

# **POLITICS UNDER AUTHORITARIANISM**

CPO4053

M, W, F Period 6 (12:50 PM - 1:40 PM) in LEI 0207

Fall 2023

Mai Frndjibachian

Office: 010 Anderson Hall

Email: [m.frndjibachian@ufl.edu](mailto:m.frndjibachian@ufl.edu)

Office Hours: **Wednesdays and Fridays from 2:00 to 3:30 PM**

Appointment Link: <https://calendly.com/maifrnd/cpo-4053-office-hours>

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

In the late twentieth century, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union led some scholars to speak about “the end of history” where liberal democracy would be the only form of government left standing. However, authoritarian regimes in different parts of the world continue to demonstrate their resilience. In this course, we will explore the different types of authoritarian regimes, exploring their characteristics and political workings, including legitimation strategies, through various examples. Specifically, we will examine military, single-party, personalistic/sultanistic, and hybrid regimes, exploring how they manage to stay in power and asking ourselves whether regime change could occur.

This course has a heavy reading load, and I expect that you will come to class fully prepared to discuss all the readings of the day. The class will depend significantly on in-depth discussion and analysis of the readings. Please feel free to come to my office hours to discuss any class readings, assignments, etc.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Attendance and participation – 10%

Participation here means active participation. Simply being present in class does not count towards active participation. Agreeing or disagreeing without explanation during class discussion also does not count towards active participation.

Four assessment quizzes – 40% (10% each)

Quizzes will be done in-class, on Canvas. Students are required to bring proper devices such as laptops and tablets to work on the quiz.

Weekly responses for a total of 10 weeks – 20% (2% each)

Weekly responses must be from 250-500 words each. You can treat them as diary notes about your own reaction to the readings or the ideas/questions inspired by the readings.

Two short papers (8-10 pages each) – 30% (15% each)

For the first short paper, answer the following question: If you could have your own authoritarian regime, what would it look like? How would you keep the regime in power? Use your knowledge about the different types of authoritarian regimes and the various empirical cases to justify/explain your creation. This paper must be submitted to Canvas on **Friday, November 3<sup>rd</sup> at 11:59 PM**. No exceptions.

For the second short paper, discuss the prospect of regime change of your authoritarian regime. Will it stay authoritarian, become even more non-democratic, or democratize? Use your knowledge about the different types of authoritarian regimes and the various empirical cases to justify/explain your answer. This paper must be submitted to Canvas on **Tuesday, December 12<sup>th</sup> at 11:59 PM**. No exceptions.

#### Grade Distribution

<i>Assignment</i>	<b>Points</b>
<i>Attendance and Participation</i>	10%
<i>Assessment Quizzes (four)</i>	40%
<i>Weekly Responses (ten)</i>	20%
<i>Short Papers (two)</i>	30%
<i>TOTAL</i>	100%

Your final cumulative score will be translated into a letter grade according to the following scale:

94 or above = A ; 90-94 = A – ; 87-89 = B+ ; 83-86 = B ; 80-82 = B – ; 77-79 = C+ ; 73-76 = C ; 70-72 = C – ; 67-69 = D+ ; 63-66 = D ; 60-62 = D – ; 59 or below = E

#### COURSE MATERIALS

The following books will be used repeatedly. They are accessible either via the web links I provided or through UF Library.

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. United Kingdom. Macmillan

Alderman, P. (2023). *Branding Authoritarian Nations: Political Legitimation and Strategic National Myths in Military-Ruled Thailand* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). *Sultanistic Regimes*. United Kingdom: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Additional articles and book chapters are available on UF Library and the provided web links. If you wish to access these readings from off campus, you will need to install the Gatorlink VPN software (available here – [UF Gatorlink VPN Service](#)) and follow the instructions. Again, you should be present in class having read each day's readings in advance, ready to discuss and take notes on them.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### I. Introduction and Basic Concepts

#### **Week 1: August 23 – 25 Course Introduction; What is an Authoritarian regime?**

W 8/23

Course Introduction and Objectives. Accessing readings from UF Library.

F 8/25

Schmitter, Philippe., & Karl, T. (1991). What Democracy Is...and Is Not. *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3), 75-88.

Zakaria, Fareed. (1997). The Rise of Illiberal Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 76(6), 22-43.

