

Political Science 3213G
Comparative Authoritarianism
Winter Term 2023

Professor Bruce Morrison
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Office Hours: Wednesday 1:30-2:30, or by appointment

Course Description:

Historically, most political regimes have been authoritarian, and there is certainly no sign of authoritarianism's disappearance in our time. This course addresses the sources of authoritarianism, the varieties of authoritarian regime, the institutions and practices supportive of dictatorship, the causes of authoritarian decline and failure, and the authoritarian impulses residing within some democratic regimes.

Course Format:

This course will take place in person. I do, however, reserve the right to switch to an online course format should public health circumstances require it. Our class meetings will combine lecture segments with plenty of opportunities for questions and discussion. So, please do show up on Thursday afternoons having read and absorbed the assigned readings, and ready to engage with the material in vigorous and critical fashion. All assigned readings will be made available on the OWL site.

Learning Outcomes:

In this course, you will develop the ability to (a) distinguish between types of political regimes and types of authoritarian regimes in particular; (b) identify the ways authoritarians exercise and perpetuate their power; (c) understand the sources of resistance to authoritarianism; (d) explain why dictatorships weaken and fail, and how their legacy affects subsequent regime formation; and (e) make sense of the possible impact of authoritarian influences within democratic regimes.

Requirements and Evaluation:

- 1) Country Case Study I (25%)
- 2) Country Case Study II (35%)
- 3) Final Exam (30%)
- 4) Participation (10%)

Country Case Study I

Students will be expected to select a country case during a period of authoritarian or quasi-authoritarian rule, and respond to the following questions: How can the political regime type best be characterized? What are the indicators that help you to determine this? Are there features that do not fit perfectly within the category you have selected, and how significant are they? What are

the major strengths and weaknesses of the way the regime is structured in your country? In your view, is this regime stable and successful, and on what basis do you draw your conclusions? Length: 4-5 pages, double-spaced, one-inch margins, standard font size. In addition to syllabus materials, please use at least four high-quality non-syllabus sources (e.g., journal articles, book chapters). You are encouraged to use syllabus materials for the conceptual and theoretical foundations, and to rely upon your additional research for details on your country case. **Due date:** February 13, 11:55 pm. **Late penalty:** 2% per day.

Country Case Study II

Students will be expected to pick a different country case, again during a period of authoritarian or quasi-authoritarian rule, and respond to the following questions: What is the nature of the political regime? How, and to what extent, has the regime been institutionalized? How has the regime attempted to sustain itself? Has it been stable and successful, and why or why not? Have the regime's institutional features been helpful or not in this regard? Length: 6-8 pages, double-spaced, one-inch margins, standard font size. In addition to syllabus materials, please use at least six high-quality non-syllabus sources. The key is to consider the various tools developed in the source as providing the conceptual and theoretical foundations for the paper, and to rely upon your additional research for details on your country case. **Due date:** April 3, 11:55 pm. **Late penalty:** 2% per day.

Final Exam

Students will write a three-hour exam, in the formal exam period at the end of the term, based on questions provided for advance preparation.

Participation

Students will be expected to participate regularly and constructively in our weekly meetings. Participation will be evaluated based on the following considerations: relevance, responsiveness to the material laid out in assigned readings and lecture segments, and insightfulness. Keep in mind that a well-informed and helpful question can be an important element in course participation.

***Attendance is required for success in this course. Students failing to attend at least nine sessions without well-supported cause may not be permitted to submit their final course materials.

***Electronic devices will be permissible only for the purpose of note-taking and any other class-related activities. Disruptive use of these devices will not be permitted.

Prerequisite:

Political Science 2231E (2531F/G) or 2245E (2545F/G) or International Relations 2701E (2704F/G).

Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your

record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites.

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com.

COURSE READINGS:

Week One

Introduction (January 12)

No required readings.

Week Two

Regime Types: Democracy and Dictatorship (January 19)

Jose Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Vreeland, 2009. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1-2): 67-101.

