

AUTHORITARIANISM

Central European University, Budapest
Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy, and International Relations

Course convenor: Matteo Fumagalli, University of St Andrews, UK

Level: PhD

AY: 2017/18

Semester: Winter 2018

Credits: 2 (4 ECTS)

Email: mf29@st-andrews.ac.uk

Office hours: Wednesday 1.30-3.30pm

Office: TBA (Vigyazo F. u. 2)

Class time:

Week 1: Tuesday 3.30-5.10pm; Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 5.20-7pm; Friday 9-12.40pm

Week 3: Thursday 3.30-5.10pm; Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 5.20-7pm; Friday 9-12.40pm

Class venue: TBA

Course outline

Why did the Tatmadaw (Myanmar's Armed Forces) allow transition from direct military to civilian rule in 2011? Will North Korea's regime *ever* collapse and if so what would change look like? What caused Russia's de-democratization? What explains the roll-back (democratic backsliding)? How important are economic and non-economic factors in sustaining authoritarian rule? Do authoritarian states promote autocracy? These are some of the questions explored in this course.

With over half of the world's population living under authoritarian rule and almost half of the countries understanding what authoritarian regimes are, how they function, why they endure and how they collapse are crucial questions to comparative political science. The course offers a comparative outlook to the study of authoritarianism, focusing on the varieties of this form of government, the factors sustaining it in terms of durability, resilience and governance, as well as the causes that might bring its breakdown. Attention will be paid to forms of neo-patrimonial rule and the institutional turn in the study of authoritarianism. Pathways from authoritarianism and the international dimension of authoritarianism will also be discussed. While striving to be global in outlook, empirically the course concentrates on the post-Soviet and Asian varieties of authoritarianism.

Aims

The course's main aim is to enable students to:

- acquire a strong understanding of the difference between regime types (totalitarian, authoritarian, and democratic);
- become familiar with the varieties of authoritarian rule;
- learn about how authoritarian regimes exercise their power and sustain themselves;
- become exposed to a wide range of cases of authoritarian.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students will:

- acquire a firm understanding of the scholarship on non democratic rule, being able to distinguish between sub-types of authoritarianism;
- critically engage with the literature on (authoritarian) regime formation, consolidation and change;
- apply their knowledge of the theoretical concepts to empirical cases;
- distinguish between institutions and practices sustaining authoritarian governance.

Workload and assessment

- 20% Class participation. This requires you to have done the required reading and actively participate to the discussion. Class attendance is mandatory (1 un-excused absence is permitted).
- 20% (10%*2): Online threaded discussion. Each week you should reply to one of the questions posed by the course convenor on ceulearning and respond to one of the posts by your fellow class mates.
- 10% paper outline (500 words).
- 50%: 4,000-word research paper (you can swap the paper with 4 additional reaction papers, to be submitted weekly).

Deadlines

Paper outline: 19 January 2017 4pm

Paper: 19 February 2017 5pm

Background readings

This is not a requirement or a pre-requisite. However, familiarising yourself with the work below will help you get a sense of some of the issues discussed in the course.

H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), esp. Part III

K. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* Vol. I and II (1945)

P. Brooker (2000) *Non-Democratic Regimes* (Palgrave)

J.J. Linz (2000) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Lynne Rienner).

J.C. Scott (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Yale UP).

The following novels are interesting literary reflections on totalitarianism:

G. Orwell, *1984* (1949)

G. Orwell, *Animal Farm* (1945)

R. Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (1953)

In fact... read this too, as it might come handy later on in the course (or in life):

G. Orwell 'Politics and the English Language'

http://www.orwell.ru/library/essays/politics/english/e_polit

Additional resources

This course makes use of the CEU e-learning platform

(<http://ceulearning.ceu.edu/login/index.php>)

Weekly schedule

Session	Day	Topic
1	9/1	Course overview. The origins of authoritarianism
2	9/1	Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism
3	10/1	Varieties of authoritarianism
4	11/1	Authoritarian stability
5	12/1	Institutions (democratic or otherwise)
6	12/1	Debates: Chinese democracy? Should we re-impose sanctions on Myanmar?
7	23/1	The political economy of authoritarianism
8	24/1	Civil society and contentious politics
9	25/1	The international dimension of authoritarianism
10	25/1	Hybrid regimes
11	26/1	Pathways from authoritarian rule I
12	26/1	Pathways from authoritarian rule II. Course wrap-up

Session 1: Course overview and the origins of authoritarianism

This session introduces the course. Are the origins of authoritarianism cultural? Is authoritarian rule rooted in under-development?

