

**COMPARATIVE AUTHORITATIANISM**  
**POLSCI 716 / GLOBAL ST 719**  
**Fall 2021, Term 1**

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**Lecture:** Mondays, 2:30pm—5:20pm  
**Room:** Virtual (via Zoom)

**Office:** Virtual (via Zoom)  
**Office Hours:** Thursdays, 1:20am-  
2:20pm (Sign up via google-doc)

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## **Course Description**

In this course, we examine sources for the rise, durability and breakdown of authoritarianism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is a timely and important topic as the quality of democracy is on the decline while authoritarianism remains persistent around the world. The line between democracies and authoritarian regimes is increasingly unclear as autocrats use democratic institutions such as elections, political parties and the legislature to co-opt dissent and maintain mass support. How do we understand these trends? Drawing from comparative politics and democratization literature, we begin the course by studying the origins and theoretical approaches of authoritarianism. We then compare the key types of authoritarian regimes before considering how mass protests, digital media and international factors affect authoritarian rule. We conclude by reflecting on the “third wave” of autocratization around the world.

## **Course Objectives**

This is a reading and discussion intensive course. It is designed to equip graduate students with a solid background in the study of regime change and stability. The aim is to familiarize students with the key concepts and theoretical debates in the comparative authoritarianism literature. Students are encouraged to bring their empirical knowledge of any country or region to class discussions and written assignments. *N.B. This course will be especially helpful for students taking the comprehensive examination in Comparative Politics.*

## **Required Materials and Texts**

RECOMMENDED for PhD Students

- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph George Wright, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2018. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press. [Available online through McMaster's Library](#).
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2009. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. [2009 edition available at Mills Library bookstacks](#); [2006 edition available online through McMaster's Library](#).
- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Cambridge University Press. [Available online through McMaster's Library](#).
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2010. *Political Institutions Under Dictatorship*. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press. [2010 edition available in Mills Library bookstacks](#); [2008 edition available online through McMaster's library](#).
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press. [Available online thorough McMaster's library](#).

RECOMMENDED for MA Students

- Frantz, Erica. 2018. *Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know*®. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Brooker, Paul. 2009. *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. St. Martin's Press.
- Ezrow, Natasha M., and Erica Frantz. 2011. *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*. Continuum. [Available online through McMaster's library](#).

## **Class Format**

The classes will be conducted in a virtual format. The classes will be conducted online or synchronously. You will need to attend one online class via Zoom platform. The class will usually begin with a 30-minute overview lecture on the week's topics/readings before we take around 15 mins for a student's led reading leadership and class discussion. Given our "virtual" format, please learn and familiarize yourself with the following free apps and tools that we are using in this class:

- 1) [Avenue to Learn](#) – to access course readings, ppt slides, videos and assignments
- 2) [Zoom](#) – for our weekly online classes
- 3) [Google Docs](#) – available online for collaborative work and discussion
- 4) [Zotero](#) – free citation software (strongly encourage for your annotated bibliography and research essay)

I will hold office hours every Thursday and be able to meet virtually with you one-on-one. Please sign up via the Google sheet for a specific time slot with me during office if you have any questions about the course.

## **Course Evaluation – Overview**

1. Class discussion and participation – 10%
2. 2 x reading leadership – 20%, sign up on Avenue
3. Book review and presentation (25%), due 1 Nov
4. Research paper outline and presentation (10%) – due 22 Nov
5. Research Paper (35%), due 6 Dec

## **Course Evaluation – Details**

### **Class Discussion and Participation (10%), ongoing**

Your attendance and active participation are central to succeeding in this course. Students are expected to complete all the reading assignments for each week and contribute actively to class discussions. You are welcome to bring current and relevant news items into class.

### **2 X Reading Leadership (20%), due date varies**

You will lead one class discussions based on the required reading in this course. You will sign up for your leadership role in our first class. You may like to upload your outline

onto Avenue before presentation so that the class can have access to your notes. During your leadership, you will highlight the key points in the article and raise at least 2 questions for discussion. If there are two or more leaders in a week, discuss amongst yourselves to ensure no overlap in the readings covered for the week. Each reading leadership should be **no more than 10 mins**. You will be evaluated based on the quality of your discussion points and the degree to which your questions advance the discussion or lead to fresh insights. Power-point slides are optional.

