

I

Persuasion and Domination

1.1 STRATEGIES OF PROPAGANDA IN AUTOCRACIES

“As long as people think that the dictator’s power is secure,” Tullock (2001, 144) wrote, “it is secure.” When citizens think otherwise, all at once, a dictator’s power is anything but, as Kuran (1989, 1991, 1997) and Lohmann (1993) observed as the Soviet Union collapsed. This conviction – that power rests on citizens believing in it – has long compelled the world’s autocrats to invest in sophisticated propaganda apparatuses. This book draws on the first global dataset of autocratic propaganda, encompassing over 8 million newspaper articles from fifty-nine countries in six languages. We document dramatic variation in propaganda across autocracies: in coverage of the regime and the opposition, in narratives about domestic and international life, in the threats of violence issued to citizens, and in the domestic events that shape it. We also show that propaganda discourages popular protests.

Why does propaganda vary so dramatically across autocracies? Our answer is that different autocrats employ propaganda to achieve different ends. Most autocrats now govern with nominally democratic institutions: regular elections, national parliaments, and opposition parties. Some autocrats are more constrained by these institutions than others, perhaps because their recourse to repression is limited by international pressure or because they confront domestic institutions or pressure groups that bind them. Where these electoral constraints are relatively binding, autocrats must curry some amount of popular support, and so they employ propaganda to persuade citizens of regime merits. To be persuasive, however, propaganda apparatuses must cultivate the appearance of neutrality, which requires conceding bad news and policy failures. Where electoral constraints are binding, we find, propaganda apparatuses cover the regime much like Fox News covers Republicans.

Where autocrats confront no electoral constraints – where autocrats can fully secure themselves with repression – propaganda serves not to persuade citizens but to dominate them. Propaganda derives its power from absurdity. By forcing citizens to consume content that everyone knows to be false, autocrats make their capacity for repression common knowledge. Propaganda apparatuses engage in effusive pro-regime coverage while pretending opposition does not exist. Narratives about a country’s contemporary history are presented in absurd terms, since these absurdities give them power. Citizens are told that their countries are envied around the world, that “democracy” is alive and vibrant, and that the dictator is a champion of national sports. Propaganda apparatuses routinely and explicitly threaten citizens with repression.

Many scholars regard nominally democratic institutions as forces for stability and regime survival as secured through patronage and repression. Our approach is different. We view nominally democratic institutions as constraints that autocrats attempt to loosen and citizens’ beliefs as the battlefield on which the struggle for political change is waged. Our focus on citizens’ beliefs accords with how scholars understood autocratic survival for much of the twentieth century. Autocrats wage the battle for citizens’ beliefs with a range of tools, propaganda chief among them. Most broadly, we show that even weak electoral constraints force autocrats to wage this battle from a position of weakness. To persuade citizens of regime merits, electorally constrained autocrats must acknowledge policy failures that risk affirming citizens’ frustrations and facilitating collective action.

We draw from several disciplines to illustrate how this occurs. Our theory is informed by field research in China and Central Africa, and aided by the tools of game theory. We use computational tools to collect and measure propaganda, statistical and network techniques to analyze it, survey experiments to probe its effects on those who consume it, and case studies to bring it to life. Many of these case studies are of historical importance. We explain why Russian president Vladimir Putin’s propaganda apparatus uses Donald Trump as a propaganda tool, why the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) flagship propaganda newspaper is more effusive than at any point since the Cultural Revolution, why Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali publicized his regime’s failures before becoming the Arab Spring’s first casualty, and why Cameroonian president Paul Biya produces different propaganda in English and French.

Two autocracies are emblematic of the propaganda strategies we document: the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Congo. China is among the few autocracies that does not organize national elections. Congo, though a leading oil exporter, is so afflicted with high-level corruption that it routinely seeks debt relief from Western creditors, which require regular elections in return. Their propaganda strategies, we learned during years of field research, look dramatically different to readers. The CCP aims to dominate citizens; Denis Sassou Nguesso, who has ruled Congo for all but five years since 1979, must persuade them.

1.1.1 Propaganda as Persuasion: The Republic of Congo

Sassou Nguesso is among the world's most corrupt autocrats. As of 2012, in France alone, Sassou Nguesso owned more than 30 properties, 112 bank accounts, and a fleet of luxury vehicles. In 2016, a Canadian court ruled that the Sassou Nguesso family was "a criminal organization." Sassou Nguesso has so badly mismanaged the economy that in 2017, just six years after it received debt relief from the IMF and World Bank, the government's debt/GDP ratio reached 130 percent.

Congolese citizens are aware of Sassou Nguesso's corruption, and many loathe him for it. Yet they also read his propaganda newspaper, *Les Dépêches de Brazzaville*, or "Dispatches from Brazzaville." To be sure, *Les Dépêches* is Congo's easiest newspaper to access. It is printed daily, subsidized by the government to keep its purchase price low, and printed in color. In each of these respects, *Les Dépêches* is more attractive than its competitors. *La Semaine Africaine* has long been regarded as Congo's *vieille dame*: its "gray lady," a reference to *The New York Times*. Founded as a church newsletter in the 1950s, *La Semaine Africaine* became Congo's newspaper of record during the democratic transition of the early 1990s. It now publishes twice weekly and, although its journalists self-censor, it remains independent. Many other independent newspapers dot newsstands, some more critical of the government and routinely punished for it.¹

Why do citizens who loathe Sassou Nguesso consume his propaganda? The answer is not uncertainty about its ownership. Although *Les Dépêches* is neither state-run nor legally affiliated with Sassou Nguesso's *Parti Congolais du Travail* (PCT), there is no doubt it is Sassou Nguesso's mouthpiece. The answer is also not that citizens have no other

¹ Carter (2022).

options. Citizens are not forced to purchase *Les Dépêches* and boycott *La Semaine Africaine*. Having moderated its editorial line, *La Semaine Africaine* is now regarded as an “acceptable” independent newspaper. Perhaps as a result, it has also attracted enough consumers to remain in print.

The answer, many citizens say, is that *Les Dépêches* publishes a substantial amount of legitimate news, which they want to read. It is, indeed, a professionally run media organization. It recruits top students from Congo’s flagship university, who are lured by salaries substantially higher than its competitors. It has foreign bureaus in Kinshasa and Paris. It prints a daily Kinshasa edition and is sold at several Paris newsstands. Its French editor, Jean-Paul Pigasse, was previously a senior figure at several widely respected French publications, including *Les Echos*, *L’Express*, and *Jeune Afrique*, before he was lured to Brazzaville. Pigasse is reportedly part of Sassou Nguesso’s money laundering operation.²

The journalistic integrity of Sassou Nguesso’s propaganda apparatus should not be overstated. It exists to advance Sassou Nguesso’s interests. Its coverage is consistently if subtly skewed in his favor. Sassou Nguesso figures prominently in the account of Congo’s history that *Les Dépêches* narrates for readers. The newspaper publishes roughly thirty-five articles per day, distributed across topics that readers of *The New York Times* would find familiar: current affairs, finance, sports, culture, and classified ads. Each day, Sassou Nguesso appears in about three of these articles, mostly in connection with the economy or foreign affairs. *Les Dépêches*, we show in Chapter 4, covers Sassou Nguesso about as positively as Fox News covers Republicans. His political rivals receive some coverage, but, upon reflection, a bit less. They are seldom criticized explicitly.

Citizens read Sassou Nguesso’s propaganda by choice. It is skewed, but not so heavily that they refuse to consume it.

1.1.2 Propaganda as Domination: The People’s Republic of China

Few Chinese citizens enjoy reading the *People’s Daily*, although more than half report doing so regularly.³ China’s most disliked newspaper sits prominently on every newsstand. Persuaded that propaganda was “the most important job of the Red Army,” Mao Zedong routinely

² *Le Parisien* (2002).

³ See Chapter 4.

edited the *People's Daily* himself.⁴ For citizens, reading it was “a political obligation.”⁵ Government offices were until recently required to subscribe. The *People's Daily* is the CCP's flagship newspaper and its content frequently appears in other platforms, since all Chinese media outlets are majority owned by the state. Journalists are required to pass ideological exams and, later, attend the Propaganda Department's “refresher courses.”⁶ Most journalists are Party members. Non-members are forbidden from covering politics.⁷

The *People's Daily* seeks not to persuade readers but to dominate them. Huang (2015b, 420) put it succinctly: “Such propaganda is not meant to ‘brainwash’ people with its specific content about how good the government is, but rather to forewarn the society about how strong it is via the act of propaganda itself.” Its effusively pro-regime content, as well the threats it occasionally issues to citizens, make this clear. On April 26, 1989, the *People's Daily* published a now infamous editorial: “We Must Take a Clear-cut Stand against Disturbances.” The editorial condemned the student protests in Tiananmen Square, and newspapers across the country were required to place it on their front pages. An “extremely small number of people with ulterior motives” had taken advantage of the students, who were engaged in a “conspiracy” to “plunge the whole country into chaos.” It concluded with a warning:

If we are tolerant of or conniving with this disturbance and let it go unchecked, a seriously chaotic state will appear. . . . Our country will have no peaceful days if this disturbance is not checked resolutely.⁸

The massacre came on June 4, when the People's Liberation Army (PLA) killed roughly 2,000 citizens, with estimates ranging from several hundred to several thousand.⁹ “Stability overrides everything,” Deng Xiaoping announced in the massacre's aftermath and again, in a front page editorial, on its one year anniversary.¹⁰ Several *People's Daily* reporters joined the Tiananmen protests, with signs that read: “We don't want to lie anymore.” They were purged.¹¹ Although open discussion

⁴ Mao Zedong (1929).

⁵ Yu (1964, 97).

⁶ Brady (2008, 81).

⁷ Brady (2008, 116).

⁸ English translation available at <http://tsquare.tv/chronology/April26ed.html>.

⁹ Human Rights Watch (2010), Buckley (2019), Lusher (2017).

