

The Politics of Authoritarian Regimes

POL SCI 312 LEC 001
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Fall 2021
TR 11:00-12:15
Room: BOL B87

Professor: Ora John Reuter
Office: Bolton 670
Email: reutero@uwm.edu
Office Hours: Tuesday 1-3 pm or by
appointment
Mode of Delivery: In-person

Prerequisites: Junior standing, Comparative Politics course

Course Description:

It has been said that politics is the study of who gets what, when, where, and how. This course is an advanced introduction to the *politics* of authoritarian regimes. Historically, most of the world's political regimes have been authoritarian. Since the end of the Cold War, democratic countries have come to outnumber those with authoritarian forms of government; but 40% of the world's governments remain authoritarian, and over half of the planet's population lives under non-democratic rule. Any effort to understand the foundations comparative politics would be incomplete without a consideration of non-democratic regimes.

We will begin the course by investigating conceptual and operational differences between authoritarian and democratic regimes. We will then ask if those differences matter. The course then proceeds to examine the question of 'who governs' in authoritarian regimes. We will look at conceptual distinctions between and empirical examples of personalist, monarchical, military, and single party regimes. The course then moves to consider the means by which authoritarian governments maintain and exercise their power. We will examine issues related to ideology, coercion, cooptation, electoral manipulation, patronage distribution, and political socialization. We will also look at how authoritarian governments manage relations with opposition forces and elites. Most of our focus will be on the political dynamics of contemporary authoritarian regimes, although we will also review the workings of authoritarian regimes from decades past in order to contextualize our discussions.

Although the primary focus of our course is not on democratic transitions, we will be vigilant in identifying the ways that the study of authoritarian rule can inform the study of democratization processes. In addition, your paper assignment will address this issue. Our approach to the material will be thematic. So, we will not spend a great deal of time exploring the histories and details of particular cases, but our readings include empirical material from countries in all regions of the world.

Course Objectives:

In this course you will:

1. gain a firm understanding of the difference between democratic and authoritarian regimes
2. become familiar with the different types of authoritarian rule
3. learn about how authoritarian governments exercise and perpetuate their power
4. gain exposure to several modern and historical cases of authoritarian government
5. gain useful 'real-world' knowledge about contemporary authoritarian regimes

6. use the analytic toolkit of social science to examine why we observe certain political outcomes in authoritarian regimes

Requirements:

1) Attend class sessions and participate

The format of this class will be discussion. Your participation includes both attendance and engagement in class discussion.

I will lecture at times, but most of our class time will be spent discussing the themes and arguments presented in our readings. Everyone should be ready to contribute something in every class. Your comments need not dazzle every time. Often times, the most productive contributions to class discussions are questions. If you don't understand something in the readings, say so. The authors we read are not perfect; their prose may not always be clear and their arguments will never be bulletproof. Speak up and air your grievances if you are confused. We will all be better for it and you will be rewarded come evaluation time.

Attendance is mandatory. Our class is small, and therefore, you cannot free ride on your fellow classmates. Your absences will be noticed by all and have a palpable impact on our sessions. Each unexcused absence will result in the reduction of your attendance grade by 1/3 of a letter grade. Absences will only be excused for documented illness, family crises, religious observances etc.

Late Policy: You are expected to arrive to class on time unless you have a valid excuse. It is disruptive and disrespectful to arrive to class late. If you are not present when I take roll at the beginning of class, you will be marked as absent for the day unless you have a documented excuse for your tardiness.

Your class participation grade will be based upon three equal components: 1/3 will be based on reading quizzes (see below), 1/3 will be based on participation in class, and 1/3 will be based on attendance.

2) Complete assigned readings before the date indicated on the syllabus

In order to participate effectively in discussion, you will need to have done the required readings for that day. Much is expected in terms of reading, but you are up to the task.