Barbara Geddes, 1999. "What Have We Learned About Democratization After 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz, 2018. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press, chapter 1.

Week Three

Sources of Dictatorship (January 26)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapters 2 and 3.

Dan Slater, "Violent Origins of Authoritarian Variation: Rebellion Type and Regime Type in Cold War Southeast Asia." *Government and Opposition* vol. 55 (2020): 21-40.

V. Ximena Velasco Guachalla, Calla Hummel, Sam Handlin, and Amy Erica Smith, "Latin America Erupts: When Does Competitive Authoritarianism Take Root?" *Journal of Democracy* vol. 32, no. 3 (July 2021): 63-77.

Week Four

Monarchy and Totalitarianism (February 2)

John Gerring, Tore Wig, Wouter Veenendaal, Daniel Weitzel, Jan Teorell, and Kyosuke Kikuta, 2021. "Why Monarchy? The Rise and Demise of a Regime Type." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (3-4): 585-622.

Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, 1956. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Harvard University Press, chapters 1 and 3.

Antonio Costa Pinto, 2002. "Elites, Single Parties and Political Decision-making in Fascist-era Dictatorships." *Contemporary European History* 11 (3): 429-54.

Week Five

Personalist and Military Regimes (February 9)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 95-101).

Wonjun Song and Joseph Wright, 2018. "The North Korean Autocracy in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18: 157-180.

Week Six

Repression (February 16)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapter 7.

Sheena Chestnut Greitens, 2016. *Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 5.

Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44 2 (2012): 127-49.

Week Seven

Information and Influence (March 2)

Lisa Wedeen, 1998. "Acting 'As If': Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (3): 503-523.

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

Seva Gunitsky, 2015. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (1): 42-54.

Péter Krekó, 2021. “How Authoritarians Inflate their Image.” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (3): 109-23.

Week Eight

The Institutional Turn I: Authoritarian Parties (March 9)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapters 5 (pp. 101-125), and 6 (pp. 129-37).

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

Week Nine

The Institutional Turn II: Authoritarian Elections (March 16)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapter 6 (pp. 137-53).

Michael Miller, 2015. “Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development Since 1815.” *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (3): 501-30.

Ellen Lust-Okar, 2009. “Legislative Elections in Hegemonic Authoritarian Regimes: Competitive Clientelism and Resistance to Democratization.” In *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*, ed., Staffan I. Lindberg. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Week Ten

China and Russia Compared (March 23)

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

Joseph Fewsmith, 2021. “Balances, Norms, and Institutions: Why Elite Politics in the CCP Have Not Institutionalized.” *The China Quarterly* 248: 265-282.

Timothy Frye, 2021. *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin’s Russia* (Princeton University Press, 2021), chapter 5.

Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce, 2018. “Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilization Against Authoritarian Rulers.” In *Citizens and the State in Authoritarian Regimes*, eds., Karrie Koesel, Valerie J. Bunce, and Jessica Chen Weiss. Oxford University Press.

Week Eleven

Authoritarian Collapse and Democratization (March 30)

Geddes et al., *How Dictatorships Work*, chapter 8.

Dan Slater and Joseph Wong, 2013. "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia." *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (3): 717-733.

Mark R. Beissinger, 2013. "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *American Political Science Review* 107 (3): 574-592.

Week Twelve

Authoritarian Legacies and Democratic Backsliding (April 6)

Anna Grzymala-Busse, 2019. "Hoist on their Own Petards? The Reinvention and Collapse of Authoritarian Successor Parties." *Party Politics* 25 (4):569-82.

Sheri Berman, 2013. "The Promise of the Arab Spring: In Political Development, No Pain Without Gain." *Foreign Affairs* 92 (1): 64-74.

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufmann, 2021. "Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy* 32 (4): 27-41.

Milan W. Svobik, 2019. "Polarization Versus Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 30 (3): 20-32.

APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning. Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

Security and Confidentiality of Student Work (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* <http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Attendance Regulations for Examinations

EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations: 1) A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year. 2) Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

Absences from Final Examinations

If you miss the Final Exam, please contact the Academic Counselling office of your Faculty of Registration as soon as you are able to do so. They will assess your eligibility to write the Special Examination (the name given by the University to a makeup Final Exam).

You may also be eligible to write the Special Exam if you are in a "Multiple Exam Situation" (e.g., more than 2 exams in 23-hour period, more than 3 exams in a 47-hour period).

Note: Missed work can *only* be excused through one of the mechanisms above. Being asked not to attend an in-person course requirement due to potential COVID-19 symptoms is **not** sufficient on its own. Students should check the Western website to see what directives for Covid are to be followed. Western has been and will continue to follow directives established by the Middlesex-London Health Unit. That directive will state whether students should or should not come to campus/class and any other requirements (e.g., masks are mandatory). Please check on your own and do not email the instructor, the Department Undergraduate Advisor/Coordinator or the Faculty of Social Science Academic Counselling Office.

Accommodation and Accessibility

Religious Accommodation

When a course requirement conflicts with a religious holiday that requires an absence from the University or prohibits certain activities, students should request accommodation for their absence in writing at least two weeks prior to the holiday to the course instructor and/or the

Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration. Please consult University's list of recognized religious holidays (updated annually) at

<https://multiculturalcalendar.com/ecal/index.php?s=c-univwo>.

Accommodation Policies

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessible Education, which provides recommendations for accommodation based on medical documentation or psychological and cognitive testing. The policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities can be found at:

[https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic Accommodation_disabilities.pdf](https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/Academic_Accommodation_disabilities.pdf).

Academic Policies

The website for Registrarial Services is <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>.

In accordance with policy,

https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/policies_procedures/section1/mapp113.pdf,

the centrally administered e-mail account provided to students will be considered the individual's official university e-mail address. It is the responsibility of the account holder to ensure that e-mail received from the University at their official university address is attended to in a timely manner.

During exams/tests/quizzes, no electronic devices (e.g. a phone, laptop, iPad) are allowed and must be powered down and stored out of reach.

Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/scholastic_discipline_undergrad.pdf.

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating.

If a course uses remote proctoring, please be advised that you are consenting to the use of this software and acknowledge that you will be required to provide **personal information** (including

some biometric data) and the session will be **recorded**. Completion of a course with remote proctoring will require you to have a reliable internet connection and a device that meets the technical requirements for this service. More information about this remote proctoring service, including technical requirements, is available on Western's Remote Proctoring website at:

<https://remoteproctoring.uwo.ca>.

Support Services

Please visit the Social Science Academic Counselling webpage for information on adding/dropping courses, academic considerations for absences, appeals, exam conflicts, and many other academic related matters: [Academic Counselling - Western University \(uwo.ca\)](https://www.uwo.ca/academic_counselling/)

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (<https://uwo.ca/health/>) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence and providing compassionate support to anyone who has gone through these traumatic events. If you have experienced sexual or gender-based violence (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at

https://www.uwo.ca/health/student_support/survivor_support/get-help.html.

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

Please contact the course instructor if you require lecture or printed material in an alternate format or if any other arrangements can make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Accessible Education at

http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible_education/index.html

if you have any questions regarding accommodations.

Learning-skills counsellors at the Learning Development and Success Centre (<https://learning.uwo.ca>) are ready to help you improve your learning skills. They offer presentations on strategies for improving time management, multiple-choice exam preparation/writing, textbook reading, and more. Individual support is offered throughout the Fall/Winter terms in the drop-in Learning Help Centre, and year-round through individual counselling.

Western University is committed to a thriving campus as we deliver our courses in the mixed model of both virtual and face-to-face formats. We encourage you to check out the Digital Student Experience website to manage your academics and well-being: <https://www.uwo.ca/se/digital/>.

Additional student-run support services are offered by the USC, <https://westernusc.ca/services/>.

Plagiarism:

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

Plagiarism Checking: "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>)."

Multiple-choice tests/exams: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History August 13, 1991