## **Book Review and Presentation (25%), due 1 Nov**

### ▪ **Book Review Presentation (5%), due 1 Nov**

On the day of your book review submission, you will spend no more than **10 minutes** to present your book in class. Your presentation should summarize the book in 1-2 sentences; assess the author's key argument, use of primary sources, data; the relevance of the book for class topics; highlight any favorite quote or memorable aspect of the book. Powerpoint slides not required. For samples of good book reviews, scan leading comparative politics journals such as *Perspectives on Politics*, *Democratization* or *Party Politics*.

### ▪ **Book Review (20%), due 1 Nov**

Select one of the books listed early in the course to ensure no overlap between students. Submit a two-page (single-spaced) review of one of these books electronically on Avenue. If you would like to review a new book that is not on this list, please email and check with me in advance.

1. Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2018. [\*Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy\*](#). Cambridge New York, NY Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press.
2. Ginsburg, Tom, and Tamir Moustafa, eds. 2008. [\*Rule by Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes\*](#). 1 edition. Cambridge UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
3. Ginsburg, Tom, and Alberto Simpser, eds. 2013. [\*Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes\*](#). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
4. Dimitrov, Martin K., ed. 2013. [\*Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe\*](#). New York: Cambridge University Press.
5. Yadav, Vineeta, and Bumba Mukherjee. 2015. [\*The Politics of Corruption in Dictatorships\*](#). Cambridge University Press.
6. Geddes, Barbara, Joseph George Wright, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2018. [\*How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse\*](#). Cambridge University Press.
7. Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. 2016. [\*Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence\*](#). Cambridge University Press.
8. Svobik, Milan. 2012. [\*The Politics of Authoritarian Rule\*](#). USA: Cambridge University Press.

9. Bunce, Valerie. 2011. [\*Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries\*](#). Cambridge University Press.
10. Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2016. [\*Dictators and Democrats: Masses, Elites, and Regime Change\*](#). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
11. Dickson, Bruce. 2016. The Dictator's Dilemma: [\*The Chinese Communist Party's Strategy for Survival\*](#). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
12. Hussain, Muzammil M., and Philip N. Howard, eds. 2013. [\*State Power 2.0: Authoritarian Entrenchment and Political Engagement Worldwide\*](#). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
13. Stevens, Tim. 2016. [\*Cyber Security and the Politics of Time\*](#). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
14. Winters, Jeffrey A. 2011. [\*Oligarchy\*](#). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
15. \*Bloom, Peter, and Alessandro Sancino. 2019. *Disruptive Democracy: The Clash Between Techno-Populism and Techno-Democracy*. First edition. SAGE Publications Ltd.
16. \*Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2017. [\*The Chessboard and the Web: Strategies of Connection in a Networked World\*](#). The Henry L. Stimson Lectures Series. New Haven: Yale University Press.
17. \*Diamond, Larry, Marc Plattner, and Christopher Walker, eds. 2016. [\*Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy\*](#). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Pr.
18. \*Mesquita, Bruce Bueno de, and Alastair Smith. 2011. [\*The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior Is Almost Always Good Politics\*](#). New York: Public Affairs.
19. \*McGregor, Richard. 2012. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. Reprint edition. New York: Harper Perennial.
20. \*Owen, Roger. 2014. [\*The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life\*](#). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
21. \*Brennan, Jason. 2016. [\*Against Democracy\*](#). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
22. \*Kurlantzick, Joshua. 2013. [\*Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government\*](#). Yale University Press.

*Note: Books marked with \* are recommended for MA students. Do visit the library as soon as possible and get hold of your favorite book. Alternatively, please purchase a copy online.*

## **Research Paper (45%), due 6 Dec**

### **1) Research Outline Presentation (10%) due 22 Nov**

3 weeks before submission of research paper, you will spend no more than 10 minutes to present your outline to the class. Your presentation should include your research question, reason for picking the topic or case; your central thesis about this regime type and expected findings. Please share your one-page outline to your classmates a day before hand. Your classmates will ask questions and give suggestions to your presentation.