¹⁰ *People's Daily* (1990).

¹¹ Bell (2014).

of Tiananmen is forbidden in the press, the CCP now reminds China's urban class each June 4 of its brutal campaign of repression against ethnic Uyghurs in Xinjiang region.¹²

The CCP is quite clear about its propaganda objectives. In 2013, journalist Gao Yu leaked an internal Party directive, known as Document 9, that described China's "ideological situation" as "a complicated, intense struggle." Media must be "infused" with the "spirit of the Party" and "promote the unification of thought." The Party must "allow absolutely no opportunity for incorrect thinking to spread."¹³ Though Gao was sentenced to seven years in prison, CCP officials occasionally say the same thing. In 2009, Jiangxi party secretary Su Rong told journalists that "stability is our principle task." "Particularly in the case of sudden-breaking news and mass incidents" – protests, that is – "we must get in faster, forestalling our opponents by a show of strength."¹⁴ In 2010, the Propaganda Department simply banned bad news from the front pages of newspapers.¹⁵ Consequently, as exiled novelist Ma Jian put it, Chinese propaganda is "filled with absurdities."¹⁶ In 2017, the *People's Daily* claimed that Xi Jinping's contributions to Chinese diplomacy had "transcended 300 years of Western theory on foreign affairs." Not to be outdone, one state-run television network ran a six episode series on Xi's "Major Country Diplomacy." "Wherever he goes," announced one episode, "Xi Jinping sets off a whirlwind of charisma!"¹⁷

The *People's Daily* does obvious violence to the truth and hence to the lived experiences of Chinese citizens. For this, many loathe it, as its various and vulgar sobriquets make clear.¹⁸ The newspaper is routinely called *Riren Minbao*, or "Raping People Daily," a phonetic play on *Renmin Ribao*.¹⁹ Journalism professor turned dissident Jiao Guobiao likened the propaganda apparatus to "a street bully that nobody dares to tell to

¹² See Chapter 9.

¹³ ChinaFile (2013).

¹⁴ Bandurski (2009).

¹⁵ New York Times (2010).

¹⁶ Ma (2018).

¹⁷ Phillips (2017).

¹⁸ See, for example, Abad-Santos (2013). One ditty goes: "All conferences solemnly started and ended with glory // All speeches are important and the applause is warm // All the work is finished with success and all the achievements are tremendous // All the effort is thorough and remarkable" (Miao 2011, 105–107).

¹⁹ 人民日报 and 日人民报, respectively. See <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/space/日人民报>.

stop.” Far from persuading, CCP propaganda is “the worst eroder of popular opinion about the government and the party.”²⁰

The CCP’s flagship propaganda bears virtually no resemblance to Sasou Nguesso’s: in its stridency, its use of absurd narratives, and the extent to which it threatens citizens.²¹

1.2 ANTECEDENTS, EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL

These two propaganda strategies – persuasion and domination – appear to be at odds. For one, propaganda is powerful when subtle: when citizens are largely unaware of how they are being manipulated. For the other, propaganda derives its power from absurdity: from forcing citizens to consume information they know to be false and to do so publicly. However inconsistent they are, these two propaganda strategies also have deep historical origins. Scholars and practitioners have long sought to understand the principles that make each strategy effective.

1.2.1 *Propaganda as Persuasion: Joseph Goebbels, Bayesian*

“Propaganda,” Joseph Goebbels wrote, “becomes ineffective the moment we are aware of it.”²² This conviction permeated his work atop the Nazi propaganda apparatus.²³ Since broadcasting exclusively positive news would “fairly compel the German public to listen to foreign and enemy broadcasts,” Goebbels instructed state media to report bad news and policy failures. Goebbels insisted on truth, “otherwise the enemy or the facts might expose falsehoods.” He routinely employed “black propaganda”: “word of mouth” campaigns waged by “faithful citizens, which were successful as long as the citizens targeted by these campaigns were unaware of them.”²⁴ Harold Lasswell (1938, 110, 203), who pioneered

²⁰ Jiao (2004).

²¹ As we discuss in Chapter 4, there is substantial evidence that the CCP government permits local newspapers to occasionally criticize local governments. Stockmann (2013); Lorentzen (2014), and Repnikova (2017b) suggest that this enables Beijing to monitor local officials or to otherwise gauge public opinion. We distinguish between local newspapers and the *People’s Daily*, the CCP’s flagship newspaper, which, our evidence suggests, serves to signal the CCP’s strength rather than monitor local officials.

²² Taylor (1998); Cunningham (2002).

²³ Longerich (2015).

²⁴ For a distillation of Goebbels’ 6,800 page diary into nineteen core principles, see Doob (1950).

the study of propaganda in the American academy, endorsed a similar approach to wartime propaganda: “Reveal losses when they come. . . . It is ridiculous to pretend that the enemy never wins a point.”

Propagandists have long imputed Bayesian rationality to their audiences and tailored their propaganda accordingly.²⁵ To recruit soldiers for the First Crusade, in 1065 Pope Urban II implored Christians to “wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves.” He planted individuals in the audience to cry out “God wills it!” during the speech.²⁶ Otto von Bismarck employed a dedicated propaganda secretary, whose work Bismarck reviewed to ensure its style and syntax would resonate with its intended audience.²⁷ To build support in London, Napoleon Bonaparte quietly founded the *Argus* newspaper, which was fronted by an Englishman but surreptitiously produced by the French Foreign Office. Erich Ludendorff, a German general during World War I, wrote that good propaganda must “mold public opinion without appearing to do so.”²⁸ Ludendorff’s foes across the English Channel agreed. According to one British propagandist: “The art of propaganda is not telling lies, but selecting the truth you require and giving it mixed up with some truths the audience wants to hear.”²⁹ Scholars in the mid-twentieth century were so impressed by the ability of propagandists to strategize with the tools of Bayesian rationality that they sought to explain why their contemporaries were so susceptible to manipulation.³⁰

Much contemporary scholarship on autocratic propaganda is motivated by Goebbels’ core insight: To persuade citizens of the regime’s merits, propaganda must occasionally concede the regime’s failings. Formal theorists have led this research agenda.³¹ By mixing factual reporting with useful fictions, propaganda apparatuses can acquire a

²⁵ We use the term “Bayesian rationality” to refer to the idea that citizens will discount positive propaganda or political communication by how credible they view the messenger and how consistent it is with their past experiences. More generally, social scientists regard citizens as Bayesian if they update their beliefs in response to the information they consume.

²⁶ Thomson (1999); Jowett and O’Donnell (2012).

²⁷ Lasswell (1938).

²⁸ Quoted in Lasswell (1938).

²⁹ Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1955, 83).

³⁰ Ellul (1973).

³¹ For useful literature reviews, see Groeling (2013); Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Stone (2014); Strömberg (2015); and Prat (2015).

reputation for credibility, and hence the capacity to shape citizens' beliefs.³² If citizens are not completely rational, the scope for propaganda to manipulate their beliefs is more profound. Citizens may underestimate the biases in media content,³³ be constrained by memory limitations,³⁴ or double count repeated information.³⁵

It is unclear whether Jean-Paul Pigasse, the architect of Denis Sassou Nguesso's propaganda apparatus, has read Goebbels' diaries. He has probably not studied the formal models of modern political science. But their approaches to propaganda are identical.

1.2.2 Propaganda as Domination: Hannah Arendt goes to China

China's *People's Daily* would be puzzling to Goebbels, and it is puzzling in the context of formal theories of persuasion. However, it would be deeply familiar to students of totalitarianism. For Hannah Arendt, propaganda in totalitarian dictatorships served to force citizens to submit to the regime's historical narrative, despite what they knew to be true.³⁶ As Levy (2016) put it:

The great analysts of truth and speech under totalitarianism – George Orwell, Hannah Arendt, Vaclav Havel – can help us recognize this kind of lie for what it is. . . . Saying something obviously untrue, and making your subordinates repeat it with a straight face in their own voice, is a particularly startling display of power over them. It's something that was endemic to totalitarianism. . . . Being made to repeat an obvious lie makes it clear that you're powerless; it also makes you complicit.

Authoritarian regimes display this form of power in a range of ways. In North Korea, households must keep radios tuned to the state-run radio station. They can be turned down, but never off.³⁷ Independent media were illegal in the Soviet Union, as in contemporary China. In the 1930s, all Soviet cities had loudspeakers on the streets, which broadcast propaganda. Every day started with the national anthem and ended with it. The Soviet government outlawed radios that could access independent

³² Gentzkow and Shapiro (2006); Gehlbach and Sonin (2014); Yu (2021).

³³ Cain, Loewenstein, and Moore (2005); Eyster and Rabin (2010).

³⁴ Mullainathan, Schwartzstein, and Shleifer (2008).

³⁵ DeMarzo, Vayanos, and Zwiebel (2003).

³⁶ Arendt (1951).

³⁷ Chun (2008).

stations and photocopiers that could print anti-regime pamphlets.³⁸ This domination gave rise to some of the twentieth century's most enduring literature. The "struggle of man against power," Czech novelist Milan Kundera wrote, is "the struggle of memory against forgetting." For Kundera, resistance is the individual's effort to insist on what she knows to be true in the face of an informational environment that claims otherwise. As Václav Havel and Milan Kundera recede from the spotlight, a new generation of Chinese luminaries – Yan Lianke, Ma Jian, and Ai Weiwei chief among them – is reminding the world about the struggle of memory against forgetting.

Arendt's insights helped contemporary scholars make sense of the twentieth century's most repressive dictatorships. In Hafez al-Assad's Syria, Wedeen (1999, 73) writes, "power manifests itself in the regime's ability to impose its fictions upon the world. No one is deceived by the charade, but everyone . . . is forced to participate in it." Syrian citizens were not required to believe the "mystifications" the regime put forth. Rather, they were required to act *as if* they did. In so doing, Wedeen quotes Václav Havel approvingly, they live "within the lie." They "confirm the system, fulfill the system, make the system, *are* the system."³⁹ Wedeen continues:

By [saying something manifestly spurious], each [citizen] demonstrates the regime's power to dominate him. The [citizen] comes to know about himself, and about others, that each can be made to subordinate to state authority not only his body, but also his imagination.