On most weeks I will post on CANVAS a short list of questions that you should keep in mind while doing the readings. These questions will help facilitate discussion on a given reading. On some, but likely not all, class days we will begin class with a short quiz. These quizzes will contain one question drawn from that week's questions. Grades of "check" or "check-minus" and "unsatisfactory" will be assigned.

3) One quiz: The Geography and History of Authoritarianism

No, this is not high school. But in order for you to engage knowledgeably with our material, it is important that you have a firm 'real-world' grasp of our subject matter. This early semester quiz will push you to acquire that grasp.

4) Two 2-4 page reaction papers/presentation

Over the course of the semester, you will write two reaction papers on a reading (or readings) of your choice from a class session.

These papers should have three components:

1) The paper should briefly (one paragraph) sum up the main argument made by the author and the evidence provided.

2) It should contain an evaluation and critique of the author's argument and evidence. Does the author's argument make sense? Why or why not? Does his evidence (if any) comport with his/her argument? Why or why not? Do you know of other evidence that undermines (or supports) the author's argument? Does one of the other readings for that day offer a perspective that is discordant with the perspective offered by the author? This section should constitute the lion's share of the paper.

3) The paper should conclude with some questions for the class that flow from your evaluation/critique.

You will give a short 5-minute presentation on your paper to kick off our discussion of that reading. Your questions should help us in our discussion.

Each week we will determine who will write reaction papers for the following week. I will ask for volunteers.

All papers are due on the day that we cover the reading in class.

4) One Mid-Term Quiz—October 21

5) Prepare for and participate in our in-class debate--- December 6

For this debate, the class will be divided into four teams. In order to prepare for this debate you will be required to prepare a 1-page 'position paper' that lays out why you think the position you are defending is the correct one and why the opposition position is incorrect. This individual position paper is due by email on November 30. You will also be required to meet with your debate team once outside of class. More specific instructions will be distributed in the weeks prior to the debate.

6) One Final Paper

Your most important assignment in this class will be a 15-30 page research paper. In this paper, you will undertake original research on a topic within one of the following three themes:

1) How some aspect of authoritarian rule affects democratization or regime change. Aspects of authoritarian rule that we will examine in this class include the existence of ruling parties, the maintenance of legislatures, the role of the military, the use of elections, control of the media, repression, coercion, electoral fraud, political socialization, and patronage.

Authoritarian regimes vary along all of these dimensions. Under this theme, your paper would examine how one of these aspects affects regime change or democratization.

2) How some aspect of authoritarian rule affects policy or political outcomes (aside from democratization). Under this theme you might examine how one of these aspects affects the prevalence of protest or violence in authoritarian regimes. Or you might examine how it affects economic growth, development, social spending, or human rights.

3) The causes of some aspect of authoritarian rule. So, for example, you might ask: why do some authoritarian regimes have legislatures? Why do some regimes engage in electoral fraud? Why are elections held in some regimes, but not in others? The comparison set should be other authoritarian regimes.

The research paper should contain an argument and evidence for that argument. In September and October we will discuss the methods for writing a research paper in more detail. I will distribute an extensive list of example topics. On October 19, I will ask each of you to submit a topic along with a preliminary outline. On November 23, you will be required to submit a written five-page progress report on your research (or paper draft), along with a list of sources. Both of these intermediary steps will be graded.

The full final version of the paper will be due by email on December 16.

Evaluation Scheme for Undergraduate Students:

Class Attendance and Participation: 25%

Geography Quiz: 5%

Reaction Papers: 15%

Mid Term Quiz 15%

Debate Paper/Participation: 5%

Final Paper 35% (5% is based on topic and outline, 10% is based on progress report and 20% is based on final paper)

Late Assignment Policy

All assignments are due on the assigned date. Response papers are due on the day that a reading is covered in class. I do not accept late assignments. Exceptions are made only in the most severe and extraordinary circumstances.

Required Texts for Purchase:

Kapuscinski, Ryszard. 1983. *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. London: Harcourt.