### **2) Research Paper (35%), due 6 Dec**

You will submit an analytical research paper that is about 8 pages (no more than 4,000 words, single-spaced). **You can select a topic that focuses on the cause/s, method/s of repression; one regime type OR the type/effects of authoritarianism in the**

**contemporary world.** You will develop your research topic in consultation with me. A bibliography is required for all works cited. Please upload your paper electronically on Avenue to Learn "Assignment" folder. The aim is to demonstrate expertise or knowledge in at least one regime type/case/authoritarian leadership in the post-cold war era.

## **Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings**

<b>Wk</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Deadlines</b>
1	13 Sep	Introduction	
2	20 Sep	Origins and theories	
3	27 Sep	Typologies	
4	4 Oct	Single and hegemonic party regimes	
5	11 Oct	<b>Mid-Term recess</b>	
6	18 Oct	Personalist regimes	
7	25 Oct	Military regimes	
8	1 Nov	Strategies and resilience	<b>Book presentation and book review due</b>
9	8 Nov	Electoral authoritarianism in Southeast Asia	
10	15 Nov	Digital authoritarianism	
11	22 Nov	Authoritarian breakdown	<b>Research paper outline due and presentations</b>
12	29 Nov	Third wave of autocratization	
13	6 Dec	Course review	<b>Final Research Paper due</b>

### **Week 1 (13 Sep) – Introduction**

Readings:

1. Diamond, Larry, Marc Plattner, and Christopher Walker, eds. 2016. *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Pr, 1-19.
2. Merkel, Wolfgang. 2010. "Are Dictatorships Returning? Revisiting the 'Democratic Rollback' Hypothesis." *Contemporary Politics* 16(1): 17–31.
3. Krastev, Ivan. 2011. "Paradoxes of the New Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 22(2): 5–16.

Recommended:

1. Carothers, Thomas. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002): 5–21.
2. Zakaria, Fareed. 2004. *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. N.Y.: WW Norton & Company, 13-59.
3. Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (1): 5–19.
4. Plattner, Marc F. 2015. "Is Democracy in Decline?" *Journal of Democracy* 26 (1): 5–10.

### **Week 2 (20 Sep) - Origins and Theories**

Readings:

1. Huntington, Samuel P. 2006. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1-91.
2. Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 11 (November 1, 2007): 1279–1301.
3. Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2014. "A Theory of Regime Survival and Fall." In *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*, 29–62. NY: Cambridge University Press.
4. Tansey, Oisín. 2016. "The Problem with Autocracy Promotion." *Democratization* 23 (1): 141–63.

Recommended:

1. Ezrow and Frantz. 2011. "The Causes of Dictatorship." 27–53.
2. Brooker, Paul. "Theoretical Approaches." 16-45.
3. Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "The Political Origins of Durable Authoritarianism." In *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*, 16–43. Cambridge Univ. Press.
4. Pepinsky, Thomas. 2014. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism." *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (3): 631–53.
5. Bermeo, Nancy Gina. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton University Press, pp. 1-20. [Also scan pp. 21-63 if you are interested in the breakdown of democracies in interwar Europe].
6. Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2006. "Our Argument." In *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 15–47.
7. Olson, Mancur. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 567.
8. Zakaria, Fareed. 2004. *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. N.Y.: WW Norton & Company, 89-159.
9. Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(03): 325–61.
5. BBC Online. 2018. ['BBC World Service - The Inquiry, How Do Dictators Survive So Long?'](#) The Inquiry.

### **Week 3 (27 Sep) – Typologies of Authoritarianism**

Readings:

1. Linz, Juan, and Alfred Stepan. 1996. "Modern Nondemocratic Regimes." In *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, 38–54. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ Press.
2. Wintrobe, Ronald. "How to Understand, and Deal with Dictatorship: An Economist's View." *Economics of Governance* 2, no. 1 (2001): 35–58.
3. Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" 2(1): 115–44.



4. Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (02): 313–31.
5. Bogaards, Matthijs. 2009. "How to Classify Hybrid Regimes? Defective Democracy and Electoral Authoritarianism." *Democratization* 16(2): 399–423.