Wedeen's account of Assad's Syria echoes Richard Rorty's study of George Orwell's 1984: "The only point in making Winston believe that two and two equals five is to break him."⁴⁰

Huang's (2015b; 2018) work on Chinese propaganda should be understood in this context. As in Arendt's Soviet Union, Kundera's Czechoslovakia, Orwell's 1984, and Wedeen's Syria, CCP propaganda is designed to signal to citizens, not persuade them:

By being able to afford significant resources to present a unified propaganda message and impose it on citizens, a government that has a strong capacity in maintaining social control and political order can send a credible signal about

³⁸ Soldatov and Borogan (2015, 11–12).

³⁹ Havel (1978).

⁴⁰ Orwell (1949); Rorty (1989).

this capacity and distinguish itself from a weak government, hence implicitly intimidating the masses who may otherwise contemplate regime change.⁴¹

Propaganda compels citizens to view the government as strong, Huang finds, not good. For this, as the *People's Daily's* sobriquets make clear, many citizens loathe it. This is propaganda as domination.

1.3 OUR EXPLANATION

1.3.1 *Institutions and Uncertainty*

Why do different autocrats employ different propaganda strategies? Our theory, which we develop with the aid of a formal model in Chapter 2, rests on two foundations. First, life in autocracies is marked by widespread uncertainty. Autocratic governments disclose information selectively and restrict media freedom.⁴² Journalists self-censor.⁴³ Citizens know that saying the wrong thing to the wrong person may lead to incarceration or worse.⁴⁴ In China, this is so common that citizens have euphemisms for it: to be “invited to tea” or to be “harmonized.”⁴⁵ This fosters a culture of distrust among citizens.⁴⁶

Second, most autocrats now govern with political institutions that look democratic from afar. There are regular elections, national parliaments, opposition parties, and a handful of independent newspapers. Figure 1.1 illustrates this.⁴⁷ Since the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, given by the vertical line, roughly 80 percent of the world's autocrats have governed with nominally democratic institutions. These electoral institutions are more binding in some autocracies than others. Some autocrats can engineer so much fraud that elections are completely meaningless, as in Uzbekistan, whereas other autocrats can tilt the electoral playing field only to a degree. This variation may be driven by many factors. Some autocrats are more vulnerable to international pressure to

⁴¹ Huang (2015*b*, 420); Shih (2008).

⁴² Egorov, Guriev, and Sonin (2009); Stier (2014); Hollyer, Rosendorff, and Vreeland (2015); Whitten-Woodring and Van Belle (2015).

⁴³ Stier (2014); Sundaram (2016).

⁴⁴ Policzer (2009); Truex (2019); Lichter, Loëffler, and Siegloch (2021); Thomson (2022).

⁴⁵ Carter and Carter (2021*b*).

⁴⁶ Lichter, Loëffler, and Siegloch (2021).

⁴⁷ The data are drawn from Gandhi (2008) and Svobik (2012). The dashed line gives the share of all governments that are autocracies.

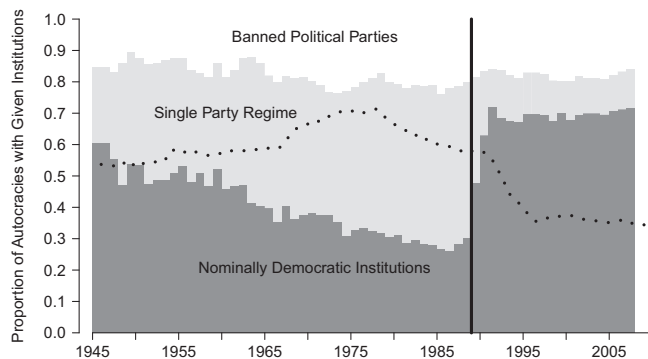


Figure 1.1 Political institutions in autocracies since 1945

respect citizens' basic rights.⁴⁸ Some autocrats may have less control over security forces⁴⁹ or key sectors of the economy.⁵⁰ Some autocrats may confront strong civil societies, which can credibly threaten protest.⁵¹ The world's autocrats exist along a continuum, from totally unconstrained by electoral institutions, as in China or Uzbekistan, to potentially quite constrained.

1.3.2 Persuasion, Welfare, and Honest Propaganda

Our theory focuses on two sources of uncertainty. First, citizens are uncertain about the link between government policies and the outcomes around them.⁵² They can observe the latter: whether incomes are rising, public schools are improving, or crime is under control. Citizens cannot, however, observe precisely what the autocrat did: whether he implemented sound policies or, instead, is incompetent or corrupt. As a result of this uncertainty, if living standards fail to improve, citizens are

⁴⁸ McFaul (2007); Levitsky and Way (2010); Hyde (2011); Donno (2013); Hyde and Marinov (2014); Escribà-Folch and Wright (2015); Carter (2016b); Carnegie and Marinov (2017); Carothers (2018).

⁴⁹ Levitsky and Way (2010); Schedler (2010b).

⁵⁰ Greene (2009, 2010); Seeberg (2017); Dasgupta (2018).

⁵¹ Lehoucq and Molina (2002); McFaul (2002, 2005, 2007); Bunce and Wolchik (2006, 2010, 2011); Howard and Roessler (2006); Lindberg (2006); Beaulieu and Hyde (2009); Schedler (2009); Diamond (2010); Magaloni (2010); Schedler (2010a); Donno (2013); Beaulieu (2014); Hyde and Marinov (2014); Trejo (2014); Steinert-Threlkeld et al. (2015); Brancati (2016); Christensen and Garfias (2018).

⁵² Egorov, Guriev, and Sonin (2009).

unsure precisely why. Although the regime may be incompetent or corrupt, it is also possible that its policies are sound, these issues are difficult and require time to resolve, and the government's policies will soon yield results. It is also possible that there was some exogenous shock, which was outside the government's control and prevented its otherwise sound policies from working.

If citizens are unhappy with the autocrat's performance, then, in the presence of regular elections, they can vote against him. This possibility leads to our theory's first use of propaganda. An autocrat can employ propaganda to persuade citizens that whatever frustrating outcomes they observe are not due to government failures and that the government is working to improve things. Here, the propaganda apparatus aims to cultivate genuine support, despite the frustrations citizens may have. To do so, however, the propaganda apparatus must have a reputation for credibility. For as long as the author of propaganda is also its chief beneficiary, citizens will be inclined to discount it, unless the propaganda apparatus has a history of providing some objective coverage. To persuade citizens of useful fictions, propaganda apparatuses must have a reputation for occasionally reporting damaging facts. This is Goebbels' core insight and a key result of formal theories of propaganda.⁵³ We refer to this reputation as *credibility capital* and the damaging facts required to build it as *honest propaganda*.

This is propaganda as persuasion. Denis Sassou Nguesso employs it when his propaganda apparatus covers a devastating fuel shortage, despite Congo's status as Africa's fourth leading oil producer. Russian president Vladimir Putin employs it when his television networks cover economic downturns.⁵⁴

1.3.3 *Domination, Common Knowledge, and Absurd Propaganda*

Citizens may also attempt to remove an autocrat through mass protests. When autocrats can fully tilt the electoral playing field or simply refuse to hold elections, this is citizens' chief recourse. In deciding whether to protest, citizens consider a range of factors: the probability an alternative government implements better policies, the autocrat's capacity for

⁵³ Gentzkow and Shapiro (2006); Kamenica and Gentzkow (2011); Gehlbach and Sonin (2014); Yu (2021).

⁵⁴ Rozenas and Stukal (2018); Rosenfeld, Tertychnaya, and Watanabe (2018).

repression, and their compatriots' beliefs about all these.⁵⁵ Our theory focuses on the autocrat's capacity for repression. Citizens may have a sense for it, but they do not know it with certainty.⁵⁶ This constitutes citizens' second source of uncertainty.

Autocrats can signal their capacity for violence in a range of ways. They can incarcerate dissidents, block independent media, and flood the streets with police.⁵⁷ They can commit human rights abuses that the international community condemns, which broadcasts their capacity to withstand international pressure. These forms of repression aim not just to suppress dissent, but also to signal its consequences to citizens. Similarly, autocrats can employ *absurd propaganda*: content that everyone knows is false. Absurd propaganda is premised on *common knowledge of the possible*. Although citizens may not know the precise rate of economic growth or public health spending, there exist claims that citizens know are absurd, either because of direct observation or universally held conventional wisdom. This constitutes the second role of propaganda in our theory. By covering the regime in an absurdly positive way, the autocrat's propaganda apparatus signals that his capacity for violence is so unconstrained that he has no need for popular support. He has no need to persuade citizens of regime merits.

This is propaganda as domination, and its chief feature is absurdity. It was documented by Wedeen (1999) in Hafez al-Assad's Syria, by Arendt (1951) in the Soviet Union, and by Huang (2015b, 2018) in contemporary China. By broadcasting propaganda that everyone knows to be false, the autocrat makes his capacity for violence common knowledge.

1.3.4 Why Electoral Constraints Matter

This framework helps explain why different autocrats employ different propaganda strategies. Where an autocrat's limited capacity for fraud and repression constrain his ability to tilt the electoral playing field, the autocrat is forced to generate some amount of popular support to compensate. This has two effects. First, constrained autocrats must invest more in public policy. They must figure out which policies are best, invest in them, and monitor appointees who are charged with implementation. Second, constrained autocrats must persuade citizens of regime merits: in

⁵⁵ Little (2017).

⁵⁶ Edmond (2013); Huang (2015b).

