

Authoritarianism and Democracy

Government 6483

Fall 2020

What do they know of England who only England know? – Rudyard Kipling

Instructor:	Jeremy Wallace	Email:	wallace@cornell.edu
Time:	Th 3:00-4:55	Place:	Online (Zoom)
Office Hours:	T 2:00-3:30, or by appt	Place:	Online (Zoom)

Officials come to their positions of power in ways that vary over time and space. Comparativists have, historically, focused their attentions on democracies and on transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic ones. This seminar will consider definitions of these regime types but aims to have a different, broader focus: the politics of authoritarian regimes and regime transitions of all kinds.

Fall 2020 Note: we will endeavor to create the best course that we can given the myriad obstructions that 2020 has dealt us, experimenting with outlines, recorded comments, pre-discussions, & different communications technologies (Zoom, Slack, etc), over the semester.

Course Requirements and Grading:

Participation & Attendance - 40% Responses (3) - 20% Research Paper - 40%

Participation & Attendance – The course is a seminar; active participation—asking and answering questions—in the discussion is required.

Responses – Each student will write 3 responses (~750 words per response) during the semester. Responses synthesize the readings of the week and should end with discussion questions. Response writers will help lead and guide the seminar for that week’s session.

Research Paper – At the end of the term, students are expected to turn in a research paper (8000-10,000 words). First, two “pitches” – 1 page paper ideas that make the case for a particular piece of research – will be due 25 September. Two weeks later, a single draft outline is due 9 October, and a 4000+ word draft shared with other students and the instructor is due 13 November.

n.b. If students already have a research paper that they are working on or are simultaneously developing for another class that fits with the course, they are free to discuss use of this paper for the course with the instructor.

Integrity and Accommodation:

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the University's Code of Academic Integrity. In compliance with university policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for student with disabilities.

Schedule of Readings

Almost all of the readings are linked or on Canvas, with the following exceptions that are available online:

- Yuen Yuen Ang. 2020. *China's Gilded Age: The Paradox of Economic Boom and Vast Corruption*.
- Lisa Blaydes. 2018. *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*
- Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erika Frantz. 2018. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*
- Margaret Roberts. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*.

Two APSA Sections produce newsletters of interest for this course: the [comparative politics](#) and [democracy and autocracy](#) sections.

Session 01. Starting out, or Introductions and How to Write Them [2020.09.03]

- [1] Andrew Little. 2016. "Three Templates for Introductions to Political Science Articles."
- [2] Eric X. Li. 2012. "Why China's Political Model is Superior." *The New York Times*.
- [3] Susan Shirk. 2018. "The Return to Personalistic Rule." *Journal of Democracy* 29(2): 22-36.
- [4] Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2019. "How Populists Rule: The Consequences for Democratic Governance." *Polity* 51(4): 707-17.
- ❖ Barry Weingast. 2010. "Structuring Your Papers (Caltech Rules)."
 - ❖ Adam Przeworski. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. Prologue.
 - ❖ William Galston. 2018. "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 29(2). Pp. 5-19.

Session 02. Measurement of Democracy [2020.09.10]

- [1] Marlies Glasius. 2018. "What authoritarianism is ... and is not: a practice perspective." *International Affairs*. 94(3): 515-533.
- [2] Benedict Anderson. 1988. "Cacique Democracy and the Philippines."
- [3] Christopher Sebastian Parker & Christopher C. Towler. "Race and Authoritarianism in American Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22(1): 503–19.
- [4] Michael Coppedge & John Gerring et. al. 2011. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach." *Perspectives on Politics (PoP)*. pp. 247-267.
- [5] V-DEM. 2020. *Autocratization Surges—Resistance Grows: Democracy Report 2020*.

- ❖ CP and Comparative Democratization Newsletters
- ❖ Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl 1991. "What Democracy Is....and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy (JoD)*. pp. 75-88.
- ❖ Gerardo Munck & Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies (CPS)*.
- ❖ Robert Dahl. 1972. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-16 (Blackboard).
- ❖ The Quality of Government Dataset Codebook. [Most recent version](#).

