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| **PUBPOL 213**  **Authoritarian Regimes**  **Spring 2023 (1)** |  |

Dates / Synchronous meeting time: (2 hours/week)

Office hours: (1 hour/week).

Academic credit: 4

Course format: This course features a mix of online lectures, online student presentations and in person discussion-based learning totaling 5 hours of weekly instructional time. This course is an in-person class with recordings available for off-campus students and zoom office hours for those students who need remote learning facilities.

## Instructor Information

Dr. Paula Ganga, Assistant Professor of Political Economy (feel free to call me “Dr. Ganga” or “Paula”)

[pdg12@duke.edu](mailto:pdg12@duke.edu)

As a comparative political economy scholar, I use my knowledge of advanced statistical methodologies, seven languages and travel to over 35 countries to examine the economic outcomes of political institutions, state-market interactions, the political actors driving the process and the inequalities between the winners and losers of this process.

I completed my Ph.D. at Georgetown University and I am working on a book manuscript dealing with the political determinants of switches between privatization and nationalization in Eastern Europe and beyond. My research bears directly on how we view the link between democracy and market capitalism, economic consequences of populism, rising illiberalism in recent political transitions and state capitalism. Before DKU I was a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Columbia University’s Harriman Institute, a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Skalny Center for Polish and Central Eastern European Studies at the University of Rochester and a George F. Kennan Short-term Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

For more information about my research go to [www.paulaganga.com](http://www.paulaganga.com/).

## What is this course about?

In this course we examine the variety of ways in which authoritarian regimes operate. We study the emergence and persistence of authoritarian regimes, the institutions they adopt, how leadership might change, government/opposition relations, their potential for democratic transition as well as the theories that explain these outcomes.

## What background knowledge do I need before taking this course?

A background in economics or political science could be useful for this course, but the most important element for success in this class is the enthusiasm to learn about different regime types and the political processes underpinning them.

## What will I learn in this course?

By the end of this course, you will be able to:

* locate theories about authoritarianism within their historical context and to contrast the ideas of the most prominent thinkers on authoritarianism in terms of their merits and limitations.
* identify the political incentives that keep autocrats in power for decades and the problems of autocratic succession and transition away from authoritarianism.
* discuss comparative cases that present the various directions of the political evolution of authoritarian regimes.
* coherently present information on topics related to authoritarianism to a group of peers.
* write short articles/papers analyzing authoritarian policy trends in various contexts.

## What will I do in this course?

This course will feature a mix of lectures and discussion-based learning. As part of this course, you will be evaluated on your class participation and engagement and short discussion essays addressing key course concepts, in addition to a midterm examination and a take-home final exam.

You will achieve the course learning goals by:

1. Completing the weekly readings. These readings will introduce key concepts, problems, and current trends in authoritarianism.

2. Participating actively in class discussions and activities. During class sessions we will discuss the reading materials, apply these concepts to address real world problems and questions, and debate questions of political, economic, and moral complexity.

3. Writing a discussion essay due in the third week of the class. This essay will cover the main theoretical discussions of the class and will require you to engage with the main theories of authoritarian politics.

4. Write a final take-home exam addressing an overarching issue in the class that will allow you to think critically about the issues discussed throughout the lectures and class discussions.

## How can I prepare for the class sessions to be successful?

You will be assessed on your attendance record and class participation over the course of the session. You are expected to show up to class having read all assigned readings and having prepared questions and discussion points based on the readings. You are also expected to bring note-taking materials to class.

## What required texts, materials, and equipment will I need?

This course will make use of the Poll Everywhere software. You will be responsible for bringing a clicker to class or having the appropriate software on your mobile phone.

I do not require a specific textbook for this class. I use a variety of articles and chapters from books. These chapters and articles are available at the library but I will also make them available on the Sakai course website.