⁵⁷ Truex (2019).

particular, that whatever policy failures citizens observe may not be the regime's fault. These two effects are complements. When the autocrat invests more in public policy, citizens are more willing to believe that bad news and policy failures are not the regime's doing. This requires a reputation for credibility, however. To acquire it, propaganda apparatuses must occasionally concede bad news and policy failures. Autocrats must employ a propaganda strategy that concedes damaging facts to persuade citizens of useful fictions. To be clear, these concessions are potentially costly. They help create common knowledge among citizens about the government's policy failures and may provide focal moments for unrest.⁵⁸ They also facilitate coups by regime insiders, who may decide their interests are better served by toppling the incumbent.⁵⁹

When an autocrat's capacity for fraud and repression is so substantial that he can fully tilt the electoral playing field, his incentives are different in two ways. First, he wants citizens to know this, the better to deter protests because mass protests are always costly to repress. The violence required to suppress them may provide focal moments around which citizens can coordinate future protests.⁶⁰ The autocrat may also be prosecuted by the International Criminal Court or future governments for the atrocities his security forces commit.⁶¹ This compels the autocrat to employ absurd propaganda as a signal: that the regime's hold on power rests not on their assent but on their submission, which is induced by the threat of violence. Second, since conceding regime failures is costly – doing so provides focal moments for coups by regime insiders and protests by frustrated citizens – the autocrat prefers not to do so. Since his electoral constraints are nonbinding, he has no incentive to concede the sorts of policy failures that are necessary to build a reputation for credibility.

Our theory generates several important comparative statics. It suggests that honest propaganda is more likely when autocrats preside over weak states, which make public goods provision relatively inefficient. It suggests that the effect of censorship on propaganda depends on the autocrat's repressive capacity. When repressive capacity is low, censorship lets the autocrat employ less honest propaganda. When repressive capacity is

⁵⁸ Egorov, Guriev, and Sonin (2009); Rozenas and Stukal (2018).

⁵⁹ Nordlinger (1977); Galetovic and Sanhueza (2000); Casper and Tyson (2014); Kim (2016).

⁶⁰ Carter and Carter (2020a).

⁶¹ Simmons (2009); Simmons and Danner (2010); Bergsmo and Yan (2012); Meernik (2015); Jo and Simmons (2016); Dancy and Montal (2017); Jo, Radtke, and Simmons (2018).

high, censorship has no effect on propaganda, but lets the autocrat reduce public investment. It also suggests that when autocrats are vulnerable to elite threats, propaganda is more effusive.

At this book's core is a paradox. The autocrats who most need propaganda – who are forced to seek public support by the electoral institutions they confront – are most constrained in their ability to deploy it.

1.4 DATA, EMPIRICAL APPROACH, AND KEY FINDINGS

In Parts II and III of this book, we use our theory to explain the substance of propaganda across autocracies. In Part IV, we study the effect of propaganda on collective action. Table 1.1 presents a summary of our theory's observable implications by chapter. Our theory has implications for the nature of pro-regime propaganda, coverage of the regime's opponents, and the narratives that constitute the first draft of a country's history. It also has implications for what propaganda apparatuses tell citizens about the international community, the regime's engagement with it, the timing and substance of propaganda campaigns, and even coverage of ethnic minorities who want regime change.

1.4.1 A Global Dataset of Autocratic Propaganda

This book draws on the first global dataset of autocratic propaganda, which we introduce in Chapter 3. Our collection of state-run newspapers contains over 8 million articles from sixty-five newspapers in fifty-nine countries and six major languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. By population, our dataset encompasses a set of countries that represents 88 percent of all people who live under autocracy. As we discuss in Section 1.5, the early twenty-first century has changed autocratic politics in several ways, including one that made this book possible. Most autocrats make their propaganda newspapers freely available online, often with extensive historical archives. The digital analog to subsidized newsprint appears to be a freely available online archive. Propaganda, after all, is most useful when consumed.

After collecting this propaganda, we measured its content. We employed computational techniques to identify the topics of each article: the economy, public goods, electoral politics, foreign policy, international news, sports, and some two dozen others. We also measured the number of references in each article to the autocrat, ruling party, and

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Table 1.1 *Our theory by chapter*

Unconstrained autocracies	Constrained autocracies
<i>Chapter 4: The Politics of Pro-Regime Propaganda</i>	
Absurdly positive.	Honest propaganda. Relatively neutral, concedes failures.
<i>Chapter 5: Narrating the Domestic</i>	
Absurdly positive economic coverage. Covers democracy as a principle. Neutral references to a general, unnamed opposition. Sports coverage includes absurd claims about regime engagement.	Concedes economic challenges but highlights efforts to address them. Covers electoral politics. Neutral references to specific opposition leaders. Sports coverage intended to attract readers.
<i>Chapter 6: Narrating the World</i>	
Critical coverage of comparison set countries, with sensitive topics selectively omitted. Advertises immunity from international pressure.	Critical coverage of comparison set countries, with sensitive topics selectively omitted. Partnership with international allies to advance the national interest.
<i>Chapter 7: Threatening Citizens with Repression</i>	
Occasional, especially around focal moments for popular protest.	Uncommon and reserved for profound crises.
<i>Chapter 8: The Propagandist's Dilemma</i>	
Propaganda spikes around the election, intended to discourage protest by intimidating.	Build credibility to manipulate citizen beliefs during election seasons.
<i>Chapter 9: Memory and Forgetting</i>	
Propaganda spikes around political focal moments, save those that recall regime crimes, which are targeted for censorship.	

political opposition. This required constructing day-level rosters for each country in our sample. For the opposition, these rosters include every candidate who competed in a national election, the senior leaders of every party that competed in a legislative election, political dissidents, political prisoners, and civil society activists. For the autocrat and ruling party, these rosters include an autocrat's various honorifics. In total, our rosters contain some 10,000 executive and opposition identifiers. Our computational techniques identified these references with accuracy rates of around 90 percent.

We measure the valence of propaganda with dictionary-based semantic analysis. The key idea is that some words have an intrinsic valence: some positive or negative sentiment. We use techniques from computational linguistics to measure the aggregate valence of each propaganda article, as well as the words immediately surrounding each reference to the autocrat, ruling party, and political opposition. The result is an article-level dataset that records the rate and valence of pro-regime coverage, the rate and valence of opposition coverage, the topics each article covers, and each article's aggregate valence. This conception of propaganda – as spin, not lies – accords with how scholars and practitioners have long understood it.⁶² Since our dataset distinguishes between the frequency of regime coverage and its valence, we make no assumption that the frequency of regime coverage is a proxy for its valence, as do Qin, Strömberg, and Wu (2018). We regard this as a hypothesis to be tested, not assumed.

This dataset lets us test our theory with a range of statistical tools, but it also creates a dilemma. How can our measures of propaganda be intuitively scaled? We resolve this in two steps. As a baseline for comparison, our dataset includes state-affiliated newspapers from democracies. Many of these newspapers are holdovers from a previous autocratic regime and widely credited for their journalistic integrity. This lets us measure differences in bias: how much more effusive is pro-regime propaganda in some autocracy relative to a democratic baseline. We then situate these differences in bias in a context that many readers intuitively understand: how Fox News covers Republicans relative to Democrats. We measure the valence difference between these two quantities, and we refer to it as our Fox News index. This helps us overcome a problem that, Groeling (2013) observes, is intrinsic to empirical studies of propaganda: the “absence of suitable baselines against which to assess bias.” This index also provides a measure of what amount of bias may be persuasive and what amount is so extreme that it invalidates itself. DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007) show that exposure to Fox News persuaded viewers to vote Republican in the 2000 presidential election, and Martin and Yurukoglu (2017) find its effect was even stronger in the 2008 presidential election. Ash and Galletta (2019) show that Fox News exposure leads to more conservative local policies, such as lower taxes and less redistribution. Fox News also persuaded viewers to be less cautious about the

⁶² Doob (1935); Ellul (1973); Chomsky and Herman (1988); Bogart (1995); Jowett and O'Donnell (2012); Welch (2014); Stanley (2015); Van Herpen (2016).

COVID-19 pandemic.⁶³ By situating propaganda apparatuses in the context of Fox News, we distinguish content that aims to persuade from that which aims to dominate.

1.4.2 Pro-Regime Propaganda and Narrative Subtleties

In Chapter 4, we probe the politics of pro-regime propaganda. Using a series of statistical techniques, we show that pro-regime propaganda in electorally constrained autocracies is about as positive as Fox News's coverage of Republicans. By contrast, where autocrats are totally unconstrained, pro-regime propaganda is roughly four times more positive than Fox News is pro-Republican. To ensure these results are not driven by reverse causality or omitted variable bias, we exploit the propaganda records of two countries for which our dataset extends back decades: Gabon and China. When the Berlin Wall fell and the Third Wave of Democracy forced President Omar Bongo to concede a series of liberalizing reforms, his propaganda strategy changed as our theory predicts. We observe no such change in China, where the Third Wave of Democracy occasioned no such reforms. CCP propaganda, we show, is driven by politics, not economics or access to information. With Xi Jinping poised to rule indefinitely, its pro-regime coverage is now more effusive than at any point since the Cultural Revolution.

Our view of propaganda in constrained autocracies may be uncontroversial, as scholars typically view propaganda as intended to persuade.⁶⁴ This is consistent with quasi-experimental evidence that state television in Vladimir Putin's Russia – coded by Marshall and Jagers (2005) as a constrained autocracy – is indeed persuasive.⁶⁵ Our view of propaganda in unconstrained autocracies may be more controversial, especially among scholars of Chinese politics. Many have suggested that CCP propaganda also aims to persuade citizens of regime merits, rather than,

⁶³ Bursztyn et al. (2020); Jamieson and Albarracín (2020); Simonov et al. (2020).