Readings

I. Buruma (2005) The indiscreet charm of tyranny. *New York Review of Books*, LII(8), 12 May, 35-37.

Lee Kuan Yew and F. Zakaria (1994) Culture is Destiny: A conversation with Lee Kuan Yew. *Foreign Affairs*, 73(2), 109-126.

Kim Dae-Jung (1994) Is culture destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-democratic values. *Foreign Affairs*, 73.

M. Olson (1993) Dictatorship, democracy, and development. *American Political Science Review*, 87(3), 567-576.

Additional reading

- Pepinsky, T. 2014. The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(3), 631-653.
- M.S. Fish (2002) Islam and authoritarianism. *World Politics*, 55, 4-37.
- Linz, Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes, ch. 1, pp. 49-63
- Fumagalli, Matteo. 2017 Social contention, authoritarian resilience and political change. *Democratization*, 36(4), 1215-1223.
- J. Brownlee (2002) Low tide after the third wave: Exploring politics under authoritarianism. *Comparative Politics*, 34(4), 477-498.
- D. Art (2012) What do we know about authoritarianism after ten years? *Comparative Politics*.
- P. Koellner and S. Kailitz (2013) Comparing autocracies: theoretical issues and empirical analyses. *Democratization*, 20(1), 1-12.
- D. Collier, J. LaPorte, and J. Seawright (2012) Putting typologies to work: Concept-formation, measurement, and analytic rigor. *Political Research Quarterly*, 65, 217-32.
- S. Kaufman Purcell, Authoritarianism. A Review Essay. *Comparative Politics*, 5(2), 1973, pp. 301-312.

Session 2 Totalitarianism

Does ideology matter in authoritarian regimes? How different are totalitarianism and authoritarianism? What does totalitarianism look like in the 21st century?

Readings

- H. Arendt (1956) Authority in the Twentieth Century. *Review of Politics*, 18(4), 1956, 403-417.
- Byman, D. and J. Lind (2010) Pyongyang's survival strategy: Tools of authoritarian control in North Korea. *International Security*, 35(1), 44-74.

Additional readings

- H. Arendt (1951) The Origins of Totalitarianism, Part III
- Armstrong. C.K. *tyranny of the Weak.. North Korea and the World 1950-1992*.
- H. Smith (2015). *North Korea. Military and the markets* (CUP).
- Linz, ch. 2
- P. Brooker, Non-democratic Governments, ch 2, pp. 7-21
- Z.K. Brzezinski and C.J. Friedrich, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (1966)
- C.-S. Lee, Kim Il-Song of North Korea. *Asian Survey*, 7(6), 1967, pp. 374-382.

Session 3 Varieties of Authoritarianism

Who governs in authoritarian regimes? How many varieties of authoritarianism are there? Why does it matter? And to whom?

Required reading

- B. Smith (2005) Life of the party: the origins of regime breakdown and persistence under single-party rule. *World Politics*, 57, 421-51.
- Bohr, A. (2016) *Turkmenistan*. London: Chatham House.

R. Jackson and C. Rosberg (1984) Personal Rule in Theory and Practice in Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 16(4), 421-442.

Amos Perlmutter, The Comparative Analysis of Military Regimes: Formations, Aspirations, and Achievements. *World Politics*, 33(1), 1980, pp. 96-120.

Additional reading

M. Callahan (2012) Military Politics in Post-Junta Myanmar. *Journal of Democracy* 23(4).

H.B. Im, The Rise of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in South Korea. *World Politics*, 39(2), 1987, pp. 231-257.

