Revised 8/13/20

POLS 4530/5530: Authoritarianism

Fall 2020 – Monday 7:15-10:00 pm, Beracha 213
Professor Matthew Nanes
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Office Hours: By appointment (virtual only)

Course Description and Goals

This course provides an introduction to research on authoritarian politics. The primary purpose is to review, synthesize, and critique existing scholarly literature on the topic, and to build a foundation on which students may begin their own research. Questions we will cover include:

- What is an autocracy?
- Are all autocracies the same from an analytic perspective? What is to be gained by differentiating and categorizing?
- When and why do democracies die?
- What problems do dictators face? How do they solve those problems?
- Why do autocracies sometimes allow democratic institutions like legislatures, opposition parties, and elections?
- How do autocrats rig elections? Why bother holding an election that is obviously rigged?
- Why do opposition parties and candidates participate in rigged elections?
- How does authoritarianism affect policy outcomes, economic growth, and international interactions?

By the end of the semester, students should be able to a) summarize what existing research has to say about each of these questions, and b) make a coherent case for the way that future research should continue to address these questions. I do not assume that students have any specific knowledge of political science. However, this is an advanced class and we will move quickly.

We will apply a theoretical framework on authoritarianism to two primary contemporary cases, China and Egypt. I did my best to select readings that provide substantive background on these two important cases and analyze the role of authoritarian politics in them. We will also see examples from Vietnam, Syria, Russia, Mexico, Africa (cross-national), Jordan, Lebanon, and Uganda.

Attendance Policy

Attendance and active participation are expected. Classroom discussions constitute a major portion of the course, and you cannot make up for missed sessions by doing the readings or reviewing notes. You are allowed 1 unexcused absence with no penalty. Additional absences will be excused only with documentation of a genuine need that is beyond your control. Each unexcused absence will result in a 5 point penalty on your final course grade.

Supplementary Policies for COVID-19

- All students must wear a mask that covers their mouth and nose during this class. Your mask should already be on before you enter the building. It must remain on throughout the class. If you need to take it off, please leave the classroom.
- I will be widely available throughout the semester by phone or zoom. Zoom is particularly useful because we can screen share to work through Stata together. I will not hold in-person office hours. To ask minor questions or schedule a meeting, email is the best tool.
- Students who wish to take this class online should register accordingly with the university.
- For students registered to take the class face-to-face: if at any point you decide that you are uncomfortable attending class in person, you may attend virtually. You may make this decision on a week-by-week basis. Please apprise me of your intentions as soon as possible. The more notice I have, the more I'll be able to help you.
- Virtual attendance does NOT count as an absence.

Grading and Assignments

The assignments are intended to evaluate you based on the course goals listed above, with an emphasis on a) your ability to explain the existing research, including its strengths and weaknesses, and b) your ability to build on the existing research to propose a creative and productive path forward for contributing to our understanding of authoritarian politics.

- **20% Active classroom participation.** Needless to say, you cannot actively participate if you (a) are not present, or (b) have not done the assigned reading. Feel free to check in with me for an update on how you are doing.
- **20% Discussion Leadership.** Each student will lead part or all of a class discussion. Students registered for 4530 will lead the discussion of one or two readings. Students registered for 5530 or who are taking 4530 for honors credit will lead an entire class session. We will assign dates and papers during the first class.
- **30% Two response papers (15% each).** Throughout the quarter you will write two papers in which you a) summarize and synthesize the existing research on the topic assigned for that week, b) highlight one or two strengths of the research, c) highlight one or two areas where the research remains inconclusive, and d) propose a research project to build on existing research OR propose a change in US foreign policy based on the conclusions of the research (your choice). These assignments are open-book, and you are expected to consult the written materials assigned in class. Dates will be assigned during the first class. The paper dates you select should not overlap with the date you lead the classroom discussion.
- **30% Final Paper.** You will choose to write on one out of several essay prompts which ask you to build creatively on the material we covered during the semester. The prompts are designed to give you considerable flexibility in terms of a research or policy focus. Additional details will be provided.