Other Readings:

Other required readings can be accessed either through our CANVAS site (except for the graduate article readings which can be accessed through UWM libraries). The suggested readings are not required, but are listed for your own further study. See the exception for graduate students.

Expected Time Commitment:

This is a three-credit course, so the expected time commitment from students is approximately 144 hours. Students will spend 36 hours in class over the course of the semester. Approximately 50% of the remaining time will be spent preparing for class by doing assigned readings and reviewing previous lecture notes. A further 10% will be spent preparing for quizzes and exams. Students should expect to allocate the final 40% to writing response papers and their final paper.

Academic Honesty:

All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee's academic misconduct policy. Plagiarism will not be tolerated in this course and any plagiarism on any assignment will result in a failing grade for the course. *When in doubt, cite.* If you have questions about attribution, please see me. I am here to help! More information is available at http://www.uwm.edu/acad_aff/policy/academicmisconduct.cfm

PART I—WHAT IS AUTHORITARIANISM?

September 2—Introduction and Overview

September 7—What is at stake? The state. Liberty and equality. Guardianship. Are citizens capable of governing themselves? Do citizens know their own preferences?

Required:

Dahl, Robert. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. Chapter 4-5 (ONLY). No need to read Chapter 6-7 in PDF.

Suggested:

Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. pp71-89

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, Introduction and Chapters 1-7, 10-22, 24, 28-31.

Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government*. Chapters 1-19.

September 9—What is an authoritarian regime? Concepts. Democracy: authoritarianism's modern rival.

Required:

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88

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

Suggested:

Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy*. Chapter 1-2, pp. 1-33

Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. "The Imperatives of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy* 15, 2: 17-31

September 14—Geography, Facts, Trends, Data! How do we know an authoritarian regime when we see one? Does it matter how we define democracy? Waves of democratization? Introduction to classifying authoritarian regime types. Geographic distribution of authoritarian regimes.

Required:

Review Main Points in Varieties of Democracy 2021 Annual Report (pp 9-39)

https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/74/8c/748c68ad-f224-4cd7-87f9-8794add5c60f/dr_2021_updated.pdf

Read pgs 16-30. In particular, familiarize yourself with the maps and charts provided here.

Suggested:

Freedom House. Freedom in the World Annual Report.
<https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world>

“Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited” 2009. Cheibub, Jose, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Vreeland. *Public Choice*. Pp67-90

September 16—Authoritarianism’s Consequences Part 1 Effects of authoritarian rule on economic outcomes. Economic Growth. Development. Property Rights. Credible Commitment.

Required:

Olson, Mancur. 1993. “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.” *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567-576.

North, Douglas and Barry Weingast. 1989. “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England,” *The Journal of Economic History*. pp 803-819 (Just skim 819-832 to understand the main effect of the Glorious revolution reforms.)

Suggested:

Baum, Matthew, and David A. Lake. 2003. —The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital. *American Journal of Political Science* 4(2): 333-47.

Ross, Michael L. 2006. —Is Democracy Good for the Poor. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4)

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1993. —Political Regimes and Economic Growth. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (3): 51-57.

September 21—Authoritarianism’s Consequences Part 2 War

In Class Quiz: Geography of Authoritarianism

Required:

Bruce Russett 1994. *Grasping the Democratic Peace* Chapters 1 and 2. pp 3-42

Suggested:

Christian Davenport and David A. Armstrong II. 2004. "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976-1996" *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 538-554.

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Chapter 1, pp1-92 and 460-61

Reiter, Dan and Alan Stam. 2003. *Democracies at War*. Chapter 2

PART II: WHO GOVERNS IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES?

September 23—Personalist Regimes The foundations of one-person rule.

Required:

Kapuschinski, Ryszard. 1983 *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*. 1-100

Suggested:

H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. 1998. "A Theory of Sultanism: A Type of Nondemocratic Rule." In *Sultanistic Regimes*, eds. H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz. pp 2-25

Gorlizki, Yoram and Khlevniuk, Oleg. 2006. "Stalin and his circle." In Ronald G. Suny, editor, *The Cambridge history of Russia*, Volume 3, pages 243–267. New York: Cambridge

Weber, Max. 1958. "The three types of legitimate rule". *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions*, 4 (1): 1-11.