Z. Barany (2012) *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas*. (Princeton: U of Princeton Press).

M. Callahan (2003) *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Cornell University Press)

T. Lee (2015) *Defect Or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

J. Alamgir, Against the Current: The Survival of Authoritarianism in Burma. *Pacific Affairs*, 70(3), 1997, pp. 333-350.

K.L. Remmer (1989) Neopatrimonialism: The Politics of Military Rule in Chile, 1973-1987. *Comparative Politics*, 21(2), 149-170.

T. Lee (2015) *Defect Or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

S. Finer (1988) *The Man on Horseback: The role of the military in politics* (Boulder: Westview).

H. E. Schamis, Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism. *Comparative Politics*, 23(2), 1991, pp. 201-220.

E.C. Epstein, Legitimacy, Institutionalization, and Opposition in Exclusionary Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes: The Situation of the 1980s. *Comparative Politics*, 17(1), 1984, pp. 37-54.

K. Remmer (1978) Evaluating the Policy Impact of Military Regimes in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 13(2), 39-54.

T. Demirel (2005) Lessons of Military Regimes and Democracy: The Turkish Case in Comparative Perspective. *Armed Forces & Society*, 31(2), 245-271.

A.A. Mazrui, Soldiers as Traditionalizers: Military Rule and the Re-Africanization of Africa. *World Politics*, 28(2), 1976, pp. 246-272. C.-M. Park, Authoritarian Rule in South Korea: Political Support and Governmental Performance. *Asian Survey*, 31(8), 1991, pp. 743-761.

M. Callahan (2005) *Making enemies. War and state-building in Burma* (Cornell UP). *The Army the State*.

M. Callahan (2012) The generals loosen their grip. *Journal of Democracy*, 23(4).

B. Matthews, The Present Fortune of Tradition-Bound Authoritarianism in Myanmar. *Pacific Affairs*, 71(1), 1998, pp. 7-23.

A. Maung Thawngmung, Preconditions and Prospects for Democratic Transition in Burma/Myanmar. *Asian Survey*, 43(3), 2003, pp. 443-460.

A.L. Clark, Myanmar's Present Development and Future Options. *Asian Survey*, 39(5), 1999, pp. 772-791.

