POLITICS UNDER AUTHORITARIANISM

CPO4053

M, W, F Period 5 (11:45 AM – 12:35 PM) in AND 101 Spring 2025

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Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays from 1:00 to 3:00 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 it will be structured following the Team-Based Learning (TBL) system. During the first week of the course, I will place you in a team. You will work in the same team for the entire semester through various assessment sessions and application exercises. I expect that you will come to class fully prepared to discuss and apply the reading contents in class activities. Please feel free to come to my office hours to discuss your concerns regarding any class readings, assignments, etc.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and participation – 10%

Participation here means <u>active</u> 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.

Weekly Canvas Responses – 10%

Weekly responses must be from 200-400 words each. You can treat them as diary notes about your own reaction to the readings or the ideas/questions inspired by the readings.

Five Assessment Sessions – 40% (8% each)

Your total assessment sessions grade will be calculated based on two (2) components: five (5) individual quizzes and five (5) team quizzes.

- **Individual quizzes** will account for 60% of the total quiz grade.
- **Team quizzes** will account for the remaining 40%.

For each assessment session, individual and team quizzes will occur in the following order:

- At the start of the class session, students will take **Individual quiz** in 15 minutes.
- After submitting answers to the Individual quiz, students will break into their assigned team to collectively take the **Team quiz** in the next 15 minutes.
- We will then review team scores and answers. Teams can choose to write "appeals" to reclaim credit for incorrect answers when they feel they can cite evidence from the readings to defend their original answer.

All quizzes (both individual and team) will be done <u>in-class</u>, on <u>Canvas</u>. Students are required to bring proper devices such as laptops and tablets to work on the quizzes.

Final Paper Team Project – 40%

This is a team project comprising of three (3) parts: a written team paper, a team presentation, and inter-team constructive review/defense.

• Part I: Team Paper (15-20 pages) – 25%

The final team paper for this course will be a combination of creative and academic writing. In your paper, answer all of the following questions:

- If you could have your own authoritarian regime, what would it look like? How would you keep the regime in power?
 - The answer to this question should be approximately 10-15 pages and will be due on March 25.
- Will it stay as it is, become even more non-democratic/authoritarian, or democratize?
 - The answer to this question should be approximately 5 pages and will be due on April 13.

Use your knowledge about the different types of authoritarian regimes and the various empirical cases to justify/explain your choice of authoritarian regime as well as how you think your regime would proceed in history.

Your grade for **Part I** will be calculated based on the quality of the entire *team paper*. The team paper's grade <u>is</u> your grade for this part of the project.

No late submissions allowed. Late submissions will receive a 10% penalty, and it will be applied to every member of the team.

• Part II: Team Presentation – 10%

Each team will prepare presentation slides based on their team paper (Part I) to present in front of class for 10 minutes. Every team member will have to participate in the presentation. After the presentation, another team chosen as your reviewer will begin asking questions. The ensuing Q&A session will proceed in approximately 10 minutes

Your grade for **Part II** will be calculated as follows:

- *Individual performance* in presenting their specific slides will account for 60% of the team presentation grade.
- *Team performance* on the whole presentation AND during the Q&A with the reviewing team will account for the remaining 40% of the team grade.

You will submit your presentation slides to Canvas after your presentation day.

• Part III: Team Review – 5%

Each team will serve as the reviewer for the presentation of one other team. You will not know in advance which other team you are reviewing <u>until the day of the presentation</u>. If your team has served as the reviewer on the previous presentation day, you will not be asked to do another review. All members of your team will have to participate in the review process, posing questions and making constructive suggestions to the other team.

Your grade for **Part III** will be calculated based on *the whole team's performance* during the reviewing process.

Two Peer Evaluation Rounds – Total Course Grade Multiplier

There will be two (2) rounds of peer evaluation in which you are required to evaluate and comment on the performance of every team member (except yourself) based on the form to be provided by me. This will be done anonymously, so honesty is greatly encouraged. You will also receive a peer evaluation score from your team members. This score will serve as a multiplier for your total course grade at the end of the semester.