September 28—Dynasties and Succession Why do dictators hand power to family members?

Required:

Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics* 59(4): 595-638.

Suggested:

Menaldo, Victor. 2012. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs" *Journal of Politics*. 74.3

Herb, Michael. 1999. *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

September 30—No Class

October 5—Military Regimes Part 1 How does a military regime differ from other types of authoritarian regimes? Do military leaders have preferences that are unique from normal politicians? Are military regimes different from personalist regimes? Why are there so few military regimes in the world today?

Required:

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization after 20 Years" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2.

Suggested:

Stepan, Alfred. 1989. *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*. pp3-29.

Biglaiser, Glen. 2002. *Guardians of the Nation? Economists, Generals, and Economic Reform in Latin America*. Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-90).

October 7—Military Regimes Part 2 Coups. Civil-military relations. Why are there so few military regimes in the world today?

Required:

Marquez, Xavier. 2017. *Non-Democratic Politics*. Chapter 6.

Quinlivan, James. 1999. "Coups-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security*. 24(2).

Suggested:

Cook, Steven. 2007. *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*

Wright, Thomas C. 2001 "The Antirevolutionary Military Regimes" in Wright, Thomas C. 2001. *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. Westport: Praeger.

Nordlinger, Eric. 1977. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. Chapter 1 pp3-30

Samuel Decalo. 1973. "Military Coups and Military Regimes in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11(1): 105-127.

Brooker, Paul. 2009. *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory Government and Politics*. Pp81-104

October 12—Institutionalized Dictatorships: Ruling Parties Is "institutionalized dictatorship" an oxymoron? Ruling parties. How does a ruling party in an authoritarian regime differ from a political party in a democracy? Parties as constraints on dictators. Elite cohesion. Are party regimes more long-lived than others?

Required:

Brownlee, Jason. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Selections

Suggested:

Reuter, Ora John and Thomas Remington. 2009. "Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42(4).

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2011. *Competitive Authoritarianism*. Selections

Langston, Joy. 2002. "Breaking Out is Hard to Do: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty in Mexico's One-Party Hegemonic Regime." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 44(3).

Svolik, Milan. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge. Chapter 6.

Castaneda, Jorge. 2001. *Perpetuating Power: How Mexico's Presidents Were Chosen*. Introduction and pp 1-61.

Huntington, Samuel. 1970. "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems." in Huntington, Samuel and Clement Moore, eds., *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems*.

Smith, Benjamin. 2005. "The Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single party Rule" *World Politics* 57(3)

October 14: China: An Institutionalized Dictatorship

Required:

"The Party Goes On in China" *The Economist*. 28 May 2009

Li, Cheng. 2010. China's communist party-state: The structure and dynamics of power. In William A. Joseph, editor, *Politics In China: An Introduction*, pages 165–191. New York: Oxford UP.

October 19—Totalitarianism Communism. Totalitarianism. State planning of the economy. Life under communism

Required:

Linz, Juan. 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Chapter 2 pp66-100 ONLY

Suggested:

"Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion and Authoritarian Durability." (with Steven Levitsky) *Perspectives on Politics* 10, No. 4 (2012): 869-889

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Latin America, and Post-Communist Europe*. pp 38-51

Chirot, Daniel. 1996. *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age*.

Friedrich, Carl and Zbigniew Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Introduction.

October 21—Mid-Term Quiz

October 26—Guest Presentation by Jingnan Liu

PART III: HOW DO AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES GOVERN?

October 28—Ideology and Legitimacy Does ideology matter? Revolutionary regimes. The erosion of ideology in modern autocracies? How do autocrats justify their rule?