S. Finer (1988) *The Man on Horseback: The role of the military in politics* (Boulder: Westview).

K. Remmer (1978) Evaluating the Policy Impact of Military Regimes in Latin

- America. *Latin American Research Review*, 13(2), 39-54.
- T. Demirel (2005) Lessons of Military Regimes and Democracy: The Turkish Case in Comparative Perspective. *Armed Forces & Society*, 31(2), 245-271.
- A.A. Mazrui, Soldiers as Traditionalizers: Military Rule and the Re-Africanization of Africa. *World Politics*, 28(2), 1976, pp. 246-272.
- C. Elman (2005) Explanatory typologies in qualitative studies of international politics. *International Organization*, 59(2), 293-326.
- J. Cheibub, J. Gandhi, and J. Vreeland (2010) Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited. *Public Choice*, 143(1-2), 67-101.
- D. Slater (2003) Iron cage in an iron first. *Comparative Politics*, 36(1), 81-101.
- S. M. Eke, T. Kuzio, Sultanism in Eastern Europe: The Socio-Political Roots of Authoritarian Populism in Belarus. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 52(3), 2000, pp. 523-547.
- Additional reading
- S.N. Cummings and M. Ochs (2002) Turkmenistan: Saparmurat Niyazov's inglorious isolation. In: S.N. Cummings (2002) *Power and Change in Central Asia*, Routledge.
- Linz, J.J. and Chehabi, H.E., Sultanistic Regimes, Johns Hopkins University Press (1998) ch 1., pp. 3-25
- M. Weber, Charismatic Authority, in *Economy and Society* Vol 1, pp. 241-249
- A. Bohr (2004) Independent Turkmenistan: From Post-communism to Sultanism? In S.N. Cummings (ed) *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, Routledge.
- B. Magaloni and R. Kricheli (2010) Political order and one-party rule. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13, 123-143.
- O.J. Reuter and T. Remington (2009) Dominant party-regimes and the commitment problem. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(4).
- K. Greene (2010) The political economy of authoritarian single-party dominance. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), 807-834.
- B. Magaloni (2006) *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- M.L. Kilson, Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics. *World Politics*, 15(2), 1963, pp. 262-294.
- C. C. Beer, Institutional Change in Mexico: Politics after One-Party Rule. *Latin American Research Review*, 37(3), 2002, pp. 149-161.
- J. Hiskey, D. Canache, The Demise of One-Party Rule in Mexican Municipal Elections. *British Journal of Political Science*, 35, pp. 257-284.
- C.H. Moore, Authoritarian Politics in Unincorporated Society: The Case of Nasser's Egypt. *Comparative Politics*, 6(2), 1974, pp. 193-218.
- Bureaucratic Authoritarianism
- M. Weber, Traditional Authority, pp. 226-241
- Z. Barany (2012) *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas*. (Princeton: U of Princeton Press).
- J. Alamgir, Against the Current: The Survival of Authoritarianism in Burma. *Pacific Affairs*, 70(3), 1997, pp. 333-350.
- K.L. Remmer (1989) Neopatrimonialism: The Politics of Military Rule in Chile, 1973-1987. *Comparative Politics*, 21(2), 149-170.
- Macdonald, Adam P. (2013) From Military Rule to Electoral Authoritarianism: The Reconfiguration of Power in Myanmar and its Future. *Asian Affairs*, 40(1), p.20-36
- B. Matthews, The Present Fortune of Tradition-Bound Authoritarianism in Myanmar. *Pacific Affairs*, 71(1), 1998, pp. 7-23.
- A. Maung Thawngmung, Preconditions and Prospects for Democratic Transition in Burma/Myanmar. *Asian Survey*, 43(3), 2003, pp. 443-460.

A.L. Clark, Myanmar's Present Development and Future Options. *Asian Survey*, 39(5), 1999, pp. 772-791.

Session 4 Authoritarian stability

Why do regimes resort to repression? What role does the military play in the making and unmaking of authoritarian regimes? What are the sources of regime legitimacy and strategies of legitimation?

Core readings

J. Gerschewski (2013) The three pillars of stability: legitimation, repression, and co-optation in autocratic regimes. *Democratization*, 20(1), 13-38.

A. March, From Leninism to Karimovism: Hegemony, Ideology, and Authoritarian Legitimation, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 19(4), 2003, pp. 307-336.

Additional readings

Shubladze, R. and Ts. Khundadze (2017) balancing the three pillars of stability in Armenia and Georgia. *Caucasus Survey*, 5(3), 301-322.

Fumagalli, Matteo and Turmanidze, Koba. 2017 Taking partly-free voters seriously: Autocratic response to voter preferences in Armenia and Georgia. *Caucasus Survey*, 5(3), 199-215

Adrien Fauve (2015) Global Astana: nation branding as a legitimization tool for authoritarian regimes, *Central Asian Survey*, 34:1, 110-124

E. Bellin (2005) 'Coercive institutions and coercive leaders', in M. Pripstein Posusney and M. Penner Angrist (eds) *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, 21-41.

C. Davenport (2007) State repression and political order. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 1-23.

P. Bernholz (2001) Ideocracy and Totalitarianism: A formal analysis incorporating ideology. *Public Choice*, 108, 33-75.

P. Burnell (2006) Autocratic opening to democracy: Why legitimacy matters. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(4), 545-562.

B. Geddes; J. Zaller (1989) Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 33(2), 319-347.

C.L. Davis, The Mobilization of Public Support for an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of the Lower Class in Mexico City. *American Journal of Political Science*, 20(4), 1976, pp. 653-670.

A.M. Thawngmung, Rural perceptions of state legitimacy in Burma/Myanmar. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 30(2), 2003, pp. 1-40.

K.L. Remmer, Political Demobilization in Chile, 1973-1978. *Comparative Politics*, 12(3), 1980, pp. 275-301.

E.C. Epstein, Legitimacy, Institutionalization, and Opposition in Exclusionary Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes: The Situation of the 1980s. *Comparative Politics*, 17(1), 1984, pp. 37-54.