Recommended:

1. Kailitz, Steffen. 2013. "Classifying Political Regimes Revisited: Legitimation and Durability." *Democratization* 20 (1): 39–60.
2. Wahman, Michael, Jan Teorell, and Axel Hadenius. 2013. "Authoritarian Regime Types Revisited: Updated Data in Comparative Perspective." *Contemporary Politics* 19 (1): 19–34.
3. Wintrobe, Ronald. 2000. "The Problem." In *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*, Cambridge University Press, 3–17.
4. Kailitz, Steffen. 2013. "Classifying Political Regimes Revisited: Legitimation and Durability." *Democratization* 20 (1): 39–60.
5. Alvarez, Mike, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31 (2): 3–36.
6. Ezrow and Frantz. 2011. "Authoritarian Politics: Typologies." 1–26.

#### **Week 4 (4 Oct) – Single and Hegemonic Party Regimes**

Readings:

1. Huntington, S.P. 1970. "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems." In *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems*, N.Y.: Basic Books, 3–47.
2. Magaloni, Beatrix, and Ruth Kricheli. "Political Order and One-Party Rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, no. 1 (2010): 123–143.
3. Smith, Benjamin. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics* 57 (3): 421–51.
4. Malesky, Edmund, Regina Abrami, and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *Comparative Politics* 43 (4): 409–27.

Recommended:

1. Malesky, Edmund, and Paul Schuler. 2011. "The Single-Party Dictator's Dilemma: Information in Elections without Opposition." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36 (4): 491–530.
  2. Nathan, Andrew J. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 1 (2003): 6–17.
  3. McGregor, Richard. 2012. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. Reprint edition. New York: Harper Perennial, 1-70.
  4. Ezrow and Frantz. "Single-Party Dictatorships in East Europe, Asia and Beyond." 215–239.
  5. Brooker, Paul. "One Party Rule." 105-125.
- Week 6 (11-17 Oct) - Mid-term recess,  
NO CLASS

## **Week 5 (11-17 Oct) Mid-term recess, NO CLASS**

## **Week 6 (18 Oct) – Personalist Regimes**

### Readings:

1. Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2017. "Pathways to Democratization in Personalist Dictatorships." *Democratization* 24 (1): 20–40.
2. Escribà-Folch, Abel. 2013. '[Accountable for What? Regime Types, Performance, and the Fate of Outgoing Dictators, 1946–2004](#)' *Democratization* 20 (1): 160–85.
3. Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. "Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa." *Comparative Politics* 16, no. 4 (July 1984): 421.
4. Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, Erica Frantz, and Joseph Wright. 2016. "The New Dictators." *Foreign Affairs*, September.
5. Mesquita, Bruce Bueno de, and Alastair Smith. 2011. "Staying in Power." In *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior Is Almost Always Good Politics*, New York: Public Affairs, 49–74.

### Recommended:

1. Yom, Sean L., and F. Gregory Gause III. 2012. "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On." *Journal of Democracy* 23 (4): 74–88.
2. Barros, Robert. 2001. "Personalization and Institutional Constraints: Pinochet, the Military Junta, and the 1980 Constitution." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43 (1): 5–28.
3. Ezrow and Frantz. "Personalist Dictatorships in Sub-Saharan Africa." 215–239.

### **Additional recommendation: For students interested in Monarchies**

1. Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies." *World Politics* 59(04): 595–628.
2. Winters, Jeffrey A. 2011. "Sultanistic Oligarchs." In *Oligarchy*, 135–207. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
3. Brooker Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van de Walle. 1994. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* 46(04): 453–89.
4. Brownlee, Jason. 2002. "...And yet They Persist: Explaining Survival and Transition in Neopatrimonial Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37 (3): 35–63.

## **Week 7 (25 Oct) - Military Regimes**

### Readings:

1. Goodpastor, Andrew J, and Samuel P Huntington. 1977. *Civil-Military Relations*. Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 5-28
2. Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. "Praetorianism and Political Decay." In *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 192–263. Yale University Press.