Required:

Wedeen, Lisa. 1998. "Acting 'As If': Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(3): 503-523

Dukalskis, Alexander and Johannes Gerschewski. 2017 "What Autocracies say (and what citizens hear): Proposing Four Mechanisms of Autocratic Legitimation" *Contemporary Politics*. Pg 1-10 ONLY

November 2— Repression Why do authoritarian regimes coerce? Do some coerce more than others? Why? Stalin's Great Terror.

Required:

McAuley, Mary. 1992. *Soviet Politics: 1917-1991*. Chapter 4

Frye, Timothy. 2021. *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia*. Chapter 7

Suggested:

Eva Bellin. 2005. "Coercive Institutions and Coercive Leaders," in Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michelle Penner Angrist (eds.), *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, pp. 21-41

Albertus, Michael and Victor Menaldo. 2012. "Coercive Capacity and the Prospects for Democratization." *Comparative Politics*.

Hoffmann *Stalinism. Essential Readings*. Oleg Khlevniuk, “The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937-1938”

November 4—The Media and Censorship Does the popularity of some authoritarian rulers legitimate their rule? How do authoritarians use the media to maintain social control?

Required:

King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret Roberts. 2013. “How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression” *American Political Science Review*

Gehlbach, Scott. 2010. “Reflections on Putin and the Media” *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 26(1): 77-87

Suggested:

Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. “Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia” Forthcoming. *American Economic Review*. Available at <http://ideas.repec.org/a/aea/aecrev/v101y2011i7p3253-85.html>

November 9—Propaganda How do autocrats use their control of information to manipulate citizens? Hard vs soft propaganda. Can propaganda backfire?

Required:

Rozenas, Arturas and Denis Stukal. 2018. “How Autocrats Manipulate Economic News: Evidence from Russia’s State Controlled Television. *Journal of Politics*.

Huang, Haifeng. 2018. “The Pathology of Hard Propaganda” *Journal of Politics*

Suggested:

Carter, Brett and Erin Carter. 2018. *Autocratic Propaganda in Comparative Perspective*. Manuscript

November 11---Mass support and Accountability Is some form of representation and accountability possible under authoritarianism? Support for authoritarian leaders.

Required:

Frye, Timothy, Scott Gehlbach, Ora John Reuter, and Kyle Marquardt. 2017. "Is Putin's Popularity Real?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*.

Guriev, Sergei and Daniel Treisman. 2019. "Informational Autocrats". *Journal of Economic Perspectives*

Suggested:

Dimitrov, Martin. 2014. "What the Party Wanted to Know: Citizen Complaints as a Barometer of Public Opinion in Communist Bulgaria" *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*.

Truex, Rory. 2017. "Consultative Authoritarianism and Its Limits" *Comparative Political Studies*.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy*.

Miller, Michael. 2015. "Electoral Authoritarianism and Human Development" *Comparative Political Studies*

November 16 — Natural Resources How do authoritarian leaders use state resources to appease citizens and social groups? Are they different from democracies in this sense? The special role of oil and minerals.

Required:

Friedman, Thomas L. 2006. The first law of petropolitics. *Foreign Policy*, (154):28–36.

Ross, Michael. 2008. "Oil, Islam and Women" *American Political Science Review*. 102(1): 107-123.

Suggested:

Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*. 53(3): pp325-361.

Fish, M Steven. *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, Chapter 5

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge.

November 18—No Class

November 23—Electoral Authoritarianism Regimes that hold semi-competitive elections. What is a hybrid regime? The gray area between democracy and authoritarianism. Are these the only ‘modern’ form of non-democratic regime?

Required:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism,” *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 51-65.

Schedler, Andreas. 2010 “Authoritarianism’s Last Line of Defense” *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 69-80

Suggested:

Hale, Henry. 2010. “Eurasian Polities as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1(1).

Diamond, Larry. 2002. “Elections Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy* 13(2).

November 30—Authoritarian Elections Why do authoritarian leaders hold elections? Elections as mechanisms of authoritarian rule? Elections and Information.