⁶⁴ McMillan and Zoido (2004); Lawson and McCann (2005); White, Oates, and McAllister (2005); Egorov, Guriev, and Sonin (2009); Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya (2011); Jowett and O'Donnell (2012); Gehlbach and Sonin (2014); Yanagizawa-Drott (2014); Adena et al. (2015); Guriev and Treisman (2015, 2018, 2022); Chen and Xu (2015); González and Prem (2018); Qin, Strömberg, and Wu (2018); Yu (2021).

⁶⁵ White, Oates, and McAllister (2005); Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya (2011). For more on the tactics employed by Putin's propaganda apparatus to persuade, see Gessen (2012, 2017); Judah (2013); Pomerantsev (2015*b*); Van Herpen (2016); Ostrovsky (2017).

as we and Huang (2015b, 2018) contend, intimidate them into submission.⁶⁶ In Chapter 4, we resolve this debate – and we confirm that our hypothesized mechanism is correct – with the first of this book’s several survey experiments, which use quota sampling to construct a sample of respondents that reflects the demographic characteristics of China’s population. We selected an article from the *People’s Daily* in July 2020 that was characteristically effusive about Xi Jinping and the CCP. The article was appealing, in part, because it also appeared in several of the CCP’s commercial newspapers, including the *Beijing News*. We find that this article – whether in the *People’s Daily* or the *Beijing News* – made respondents less likely to protest against the government because they feared the consequences of doing so. Crucially, we employ list experiments to accommodate the possibility of preference falsification. This, we show, is widespread, roughly 2.5 times greater than Frye et al. (2017) estimate in Putin’s Russia.⁶⁷ We also show that the CCP’s commercialized local newspapers cover the regime just like the *People’s Daily* flagship, although their non-regime coverage is more neutral.

Propaganda is more than just the rate and valence of regime coverage. It also entails *narratives*: the topics covered and omitted, and the account of current events that constitutes history’s first draft. These narratives are the focus of Chapters 5 and 6. Five issue areas, we find, account for 80 percent of propaganda content: the economy and public goods provision; electoral politics, democracy, and the opposition; sports; international news; and international engagement. Chapter 5 focuses on the first three, all domestic. Chapter 6 focuses on the last two, both international. To capture the subtleties of propaganda narratives, we adapt a measure of semantic distinctiveness from computational linguistics. The key idea is that, across any two corpora of documents, words that are common to both are uninformative. These common words generally include conjugations of the verb “to be,” question words like “who” and “where,” and other building blocks of speech. Similarly, across any two corpora of documents, words that are uncommon to both are also uninformative. These words are peculiarities. Words that are common in one corpora but uncommon in another are *distinctive*. They convey something meaningful

⁶⁶ Brady (2002, 2006, 2008, 2012b); Stockmann (2010, 2013); Stockmann and Gallagher (2011); Esarey, Stockmann, and Zhang (2017); Stockmann, Esarey, and Zhang (2018); Roberts (2018); King, Pan, and Roberts (2017).

⁶⁷ For more evidence of preference falsification in China, see Jiang and Yang (2016) and Robinson and Tannenbergh (2019).

about content in one corpora relative to another. Semantic distinctiveness is useful for capturing the subtleties embedded within millions of propaganda articles. It lets the data speak freely.

In Chapter 5, this empirical strategy yields novel insights. In the absence of electoral constraints, propaganda apparatuses trumpet the regime's democratic credentials, yet omit the stuff of democratic politics, like electoral campaigns and the opposition. Propaganda apparatuses cover a general, unnamed "opposition" rather than the actual opposition, since doing so would undermine absurd claims of universal support and potentially help citizens coordinate around particular protest leaders. They cast the autocrat as the champion of national sports teams. We observe none of these tactics where autocrats confront electoral constraints, but neither do they denigrate their opposition rivals. Doing so would undermine claims of credibility. Rather, electorally constrained autocrats acknowledge policy failures: fuel crises, vaccine shortages, and persistently high infant mortality rates. They acknowledge that the government has failed to invest adequately in the country's athletes.

Citizens generally know less about international conditions than domestic conditions. As a result, international news propaganda is analytically distinct from its domestic counterpart. First, recall that absurd propaganda requires common knowledge of the possible: a shared sense among citizens for what claims are absurd. This condition is easily satisfied for domestic affairs, but not for international news. Second, the constraints on honest propaganda are weaker, and so propaganda apparatuses can be more critical in their coverage about international news without undermining their reputations for credibility. Theoretically, these two forces render international news propaganda across autocracies more similar than domestic propaganda. Where electoral constraints are binding, propaganda apparatuses can be more critical without undermining their credibility. In the absence of electoral constraints, propaganda apparatuses have no access to absurd propaganda, for what constitutes absurdity is unclear. Chapter 6 documents two tactics in international news propaganda that are common across autocracies: selective coverage and comparison sets. The former entails omitting events that might inspire protests. The latter entails criticism of the countries against which citizens judge their own.

In Chapter 6, we expand our methodological approach to include tools from network analysis. We combine our global dataset with a paired comparison of Russia and China, the two most geopolitically important autocracies. Their international news coverage, we show, is

dominated by the United States, and is critical but sophisticated. We record information about each international news article: the countries and international institutions that are referenced and the range of topics that are covered. We treat these entities as nodes in a network and the number of articles in which they co-occur as edges among them. The result is a set of weighted network graphs that visualize propaganda narratives. These network graphs yield several observations, including one of historical importance. The Russian propaganda apparatus uses Donald Trump as a tool to vindicate its longstanding international narrative: about the impending collapse of the European Union, the prevalence of terrorism, the political allegiances of Crimeans, the misadventures of America's foreign policy, and the shortcomings of American democracy. The Chinese propaganda apparatus is less enamored with Trump, but it covers the same issues: the corruption of American democracy by special interests, including the National Rifle Association, which, the CCP claims, is partly responsible for America's gun violence epidemic.

However similar international news narratives are, Chapter 6 finds striking differences in how propaganda apparatuses across autocracies cover their international engagements. We again combine cross-country regressions with a series of paired comparisons. The first pairs Russia and China, which lets us understand how propaganda narratives about international news are related to propaganda narratives about an autocrat's foreign policy. The second paired comparison focuses on Congo and Uzbekistan. Each government has a close relationship with the CCP and was recently visited by former congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who was suspected by his congressional allies of taking money from Vladimir Putin. Where electoral constraints are binding, we find, propaganda apparatuses emphasize the regime's pursuit of the national interest: their efforts to partner with the international community to advance living conditions or fight terrorism. By contrast, in the absence of electoral constraints, propaganda apparatuses emphasize the regime's immunity from international pressure, either because the world's Great Powers support the regime or because, as in China, the regime is so powerful that it is reshaping the international order. We show that CCP propaganda is narrating a new "hub and spoke" international order, with the CCP at its center and "national sovereignty" – rather than human rights – as its key principle.

Our theory regards absurd propaganda as implicitly threatening, intended to signal to citizens the regime's capacity for violence and to make

this capacity common knowledge. Chapter 7 explores whether autocrats use their propaganda apparatuses to explicitly threaten repression. These threats, our field research in China and Congo taught us, are often issued via codewords that are sensitive in one country but innocuous elsewhere. These codewords trigger historical memories that recall the regime's capacity for violence. But they are costly as well. Threatening citizens with repression makes persuading them of regime merits more difficult and may endow certain moments or actions with even more popular salience. Using a series of paired comparisons, we show that propaganda-based threats of repression are more common in the absence of electoral constraints. Even as Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was losing power in Tunisia, for instance, his propaganda newspaper chose to concede citizen frustrations and emphasize the government's determination to do better rather than advertise the military's loyalty, training, and technological prowess, all routinely cited during the succession crisis in Uzbekistan. Cameroon's Paul Biya issues threats in English, but not in French; his political in-group is francophone, his out-group anglophone. The CCP is far more likely to explicitly threaten repression in the *Xinjiang Daily*, which targets the ethnic Uyghur out-group, and on the anniversaries of ethnic separatist movements.

1.4.3 *Understanding Calendars of Propaganda*

Chapters 4 through 7 document how propaganda apparatuses in constrained autocracies seek credibility. They do so to exploit it: to persuade citizens of useful fictions. Chapter 8 studies the propaganda campaigns that characterize their efforts to do so. Where autocrats confront at least somewhat binding electoral constraints, election seasons are critical to the autocrat's survival. They offer citizens an opportunity to vote against him and a focal moment to coordinate protests. These electoral propaganda campaigns are critical for regime survival, yet, precisely because they recur, they are easiest for citizens to discount. We refer to this tension as the *propagandist's dilemma*, and it is acute where autocrats confront relatively binding electoral constraints. To understand how autocrats manage the propagandist's dilemma, we combine our data with field research in Congo. These propaganda campaigns, we find, begin months before election day, slowly build, and attempt to simultaneously cast the electoral outcome as uncertain and yet prepare citizens to accept the autocrat's "legitimate" victory. Where autocrats confront no electoral constraints, by contrast, the propaganda

spike occurs immediately before election day, and in some cases the post-election spike is even greater.

In the absence of electoral constraints, the chief moments of political tension are often the anniversaries of a regime's crimes against its citizens. In Chapter 9, we combine our data with field research in China to understand how propaganda apparatuses respond. Theoretically, we identify a trade-off. Propaganda spikes intended to threaten citizens are useful to deter protest but they also call attention to events or memories that the regime might prefer citizens forget. How do the most repressive governments resolve the tension between propaganda strategies that keep memories alive and censorship strategies that encourage forgetting? We emphasize three forces: whether some politically sensitive moment implicates the regime in historical crimes, whether the moment has any tangible present manifestation, and whether forgetting is actually possible. The first conditions the value of forgetting to the regime; the second and third condition its plausibility. The CCP, we find, goes to extraordinary lengths to scrub the anniversaries of failed pro-democracy movements from the public consciousness. Consequently, it reserves propaganda spikes and explicit threats of violence for major political events and the anniversaries of failed ethnic separatist movements.