## What optional texts or resources might be helpful?

Staying up to date with the news—especially as they pertain to current politics—will be very useful for this class. I also recommend reading *Foreign Affairs* as a way to apply the knowledge learned in class. You can access *Foreign Affairs* in person in the Duke Kunshan Library or online [here](https://pm6mt7vg3j.search.serialssolutions.com/ejp/?libHash=PM6MT7VG3J#/search/?searchControl=title&searchType=alternate_title_equals&criteria=foreign%20affairs&titleType=JOURNALS&filterBy=All&beginPage=0&language=en-US).

## How will my grade be determined?

**Class Participation** (25 percent):

You will be assessed on your class participation over the course of each class session. You are expected to read all assigned readings and prepare questions and discussion points based on the readings, which is critically important for your learning outcomes. You will be assessed on your participation during every class session and receive a grade between 1 and 3 depending on your participation. Depending on class size–bigger classes make it harder for everyone to contribute–there will be an adjustment to the level of participation expected, but this will be clearly communicated at the beginning of the semester. Additionally, you will receive a mid-term evaluation on your participation. Focus on substantive contributions to class discussions rather than sheer number of times you interject during the discussion.

**Discussion Essay** – 500 words (10 percent):

As part of this short essay, you will be asked to reflect on regime theories and their broader implications on authoritarianism. More information provided later.

**Midterm Examination** (25 percent):

The midterm examination will feature a mix of multiple-choice questions and a short essay. I will provide a midterm examination review document outlining what you are expected to know for the examination. Please be advised that, because of the heavily condensed nature of the course, you will have relatively little time to prepare for the midterm examination. Therefore, please be proactive about gaining a good understanding of the course material as it comes up!

**Quizzes** (10 percent):

The quizzes will take place in the second half of the course (after the midterm examination). They will take place at the start of our seminars and feature a mix of true or false, multiple choice, and short answer questions. They are meant to keep you engaged with the course material and help you remember the important concepts covered in the readings and lectures.

**Take-home Final Exam** – 1,500 words (30 percent):

The final paper is your opportunity to apply the material you have learned in class to address an important question on authoritarianism. I will send a prompt that you will have to address in an essay you will have 48 hours to complete. Using outside material and various cases and examples is recommended. More information on the final paper will be provided during the session.

**Grading Scale**: **A+**=97% - 100% **A** = 93% - 96.99%; **A-** = 90% - 92.99%; **B+** = 87% - 89.99%; **B** = 83% - 86.99%; **B-** = 80% - 82.99%; **C+** = 77% - 79.99%; **C** = 73% - 76.99%; **C-** = 70% - 72.99%; **D+** = 67% - 69.99%; **D** = 63% - 66.00%; **D-** = 60% - 62.99% **F** = 59.99% and below

## What are the course policies?

**Instructor Contact:**

* You are welcome (and strongly encouraged!) to come to my office hours and ask any question relating to the course materials and topics, your assignments, my research interests, or your own research interests.
* I generally aim to answer student emails within 24 hours during the working week. Please make sure that your emails have a clear subject line, use your Duke Kunshan email account rather than a personal email account, and if you are responding to an email sent by me, hit “Reply” rather than starting a new email chain (so that I can easily see the previous emails).
* Please check your email at least once a day during the working week. I do not expect you to check your email on weekends or evenings. Please be aware that due to class participants being in various time zones you should be mindful of the time needed for someone to respond. This is why you should try to email your questions as soon as they come up in order to make sure you get timely responses.
* To be fair to all students, I will not read drafts of written work before they are due. However, I am very happy to discuss your ideas for your written work and answer any questions during office hours.

**Communications:**

* Outside of class, we will communicate primarily using the Sakai site and email.
* **All deadlines, class times, and other communications use China standard time.**

**Discussion Guidelines:**

Civility is an essential ingredient for academic discourse. All communications for this course should be conducted constructively, civilly, and respectfully. Differences in beliefs, opinions, and approaches are to be expected. Please bring any communications you believe to be in violation of this class policy to the attention of your instructor. Active interaction with peers and your instructor is essential to success in this course, paying particular attention to the following:

* Be respectful of others and their opinions, valuing diversity in backgrounds, abilities, and experiences.
* Challenging the ideas held by others is an integral aspect of critical thinking and the academic process. Please word your responses carefully and recognize that others are expected to challenge your ideas. A positive atmosphere of healthy debate is encouraged.
* Read your online discussion posts carefully before submitting them.