Required:

Lust, Okar. 2009. “Competitive Clientelism in the Middle East” *Journal of Democracy*

Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Havard Nygard, and Tore Wig. 2017. “Autocratic Elections: Stabilizing Tool or Force for Change?” *World Politics*.

Suggested:

Blaydes, Lisa. 2008. “Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence from Egypt” Working Paper. Available Online:

<http://www.princeton.edu/~piirs/Dictatorships042508/Blaydes.pdf>

Lust-Okar E. 2009. “Legislative Elections in Hegemonic Authoritarian Regimes in Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition..”

Reuter, Ora John and Graeme Robertson. 2012. "Subnational Appointments in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Russian Gubernatorial Appointments" *Journal of Politics*. 74(4)

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Graeme Robertson. 2013. "Elections, Information, and Political Change in the Post-Cold War Era." *Comparative Politics*

Hale, Henry. 2005. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *World Politics*. 58(1): 133-165.

Brownlee, Jason. 2010. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions" *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3).

Teorell, Jan and Axel Hadenius. 2009. "Elections as Levers of Democratization" in *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition..*

December 2—In-Class Debate: The Future of Autocracy

December 7—Vote Buying, Electoral Fraud, and Voter Coercion Vote buying. Is vote-buying undemocratic? Why does vote-buying and voter coercion happen in some settings, but not others? Why use electoral fraud? Why not? How do we detect fraud?

Required:

Schedler, Andreas. 2006. "What Is Vote Buying?" *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*, ed. F.C. Schaffer (Lynne Rienner)

Simpser, Alberto. 2013. Why Governments and Parties Manipulate Elections. Chapter 1. Pp1-33

Suggested:

Stokes, Susan. 2006. "Is Vote Buying Undemocratic?" *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*, ed. F.C. Schaffer (Lynne Rienner)

Stokes, Suan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99 August 315-325.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot." *American Political Science Review*, 102 (01), 19-31.

Frye, Timothy, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Voter Mobilization and Electoral Subversion in the Workplace" *World Politics*

Hyde, Susan D. 2007. "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *World Politics* 60 (1):37-63.

Enikolopov, Ruben, Vasily Korovkin, Maria Petrova, Konstantin Sonin, and Alexei Zakharov. 2013 "Field Experiment Estimate of Electoral Fraud in Russian Parliamentary Elections" *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110(2)

Svolik, Milan and Ashlea Rundlett. 2016. "Deliver the Vote: Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud" *American Political Science Review*

December 9—Opposition Dilemmas of opposition under autocracy. How do opposition parties mobilize? How do they coordinate? Voting behavior of opposition supporters. Systemic and non-systemic oppositions.

Required:

Reuter, Ora John. 2021. "Civic Duty and Voting under Autocracy." *Journal of Politics*.

Armstrong, David, Ora John Reuter and Graeme Robertson. (2020) "Getting the Opposition Together: Protest Coordination in Authoritarian Regimes," *Post-Soviet Affairs*

Suggested:

Howard, Marc Morje, and Philip Roessler. 2006. "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 365-81.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2004. "Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition" *Comparative Politics*. 36(2): 159-179

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy*. Chapters 7 (and skim Chapter 5 for main idea)

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes" *World Politics*. 62(1).

December 14—Protest and Revolution When does protest break out in authoritarian regimes? When can it bring regimes down? Collective action problems.

Required:

Timur Kuran, “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48

Suggested:

Goldstone, Jack A., “Understanding the Revolutions of 2011,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011

Joshua A. Tucker, 2007. “Enough! Electoral Fraud Collective Action Problems and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 535-551.

Beissinger, Mark. 2007. Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (2): 259-76.

Gregory Kasza, *The Conscripted Society: Administered Mass Organizations*, New Haven: Yale University Press (1995), pp. 7-25

Katarnycky, Adrian. 2005. “Ukraine’s Orange Revolution” *Foreign Affairs* 84(2).