3. Aydogan, Abdullah. 2019. 'Constitutional Foundations of Military Coups'. *Political Science Quarterly* 134 (1): 85–116.
4. Kuehn, David. 2017. '[Midwives or Gravediggers of Democracy? The Military's Impact on Democratic Development](#)'. *Democratization* 24 (5): 783–800.
5. Croissant, Aurel, David Kuehn, Paul Chambers, and Siegfried O. Wolf. 2010. "Beyond the Fallacy of Coup-Is: Conceptualizing Civilian Control of the Military in Emerging Democracies." *Democratization* 17 (5): 950-975.

Recommended:

1. Mietzner, Marcus. 2014. "Successful and Failed Democratic Transitions from Military Rule in Majority Muslim Societies: The Cases of Indonesia and Egypt." *Contemporary Politics* 20(4): 435–52.
2. Clark, John Frank. 2007. "The Decline of the African Military Coup." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 141–55.
3. Croissant, Aurel. 2013. "Coups and Post-Coup Politics in South-East Asia and the Pacific: Conceptual and Comparative Perspectives." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67(3): 264–80.
4. Diamond, Larry, and Marc F. Plattner. 1996. *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy*. JHU Press, v-xxxiv.
5. Farrelly, Nicholas. 2013. "Why Democracy Struggles: Thailand's Elite Coup Culture." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67(3): 281–96.
6. Alagappa, Muthiah. 2001. *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives*. Government Institutes, 1-18.
7. Encarnación, Omar. 2013. "Even Good Coups Are Bad: Lessons for Egypt from the Philippines, Venezuela and Beyond." *Foreign Affairs*, July 9.

## **Week 8 (1 Nov) – Strategies and Resilience**

Readings:

1. Croissant, Aurel, and Stefan Wurster. 2013. "Performance and Persistence of Autocracies in Comparison: Introducing Issues and Perspectives." *Contemporary Politics* 19 (1): 1–18.
2. Ezrow and Frantz. "The Survival of Authoritarian Regimes: Strategies and Trends." 54–80.
3. Gerschewski, Johannes. 2013. "The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-Optation in Autocratic Regimes." *Democratization* 20 (1): 13–38.
4. Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolochik. 2011. "Electoral Stability and Change in Mixed Regimes." In *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*, 35–50.
5. Boix, Carles, and Milan W. Svoblik. 2013. "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 300–316.

Recommended

1. Tansey, Oisín, Kevin Koehler, and Alexander Schmotz. 2017. "Ties to the Rest: Autocratic Linkages and Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (9): 1221–54.
2. Bader, Julia, and Jörg Faust. 2014. "Foreign Aid, Democratization, and Autocratic Survival." *International Studies Review* 16 (4): 575–95.
3. Hadenius, Axel, and Jan. Teorell. "Pathways from Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 1 (2007): 143–157.

## **Week 9 (8 Nov) – Electoral Authoritarianism**

### Readings:

1. Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 36–50.
2. Trantidis, Aris. 2015. '[Clientelism and the Classification of Dominant Party Systems](#)'. *Democratization* 22 (1): 113–33.
3. Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2009): 403–422.
4. Magaloni, Beatriz. 2010. "The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 751–65.
5. Tan, Netina. 2013. "Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore." *Electoral Studies* 32(4): 632–43.
6. Norris, Pippa. 2015. *Why Elections Fail*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 3-25.

### Recommended:

1. Van, Ham, and Staffan Lindberg. 2016. "Choosing from the Menu of Manipulation Explaining Incumbents' Choices of Electoral Manipulation Tactics." V-Dem Institute.
2. Morse, Yonatan L. 2012. "The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 64(1): 161–98.
3. Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3): 515–32.
4. Harvey, Cole J. 2016. "Changes in the Menu of Manipulation: Electoral Fraud, Ballot Stuffing, and Voter Pressure in the 2011 Russian Election." *Electoral Studies* 41 (March): 105–17.
5. Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* null (3): 535–551.
6. Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 51–65.
7. Gandhi, Jennifer. 2010. *Political Institutions Under Dictatorship*. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1-41.