I will convert your numeric grades to a letter course grade using this scale:

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-70
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

Academic Integrity:

I take academic integrity very seriously. It is my intention to make the guidelines for each assignment crystal clear with regard to collaboration and the use of outside help. If you are not sure what is allowed on a particular assignment, it is your responsibility to contact me for clarification. Unless I specify otherwise, assignments should be completed on your own with no input from anyone else. Also unless otherwise specified, all assignments are closed-book and you may not use any resources to help complete them. Any violation of academic integrity will result in an automatic F in the class AND a referral to the Associate Dean's office.

You should familiarize yourself with the university's general guidelines on academic integrity found here: http://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php

Students with Disabilities

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Please visit the Office of Disability Services website (http://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/disability-services) for details. Please also contact me as soon as possible if you wish to discuss any of these options.

Required Books

- All readings can either be accessed online or will be provided via Blackboard.

Week 1: Course Intro

No assigned reading

- What's the point of political science research?
- How to read an academic article
- Course overview
- How to lead class dicussion
- Discussion leader and short paper dates assignment

Week 2: What is Autocracy?

Reading

- Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, and Limongi (2000), *Democracy and Development*. "Chapter 1: Democracies and Dictatorships."

- Diamond (2002), "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes."
- Bueno de Mesquita et al (1999), "Policy Failure and Political Survival." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43:2.

Week 3: Information Problems / The Dictator's Dilemma

Reading

- Wintrobe (1998), *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*. Chapters 1 and 2 ONLY.
- Qin, Amy (2002), "Why are People Protesting in Hong Kong?" *New York Times* 27 May. (on Blackboard)
- Loretnzen, Peter (2013), "Regularizing Rioting: Permitting Public Protest in an Authoritarian Regime." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science.*

Week 4: Media and Censorship

Reading

- Stockman, Daniela and Mary E. Gallagher (2011), "Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China." *Comparative Political Studies.*
- Roberts, Margaret (2018), "Chapter 1: Introduction." In *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall.* Princeton University Press.

Week 5: Managing Elites

Reading

- Boix and Svolik (2013), "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships." *Journal of Politics.* NOTE: You are not required to follow the formal model; just get as much as you can out of the verbal version of the theory and the empirical analysis.
- Quinlivan (1999), "Coup-Proofing: Its Practices and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security.*
- Blaydes (2010), *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt.* Chapters 1 and 3 ONLY.

Week 6: Parties, Legislatures, and Cabinets

Reading

- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto and Magaloni, Beatriz (2001), "Party Dominance and the Logic of Electoral Design in Mexico's Transition to Democracy." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13(3)
- Arriola, Leonard (2009), "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies*
- Malesky and Schuler (2011), "The Single-Party Dictator's Dilemma: Information in Elections without Opposition." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

Week 7: Why Autocrats Hold Elections

Reading

- Geddes, Barbara (2006), "Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?" *Unpublished Manuscript*
- Lust-Okar, Ellen (2006), "Elections Under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan." *Democratization*
- Blaydes (2010), *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Chapter 4 ONLY.

Week 8: How to Steal an Election (I)

Reading

- Schedler, Andreas (2002), "The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy*
- Simpser, Alberto (2008), "Cheating Big: On the Logic of Electoral Corruption in Developing Countries." *Unpublished Manuscript*
- Hafner-Burton, Emily, Susan Hyde, and Ryan Jablonski (2014), "When do Governments Resort to Election Violence?" *British Journal of Political Science*

Week 9: How to Steal an Election (II)

Reading

- Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastian Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter (2013), "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *American Journal of Political Science*
- Corstange, Daniel (2018), "Clientelism in Competitive and Uncompetitive Elections." *Comparative Political Studies*
- Ferree, Karen, Robert Dowd, Danielle Jung, and Clark Gibson (2014), "Experimental Evidence on the Effects of Electoral Inking on Turnout in a Fragile Democracy." *Unpublished Manuscript*

Week 10: Economic Development and Public Goods (I)

Reading

- *skim* Pond, Amy (2018), "Financial Liberalization: Stable Autocracies and Constrained Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*
- Bueno de Mesquita et al (2001), "Political Competition and Economic Growth." *Journal of Democracy* 12(1).
- Lake, David and Matthew Baum (2001), "The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services." *Comparative Political Studies* 34(6).