D. Pion-Berlin, Theories on Political Repression in Latin America: Conventional Wisdom and an Alternative. *PS*, 19(1), 1986, pp. 49-56.

Session 5 Institutions

The session discusses the role of seemingly democratic institutions in sustaining authoritarian rule, such as parties, elections, legislatures. Do they sustain or undermine autocracy? And how? How do dictators survive? How do authoritarian rulers use developments in information technology?

Readings

J. Gandhi and E. Lust-Okar (2009) Elections under authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 115-44.

Pearce, Katy E. ; Kendzior, Sarah (2012) Networked Authoritarianism and Social Media in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Communication*, April 2012, Vol.62(2), pp.283-298

Additional readings

Pomerantsev, P. (2015) The Kremlin's Information War. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(4), pp. 40-50

O.J. Reuter and G. Robertson (2012) Gubernatorial appointments in authoritarian regimes: Evidence from Russian gubernatorial appointments. *Journal of Politics*, 74(4).

Dean, Karin (2017) Myanmar: Surveillance and the Turn from Authoritarianism? *Surveillance & Society*, 15(3/4), 496-505.

Morse, Yonatan L (2012) The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism, *World Politics*, Vol.64(1), pp.161-198

C. Boix and M. Svoboda (2010) The foundations of limited authoritarian government. Institutions and power-sharing in dictatorships. Working Paper

M. Svoboda (2012) *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (NY: Cambridge UP).

B. Magaloni (2008) Credible power-sharing and the longevity of authoritarian rule. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(4-5), 715-741.

E. Schatz (2009) The soft authoritarian toolkit: Agenda setting power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. *Comparative Politics*, 41(2).

M. Svoboda (2009) Power sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 477-94.

J. Gandhi and A. Przeworski (2007) Authoritarian institutions and the survival of autocrats. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(11), 1279-1301.

T. Pepinsky (2013) The institutional turn in comparative authoritarianism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44, 631-653.

J. Brownlee (2007) *Authoritarianism in an age of democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

J. Gandhi (2008) *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

R. Kennedy (2009) Survival and accountability: An Analysis of the empirical support of the 'selectorate theory'. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53, 695-714.

A. Schedler (ed) (2006) *Electoral Authoritarianism. The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Session 6 Debates

What are the prospects for Chinese democracy?

- Saxonberg, S. (2013). *Transitions and non-transitions from communism*. 'What next?'
- Nathan, A. (2003) Authoritarian resilience: China's changing of the guard. *Journal of Democracy*, 14(1), 6-17.
- Fumagalli, Matteo. 2017 Social contention, authoritarian resilience and political change. *Democratization*, 36(4), 1215-1223.
- Xi Chen, 2012. *Social Protests and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*, by Xi Chen, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lisheng Dong, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Daniel Kübler (eds), 2015. *Urban Mobilizations and New Media in Contemporary China*, Farnham, Ashgate.
- Hemment, Julie (2015). *Youth Politics in Putin's Russia. Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs*, by Julie Hemment, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- K.J. O'Brien and R. Han (2009) Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 18(6), 359-378.

Should we re-impose sanctions on Myanmar? How should democracies engage with non-democracies? Should sanctions be imposed on Myanmar in light of the Rohingya crisis?

- Fumagalli, M. and Kemmerling, A. (in progress) Aid and regional inequality in Myanmar.
- Kim, Y. (2016) The 2015 parliamentary and 2016 presidential elections in Myanmar. *Electoral Studies*, 44, 419-422.
- Fumagalli, M. (2017b) 2017 Myanmar in 2016: From enthusiasm to disillusionment. *Asia Maior*, XXVII, 261-276.
- Wooyeal Paik (2011) Authoritarianism and humanitarian aid: regime stability and external relief in China and Myanmar, *The Pacific Review*, 24:4, 439-462
- International Crisis Group (2015) *Myanmar's electoral landscape*. Asia report 266, 28 April.
- Matthew J. Walton (2013) The "Wages of Burman-ness:" Ethnicity and Burman Privilege in Contemporary Myanmar, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 43:1, 1-27
- Ian Holliday (2014) Addressing Myanmar's Citizenship Crisis, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 44:3, 404-421,
- Lee Jones (2014) The Political Economy of Myanmar's Transition, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 44:1, 144-170.
- John H. Badgley (1969) Two Styles of Military Rule: Thailand and Burma. *Government and Opposition*, 4(1), 100-117.
-