Grade Distribution

Assignment	Points
Attendance and Participation	10%
Weekly Responses (ten) Assessment	10%
Sessions (five)	40%
Final Paper	40%
TOTAL	100%

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

•
$$90-93 = A -$$

•
$$87-89 = B+$$

•
$$84-86 = B$$

•
$$80-83 = B -$$

•
$$77-79 = C+$$

•
$$74-76 = C$$

•
$$70-73 = C -$$

•
$$67-69 = D+$$

•
$$61-63 = D -$$

•
$$60 \text{ or below} = E$$

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. (2014). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics* (3rd ed.). United Kingdom. Palgrave 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 – <u>UF Gatorlink VPN Service</u>) 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: January 13 – 18

M 1/13 Introduction

Explaining the syllabus: Course objectives, requirements, etc. Team surveys.

W 1/15 Post Cold-War Perspectives

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

Huntington, Samuel. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? Foreign Affairs, 72(3), 22-49.

F 1/17 What is an Authoritarian Regime?

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

Schlumberger, Oliver. (2015). Authoritarian Regimes. *Oxford Handbook Topics in Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935307.013.18

II. Types of Authoritarianism

Week 2: January 20 – 24 Military Regimes

M 1/20

NO CLASS

Team assignment announced on Canvas Announcements.

W 1/22 Intro

Brooker, Paul. (2014). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. **Chapter 3: 68-85**.

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

F 1/24 Tactics/Policies

Grewal, S., & Kureshi, Y. (2019). How to Sell a Coup: Elections as Coup Legitimation. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(4), 1001–1031. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002718770508

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 3: January 27 –31 Military Case Study: Thailand

<u>M 1/27</u>

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 1/29

Alderman, P. (2023). Branding Authoritarian Nations. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

F 1/31

Assessment Session - Individual and Team Quiz #1

Week 4: February 3 – 7 One-Party Regimes

M 2/3 Intro

Brooker, Paul. (2014). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. **Chapter 4: 86-101.**

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**.

W 2/5 Life Cycle

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

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

F 2/7 Tactics/Policies

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 5: February 10 – 14 One-Party Case Studies

<u>M 2/10 East Asia</u>

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.

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

W 2/12 Cuba

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.

Thiery, Peter. (2016). Political Rule in Revolutionary Cuba between Legitimation, Co-Optation, and Repression. In *Ideocracies in Comparison*. Routledge. **261–286**.

F 2/14

Assessment Session – Individual and Team Quiz #2

Week 6: February 17 – 21 Personalistic/Sultanistic Regimes

M 2/19 Intro

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). *Sultanistic Regimes*. United Kingdom: Johns Hopkins University Press. **Chapter 1: 7-23**.

Brooker, Paul. (2014). *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. **Chapter 2: 50-67.**

W 2/21 Tactics/Policies

Van den Bosch, Jeroen. (2021). Personalist Rule in Africa and Other World Regions. **Chapter 2:** Fear and Greed, 28-53.

F 2/23 The Philippines

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). Sultanistic Regimes. Chapter 9: 206-229.

Week 7: February 24 – 28 Personalistic Case Studies

M 2/24 Iran

Linz, Juan, & Chehabi, Houchang. (1998). Sultanistic Regimes. Chapter 8: 182-205.

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.

W 2/26 Syria

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

<u>F 2/28</u>

Assessment Session – Individual and Team Quiz #3

Week 8: March 3 – 7 Hybrid Regimes

ONLINE CLASSES ISA CONFERENCE

M 3/3 Intro and Classification attempts

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.

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

W 3/5 Defective Democracies?

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

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

F 3/7 Tactics/Policies

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

Kim, W., Bernhard, M. And Hicken, A. (2024), Party system institutionalization and the durability of competitive authoritarian regimes. *European Journal of Political Research*, 63: 1374-1396.

Week 9: March 10 – 14 Hybrid Case Studies

M 3/10 Russia

Hale, Henry E. "Eurasian Polities as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia." *Journal of Eurasian studies* 1.1 (2010): 33–41.

