Week 1: September 14 – September 20**

##### **What is Authoritarianism?**

###### Assigned Readings:

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2):51-65.
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is not", *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88.
- Lisa Wedeen. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, chapters 1 and 2.

Discussion Thread: posts due September 20

Quiz # 1: posted September 17, due September 18

#### **Week 2: September 21 – September 27**

##### **Classification Problems**

###### Assigned Readings:

- Barbara Geddes. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:115-144.
- Lisa Wedeen. 2004. "Concepts and Commitments in the Study of Democracy," Chapter 13 in Ian Shapiro et. al. (eds.), *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 274-306.
- Richard Snyder. 2006. "Beyond Electoral Authoritarianism: The Spectrum of Non-Democratic Regimes," Chapter 13 in Schedler (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism*, pp. 219-231.
- Axel Hadenius and Jan Teorell. 2007. "Pathways From Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 18(1): 143-156.

Discussion Thread: posts due September 27

Quiz # 2: posted September 24, due September 25

## **Part II. Elections and Institutions in Authoritarian Regimes**

### **Week 3: September 28 – October 4**

#### **Elections in Authoritarian Regimes**

##### Assigned Readings:

- Larry Diamond. 2002. "Elections without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes." *Journal of Democracy* Volume 13(2): 21-35.
- Andreas Schedler. 2002. "The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections," *International Political Science Review* 23(1): 103-122.
- Dan Slater and Joseph Wong. 2013. "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia," *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 717-733.
- Arang Keshavarzian. 2005. "Contestation Without Democracy: Elite Fragmentation in Iran," Chapter 4 in Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michelle Penner Angrist (eds.), *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 63-88.

Discussion Thread: posts due October 4

Quiz # 3: posted October 1, due October 2

### **Week 4: October 5 – October 11**

#### **Institutional Foundations of Authoritarianism**

##### Assigned Readings

- Dan Slater and Sofia Fenner. 2011. "State Power and Staying Power: Infrastructural Mechanisms and Authoritarian Durability," *Journal of International Affairs* 65(1): 15-29.
- Jason Brownlee. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1 pp. 1-43.
- Steve Hess. 2013. "From the Arab Spring to the Chinese Winter: The Institutional Sources of Authoritarian Vulnerability and Resilience in Egypt, Tunisia, and China," *International Political Science Review* 34(3): 254-272.
- Dan Slater. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 pp. 3-32.

Discussion Thread: posts due October 11

Quiz # 4: posted October 8, due October 9

## **Week 5: October 12 – October 18**

### **Coalitional Foundations of Authoritarianism**

#### Assigned Readings

- Steven R. Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2012. “Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4): 869-889.
- Dan Slater. 2012: “Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore,” *Journal of Democracy* 23(2): 19-33.
- Ching Kwan Lee and Yonghong Zhang. “The Power of Instability: Unraveling the Microfoundations of Bargained Authoritarianism in China,” *American Journal of Sociology* 118(6): 1475-1508.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2013. “The Durability of Revolutionary Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy* 24(3): 5-17.

Discussion Thread: posts due October 18

Quiz # 5: posted October 15, due October 16

## **PART III. Types of Authoritarian Regimes**

## **Week 6: October 19 – October 25**

### **Military Regimes**

#### Assigned Readings:

- Steven A. Cook. 2007. *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.1-31.
- Alfred Stepan. 1988. *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.3-29.
- Dan Slater. 2014. “The Elements of Surprise: Assessing Burma’s Double-Edged Détente,” *South East Asia Research* 22(2): 171-182.

Discussion Thread: posts due October 25

Quiz # 6: posted October 22, due October 23

## **Week 7: October 26 – November 1**

### **Personalist Regimes**

#### Assigned Readings:



- Dan Slater. 2006. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia," *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.
- Lisa Wedeen. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, chapters 3 and 4.
- H.E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz *Sultanistic Regimes* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapters 1 and 2 pp. 1-48.

Discussion Thread: posts due November 1

Quiz # 7: posted October 29, due October 30

## **Week 8: November 2 – November 8**

### **Single-Party Hegemony**

#### Assigned Readings:

- Jason Brownlee. 2007. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics* 59: 595-628.
- Joy Langston. 2002. "Elite Ruptures: When Do Ruling Parties Split?" Chapter 4 in Schedler (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism*, pp. 57-75.
- Benjamin Smith. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule," *World Politics* 57(3): 421- 451.
- 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

Discussion Thread: posts due November 8

Quiz # 8: posted November 5, due November 6

## **Week 9: November 9 – November 15**

### **Political Economy Perspectives**

#### Assigned Readings:

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, New York: Cambridge University Press (2006), Chapters 1 and 2 pp. 1-47.
- Eva Bellin. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries," *World Politics* 52(1): 175-205.
- Benjamin Smith. 2004. "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999," *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 232-246.
- Michael L. Ross. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy," *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.