## **Week 10 (15 Nov) – Digital Authoritarianism**

### **Readings:**

1. Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. 2013. 'Authoritarianism Online: What Can We Learn from Internet Data in Nondemocracies?' *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46 (2): 262–70.
2. Feldstein, Steven. 2019. '[The Road to Digital Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence Is Reshaping Repression](#)'. *Journal of Democracy* 30 (1): 40–52.
3. Rød, Espen Geelmuyden, and Nils B. Weidmann. 2015. '[Empowering Activists or Autocrats? The Internet in Authoritarian Regimes](#)'. *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (3): 338–51.
4. Howard, Philip N., Sheetal D. Agarwal, and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2011. '[When Do States Disconnect Their Digital Networks? Regime Responses to the Political Uses of Social Media](#)'. *The Communication Review* 14 (3): 216–32.
5. Shahbaz, Adrian. 2018. '[Freedom on the Net 2018: The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism](#)'. 30 October 2018.

### **Recommended:**

1. Deibert, Ron. 2015. 'Authoritarianism Goes Global'. *Journal of Democracy* 26 (3): 64–78.
2. Gerschewski, Johannes, and Alexander Dukalskis. 2018. 'How the Internet Can Reinforce Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of North Korea'. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*; Washington 19: 12.
3. Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. 2018. '[Digital Dilemmas: The Unintended Consequences of Election Technology](#)'. *Democratization* 25 (8): 1397–1418.
4. '[Does Technology Favor Tyranny?](#)' 2019. *Foreign Affairs*. 13 February 2019.
5. Deibert, Ron. 2015. '[Cyberspace Under Siege](#)'. *Journal of Democracy* 26 (3): 64–78.
6. Leshchenko, Sergii. 2014. '[The Media's Role](#)'. *Journal of Democracy* 25 (3): 52–57.

### **Sharp Power and Foreign Interference:**

1. Cardenal, Juan Pablo, Jacek Kucharczyk, Grigoriji Meseznikov, and Gabriela Pleschova. 2017. '[Sharp Power: Rising Authoritarian Influence](#)'. *New Forum Report*. National Endowment for Democracy.
2. Walker, Christopher, and Jessica Ludwig. 2017. '[The Meaning of Sharp Power](#)'. *Foreign Affairs*, 16 November 2017.
3. Nye, Joseph S. 2018a. 'China's Soft and Sharp Power by Joseph S. Nye'. *Project Syndicate*. 4 January 2018. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/china-soft-and-sharp-power-by-joseph-s--nye-2018-01>.

## **Week 11 (22 Nov) – Authoritarian Breakdown**

### Readings:

1. Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, and Erica Frantz. 2016. "When Dictators Die." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (4): 159–71.
2. O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, Laurence Whitehead. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*. Johns Hopkins Univ Pr, 3-47.
3. Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2009. "Authoritarian Breakdown in Indonesia." In *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press: 155-199.
4. Dix, Robert H. 1982. "The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes." *The Western Political Quarterly* 35 (4) (December 1): 554–573.
5. Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127–49.

### **Recommend on Social Media Protest:**

1. Rachman, Gideon, Sue-Lin Wong, Benedict Mander, Daniel Dombey, and Heba Saleh. 2019. '[Leaderless Rebellion: How Social Media Enables Global Protests](#)'. *Financial Times*. 25 October 2019.
2. Krastev, Ivan. 2014. "From Politics to Protest." *Journal of Democracy* 25(4): 5–19.
3. Malchik, Antonia. 2019. '[The Problem With Social-Media Protests](#)'. *The Atlantic*. 6 May 2019.

### **Recommended on Arab Spring - Middle East:**

1. Breuer, Anita, Todd Landman, and Dorothea Farquhar. 2015. "Social Media and Protest Mobilization: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution." *Democratization* 22 (4): 764–92.
2. Paczynska, Agnieszka. 2013. "Cross-Regional Comparisons: The Arab Uprisings as Political Transitions and Social Movements." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46(2): 217–21.
3. Rane, Halim, and Sumra Salem. 2012. "Social Media, Social Movements and the Diffusion of Ideas in the Arab Uprisings." *The Journal of International Communication* 18 (1): 97–111.
4. Akaev, Askar, Andrey Korotayev, Leonid Issaev, and Julia Zinkina. 2016. "Technological Development and Protest Waves: Arab Spring as a Trigger of the Global Phase Transition?" *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*.
5. "Arab Spring: An Interactive Timeline of Middle East Protests." 2011. *Guardian*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline> (November 6, 2011).