There is one exception to this: one pro-democracy anniversary that is so powerful that the CCP knows citizens will not forget. On June 4, 1989, in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the CCP massacred some 2,000 citizens, who had spent weeks demanding democratic reforms. Two decades later and thousands of miles away, the marginalized ethnic Uyghur community in Xinjiang staged a 10,000-person protest, now known as the Xinjiang Uprising of 2009. The CCP's subsequent crackdown killed hundreds, injured thousands, and culminated in a network of detention centers that now holds between 10 and 30 percent of China's 11 million Uyghurs. Since then, on each anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre, the CCP has used its propaganda apparatus to remind China's urban elite of its brutal campaign of repression against ethnic Uyghurs. Using another survey experiment, we show that this content has no effect on anti-Uyghur racism, the CCP's popularity, or citizens' views about which domestic issues are most pressing. Rather, this content makes politically engaged citizens less likely to engage in anti-regime protests due to fear of repression. Again, to mitigate the possibility of preference falsification, we employ list experiments. Most broadly, Chapter 9 suggests that the CCP's ethnic violence in Xinjiang has its origins, in part, in Beijing: in the CCP's incentives to ensure the urban elite does not again demand change.

1.4.4 *Propaganda and Protest*

The broader question, of course, is whether any of this matters. Does propaganda work? Using a range of natural experiments, scholars have found evidence that propaganda can shape citizens' beliefs about repressive governments.⁶⁸ Chapter 10 uses our measures of propaganda to understand its effect on protests across autocracies.

We first probe the effects of pro-regime propaganda. This is complicated by the fact that autocrats employ propaganda strategically. We confront two forms of selection bias. First, the regimes that employ more propaganda may be systematically different than others, and in ways that are correlated with protest. We refer to this as “unit selection bias,” and it may occur for a variety of reasons. The regimes most likely to employ propaganda, for instance, may exert particularly strong control over their countries' media environments, and this degree of control could be associated with higher or lower levels of protest. Second, authoritarian regimes employ propaganda differently at different times of year, and these moments may be associated with protest. We refer to this as “temporal selection bias,” and it too may emerge for a variety of reasons. The rate of propaganda may rise immediately before elections, when autocrats have a particularly strong incentive to manipulate the beliefs of their citizens. Additionally, autocratic propaganda apparatuses may provide more positive coverage when there is more genuinely good news: when the unemployment rate is lower or when the economy grows more quickly. If positive coverage indicates genuinely good news rather than pro-regime propaganda – and citizens are then less likely to protest – then an estimated relationship between propaganda and protest will be spurious.

To accommodate unit selection bias, we employ estimating equations with country-level fixed effects. In so doing, we ask how *changes* in the volume of propaganda on day $t - 1$ condition the rate of collective action on day t . To accommodate temporal selection bias, we control for a range of time-variant features that may condition whether autocrat i employs propaganda on a given day or during a given year. We find that

⁶⁸ Adena et al. (2015); Yanagizawa-Drott (2014); Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya (2011); White, Oates, and McAllister (2005); Huang (2015b, 2018); Boas and Hidalgo (2011); McMillan and Zoido (2004); Greene (2011); Lawson and McCann (2005); Gentzkow and Shapiro (2006); Gentzkow (2006); González and Prem (2018). On media effects in democracies, see Strömberg (2015); Hayes and Lawless (2015); Arceneaux et al. (2016); Wang (2020).

pro-regime propaganda is associated with a substantively meaningful reduction in the rate of popular protest. By increasing the level of pro-regime propaganda by one standard deviation, contemporary autocrats have reduced the odds of protest the following day by between 7 and 11 percent. This effect is relatively durable. Depending on the form of the decay function, the half-life of the effect is between two and five days. One month later, very little of the initial effect still persists. This temporal signature is consistent with political messaging in American politics.⁶⁹

Chapter 10 then shifts attention to the effects of propaganda-based threats of repression. Again, we confront the possibility of selection bias. Repressive governments may be more likely to threaten citizens with repression during politically sensitive moments and in response to protests on day $t - 1$. This creates two competing effects on protests: a negative effect due to the threat and a positive effect due to tensions that compelled the threat. The calendar of popular protest in contemporary China, which we uncover in Chapter 7, suggests a novel identification strategy. We employ an instrumental variables estimator that rests on two features of China's political geography. First, propaganda in the *Workers' Daily* is set at the national level, but occasionally it responds to local conditions, which are salient in one province but unknown in other provinces. As a result, citizens in one province are occasionally "treated" with propaganda content that is intended for citizens in geographically and culturally distant provinces. Second, because China is ethnically diverse and geographically sprawling, the ethnic separatist anniversaries in Tibet and Xinjiang that drive propaganda-based threats are salient only in those regions and effectively unknown elsewhere. We argue that ethnic separatist anniversaries in Tibet and Xinjiang plausibly condition protest rates in *geographically and culturally distant provinces* only through the propaganda-based threats that the regime issues via the propaganda apparatus.

We present a range of evidence that this exclusion restriction is plausible: a nationally representative survey, an analysis of protest and repression by day and location, and a description of the language that protesters employ. As a further precaution, we exclude nine provinces where the exclusion restriction is most likely to be violated, which nonetheless yields a sample that includes 88.5 percent of Chinese citizens. We find that propaganda-based threats have a plausibly causal effect on protest levels outside the nine provinces we drop. We employ

⁶⁹ Hill et al. (2013).

Conley, Hansen, and Rossi's (2012) sensitivity analysis to show that these estimates are robust to non-trivial violations of the exclusion restriction.

1.5 BELIEFS, NOMINALLY DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS,
AND AUTOCRATIC POLITICS

This book is about autocratic propaganda. More broadly, however, it is about the struggle between citizens and repressive governments, the political institutions that mediate it, and how the international community can support citizens who wage it. Many scholars regard nominally democratic institutions as forces for autocratic stability and regime survival as being secured through patronage and repression. Our approach is different. The world's autocracies have experienced fundamental changes since the Berlin Wall fell. The rate of elite coups has declined, popular protests have emerged as the chief threat to autocratic survival, and, with 80 percent of the world's autocrats governing with nominally democratic institutions, there is now less institutional variation in the world's autocracies than perhaps ever before.

These changes inform our approach to autocratic politics. We view citizens' beliefs as the central battlefield on which the struggle for political change is waged and nominally democratic institutions as constraints that autocrats struggle to loosen. Autocrats wage this battle with a range of tools, propaganda chief among them, but their propaganda strategies are conditioned by the institutions they confront. In privileging citizens' beliefs as key to autocratic survival, we return to how scholars understood it for much of the twentieth century. In treating nominally democratic institutions as constraints that autocrats attempt to loosen, this book joins a growing literature that suggests these institutions are not as stabilizing as scholars once thought.⁷⁰ This is among this book's key arguments. Although nominally democratic institutions may yield some benefits to the world's autocrats, electoral constraints also force autocrats to wage the battle for their citizens' beliefs from a position of weakness.

1.5.1 Autocracy, Its Problems, and How to Solve Them

Scholars have long sought to understand the internal dynamics of the world's autocracies. Their conclusions often reflect prevailing

⁷⁰ Carothers (2018); Jang and Huang (2019); Reuter and Szakonyi (2019); Meng (2020).

geopolitical conditions. In the mid-twentieth century, with the United States locked in a Cold War against the Soviet Union, scholars probed how totalitarianism was distinctive. All autocracies were repressive, scholars observed, but totalitarianism assaulted citizens' beliefs with the tools of modern technology. Buchheim (1968, 14) described this assault with the same disturbing metaphor that Chinese citizens reserve for the *People's Daily*: "the creeping assault on man by the perversion of his thoughts." In the *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt (1951, 383) wrote about the cognitive scars this assault leaves on citizens:

The result of a consistent and total substitution of lies for factual truth is not that the lie will now be accepted as truth and truth be defamed as a lie, but that the sense by which we take our bearings in the real world – and the category of truth versus falsehood is among the mental means to this end – is being destroyed.

This cognitive assault was enshrined in the era's literature. In *The Power of the Powerless*, Václav Havel (1978, 9) described "life in the system" as "permeated with hypocrisy and lies," where "banning independent thought becomes the most scientific of world views." In *Life Is Elsewhere*, Milan Kundera described the era as when "the poet reigned along with the executioner." Poet was Kundera's euphemism for propagandist.

Whether citizens' beliefs were actually reshaped was a matter of debate. Friedrich and Brzezinski (1956) registered their skepticism, as did Kirkpatrick (1981, 123):

Have they managed to reform human consciousness? Have they managed to educate Soviet citizens so that they would freely choose to live according to the norms of Soviet culture *if the constraints of coercion were removed*? The answer of course is that we do not know.

The Soviet Union's collapse effectively answered these questions. Scholars responded by treating autocratic politics as chiefly about repression. "What reproduces consent is the threat of force," Przeworski (1986, 51) observed, "and short of moments of true desperation this threat is sufficient." Quite appropriately, repression remains central to the study of autocracy. Scholars have sought to understand its effects on those who experience it,⁷¹ how political institutions and modern communication

⁷¹ Balcells (2012); Escribà-Folch (2013); Rozenas, Schutte, and Zhukov (2017); Simpser, Slater, and Wittenberg (2018); Bautista et al. (2021); Young (2018); Zhukov and Talibova (2018); Rozenas and Zhukov (2019); Amat (2019); Xue (2019); Desposato, Wang, and Wu (2021); Wang (2019).

technologies condition it,⁷² whether the international community can prevent it,⁷³ and how bureaucracies are organized to wield it.⁷⁴ Dictators have accomplices, of course, and so scholars have also sought the non-coercive foundations of autocratic survival, patronage in particular.⁷⁵

In the early 2000s, scholars advanced our understanding of autocratic politics in two ways. First, scholars more clearly defined the threats to autocratic survival. Autocrats, in Svobik's (2012) formulation, must secure the cooperation of a ruling elite and the acquiescence of citizens. These groups threaten autocrats in different ways: elites via coup, citizens via revolution. Tullock (1987) argued that elite coups were more threatening than popular revolutions, Geddes (2005) agreed, and Svobik (2009) demonstrated it empirically for the post-World War II period.⁷⁶ Second, scholars identified another tool that autocrats wield: institutions, especially robust political parties.⁷⁷ By providing an "institutional setting that generates political power and long-term security," Brownlee (2007, 33) writes, "ruling parties . . . bridle elite ambitions and bind together otherwise fractious coalitions." Similarly, for Slater (2010, 51), ruling parties . . . [prevent] elite defection" by creating a "political wilderness" with no "alternative routes to the political summit." These dominant parties emerge, Reuter (2017) finds, where autocrats and elites need each other to maintain power.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, other scholars argued that nominally democratic institutions constitute forces for autocratic stability as well. These institutions, the arguments go, enable autocrats to credibly commit to revenue-sharing agreements with regime insiders or policy compromises

⁷² Davenport (2007*a,c,b*); Bhasin and Gandhi (2013); Hill and Jones (2014); Frantz and Kendall-Taylor (2014); Christensen and Garfias (2018); Gohdes (2020).