Session 7 The political economy of authoritarianism

What's the relationship between regime types and economic development? Can authoritarian regimes ensure economic growth and development? The session focuses on the debate on the economic dimension of authoritarian durability, most notably the notion of patronage and the globalization of authoritarianism.

Required reading

John Heathershaw & Alexander Cooley (2015) Offshore Central Asia: an introduction, *Central Asian Survey*, 34:1, 1-10,
M. Ross (2001) Does oil hinder democracy? *World Politics*, 53, 325-361.

Additional reading

M. Herb (2005) No representation without taxation? Rents, development and democracy. *Comparative Politics*, 37(3), 297-317.
M. Ross (1999) The political economy of the resource curse. *World Politics*, 51, 297-322.
Cooley, Alex and John Heathershaw (2017) *Dictators without Borders. Power and Money in Central Asia* (Yale UP).
Stacy Closson & Charles Dainoff (2015) Offshore gas intermediary companies in Eurasia, *Central Asian Survey*, 34:1, 29-45
Erica Marat (2015) Global money laundering and its domestic political consequences in Kyrgyzstan, *Central Asian Survey*, 34:1, 46-56
Asel Doolot & John Heathershaw (2015) State as resource, mediator and performer: understanding the local and global politics of gold mining in Kyrgyzstan, *Central Asian Survey*, 34:1, 93-109
Haber, Stephen ; Menaldo, Victor (2011) Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse. *American Political Science Review*, 105(1), pp.1-26.
N. Van de Walle (2007) 'Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa', in H. Kitschelt, S. Wilkinson (eds) *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* (Cambridge UP), 50-67.
Soek-Fang Sim (2006) Hegemonic authoritarianism and Singapore: Economics, ideology and the Asian economic crisis, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 36:2, 143-159.
S. Haber and V. Menaldo (2010) Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse. *American Political Science Review*, 105(1).
S. Haggard and R. Kaufman (1997) The political economy of democratic transitions. *Comparative Politics*, 29(3), 263-283.
L. Wantchekon (2002) Why resource dependent countries have authoritarian governments? *Journal of African Finance and Economic Development*, 2, 57-77.
N. Jensen and L. Wantchekon (2004) Resource wealth and political regimes in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(7), 816-841.

V.T. Le Vine, African Patrimonial Regimes in Comparative Perspective. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 18(4), 1980), pp. 657-673.
K. Collins, The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories.

- World Politics, 56(2), 2004, pp. 224-261.
- M. Weber, Types of Legitimate Domination, ch. 3 esp. pp. 212-216
- A. Ilkhamov, Neopatrimonialism, interest groups and patronage networks: the impasses of the governance system in Uzbekistan, *Central Asian Survey*, 26(1), 2007, pp. 65-84.
- P. Jones Luong and E. Weintal (2001) 'Prelude to Resource Curse. Explaining Oil and Gas Development Strategies in the Soviet Successor States and Beyond', *Comparative Political Studies*, 34, 4, 367-399.
- G. Luciani, 'Oil and Political Economy in the International Relations of the Middle East', in L. Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 79-104.
- M. Szeftel, Misunderstanding African politics: corruption & the governance agenda. *Review of African Political Economy*, 25, 1998
- P. Jones Luong and E. Weintal. 'Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity and Domestic Constraints', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 2006, 241-263.

Session 8 Civil society and social contention

What role does civil society have under authoritarian rule? Does the notion of pro-regime civil society even make sense? What is informal activism and how different is it from the politics of survival? Why are some authoritarian regimes contentious whereas others are not? What is 'online politics' and how does it work? What's the relationship between online and offline politics? Under what circumstances do revolutions happen?