## **Week 12 (29 Nov) – Third Wave of Autocratization?**

Readings:

1. Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. 'A [Third Wave of Autocratization Is Here: What Is New About It?](#)' *Democratization* 26 (7): 1095–1113.
2. Art, David. "What Do We Know About Authoritarianism After Ten Years?" *Comparative Politics* 44, no. 3 (2012): 351–373.
3. Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62(1): 43–86.

Recommended:

1. Howard, Philip N., and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2013. *Democracy's Fourth Wave? Digital Media and the Arab Spring*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 35-46 and 47-87.
2. Brooker, Paul. "Future of Non-Democratic Regimes." 269-277.
3. Gause, F. Gregory III. 2011. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 90: 81.

## **Week 13 (6 Dec) – Course review and final paper due**

No Readings

## **Course Policies**

### **Submission of Assignments**

Assignments are to be submitted on Avenue to Learn.

### **Citation and Style Guidelines**

All written work ought to follow the author-date citation style according to the [Chicago Manual of Style](#).

### **Grades**

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

<b>MARK</b>	<b>GRADE</b>
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
0-69	F

### **Late Assignments**

Assignments turned in after the beginning of the class will not earn full credit. 2 percent of the total grade will be deducted each day after the submission deadline (weekends count as one day). Late assignments will NOT be accepted 48 hours after the original deadline. To avoid late penalties and ensure fairness, a MSAF or medical certification that has been presented to your Faculty Office is required. The MSAF or medical certification must be presented to the instructor no later than the day of the assignment due date. If you anticipate having problems meeting the assignment deadlines, contact me before the due date to discuss your situation.

### **In-class Behavior**

All cell-phones must be turned off and stowed away during class.

### **Avenue to Learn**

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, usernames for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

### **Turnitin.com**

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via Avenue to Learn (A2L) plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work through A2L and/or Turnitin.com must still submit an electronic and/or hardcopy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com or A2L. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more information, please refer to the [Turnitin.com Policy](#).

### **Absences, Missed Work, Illness**

McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF): In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”.

### **Courses With an On-Line Element**

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g., e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, usernames for the McMaster e-mail



accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

### **Online Proctoring**

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

### **Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection**

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g., A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

**All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld** (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to

[www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity](http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity).

### **Copyright and Recording**

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

### **Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)**

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should

submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

### **Academic Integrity Statement**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g., the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g., the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

### **Conduct Expectations**

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g., use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

## **Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities**

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](mailto:sas@mcmaster.ca) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or [sas@mcmaster.ca](mailto:sas@mcmaster.ca) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

## **Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy**

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

## **Course Modification**

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

## **Extreme Circumstances**

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.

## **Additional Resources**

### **Suggested Journals**

[Comparative Political Studies](#)  
[Commonwealth and Comparative Politics](#)  
[Democratization](#)  
[Foreign Affairs](#)  
[Journal of Comparative Politics](#)  
[Journal of Democracy](#)  
[World Politics](#)

### **Websites and Datasets**

[Amnesty International](#)  
[Democracy Web](#)  
[Economist Democracy Index](#)  
[Freedom House](#)  
[Human Rights Quarterly](#)  
[IDEA Institutional Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance](#)  
[Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index](#)  
[Pippa Norris Democratization Index](#)  
[Bertelsmann Transformation Index](#)  
[Varieties of Democracy Index](#)  
[Reporters Without Borders Index](#)  
[World Values Survey](#)

### **Advice on Writing**

Gerring, John. [General Advice on Social Science Writing.](#)  
Gerring, John. forthcoming. [“Advice on Essay Writing.”](#)  
Elkins, Zachary. 2014. [“Perspectives on the Craft of Writing.”](#)

### **Bibliography Citation Guides**

[Chicago Manual of Style](#)  
[McMaster Citation and Styles Guide](#)

### **How to write a Book Review**

[UOT guide](#)  
[Purdue guide](#)

### **How to write a Literature Review**

[UOT guide](#)  
[Cornell guide](#)