Week 11: Economic Development and Public Goods (II)

Reading

- Blaydes (2010), *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt.* Chapter 5 ONLY.
- Wang (2015), *Tying the Autocrat's Hands.* Chapters 1, 2, and 4 ONLY.
- Knutsen, Carl Henrik and Magnus Rasmussen (2018), "The Autocratic Welfare State: Old-Age Pensions, Credible Commitments, and Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies.*

Week 12: Corruption

Reading

- Svensson, Jakob (2005), "Eight Questions About Corruption." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19(3).
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1999), *Corruption and Government.* Chapters 3 and 7 ONLY.
- Wang (2015), *Tying the Autocrat's Hands.* Chapters 5 and 6 ONLY.

Week 13: Autocratic Transitions (I)

Reading

- Olson, Mancur (1993), "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review*
- Geddes, Barbara (1999), "What do we Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science.*
- Hollyer, James and Leonard Wantchekon (2015), "Corruption and Ideology in Autocracies." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization.* Read the whole article, but feel free to skim pages 505-515.

Week 14: Autocratic Transitions (II)

Reading

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and George W. Downes (2005), "Development and Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 84(5).
- Levitsky, Stephen and Lucan A. Way (2002), "Election Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*

Final Paper due via Blackboard. Dates and details will be posted on Blackboard.

Syllabus statements required by the office of the provost:

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service through which SLU fulfills its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern. The full University-level Academic Integrity Policy can be found on the Provost's Office website at: https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites.

Disability Accommodations

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact Disability Services to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact Disability Services, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at Disability_services@slu.edu or by phone at 314.977.3484. Once approved, information about a student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from Disability Services and within the instructor's official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact to Disability Services. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Title IX

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, **that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX Coordinator and share the basic facts of your experience**. This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. The Title IX Coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU's Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at https://www.lighthouse-services.com/_StandardCustomURL/LHILandingPage.asp. To view SLU's policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: https://www.slu.edu/here4you and https://www.slu.edu/general-counsel.

IMPORTANT UPDATE: SLU's Title IX Policy (formerly called the Sexual Misconduct Policy) has been significantly revised to adhere to a new federal law governing Title IX that was released on May 6, 2020. Please take a moment to review the new policy and information on the following web address: https://www.slu.edu/here4you. Please contact the Anna Kratky, the Title IX Coordinator, with any questions or concerns.

Mandatory Statement on Face Masks (Fall 2020)

The University's *Interim Policy on Face Masks* governs all students, faculty, staff, and campus visitors in all University-owned, leased, or operated facilities. All persons physically present in any such University facility associated with this course shall comply fully with this policy at all times. Masks must be worn before entry to all such University facilities (as well as outdoors on all University property when six feet of distance is unpredictable or cannot be maintained).

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services or Human Resources to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's ADA Policy. Inquires or concerns may also be directed to the Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity. Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).

As the instructor of this course, I shall comply fully with SLU's policy and all related ADA regulations.

Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to wear masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks at any time during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.

Note: Accordingly, no consumption of any food will be allowed in class.

Students who do not comply with a request by a SLU instructor to wear a mask in accordance with the University's *Interim Policy on Face Masks* may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:

- dismissal from the course(s)
- removal from campus housing (if applicable)
- dismissal from the University

To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with faculty or staff request to wear a mask in accordance with University policy.