#### **Week 2: August 28 – 30, September 1 Post-Cold War Perspectives**

M 8/28

Fukuyama, Francis. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest* (available at <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>)

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. United Kingdom. Macmillan. **256-260** (available at <https://archive.org/details/nondemocraticreg00paul/page/n7/mode/2up>)

Zakaria, Fareed. (2004). *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. United Kingdom: W.W. Norton & Company. **13-58**. (available at [https://archive.org/details/futureoffreedomi00zaka\\_0/page/n9/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/futureoffreedomi00zaka_0/page/n9/mode/2up))

W 8/30

NO CLASS – APSA MEETING

### **Recommended Readings (optional)**

[Diamond, Larry. (2002). Elections Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 21-35.

Carothers, Thomas. (2002). The End of the Transition Paradigm. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1), 5–21.]

F 9/1

NO CLASS – APSA MEETING

### **Recommended Readings (optional)**

[Alvarez, Cheibub, J. A., Limongi, F., & Przeworski, A. (1996). Classifying political regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31(2), 3–36.

Anckar, Carsten, & Fredriksson, Cecilia. (2019). Classifying Political Regimes 1800–2016: A Typology and A New Dataset. *European Political Science*, 18(1), 84–96.]

## **II. Types of Authoritarianism**

### **Week 3: September 4 – 8 Military Regimes**

M 9/4

NO CLASS – LABOR DAY

W 9/6

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. **59-80**.

Decalo, Samuel. (1973). Review Article: Military Coups and Military Regimes in Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11(1), 105–127.

F 9/8

Kim, Nam Kyu. (2018). Are Military Regimes Really Belligerent? *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(6), 1151–1178.

Catoggio, Maria. (2011). Religious Beliefs and Actors in the Legitimation of Military Dictatorships in the Southern Cone, 1964-1989. *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(6), 25-37.

### **Week 4: September 11 – 15 Military Regimes: Case Studies**

M 9/11

Alderman, P. (2023). *Branding Authoritarian Nations: Political Legitimation and Strategic National Myths in Military-Ruled Thailand* (1st ed.). Routledge. **Introduction and Chapter 2** (available through UF library)

W 9/13

Alderman, P. (2023). *Branding Authoritarian Nations*. **Chapter 3**.

F 9/15

Alderman, P. (2023). *Branding Authoritarian Nations*. **Chapter 4**.

### **Week 5: September 18 – 22 Single-Party Regimes**

M 9/18

#### **Assessment Quiz 1.**

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. **81-99**.

[Huntington, Samuel. (1970). Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems. In *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems*, edited by S. P. H. a. C. H. Moore. New York and London: Basic Books. **3-44** (available at <https://archive.org/details/authoritarianpol0000unse/page/n5/mode/2up>)]

W 9/20

Kalyvas, Stathis. (1999). The Decay and Breakdown of Communist One-Party Systems. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), 323–343.

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

F 9/22

Wu, Wen-Chin. (2020). Rethinking Coalition Size and Trade Policies in Authoritarian Regimes: Are Single-Party Dictatorships Less Protectionist? *Party Politics*, 26(2), 143-153.

Malesky, Abrami, R., & Zheng, Y. (2011). Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China. *Comparative Politics*, 43(4), 409–427.

### **Week 6: September 25 – 29 Single-Party Regimes: Case Studies**

M 9/25

Olbrich, Philipp, & Shim, David. (2019). Symbolic Practices of Legitimation: Exploring Domestic Motives of North Korea's Space Programme. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 19(1), 33–61.

Dukalskis, Alexander, & Hooker, Zachary. (2011). Legitimizing Totalitarianism: Melodrama and Mass Politics in North Korean Film. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 44(1), 53–62.

W 9/27

Yamada, Norihiko. (2018). Legitimation of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party: Socialism, Chintanakan Mai (New Thinking) and Reform. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(5), 717–738.

Hellmann, Olli. (2021). The Dictator's Screenplay: Collective Memory Narratives and the Legitimacy of Communist Rule in East Asia. *Democratization*, 28(4), 659–683.

F 9/29

Hoffmann, Bert. (2015). The International Dimension of Authoritarian Regime Legitimation: Insights from the Cuban Case. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 18(4), 556–574.

Backes, Uwe, & Kailitz, Steffen. (2016). Political Rule in Revolutionary Cuba between Legitimation, Co-Optation, and Repression. In *Ideocracies in Comparison*. Routledge. 261–286.