Discussion Thread: posts due November 15

Quiz # 9: posted November 12, due November 13

## **Part IV. Repression, Mobilization, and Revolution**

**Week 10: November 16 – November 22**

### **Repression and Coercion in Authoritarian Regimes**

Assigned Readings:

- Ronald A. Francisco. 2005. “The Dictator’s Dilemma,” Chapter 3 in Davenport et al. (eds.), *Repression and Mobilization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 58-81.
- Hank Johnston. 2005. “Talking the Walk,” Speech Acts and Resistance in Authoritarian Regimes,” Chapter 5 in Davenport et al. (eds.), *Repression and Mobilization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 108-137.
- Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce. “Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations Against Authoritarian Rulers,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 753-769.

Discussion Thread: posts due November 22

Quiz # 10: posted November 19, due November 20

### **Social Movements in Authoritarian Regimes**

**Week 11: November 23 – November 25 (shortened week due to Thanksgiving Holiday)**

Assigned Readings:

- Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow. 2007. *Contentious Politics* Boulder, CO: Paradigm, Chapter 6 “Social Movements” pp. 111-133.
- Vincent Boudreau. 2002. “State Repression and Democracy Protest in Three Southeast Asian Countries,” Chapter 2 in Meyer et al (eds.), *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.28-46.
- Kevan Harris. 2012. “The Brokered Exuberance of the Middle Class: An Ethnographic Analysis of Iran’s 2009 Green Movement,” *Mobilization* 17(4): 435-455.

Discussion Thread: posts due November 25

No quiz!

**Week 12: November 30 – December 6**

### **Mass Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes**

- Dan Slater. 2009. "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology* 115(1): 203-254.
- Wendy Pearlman. 2013. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings," *Perspectives on Politics* 11(2): 387-409.

Discussion Thread: posts due December 6

Quiz # 11: posted December 3, due December 4

### **Week 13: December 7 – December 13**

#### **Revolutions in Authoritarian Regimes**

- Jeff Goodwin. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1, 3, and 5.
- Charles Kurzman. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran* Harvard: Harvard University Press, Introduction pp.1-11.

Discussion Thread: posts due December 13

Quiz # 12: posted December 10, due December 11

### **Week 14: December 14 -18**

No discussion posts or quiz during finals week. Finish reading *Ambiguities of Domination* (chapter 5).

#### Assigned Readings

- Lisa Wedeen. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, chapter 5.

### **\*\*Final Exam, Thursday December 17\*\***

**The final will be posted at 10am Hawaiian Standard Time (HST) on Thursday December 17 in the *Assignments* tab on Lulima. You will have two-and-a-half hours to submit the final (by 12:30pm HST). You have two options for ensuring its timely submission: First, as you do with all other assignments, you can submit it via the Dropbox tab on Lulima . This is the preferred method. If you encounter trouble with Lulima, you can directly email it to me at [moheet@hawaii.edu](mailto:moheet@hawaii.edu). Remember, the final is time sensitive! I must receive it by 12:30 pm HST in order for you to receive full credit.**

#### **A Note on Plagiarism**

Don't! If it is discovered that you have submitted work that was not authored by you, you will receive a failing grade. The Internet abounds with information on almost every conceivable subject, making it easier (if not more tempting) for students to turn in plagiarized work. Yet this also makes it just as easy for teachers to establish the veracity of a questionable assignment via a quick Google search. So just don't!

For further clarification, the University of Hawai'i defines plagiarism as follows:

*Plagiarism includes but is not limited to submitting, in fulfillment of an academic requirement, any work that has been copied in whole or in part from another individual's work without attributing that borrowed portion to the individual; neglecting to identify as a quotation another's idea and particular phrasing that was not assimilated into the student's language and style or paraphrasing a passage so that the reader is misled as to the source; submitting the same written or oral or artistic material in more than one course without obtaining the authorization from the instructors involved; or "drylabbing", which includes obtaining and using experimental data and laboratory write-ups from other sections of a course or from previous terms.*