Students are strongly encouraged to identify to their instructor any student or instructor not in compliance. Non-compliance may be anonymously reported via the SLU Integrity Hotline at 1-877-525-5669 (or confidentially via the Integrity Hotline's website at http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu.

Attendance

The health and well-being of SLU's students, staff, and faculty are critical concerns. Accordingly, the following University policy statements on in-person class attendance are designed to preserve and advance the collective health and well-being of our institutional constituencies.

1. Students who exhibit any potential COVID symptoms (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) shall absent themselves from any in-person class attendance or in-person participation in any class-related activity until they have been evaluated by a qualified medical official. Students should contact the University Student Health Center for immediate assistance.

2. Students who exhibit any potential COVID symptoms (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) but who feel well enough to a) attend the course synchronously in an online class session or b) participate in asynchronous online class activities, are expected to do so. Those who do not feel well enough to do so should absent themselves accordingly.

3. Students (whether exhibiting any of potential COVID symptoms or not, and regardless of how they feel) who are under either an isolation or quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official must absent themselves from all in-person course activity per the stipulations of the isolation or quarantine directive. They are expected to participate in synchronous or asynchronous online class activities as they feel able to do so, or absent themselves accordingly.

4. Students are responsible for notifying each instructor of an absence as far in advance as possible; when advance notification is not possible, students are responsible for notifying each instructor as soon after the absence as possible.

5. As a temporary amendment to the current University Attendance Policy, all absences due to illness or an isolation/quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official shall be considered "Authorized" absences (effective August 2020 through May 2021).

Distance Education Etiquette

Your actions in distance education contexts are just as important as in on-ground, face-to-face educational contexts – and sometimes require additional attention and commitment, as some distance education technologies might be less familiar to us. Accordingly, all students are expected to follow the guidelines below:

Synchronous Video Contexts (Zoom, etc.)

1. Mute your microphone when you are not speaking. Remember to "un-mute" yourself just prior to speaking. Identify yourself when you begin speaking.

2. Expect a few seconds of delay in getting a response from the instructor or another class member to a question; wait before repeating your question or assuming it was not heard.

3. If possible, position your camera such that your video feed does not capture too much of your surroundings or other activity/sound from your home/location. Be conscious of posters, art, or other surroundings that others might find offensive or inappropriate for an educational context.

4. Use the "Raise Hand" and "Chat" (or similar) features of your video-conferencing tool. This limits verbal interruptions and the confusion generated when multiple people try to speak at once.

5. Just as in an on-ground, face-to-face class, limit side conversations, multi-tasking (on your computer or otherwise), and use of your cellphone.

6. Temporarily turn off your video feed and mute your microphone when engaged in any non-class conversation or activity.

7. Respect and be attentive to the diversity of your classmates and instructor. Before communicating, consider your message in the context of the class' diversity in race, ethnicity, religion, disabilities, gender, sexual orientation, age, social class, marital status, geography, etc. Consider the diversity you can see or know – as well as that you cannot.

8. Remember that video-based class sessions (including chat transcripts) may be recorded and retrieved for later viewing.

Non-Video & Asynchronous Contexts (Blackboard, Canvas, Online Chats, Discussion Boards, etc.)

1. When using the "Chat" or "Discussion Board" (or similar) features of your course management system, remember that your course-related communications to the instructor or other students should be considered "professional" (they are not like texts to your friends). Remember that course context and all related written work – including chat and discussion board transcripts – can be recorded and retrieved.

2. Be cautious when using humor or sarcasm; without the context of facial expressions or other body language, your tone or intent could be missed or misunderstood by others.

3. Respect and be attentive to the diversity of your classmates and instructor. Before communicating, consider your message in the context of the class' diversity in race, ethnicity, religion, disabilities, gender, sexual orientation, age, social class, marital status, geography, etc. Consider the diversity you can see or know – as well as that you cannot.

4. Respect others' time and life circumstances, which often don't allow for an immediate response to a question or comment.