Taras, R. (Ed.). (2024). *Exploring Russia's Exceptionalism in International Politics* (First edition.). Routledge. **Chapter 6: Messianic Discourses and the Ideology of Putinism: 82-96**.

W 3/12 Latin America

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 3/14

Assessment Session - Individual and Team Quiz #4

Week 10: March 17 – 21 Spring Break

NO CLASS

III. Transitions in Which Direction?

Week 11: March 24 - 28 Democratization

M 3/24 Bhutan: The King's Gift

In-class Documentary.

T 3/25 ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION OF FINAL PAPER DUE

W 3/26 Brazil: Political Pacts

Hagopian, Frances. (1990). "Democracy By Undemocratic Means"? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transitions in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*, 23(2), 147-170.

F 3/28 Democratic Revolutions – Arab Spring

Brownlee, J., Masoud, T., & Reynolds, A. (2015). From Dynamic Events to Deep Causes: Outcomes and Explanations of the Arab Spring. *Middle East Law and Governance*, 7(1), 3–15. https://doi.org/10.1163/18763375-00701009

King, S. J. (2020). The Arab Winter: Summary and Conclusions. In *The Arab Winter: Democratic Consolidation, Civil War, and Radical Islamists* (pp. 301–314). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 12: March 31 – April 4 Backsliding/Autocratization

M 3/ Intro to Backsliding/Autocratization

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 4/2 In Europe

Bernhard, M. (2021). Democratic Backsliding in Poland and Hungary. *Slavic Review*, 80(3), 585–607. https://doi.org/10.1017/slr.2021.145

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

F 4/4 In Southeast Asia

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 13: April 7 – 11 Islam and Authoritarianism?

<u>M 4/7</u>

Assessment Session – Individual and Team Quiz #5

W 4/9 Resources?

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

Ross, Michael. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. The American Political Science Review, 102(1), 107–123.

F 4/11 Religion?

Kuru, Ahmet T. (2019). *Islam, Authoritarianism, and Underdevelopment: A Global and Historical Comparison*. Cambridge University Press. **Chapters 1, 2 and 3** (available through UF Library).

S 4/13 ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION OF FINAL PAPER DUE

Week 14: April 14 - 18 How Do We Study Authoritarian Politics?

M 4/14 Quantitative

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

W 4/16 Game Theories

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

F 4/18 Qualitative

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

Week 15 (April 21 – 23) and Week 16 (April 28 – 30)

PAPER PROJECT PRESENTATIONS AND DEFENSE

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).

Attendance Policies

Students may only participate in classes if they are registered officially or approved to audit with evidence. Absences count from the first class meeting.

Acceptable reasons for absence from or failure to engage in class include illness; Title IX-related situations; serious accidents or emergencies affecting the student, their roommates, or their family; special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences); military obligation; severe weather conditions that prevent class participation; religious holidays; participation in official university activities (e.g., music performances, athletic competition, debate); and court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena). Other reasons (e.g., a job interview or club activity) may be deemed acceptable if approved by the instructor.

For all planned absences, students are required to inform the instructor as early as possible prior to the class. For all unplanned absences, students should contact the instructor as soon as conditions permit.

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/

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. Allother 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 aperson 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 uf 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 <u>umatter@ufl.edu,</u> 352-392-1575, or visit <u>U Matter, We Care website</u> to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.
- Counseling and Wellness Center: <u>Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website</u> 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 <u>visit the Student Health Care Center website</u>.
- *University Police Department*: <u>Visit UF Police Department website</u> orcall 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 websiteor call 352-273-4450.
- Hitchcock Field & Fork Pantry- Assisting members of our campus community who experience food insecurity pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu.

Academic Resources

- *E-learning technical support*: Contact the <u>UF Computing Help Desk</u> at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at <u>helpdesk@ufl.edu.</u>
- <u>Career Connections Center</u>: Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.
- <u>Library Support</u>: Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.
- <u>Teaching Center</u>: 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: <u>Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code webpage for more information</u>.
- On-Line Students Complaints: View the Distance Learning Student Complaint Process.