**Late Assignments**:

Assignments submitted late without prior approval will be docked five percentage points per day—for up to five days. Assignments submitted more than five days late will receive a grade of zero.

**Academic Integrity:**

As a student, you should abide by the academic honesty standard of Duke Kunshan University. Its Community Standard states: “Duke Kunshan University is a community comprised of individuals from diverse cultures and backgrounds.  We are dedicated to scholarship, leadership, and service and to the principles of honesty, fairness, respect, and accountability. Members of this community commit to reflecting upon and upholding these principles in all academic and non-academic endeavors, and to protecting and promoting a culture of integrity and trust.” For all graded work, students should pledge that they have neither given nor received any unacknowledged aid.

**Academic Policy & Procedures:**

You are responsible for knowing and adhering to academic policy and procedures as published in University Bulletin and Student Handbook. Please note, an incident of behavioral infraction or academic dishonesty (cheating on a test, plagiarizing, etc.) will result in immediate action from me, in consultation with university administration (e.g., Dean of Undergraduate Studies, Student Conduct, Academic Advising).  Please visit the Undergraduate Studies website for additional guidance related to academic policy and procedures. Academic integrity is everyone’s responsibility.

**Academic Disruptive Behavior and Community Standard:**

Please avoid all forms of disruptive behavior, including but not limited to: verbal or physical threats, repeated obscenities, unreasonable interference with class discussion, making/receiving personal phone calls, text messages during class, excessive tardiness, leaving and entering class frequently without notice of illness or other extenuating circumstances, and persisting in disruptive personal conversations with other class members.  Please turn off  phones, pagers, etc. during class unless instructed otherwise.  Laptop computers may be used for class activities allowed by the instructor during synchronous sessions. If you choose not to adhere to these standards, I will take action in consultation with university administration (e.g., Dean of Undergraduate Studies, Student Conduct, Academic Advising).

**Academic Accommodations:**If you need to request accommodation for a disability, you need a signed accommodation plan from Campus Health Services, and you need to provide a copy of that plan to me. Visit the Office of Student Affairs website for additional information and instruction related to accommodations.

## What campus resources can help me during this course?

**Academic Advising and Student Support**

Please consult with me about appropriate course preparation and readiness strategies, as needed.  Consult your academic advisors on course performance (i.e., poor grades) and academic decisions (e.g., course changes, incompletes, withdrawals) to ensure you stay on track with degree and graduation requirements. In addition to advisors, staff in the Academic Resource Center can provide recommendations on academic success strategies (e.g., tutoring, coaching, student learning preferences).  **All ARC services will continue to be provided online.** Please visit the [Office of Undergraduate Advising website](https://dukekunshan.edu.cn/en/academics/advising) for additional information related to academic advising and student support services.

**Writing and Language Studio**

For additional help with academic writing—and more generally with language learning—you are welcome to make an appointment with the Writing and Language Studio (WLS). **To accommodate students who are learning remotely as well as those who are on campus, writing and language coaching appointments are available in person and online.** You can register for an account, make an appointment, and learn more about WLS services, policies, and events on the [WLS website](https://dukekunshan.edu.cn/en/academics/language-and-culture-center/writing-and-language-studio). You can also find writing and language learning resources on the [Writing & Language Studio Sakai site](https://sakai.duke.edu/x/mQ6xqG).