⁷³ Escribà-Folch and Wright (2015); Carnegie and Marinov (2017); Carter (2016*a*).

⁷⁴ Policzer (2009); Sassoon (2012); Hassan (2016); Blaydes (2018); Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2018); Shen-Bayh (2018); Thomson (2022).

⁷⁵ Wintrobe (1998); Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003); Acemoglu, Robinson, and Verdier (2004); Padro i Miquel (2007); Arriola (2009); Albertus (2015); Roessler (2016); Albertus, Fenner, and Slater (2018).

⁷⁶ Relatedly, O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986, 19) traced successful revolutions to splits within the ruling regime: "There is no transition whose beginning is not a consequence – direct or indirect – of important divisions within the regime itself, principally along the fluctuating cleavage between hard-liners and soft-liners."

⁷⁷ Brownlee (2007); Slater (2010); Svobik (2012).

⁷⁸ Boix and Svobik (2013) make a related argument about power balances, but are more agnostic about the form that the resulting institutions take. Note that Meng (2019) provides evidence that strong ruling parties are much rarer than typically assumed, suggesting that some of the causal force attributed to them may be driven, in part, by Soviet support during the Cold War.

with other prominent figures.⁷⁹ Elections may enable autocrats to equitably distribute regime patronage,⁸⁰ locate pockets of popular discontent,⁸¹ and identify effective party cadres.⁸² In locating the origins of autocratic survival in nominally democratic institutions, scholars turned a longstanding assumption on its head. If nominally democratic institutions are actually forces for autocratic stability, then, by requiring them in exchange for development aid and debt relief, Western governments have rendered the world's autocrats more secure, not less. Lust-Okar (2006, 468) put it simply: "The logic of authoritarian elections should lead us to question the value of pressing for, and applauding, the introduction of elections in authoritarian regimes."⁸³

1.5.2 Autocratic Politics in the Early Twenty First Century

In the early twenty first century, the relative salience of Svoboda's (2012) two problems of autocratic rule changed, as did the relative accessibility of the tools with which autocrats solve them. These changes have made understanding autocratic propaganda more critical than at any point since the mid-twentieth century. The collapse of the Berlin Wall – and, with it, America's ascension to global hegemony – had three related consequences for the world's autocrats. First, most were forced to adopt nominally democratic institutions as a final effort to placate frustrated citizens, whose protests were driven by rising food prices, inspiration from revolutions abroad, and signals from Western democracies that development aid would be tied to democratic reforms. Since then, the international community has generally required nominally democratic institutions in exchange for development aid and debt relief.⁸⁴ With a few notable exceptions – China among them – autocrats no longer have easy access to the single-party regimes that helped stabilize their twentieth-century predecessors.

Second, the regular elections occasioned by nominally democratic institutions force autocrats to subject themselves to recurring opportunities

⁷⁹ Magaloni (2006, 2008); Gandhi and Przeworski (2007); Gandhi (2008); Wright (2008), and Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2018).

⁸⁰ Lust-Okar (2006); Blydes (2011).

⁸¹ Ames (1970); Magaloni (2006); Brownlee (2007); Blydes (2011); Cox (2009), and Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2018).

⁸² Birney (2007), and Blydes (2011).

⁸³ For excellent overviews, see Gandhi and Lust-Okar (2009) and Pepinsky (2014).

⁸⁴ Bratton and van de Walle (1997); van de Walle (2001); Dunning (2004); Levitsky and Way (2010); Marinov and Goemans (2014).

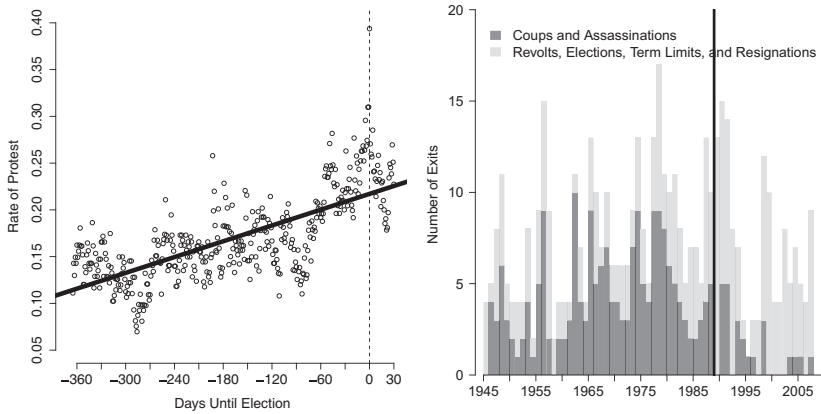


Figure 1.2 Dynamics of autocratic politics since the Berlin Wall fell

for collective action.⁸⁵ During election seasons, citizens are engaged in politics and aware of their neighbors’ discontent.⁸⁶ Opposition leaders coordinate protests and alert citizens to electoral fraud.⁸⁷ By affirming the possibility of a post-regime future, elections decrease the costs to regime elites of defecting from the coalition and joining the opposition.⁸⁸ Hale (2005, 159) concludes that revolutions in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine succeeded, in part, because security officials refused to suppress opposition leaders who “might be the authorities of the future.” Elite defections helped end Senegalese president Abdoulaye Wade’s ambitions for his son, catalyzed the Burkinabé Revolution of October 2014, and gave rise to Jean Ping’s candidacy against Gabonese president Ali Ben Bongo in 2016. Consequently, from the left panel of Figure 1.2, the daily rate of protest across autocracies rises steadily as election day approaches, and on election day itself is nearly four times greater than on other days of the year.⁸⁹ These protests have consequences. In post-Cold

⁸⁵ Olson (1977); Granovetter (1978); DeNardo (1985); Tullock (1987); Przeworski (2006); Knutsen and Nygard (2015); Knutsen, Nygard, and Wig (2017).

⁸⁶ Kuran (1991); Tucker (2007); Hollyer, Rosendorff, and Vreeland (2015).

⁸⁷ Beissinger (2002); Javeline (2003); McFaul (2005); Radnitz (2010); Bunce and Wolchik (2011); Fearon (2011).

⁸⁸ Reuter and Szakonyi (2019).

⁸⁹ Note that we focus on the African continent, since daily records of protest are of particularly high quality; see Salehyan et al. (2012). For each election since 1990, we identify an election season that begins one year before election day and ends one month after, when the results have been announced and newly elected officials have assumed office. For each of 402 elections, we index each day within

War Africa, Aidt and Leon (2016) find, as the number of annual protests rises, so does the probability of democratic change.

Third, popular protests now constitute the chief threat to autocratic survival, as the right panel of Figure 1.2 makes clear.⁹⁰ Marinov and Goemans (2014) locate the decline of the coup in the same forces that compelled the rise of nominally democratic institutions. Pressured by Western donors to quickly transfer power to elected governments, would-be coup plotters view coups as less attractive than they once did. Western pressure appears to have amplified threats from the street by making repression costly. Carnegie and Marinov (2017), for instance, find that positive conditionality from the European Union has reduced human rights violations. Carter (2022) finds that Africa's autocrats were less likely to employ violence against citizens during debt relief negotiations with the Bretton Woods institutions, and, recognizing this, their citizens have been more likely to protest. A range of scholars have found that development aid and sustained international pressure can foster political liberalization.⁹¹

The threat of popular protest has been reinforced by modern communications technologies, which enable citizens to share information about regime crimes, organize mass protests, and ultimately topple governments. Just before the Arab Spring, Diamond (2010) dubbed them liberation technologies. Afterwards, Steinert-Threlkeld et al. (2015) and Howard and Hussain (2011, 2013) found that they were critical to its success. Manacorda and Tesei (2016) and Christensen and Garfias (2018) measured their effects around the world. In the most closed autocracies, protests are notoriously difficult for scholars to record for posterity. But, again, the available evidence suggests that the rate of protest is rising. The CCP records protests across China to locate pockets of discontent and identify local governments that fail to curb it. The government made these data public until 2005, when the protest rate rose so high that it made the depth of popular frustration common knowledge among citizens.

the season as $t \in \{-365, 30\}$, where day $t = -30$ denotes the 30th day until the election, day $t = 0$ gives election day, and day $t = 30$ is the 30th day after the election. We then compute the rate of protests for each day t . We draw regime type data from Svoblik (2012).

⁹⁰ We draw data on autocratic exits from Svoblik (2012).

⁹¹ Dunning (2004); Brown (2005); Hafner-Burton (2008); Bearce and Tirone (2010); Kersting and Kelly (2014); Dietrich and Wright (2015); Gibson, Hoffman, and Jablonski (2015); Escribà-Folch and Wright (2015).