Session 03. Elections in Nondemocracies [2020.09.17]

- [1] Beatriz Magaloni. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. [selections]
 - [2] Jennifer Gandhi & Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *ARPS*.
 - [3] Andrew Little. 2012. "Elections, Fraud, and Election Monitoring in the Shadow of Revolution." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
 - [4] Mai Hassan. 2017. "The Strategic Shuffle: Ethnic Geography, the Internal Security Apparatus, and Elections in Kenya." *AJPS* 61, no. 2.
- ❖ Edmund Malesky and Paul Schuler. 2011. "The Single Party Dictator's Dilemma: Information in Elections without Opposition." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
 - ❖ James Fearon. 2011. "Self-Enforcing Democracy." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
 - ❖ Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "[Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes](#)," *World Politics* 62(1): 43-86.

- ❖ Mark Beissinger. 2007. "Structure and example in modular political phenomena: The diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Pol.* pp. 259-276.
- ❖ Lisa Blaydes. 2010. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt.*
- ❖ Mai Hassan. 2020. *Regime Threats and State Solutions: Bureaucratic Loyalty and Embeddedness in Kenya.*

Session 04. Authoritarian Regime Types [2020.09.24]

[1] Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2018. *How Dictatorship Works.* [selections]

- ❖ Jose Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi, & James Vreeland 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice.* pp. 67-101.
- ❖ Michael Wahman, Jan Teorrell, and Axel Hadenius. 2013. "Authoritarian Regime Types Revisited: Updated Data in Comparative Perspective." *Contemporary Politics.* 19(1): 19-34.
- ❖ Michael Bratton & Nicolas Van de Walle. 1994. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* 46(4): 453-489.
- ❖ Barbara Geddes. 1999. "What do we know about Democratization after 20 Years." *Annual Review of Political Science (ARPS).*
- ❖ Juan Linz. 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes.* Introduction & Chapter 2.
- ❖ Axel Hadenius & Jan Teorell. 2007. "Pathways from Authoritarianism." *JoD.*

Pitches due [25 September 2020]

Session 05. Authoritarian Institutions [2020.10.01]

- [1] Valerie Bunce. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State.* [selections]
- [2] Dan Slater. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia.* [selections]
- [3] Edmund Malesky, Regina Abrami, and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *CP.*
- [4] Thomas Pepinsky. 2014. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism." *British Journal of Political Science (BJPS).* pp. 631-653.

- ❖ Jennifer Gandhi. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*.
- ❖ Nathan Jensen, Edmund Malesky, & Stephen Weymouth. 2014. "Unbundling the Relationship between Authoritarian Legislatures and Political Risk." *BJPS*. 44(3): 655-684.
- ❖ Andrew Mertha. 2009. "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0." *China Quarterly*. 200: 995-1012.

Session 06. Development and Democracy [2020.10.08]

- [1] Robert Kaufman. 2009. "The Political Effects of Inequality in Latin America: Some Inconvenient Facts." *Comparative Politics (CP)*.
- [2] Staffan Lindberg (ed.) 2018. *Should Modernization Theory Survive?* Annals of Comparative Democratization. Section Newsletter. [selections]
- [3] Yuen Yuen Ang. 2020. *China's Gilded Age*. [selections]

- ❖ Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "[Modernization: Theories and Facts](#)," *World Politics* 49(2): 155-183.
- ❖ Daron Acemoglu & James Robinson. 2012. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*.
- ❖ Carles Boix 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *APSR*.
- ❖ David Kang. 2002. *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*.
- ❖ Benjamin Smith. 2007. *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*.

Outlines Due [09 October 2020]

Session 07. Transitions [2020.10.15]

- [1] Timur Kuran. 1991. "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics*.
- [2] Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. "[Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule](#)," *American Political Science Review* 106, 3.
- [3] Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*. [selections]
- [4] *Belarus (or other)*. TBD.

- ❖ Thomas Pepinsky. 2009. *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*.
- ❖ Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Beatriz Magaloni, & Barry Weingast. 2003. "Tragic Brilliance: Equilibrium Hegemony and Democratization in Mexico." *Working Paper*.
- ❖ Tarek Masoud 2011. "The Road to & from Liberation Square." *JoD*. pp. 21-34.
- ❖ Peter Schraeder & Hamadi Redissi 2011. "Ben Ali's Fall." *JoD*. pp. 5-19.
- ❖ Lucan Way. 2011. "Comparing the Arab Revolts – The Lessons of 1989." *JoD*. pp. 17-27.
- ❖ Stathis Kalyvas. 1999. "The Decay and Breakdown of Communist One-Party Systems." *ARPS*.