**IT Support**

If you are experiencing technical difficulties, please contact IT:

* China-based faculty/staff/students 400-816-7100, (+86) 0512- 3665-7100
* US-based faculty/staff/students (+1) 919-660-1810
* International-based faculty/staff/students can use either telephone option (recommend using tools like Skype calling)
* Live Chat:  <https://oit.duke.edu/help>
* Email:  [service-desk@dukekunshan.edu.cn](mailto:service-desk@dukekunshan.edu.cn)

## Course schedule

## Week 1 - Session 1:

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| --- | --- |
| Date |  |
| Topic | **Introduction** |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | Introductions  * Course objectives and expectations |
| Readings | * Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press. Chapter 1 |

## Week 1 - Session 2:

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| --- | --- |
| Date |  |
| Topic | *Conceptualizing Democracy and Dictatorship* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Defining democracy and dictatorship * Political and economic divergence between regime types |
| Readings | * Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. “What Democracy Is…and Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88. * Wintrobe, Ronald. 1990. “The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship.” *American Political Science Review*: 849–872. * Olson M. 1993. “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development”, *American Political Science Review* 87(3), pp. 567-576. |

## Week 2 - Session 1:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Theories and Classifications of Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * The early work on authoritarianism and totalitarianism |
| Readings | * Friedrich, Carl J., and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Praeger Publishers. (Excerpt) * Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Latin America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Excerpt) * Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Chapter 12 |

## Week 2 - Session 2:

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| --- | --- |
| Date |  |
| Topic | *Monarchical and Personalist Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Examine types of authoritarianism * Modern authoritarian monarchies * Sultanism * Personalism |
| Readings | * Gill, Graeme. 1984. “Personality Cult, Political Culture, and Party Structure.” *Studies in Comparative Communism* XVII (2): 111–21. * Ilkhamov, Alisher. 2007. “Neopatrimonialism, Interest Groups and Patronage Networks: The Impasses of the Governance System in Uzbekistan.” *Central Asian Survey* 26 (1): 65–84. * Yom, Sam L., and F. Gregory Gause III. 2012. “Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On.” *Journal of Democracy* 23 (4): 74–88. |

## Week 3 – Session 1:

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| --- | --- |
| Date |  |
| Topic | *Military and Single-Party Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Military rule * Single-party authoritarian regimes |
| Readings | * Dix, Robert H. 1994. “Military Coups and Military Rule in Latin America.” *Armed Forces & Society* 20 (3): 439–56. * Lowenthal, Robert. 1958. “Logic of One-Party Rule.” *Problems of Communism* 7 (2): 21–30. * Magaloni, Beatriz, and Ruth Kricheli. 2010. “Political Order and One-Party Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 123–43. * Magaloni, Beatriz *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006. Chapter 1 "Introduction" * Smith, Benjamin. 2005. “Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule.” *World Politics* 57 (3): 421–51. |

## Week 3 - Session 2:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | Midterm exam prep |
| Assignments | **Discussion essay** |

## Week 4 - Session 1:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | Midterm exam |
| Agenda | * Take the midterm exam |

## Week 4 - Session 2:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Consolidation, Legitimacy, and Control* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * How do autocratic regimes consolidate power? * Societies under control * Legitimizing authoritarianism |
| Readings | * Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. “Elections under Authoritarianism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403–22. * Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014 “A Dictator’s Toolkit: Understanding How Cooptation Affects Repression in Autocracies.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (3): 332–46. * March, Andrew F. 2003. “State Ideology and the Legitimation of Authoritarianism: The Case of Post-Soviet Uzbekistan.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 8 (2): 209–32. |

## Week 5 - Session 1:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Governance, Society and State-Building* |
| Assignments | **Quiz 1 during class time** |
| Agenda | * How authoritarian regimes instrumentalize history * Societies under authoritarian governance * Propaganda and regime-building |
| Readings | * Wedeen, Lisa.2012 *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, University of Chicago Press, Chapter 1. * Marx. Fritz. 1935."Propaganda and dictatorship," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179, pp. 211–218. * Linan, Miguel Vazquez. 2010. “History as a propaganda tool in Putin’s Russia”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. |