1.5.3 *Propaganda, Institutions, and the Politics of Belief*

As autocratic politics has changed, so too has how scholars study it. With popular protests increasingly the chief threat to autocratic survival,⁹² scholars have sought to understand their dynamics: who protests,⁹³ when they protest,⁹⁴ how they organize,⁹⁵ which tactics they employ,⁹⁶ and which tactics are most effective.⁹⁷ Scholars have also sought to understand how the world's autocrats attempt to censor their citizens' informational environments,⁹⁸ deploy bots to shape social media conversations,⁹⁹ and block internet access altogether.¹⁰⁰ Still other scholars have sought to measure propaganda's effects. Just as political communication in democracies routinely shapes citizens' beliefs,¹⁰¹ there is

⁹² With political institutions increasingly fixed, a separate strand of scholarship has focused on how autocrats use non-institutional strategies to induce elite loyalty; see Arriola (2009); Francois, Rainer, and Trebbi (2014); Sudduth (2017), and Woldense (2018).

⁹³ Branch and Mampilly (2015); Brancati (2016); Rosenfeld (2017).

⁹⁴ Beissinger (2002, 2007); Tucker (2007); Fearon (2011); Beaulieu (2014); Trejo (2014); Brancati (2016); Carter and Carter (2020a).

⁹⁵ Diamond (2010); Tufekci and Wilson (2012); Howard and Hussain (2013); Steinert-Threlkeld et al. (2015); Manacorda and Tesei (2016); Christensen and Garfias (2018); Fu (2018).

⁹⁶ Chen (2012); Chenoweth and Ulfelder (2015).

⁹⁷ Chenoweth and Stephan (2011); Beber, Roessler, and Scacco (2014); Enos, Kaufman, and Sands (2019).

⁹⁸ King, Pan, and Roberts (2013); Guriev and Treisman (2015, 2018, 2022); Shadmehr and Bernhardt (2015); Qin, Strömberg, and Wu (2017); Gallagher and Miller (2019).

⁹⁹ King, Pan, and Roberts (2017); Munger et al. (2016).

¹⁰⁰ Atabong (2017); Rydzak (2019b).

¹⁰¹ Zaller (1992); Jentleson (1992); Brody (1991); Zaller and Chiu (2000); Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston (2006); Behr and Iyengar (1985); Cohen (1995); Entman (1993); Iyengar and Valentino (2000); Rahn (1993); Cohen (2003); Bullock (2011). Without elite cues, the relationship between ideological self identification and policy preferences is weak (Malka and Lelkes 2010; Popp and Rudolph 2011). Moreover, in the presence of media disagreement, citizens are more skeptical about leader statements (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Krosnick and Kinder 1990; Larson 2000; Kuypers 1997; Graber 2002; Paletz 2002; Mueller 1973; Lee 1977; Brody 1991; Rahn 1993; Lupia and McCubbins 1998; Groeling and Baum 2008; Berinsky 2007). For a review, see Chong and Druckman (2007). The effects of persuasive communication quickly decay, which helps explain why political advertisements are most frequent in the weeks before an election (Cook and Flay 1978; Hill et al. 2013; Gerber et al. 2011). Research on the influence of casualty reports on war support reaches similar conclusions (Hayes and Myers 2009; Althaus, Bramlett, and Gimpel 2012; Sides and Vavreck 2013).

mounting evidence that autocratic propaganda can persuade citizens of regime merits.¹⁰²

Common to much of this scholarship is a tacit conviction that citizens' beliefs are the central battlefield on which the struggle for political change is waged. This conviction – about the centrality of belief – is how scholars understood autocratic survival for much of the twentieth century, before the Soviet Union fell and the institutionalist approach to autocratic survival gained prominence. This conviction compelled the American government to drop “leaflet bombs” over Soviet territory during the Cold War, the African National Congress (ANC) to drop “ideological bombs” over South African townships during the struggle against apartheid, and a young Mao to describe propaganda as the “most important job” facing his insurgent movement. It animated the enduring prose of George Orwell, Václav Havel, Milan Kundera, Yan Lianke, and Ma Jian. It was central to Crassweller's (1966) remarkable account of Rafael Trujillo and Kapuscinski's (1989) equally remarkable account of Haile Selassie. It was even central to Wintrobe's (1998, 20) pathbreaking formal models of autocratic politics, before he chose to privilege patronage and repression rather than the power of citizens' beliefs. The “one thing even dictatorial powers cannot give,” Wintrobe wrote, is “the *minds* of their subjects.”¹⁰³ In turn, autocrats attempt to shape their citizens' beliefs. They do so with a range of modern technologies, as recent scholarship makes clear: sophisticated censorship operations, social media campaigns, and internet shutdowns.

Perhaps most importantly, however, autocrats employ propaganda. We trace the origins of divergent propaganda strategies across autocracies to differences in electoral constraints. In so doing, this book challenges how scholars understand the forces that condition media bias. Joseph Pulitzer located the origins of journalistic freedom in economics. “Advertising means money,” he observed, “and money means independence.”¹⁰⁴ Many scholars agree. As potential advertising revenues expand, the arguments go, media platforms have incentives to

¹⁰² McMillan and Zoido (2004); Lawson and McCann (2005); White, Oates, and McAllister (2005); Greene (2011); Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya (2011); Adena et al. (2015); González and Prem (2018); Peisakhin and Rozenas (2018). On media effects in democracies, see Gerber, Karlan, and Bergan (2009); Boas and Hidalgo (2011); Da Silveira and De Mello (2011); Strömberg (2015); Hayes and Lawless (2015); Arceneaux et al. (2016); Durante, Pinotti, and Tesei (2019), and Wang (2020).

¹⁰³ Italics in the original.

¹⁰⁴ Starr (2004).

attract more readers, and do so by reporting objectively.¹⁰⁵ In nineteenth-century America, Petrova (2011) shows, areas with larger advertising markets had more politically independent newspapers, which emerged as government watchdogs.¹⁰⁶ Newspaper circulation is associated with better disaster relief in India,¹⁰⁷ more public goods in New Deal America,¹⁰⁸ and less public corruption in late-nineteenth-century America.¹⁰⁹ This was all anticipated by Thomas Jefferson, who wrote in 1781: “Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.”

Several scholars have extended this argument to China, where the commercially oriented, local media has expanded dramatically over the last forty years.¹¹⁰ Over time, Qin, Strömberg, and Wu (2018, 2474) suggest, “economic development [will reduce] audience exposure to propaganda.” Similarly, Guriev and Treisman (2018, 2) argue that “economic modernization, and in particular the spread of higher education,” forces autocrats into a less biased propaganda strategy. If they are right, then the implications are profound, a modernization theory for the Information Age. As economies grow and citizens are better educated, repressive governments will confront powerful incentives to soften the biases in propaganda. With citizens better informed, political reform may well follow.¹¹¹ These arguments were anticipated by Inglehart and Welzel (2005, 22, 29, 46), who described “the causal primacy of socioeconomic development.” “The evolution of mass media and modern information technology,” they argue, “gives people easy access to knowledge, increasing their informational autonomy” and ultimately their capacity to force political change.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Besley and Prat (2006); McMillan and Zoido (2004); Corneo (2006); Gehlbach and Sonin (2014); Tella and Franceschelli (2011); Hamilton (2004); Gentzkow, Glaeser, and Goldin (2006); Petrova (2008, 2011, 2012). Relatedly, scholars have also attributed the growth of unbiased media to population growth. See, for example, Besley and Prat (2006); Ellman and Germano (2009), and Gentzkow, Glaeser, and Goldin (2006).

¹⁰⁶ For a formal treatment, see Besley and Prat (2006).

¹⁰⁷ Besley and Burgess (2002).

¹⁰⁸ Strömberg (2004).

¹⁰⁹ Gentzkow, Glaeser, and Goldin (2006).

¹¹⁰ Lee (1990); Zhao (1998); Lynch (1999).

¹¹¹ Pei (1994); Hassid (2016).

¹¹² See also Inglehart (1997, 205–209); Inglehart and Welzel (2010, 561); Welzel and Inglehart (2009, 136–138); Welzel (2013, 38, 44, 268–269).

Our theory suggests otherwise, for ours is a *political* theory of autocratic propaganda.¹¹³ The chief driver of variation in propaganda – both across countries and over time – is the set of electoral constraints that autocratic governments confront, not the access to information that citizens have. This book thus advances a different view of nominally democratic institutions in autocracies. We regard them not as forces of stability, but as constraints that autocrats aim to loosen. In 2016 alone, for instance, five of Africa’s autocrats – Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi, Idriss Déby of Chad, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Denis Sassou Nguesso of Congo, Ali Bongo of Gabon, and Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo – either removed term limits or suspended elections altogether. To be sure, autocrats attempt to use these institutions to their advantage whenever possible. Autocrats “best respond” to their institutional constraints. But there is a profound difference between choosing nominally democratic institutions and making the best of them.

Nominally democratic institutions create new challenges for the world’s autocrats. Regular elections constitute recurrent opportunities for collective action,¹¹⁴ occasion elite defections from the ruling coalition,¹¹⁵ and enable potential rivals to gain notoriety.¹¹⁶ This book shows that even weak electoral institutions, such as those confronted by Denis Sassou Nguesso, force autocrats to wage the battle for their citizens’ minds from a position of weakness. To persuade citizens of regime merits, electorally constrained autocrats must acknowledge policy failures, which occasionally are damning. As we show in Chapter 5, Denis Sassou Nguesso was forced to cover a catastrophic fuel shortage, despite presiding over Africa’s fourth leading oil producer. His propaganda apparatus covers malnutrition, infant mortality, and vaccine shortages. These admissions risk confirming citizens’ frustrations and coalescing this frustration into collective action. But his electoral constraints force him to do so.

¹¹³ Munck (2018) describes Inglehart and Welzel as “[rejecting] the view that political institutions could themselves affect cultural change.” His response, which privileges political institutions as causally primary, anticipates ours.

¹¹⁴ See Figure 1.2.

¹¹⁵ Reuter and Szakonyi (2019).

¹¹⁶ Jang and Huang (2019).