

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE 210: Authoritarianism**

Mon. 2:00-4:00pm, 706 Barrows Hall

Professor Jason Wittenberg

732 Barrows Hall

Spring, 2011 Office hours: Tuesday 10:00am-12:00pm

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**Course Description:** This seminar explores the characteristics and dynamics of non-democratic regimes: how and why they come about, what sustains them, why some people resist and others do not, and how and why they decline and fall. There are no formal methodological prerequisites for this course. However, during our journey through autocracy we will encounter a variety of approaches, including formal, large-N statistical, small-N qualitative, narrative, and literary. Some of the readings may employ techniques with which you are not familiar. We will not spend lots of time on methods per se, but you should consider those readings notice that you will eventually have to get up to methodological speed to understand cutting-edge research. In any case, you should try to do the best you can for whatever level of methodological training you have.

**Requirements:** Two-thirds of your grade will be based on a term paper, due in my mailbox by Friday, May 6, 5:00pm. You are free to choose any topic you wish, provided that it is relevant to the course. Be sure you discuss the topic with me in advance. A one-page synopsis of your proposed paper is due in class on March 14. One-third of your grade will be based on class participation and short reaction papers to be circulated to me and the other class members no later than 8:00pm on the Sunday before class meets. These papers, to be no more than three pages long, should not be mere descriptions of the weekly readings. They could, for example, elaborate on a theoretical point, propose and discuss an alternative hypothesis, or identify methodological shortcomings. Please come to class prepared to critically discuss issues raised in the readings.

### **Course Readings**

#### **ELECTRONIC READINGS:**

Many of the readings are uploaded onto bSpace. These are marked as (E) on the syllabus.

#### **COURSE READER:**

Other non-electronic readings are available in a reader, available at University Copy, 2425 Channing Way (549-2335). These are marked as (R) in the syllabus.

**BOOKS FOR PURCHASE** (at the ASUC bookstore and/or Ned's):

Ryszard Kapuściński, *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. (Vintage, 1989).  
James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. (Yale University Press, Reprint Edition, 1992).  
Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2006 [1924]).

A copy of the reader and the books will be placed on reserve. Please note: I reserve the right to add or subtract readings as needed.

**1. (January 24): Class Cancelled!**

**2. (January 31): Introduction and a Premonition**

Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2006 [1924]).

**3. (February 7): Approaches to Studying Authoritarianism**

Juan J. Linz, *Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), pp. 1-63. (R)

Stephen Haber, "Authoritarian Government," in Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. (Oxford University Press, 2008). (E)

Beatrix Magaloni and Ruth Kricheli, "Political Order and One-Party Rule," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2010. 13: 123-43. (E)

Ronald Wintrobe, "How to understand and deal with dictatorship: an economist's view," *Economics of Governance* 2001, No. 2, pp. 35-58. (E)

**4. (February 14): Origins of Authoritarianism**

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 15-47. (R)

Gregory M. Luebbert, "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," *World Politics*, Vol. 39, Issue 4, July 1987, 449-478. (E)

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development" *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (1993), pp. 567-576. (E)

Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, "Beyond Dictatorship and Democracy: Rethinking National Minority Inclusion and Regime Type in Interwar Eastern Europe," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 8, August 2010, pp. 1089-1118. (E)

**5. (February 21): Academic Holiday. No class!**

**6. (February 28): Why Do People Obey? Is it Voluntary?**

- Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. (Secker & Warburg, 1957), pp. 1-32. (R)
- Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*. (Avon Books, 1964 [1941]), pp. xii-38. (R)
- Mark Lilla, "The Lure of Syracuse," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 48, Issue 14, Sept. 2001. (R)
- Arthur Koestler, "Arthur Koestler," in Richard Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed*. (Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 15-75. (R)
- Ian Buruma, "The Indiscreet Charm of Tyranny," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. LII, No. 8, May 12, 1995, pp. 35-37. (E)

### **7. (March 7): Why Do People Obey? Is it Coerced?**

- Friedrich, Carl J. and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. (Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 130-165. (R)
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. (Oxford University Press, 2000), Chapters 5 and 8. (R)
- Miklós Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison: Artists Under State Socialism*. (Basic Books, 1987), pp. vii-12; 41-81. (R)
- Mikhail Heller, *Cogs In the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*. (Knopf, 1988), pp. 91-110. (E)
- Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in Václav Havel et al, *The Power of the Powerless*. (ME Sharpe, 1985), pp. 23-96. (E)