## Week 5 - Session 2:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Political Economy under Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Authoritarianism and economic performance * How do authoritarians use the economy to control society * Authoritarianism and natural resources |
| Readings | * Overy, R. 2006, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia,* Chapter 10 “Commanding the Economy”, pp. 392-440. * Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1993. “Political Regimes and Economic Growth.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (3): 51–69. * Luo, Zhaotian, and Adam Przeworski. 2019. “Why are the Fastest Growing Countries Autocracies?” *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 663–669. * Friedman, Thomas L. 2006. “The First Law of Petropolitics.” *Foreign Policy*, (154):28–36. * Ross, Michael L. 2011. “Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?” *Foreign Affairs*, 90(5): 2-7. |

## Week 6 - Session 1:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Succession and Survival* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * How do authoritarian leaders survive for so long in power? * Hereditary succession |
| Readings | * Herz, John H. 1952. “The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Régimes: A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions.” *The Journal of Politics* 14 (1): 19–40. * Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 2002. ‘‘Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival of Leaders.’’ *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (4): 559–590. * Lim, Jae-Cheon. 2012 “North Korea’s Hereditary Succession: Comparing Two Key Transitions in the DPRK.” *Asian Survey,* 52(3): 550-570. * Brownlee, Jason. 2007. “Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies.” *World Politics* 59 (4): 595–628. * Andrej Kokkonen, Anne Meng, Jørgen Møller and Anders Sundell. 2022. “The Targaryens struggle with a ‘crown prince problem,’ like all authoritarians,” *The Washington Post*. |

## Week 6 - Session 2:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *Democratic Transition or Semi-Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments | **Quiz 2 during class time** |
| Agenda | * How authoritarianism fails * How authoritarianism survives under a new name * Hybrid regimes |
| Readings | * Havel, Vaclav. 2018. “The Power of the Powerless.” East European Politics and Societies 32(2): 353–408. * Carothers, Thomas. 2002. “The End of the Transition Paradigm.” *Journal of Democracy,* 13 (1): 5–21. * Schedler, Andreas. 2002. “The Menu of Manipulation.” *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 36–50. * Gilbert, Leah, and Payam Mohseni. 2011. “Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46 (3): 270–97. * Tucker J. 2007. “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics,* 5(3). |

## Week 7 - Session 1:

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| Date |  |
| Topic | *New Waves and New Frontiers* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Authoritarian resurgence * Illiberal democracy * COVID and authoritarianism |
| Readings | * Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Yascha Mounk. 2016. “The Democratic Disconnect.” *Journal of Democracy* 27 (3): 5-17. * Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* 76(6): 22-43. * Sebastian Hellmeier et al. 2021. “State of the world 2020: Autocratization turns viral,” *Democratization*, 28:6, 1053-1074. * Pirro, Andrea and Ben Stanley. 2021. “Forging, Bending, and Breaking: Enacting the ‘Illiberal Playbook’ in Hungary and Poland.” *Perspectives on Politics* * Larry Diamond. 2020. “Democracy Versus the Pandemic. The Coronavirus Is Emboldening Autocrats the World Over.” *Foreign Affairs*. |

## Week 7 – Session 2:

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| --- | --- |
| Date |  |
| Topic | *The Future of Democracy and Authoritarianism* |
| Assignments |  |
| Agenda | * Digital authoritarianism * Informational autocrats |
| Readings | * Henry Farrell, Abraham Newman and Jeremy Wallace. 2022. “Spirals of Delusion: How AI Distorts Decision-Making and Makes Dictators More Dangerous.” *Foreign Affairs*. September/October. * Guriev, Sergei and Daniel Treisman. 2019. “Informational Autocrats.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* * Gladwell, Macolm. 2010. “Small Change: Why the Revolution will not be Tweeted,” *The New Yorker,* October 4, 86 (30): 42-49. * Zuboff, Shoshana. 2015. "Big other: surveillance capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization." *Journal of information technology* 30(1): 75-89. |