## **Week 7: October 2 – 6 Personalistic and Sultanistic Regimes**

M 10/2

### **Assessment Quiz 2.**

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. 129-154.

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). *Sultanistic Regimes*. United Kingdom: Johns Hopkins University Press. 3-48.

W 10/4

Brooker, Paul. (2000). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. 49-84.

Brownlee, Jason. (2002). And yet they persist: Explaining survival and transition in neopatrimonial regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 37(3), 35–63.

F 10/6

NO CLASS – HOMECOMING

## **Week 8: October 9 – 13 Personalistic and Sultanistic Regimes: Case Studies**

M 10/9

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). *Sultanistic Regimes*. **182-229**.

W 10/11

Tunesi, Ibrahim. (2023). Sultanism and Civil War in Libya. *Middle East Policy*, 30(2), 146–165.

Ansari, Ali. (2013). L'état, C'est Moi: The Paradox of Sultanism and the Question of "Regime Change" in Modern Iran. *International Affairs* (London), 89(2), 283–298.

F 10/13

Wedeen, L. (2015). *Ambiguities Of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago Press. **Chapters 2 and 3** (available through UF Library).

**Week 9: October 16 – 20 Islam and Authoritarianism**

M 10/16

Diamond, Larry. (2011). Why Are There No Arab Democracies? *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 93-104.

Lust, Ellen. (2011). Missing the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46(2), 163–190.

W 10/18

Donno, Daniela, & Russett, Bruce. (2004). Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What Are the Linkages? *World Politics*, 56(4), 582–607.

Ross, Michael. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. *The American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 107–123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055408080040>

F 10/20

**Assessment Quiz 3.**

**Week 10: October 23 – 27 Hybrid Regimes**

M 10/23

Levitsky, Steven, & Way, Lucan. (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.

W 10/25

Cameron, Maxwell. (2018). Making Sense of Competitive Authoritarianism: Lessons from the Andes. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 60(2), 1–22.

Mazepus, Honorata et al. (2016). A Comparative Study of Legitimation Strategies in Hybrid Regimes. *Policy Studies*, 37(4), 350–369.

F 10/27

Levitsky, Steven, & Way, Lucan. (2020). The New Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, 31(1), 51–65.

Gilbert, Leah, & Mohseni, Payam. (2011). Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46(3), 270–297.

### **Week 11: October 30, November 1 – 3 Hybrid Regimes: Case Studies**

M 10/30

Case, William. (1993). Semi-Democracy in Malaysia: Withstanding the Pressures for Regime Change. *Pacific Affairs*, 66(2), 183-205.

Beban, Alice et al. (2017). From Force to Legitimation: Rethinking Land Grabs in Cambodia. *Development and Change*, 48(3), 590–612.

W 11/1

Velasco Guachalla, V. et al. (2021). Latin America Erupts: When Does Competitive Authoritarianism Take Root? *Journal of Democracy*, 32(3), 63–77.

Balderacchi, Claudio. (2018). Political Leadership and The Construction of Competitive Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America: Implications and Prospects for Democracy. *Democratization*, 25(3), 504–523.

F 11/3

### **Assessment Quiz 4.**

## **III. Transitions to Where?**

### **Week 12: November 6 – 10 Democratization**

M 11/6

Hagopian, Frances. (1990). “Democracy By Undemocratic Means”? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transitions in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*, 23(2), 147-.

Turner, Mark, & McCarthy-Jones, Anthea. (2020). Bhutan’s Reluctant Democrats and the Challenge of Legitimation. *Asian Studies Review*, 44(3), 515–532.

W 11/8

“The Arab Winter”. *Economist*. <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2016/01/09/the-arab-winter>

Bellin, Eva. (2012). Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring. *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 127–149.

F 11/10

NO CLASS – VETERANS WEEKEND

### **Week 13: November 13 – 17 Autocratization/Democratic Backsliding**

M 11/13

Bermeo, Nancy. (2016). On Democratic Backsliding. *Journal Of Democracy*, 27(1), 5-19.

Haggard, Stephan & Kaufman, Robert. (2021). The Anatomy of Democratic Backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, 32(4), 27–41.

