

**POLS 457****THE POLITICS OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES****SPRING 2024/SABANCI UNIVERSITY**

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**CLASS HOURS/ROOMS**  
**TUESDAYS 13:40-14:30/FASS 1097**  
**THURSDAYS 12:40-14:30/FASS 1096**

**OFFICE HOURS**  
**TUESDAYS 14:40-15:30**  
**THURSDAYS 10:40-11:30**  
**or by appointment**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course aims at the comprehension of the dynamics of authoritarian regimes at the global level. It focuses not only on the cross-regional manifestations of new authoritarian regimes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century but also reviews the theoretical and historical literature about their antecedents in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The classes progress through the following seven themes:

1. What is democracy and what is authoritarianism?
2. Transitions to democratic and authoritarian regimes in historical perspective
3. Varieties of authoritarian regimes
4. Strategies for survival
5. Totalitarianism and fascism
6. New authoritarian regimes: cross-regional comparisons
7. Opposition in authoritarian regimes

## READINGS

- Erica Frantz, *Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018)/available as an E-book at Sabancı University Information Center.
- Additional articles that are listed in the syllabus and available in SUCourse.

## REQUIREMENTS

- First Midterm Examination (40% of the course grade) on **Thursday, March 28, 2024, during the regular class hours.**
- Second Midterm Examination (40% of the course grade) on **Thursday, May 9, 2024, during the regular class hours.**
- Final Take-Home Examination (10% of the course grade) **due** on **Thursday, May 23, 2024, before the class at 11:30 am the latest.**
- Attendance (10% of the course grade): attendance in classes is mandatory. If you fail to attend 60% of the classes (8 out of 14 weeks of classes) you will get an NA grade for the course.

## SABANCI UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC INTEGRITY STATEMENT (please read and learn):

<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/academic-integrity-statement>

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<https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/bm/en/copyrights>

## CLASS SCHEDULE

It is suggested that the readings for the course are done in the order listed below and in SUCourse.

### WEEKS 1, 2 and 3

#### 1. WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? WHAT IS AUTHORITARIANISM?

##### Readings:

Immanuel Kant, “On the Common Saying: This May be True in Theory but it Does Not Hold in Practice Part 2,” in *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, edited by Pauline Kleingeld (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006 [1793]).

pp. 44-60

Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971).

Chp 1/pp. 1-17

Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015 [1998]).

Chp 4/pp. 35-44

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, “What Democracy Is...and Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy*, 2/3, 1991, pp. 75-88.

Amartya Kumar Sen, “Democracy as a Universal Value,” *Journal of Democracy*, 10/3, 1999, pp. 3-17.

Adam Przeworski et al, “What Makes Democracies Endure?” *Journal of Democracy*, 7/1, 1996, pp. 39-55.

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

Chp 1, 2, 3, 4/pp. 1-64

Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright and Erica Frantz, *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse* (Cambridge, New York, Port Melbourne, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Chp 2/pp. 25-44

## WEEK 4

### 2. TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### Readings:

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993 [1966]).

Part Three/Chp 7/pp. 413-433

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Chp 2/pp. 15-48

Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe," *Journal of Democracy*, 18/1, 2007, pp. 28-41.

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

Chp 6/pp. 86-104

## WEEK 5

### 3. VARIETIES OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

#### Readings:

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

Chp 5/pp. 64-86

Barbara Geddes, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright, "Military Rule," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 2014, pp. 147-62.

## WEEK 6

### 4. STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

#### Readings:

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

Chp 7/pp. 104-122

Sean L. Yum and F. Gregory Gause III, "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On," *Journal of Democracy*, 23/4, 2012, pp. 74-88.

Camilo Nieto-Matiz and Luis L. Schenoni, "Backing Despots? Foreign Aid and the Survival of Autocratic Regimes," *Democracy and Security*, 16/1, 2020.

Alexander Libman and Anastassia V. Obydenkova, "Understanding Authoritarian Regionalism," *Journal of Democracy*, 29/4, 2018, pp. 15-165.

**WEEK 7 FIRST MIDTERM EXAMINATION ON THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 2024, DURING THE REGULAR CLASS HOURS**

**WEEK 9 is Term Break.**

**WEEKS 8, 10 and 11**

5. TOTALITARIANISM AND FASCISM

Readings:

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Orlando: A Harvest Book, Harcourt Inc, 1976 [1951]).

Chp 12/pp. 389-460

Sheri Berman, *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Chp 11/pp. 214-234

Umberto Eco, "Ur-fascism," *The New York Review of Books*, 22 June 1995.

Michael Mann, *Fascists* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Chp 1/pp. 1-31

**WEEKS 12 and 14**

6. NEW AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISONS

Readings:

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, 76/6, November-December 1997, pp. 22-43.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Chp 1/pp. 3-37

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 3/1, 2020, pp. 51-65.

Sebnem Gumuscu and Berk Esen, "Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, 37/9, 2016, pp. 1581-1606.

Andreas Schedler (ed.), *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition* (Boulder, New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2006).  
Chp 1/pp. 1-27

Javier Corrales, "Autocratic Legalism in Venezuela," *Journal of Democracy*, 26/2, 2015, pp. 37-51.

Kim Scheppele, "Autocratic Legalism," *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 85/2, March 2018, pp. 545-584.

Turkuler Isiksel, "Between Text and Context: Turkey's Tradition of Authoritarian Constitutionalism," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11/3, 2013, pp. 702-726.

Orçun Selçuk "Strong presidents and weak institutions: populism in Turkey, Venezuela and Ecuador." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16/4, 2016, pp. 571-589.

Ayşe Kadioğlu, "[New Authoritarian Zeitgeist: family resemblances](#)," *openDemocracy*, 6 December 2019 (available online).

Ayşe Kadioğlu, "Autocratic Legalism in New Turkey," *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 88/2, Summer 2021, pp. 445-471.

Timothy Garton Ash, "Jesus Rex Poloniae," *The New York Review of Books*, 16 August 2018.

**WEEK 13 SECOND MIDTERM EXAMINATION ON THURSDAY, MAY 9, 2024, DURING THE REGULAR CLASS HOURS**

## **WEEKS 15 and 16**

### 7. OPPOSITION IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

#### Readings:

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

Chps 8/pp. 122-148

Alfred Stepan, *Arguing Comparative Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013 [2001]).

Chp 7/pp. 159-167

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

Sheri Berman and Maria Snegovaya, "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 30/3, 2019, pp. 5-19.

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security*, 33/1, 2008, pp. 7-44.

Harold Trinkunas, "The Tragedy of the Venezuelan Opposition," *Foreign Affairs*, 5 January 2018.

Daniel Tilles and Tom Junes, "[Poland's Opposition Has Nobody to Blame but Itself](#)," *Foreign Policy*, 26 October 2018 (available online).

**WEEK 15 FINAL TAKE-HOME EXAMINATION DUE ON THURSDAY, MAY 23, 2024, BEFORE THE CLASS AT 11:30 AM THE LATEST**

**There will be a discussion in class on that day on the topics covered in this examination.**