### **8. (March 14): Why Do People Obey? Is it Habituated? (ONE-PAGE PAPER SYNOPSES DUE)**

- Albert Somit and Steven A. Peterson, *Darwinism, Dominance and Democracy: The Biological Bases of Authoritarianism*. (Praeger, 1997), pp. 3-14; 51-84. (R)
- Barbara Geddes and John Zaller, "Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 33, No. 2, May 1989, pp. 319-347. (E)
- Karl Marx, "Political Consciousness and the Means of Production," in Neil J. Kressel, *Political Psychology: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. (Random House, 1993), pp. 103-107. (R)
- Michel Foucault, "Docile Bodies," in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*. (Pantheon, 1984), pp. 179-187. (R)
- Michel Foucault, "The Formation of Objects," in Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. (Pantheon, 1972), pp. 40-49. (R)
- Mikhail Heller, *Cogs In The Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*. (Knopf, 1988), pp. 229-258. (E)

### **9. (March 21): Spring Break. No class!**

## 10. (March 28): Varieties of Authoritarianism

- David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy: Conceptual hierarchies in comparative research," in David Collier and John Gerring, eds., *Concepts and Methods in Social Science: The Tradition of Giovanni Sartori*. (Routledge, 2009), pp. 269-288. (E)
- José Antonio Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland, "Democracy and dictatorship revisited," *Public Choice* (2010) 143: 67-101. (E)
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*. (Basic Books, 1970), pp. 3-47. (R)
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 51-65. (E)
- Brownlee, Jason M., "Low Tide after the Third Wave: Exploring Politics under Authoritarianism," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 4, July 2002, pp. 477-498. (E)

## 11. (April 4): Making Autocracy Work

- Carles Boix and Milan Svoblik, "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships," Draft paper. (E)
- Georgy Egorov, Sergei Guriev, and Konstantin Sonin, "Why Resource-Poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 103, No. 4, Nov. 2009, pp. 645-668. (E)
- Peter L. Lorentzen, "Regularized Rioting: Permitting Protest in an Authoritarian Regime," Draft paper. (E)
- James H. Rosberg, "The Development of the Rule of Law in Highly Bureaucratized Repressive States," Chapter 1 of *Roads to the Rule of Law: The Emergence of an Independent Judiciary in Contemporary Egypt*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1995. (R)
- Peter H. Solomon, Jr., "Courts and Judges in Authoritarian Regimes," *World Politics*, Vol. 60, October 2007, pp. 122-145. (E)
- Lily Tsai, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2, May 2007, pp. 355-372. (E)

## 12. (April 11): Authoritarian Survival and Succession

- Jason Brownlee, "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 59, July 2007, pp. 595-628. (E)

- Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 11, November 2007, pp. 1279-1301. (E)
- John H. Herz, "The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Régimes: A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1952, pp. 19-40. (E).
- Ryszard Kapuściński, *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. (Vintage, 1989).
- Andrew J. Nathan, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 1, January 2003, pp. 6-17. (E)

### **13. (April 18): Popular Resistance to Autocracy**

- James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. (Yale University Press, 1990).
- Kevin O'Brien, "Rightful Resistance," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, October 1996, pp. 31-55. (E)
- Jason Wittenberg, *Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 1,4. (E)
- Beatriz Magaloni and Jeremy Wallace, "Citizen Loyalty, Mass Protest and Authoritarian Survival." Draft paper. (E)
- Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44, October 1991, pp. 7-48. (E).
- Hank Johnston, "Speech Acts and Resistance in Authoritarian Regimes," in Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller, eds., *Repression and Mobilization*. (University of Minnesota Press, 2005). (E)

### **14. (April 25): Islamic Authoritarianism?**

- M. Steven Fish, *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*. (Oxford University Press, 2011), Chapters 2 and 7. (E)
- M. Steven Fish, "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55, October 2002, pp. 4-37. (E)
- Daniela Donno and Bruce Russett, "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?," *World Politics* 56, July 2004, pp. 582-607. (E)
- Carl Gershman, "The Fourth Wave: Where the Middle East revolts fit in the history of democratization---and how we can support them," *The New Republic*, online edition, March 14, 2011.

### **15. (May 2): Reading Period. No class!**

**Papers due by Friday, May 6, 5:00pm**