W 11/15

Przybylski, Wojciech. (2018). Can Poland’s Backsliding Be Stopped? *Journal of Democracy*, 29(3), 52–64.

Över, Defne. (2021). Democratic Backsliding and The Media: The Convergence of News Narratives in Turkey. *Media, Culture & Society*, 43(2), 343–358.

F 11/17

Fossati, Diego. (2023). Illiberal Resistance to Democratic Backsliding: The Case Of Radical Political Islam in Indonesia. *Democratization*, ahead-of-print(ahead-of-print), 1–22.

Lorch, Jasmin. (2021). Elite Capture, Civil Society and Democratic Backsliding in Bangladesh, Thailand and the Philippines. *Democratization*, 28(1), 81–102.

### **Week 14: November 20 – 24 Legacy of Dictatorship**

M 11/20

Documentary: Al Jazeera World. Romania: Spectre of Tyranny.

W 11/22

NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK

F 11/24

NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK

## **Week 15: November 27 – 30, December 1 How Do We Study Authoritarian Politics?**

### M 11/27

Gandhi, Jennifer & Przeworski, Adam. (2007). Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats. *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11), 1279-1301.

Greene, Samuel & Robertson, G. (2017). Agreeable Authoritarians: Personality and Politics in Contemporary Russia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(13), 1802–1834.

### W 11/29

Slantchev, Branislav & Matush, Kelly. (2020). The Authoritarian Wager: Political Action and the Sudden Collapse of Repression. *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(2), 214–252.

### F 12/1

Wedeen, Lisa & Fenner, Sofia. (2019). *Authoritarian Apprehensions: Ideology, Judgment, and Mourning in Syria*. University of Chicago Press. **Introduction and Chapter 2.**

## **Week 16: December 4 – 6 Conclusion**

### M 12/4

Open Reflection

### W 12/6

CLASSES END

**This is a live document. I reserve the right to make changes to this syllabus as the course proceeds. Should any change occur, I will notify you promptly.**

## **CLASS POLICIES**

### **Academic Integrity**

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code.” On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The

Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. [Click here to read the Conduct Code.](#)

Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class. Among other things, this policy means that cheating on exams is totally unacceptable, as is plagiarism. Plagiarism is the act of portraying as your own the words or ideas of other people (**Yes! Self-plagiarism is a thing!**). Examples include submitting entire papers, or portions of papers, that you did not write (e.g., old papers written by other students, new papers written by other students, papers which you paid a “research” service to write for you, papers or portions of papers downloaded from the Internet).

### **Students Requesting Accommodations**

Students with disabilities that may affect your performance in this class should request academic accommodations with the *Disability Resource Center (DRC)*. [Click here to get started with the DRC.](#) It is your responsibility to share the accommodation letter and communicate directly with the instructor at the beginning of the semester (or as soon as the disability occurs).

### **Course Evaluation Process:**

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in the Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via [ufl.bluera.com/ufl/](http://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/)

### **Recording and Sharing Policy**

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action

instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

## COVID-Related Recommendations

In response to COVID-19, the following recommendations are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and to further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.

- If you are not vaccinated, you're highly recommended to get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit [one.ufl.edu](https://one.ufl.edu) for screening/testing and vaccination opportunities.
- If you are sick, please stay home. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 to be evaluated.
- Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

## Campus Resources

- *U Matter, We Care*: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu), 352-392-1575, or visit [U Matter, We Care website](#) to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.
- *Counseling and Wellness Center*: [Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website](#) or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.
- *Student Health Care Center*: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or [visit the Student Health Care Center website](#).
- *University Police Department*: [Visit UF Police Department website](#) or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).
- *UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center*: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; [Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website](#).
- *GatorWell Health Promotion Services*: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the [GatorWell website](#) or call 352-273-4450.
- *Hitchcock Field & Fork Pantry*- Assisting members of our campus community who experience food insecurity - [pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu](https://pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu).

## Academic Resources

- *E-learning technical support*: Contact the [UF Computing Help Desk](#) at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at [helpdesk@ufl.edu](mailto:helpdesk@ufl.edu).
- *Career Connections Center*: Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.
- *Library Support*: Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.
- *Teaching Center*: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352-392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.
- *Writing Studio*: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.
- *Student Complaints On-Campus*: [Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code webpage for more information.](#)
- *On-Line Students Complaints*: [View the Distance Learning Student Complaint Process.](#)