Session 08. Regime Survival: Control and Violence [2020.10.22]

- [1] Eva Bellin. 2012. "[Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring](#)," *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-149.
 - [2] Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way. 2012. "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability." *PoP*.
 - [3] Sheena Grietens. 2016. *Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence*. [selections]
 - [4] Lisa Blaydes. 2018. *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*. [selections]
- ❖ Daniel Byman & Jennifer Lind. 2010. "Pyongyang's Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea." *International Security*.
 - ❖ Eva Bellin. 2004. "[The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective](#)," *Comparative Politics* 36(2): 139-157.
 - ❖ Mark Thompson. 2001. "To Shoot or Not to Shoot: Posttotalitarianism in China and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics*.
 - ❖ Pablo Policzer. 2009. *The Rise and Fall of Repression in Chile*.
 - ❖ Maria Stephan & Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security*.
 - ❖ James Fearon & David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, & Civil War." *APSR*.
 - ❖ Ronald Wintrobe. 1990. "The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship." *APSR*.
 - ❖ Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "The Paradox of 'Warlord' Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation." *APSR*.

Session 09. Coups and Military Rule [2020.10.29]

[1] Barbara Geddes, Erica Frantz, & Joseph Wright. 2018. *How Dictatorship Works*. [selections]

[2] Milan Svobik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. [selections]

- ❖ Jonathan Powell & Clayton Thyne. 2011. "Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010: A new dataset." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- ❖ Curtis Bell. 2016. "Coup d'État and Democracy." *CPS*. 49(9): 1167-1200.
- ❖ John Londregan & Keith Poole. 1990. "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power." *World Politics*.

Session 10. Regimes and Redistribution [2020.11.05]

[1] Jeremy Wallace. 2014. *Cities and Stability: Urbanization, Redistribution, and Regime Survival in China*. [selections]

[2] Michael Albertus, Sofia Fenner, and Dan Slater. 2018. *Coercive Distribution*. [selections]

[3] Jennifer Pan. 2020. *Welfare for Autocrats: How Social Assistance in China Cares for Its Rulers*. [selections]

- ❖ Michael Albertus. 2016. *Autocracy and Redistribution*. (Selections)
- ❖ Kimuli Kasara. 2007. "Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa." *American Political Science Review*.
- ❖ Lisa Blaydes & Mark Kayser 2011. "Counting Calories: Democracy and Distribution in the Developing World." *International Studies Quarterly*.
- ❖ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, & Alastair Smith. 2002. "Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival of Leaders." *BJPS*.

Session 11. The Internet and Nondemocratic Politics [2020.11.12]

[1] Margaret Roberts. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. [selections]

[2] Evgeny Morozov. 2011. *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. [selections]

- ❖ Zeynep Tufekci. 2017. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*.
- ❖ Gary King, Jennifer Pan, & Molly Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *APSR*.
- ❖ Gary King, Jennifer Pan, & Molly Roberts. 2014. "Reverse-engineering censorship in China: Randomized experimentation and participant observation." *Science*.
- ❖ Gary King, Jennifer Pan, & Molly Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *APSR*.
- ❖ Aim Sinpeng. 2013. "State Repression in Cyberspace: The Case of Thailand." *Asian Politics and Policy*.

Drafts Due [2020.11.13]

No Class, Semi-Finals and Thanksgiving [2020.11.19, 2020.11.26]

Session 12. Information, Ideology, and Power [2020.12.03]

- [1] James Scott. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. [selections]
- [2] Martin Dimitrov. 2015. "Internal Government Assessments of the Quality of Governance in China." *SCID*.
- [3] Guriev, Sergei, and Daniel Treisman. "Informational Autocrats." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33, no. 4 (November 2019): 100–127.
- [4] Tiberiu Dragu & Adam Przeworski. 2018. "Preventative Repression." *APSR*.
- [5] Jeremy Wallace. 2020. *Seeking Truth and Hiding Facts: Information, Ideology, and Authoritarian Rule in China* (book manuscript in progress) [selections]
 - ❖ Dan Slater & Diana Kim. 2014. "Standoffish States: Nonliterate Leviathans in Southeast Asia." *TRaNS*.
 - ❖ Lisa Wedeen. 2019. *Authoritarian Apprehensions: Ideology, Judgment, and Mourning in Syria*.

Session 13. Global Authoritarianism Today [2020.12.10]

- [1] TBD.