Core readings

- E. McGlinchey (2009) Searching for Kamalot: Political Patronage and Youth Politics in Uzbekistan, *Europe-Asia Studies*.
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2000) Civil society as social control: state power in Jordan. *Comparative Politics*, 33, 1, 43-61.
- Anne Applebaum, (2015). The Leninist Roots of Civil Society Repression. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(4), pp. 21-27.

Additional readings

- J. Ulfelder, Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 311-334 (2005).
- S. Radnitz (2010) *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-led Protests in Central Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell UP).
- A. Matveeva (2008) Exporting Civil Society. The Post-Communist Experience. *Problems of Post-communism*, 55(2), 3-13.
- A. Bayat (1997) Un-civil society: The Politics of the Informal People. *Third World Quarterly*, 18, 1, 53-72
- R. Hinnebusch (2006) Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique, *Democratization*, 13:3, 373-395.
- L. Weeden (1998) Acting 'as if': Symbolic politics and social control in Syria. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(3), 503-523.

- J. Langston (2002) Breaking out is hard to do: Exit, voice and loyalty in Mexico's one-party hegemonic regime. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 44(3).
- B. Geddes and J. Zaller (1989) Sources of popular support for authoritarian regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 33(2), 319-347.
- Asef Bayat (1998) Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40, 1, pp. 136-169.
- Roy, O. (2005) The predicament of 'civil society' in Central Asia and the 'Greater Middle East'. *International Affairs*, 81(5), 1001-1012.
- Cavatorta, F. (2006) Civil society, Islamism and democratization: The case of Morocco. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44(2), 203-222.
- S. Berman Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society. *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jun., 2003), pp. 257-272
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2002) The political limits to non-governmental organizations in Jordan. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(1), 77-93.
- Norton, A.R. (1993) The future of civil society in the Middle East. *Middle East Journal*, 47(2), 205-216.
- Freizer, S. (2005) Neo-liberal and communal civil society in Tajikistan: merging or dividing in the post-war period? *Central Asian Survey*, 24(3), 225-243.
- Cavatorta, F. and A. Elananza (2008) Political Opposition in Civil Society: An Analysis of the Interactions of Secular and Religious Associations in Algeria and Jordan. *Government and Opposition*, 43(4), 561-578
- A. Bayat (2002) Activism and Social Development in the Middle East. *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 34, 1-28.
- S. Berman (1997) Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic. *World Politics*, 49, 3, pp. 401-429
- M. Bratton; N. van de Walle, Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 24(4), 1992, pp. 419-442.
- E.P. Stevens, Protest Movement in an Authoritarian Regime: The Mexican Case *Comparative Politics*, 7(3), 1975, pp. 361-382.
- P. Almeida, 'Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 2003
- E.J. Wood, An insurgent path to democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(8), 2001, pp. 862-888.
- Scott, J.C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. Yale UP
- J.A. Goldstone (2011) Understanding the revolutions of 2011. *Foreign Affairs*.
- M. Beissinger (2007) Structure and example in modular political phenomena: The diffusion of the bulldozer/rose/orange/tulip revolution. *Perspectives on Politics*, , 5(2), 259-276.
- V. Bunce, S. Wolchik (eds) (2011) *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).
- D. Slater (2010) *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- J. Scott (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts*. (Yale UP).
- J. Scott *Weapons of the Weak*
- K. O'Brien (1996) Rightful resistance. *World Politics*, 49, 31-55.
- T. Skocpol State and Revolution: Old Regimes and Revolutionary Crises in France, Russia, and China. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 1/2 (Jan. - Mar., 1979), pp. 7-95

- J.A. Goldstone, Modern Revolutions? Yes They Are. Harvard International Review. February 27, 2008
- E. Lust (2004) Divided they rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition. *Comparative Politics*, 36(2)m 159-179.
- K. Shock (1999) People power and political opportunities: Social movement mobilization and outcomes in the Philippines and Burma. *Social Problems*, 46(3), 355-375.
- V. Boudreau (2004) *Resisting dictatorship. Repression and protest in Southeast Asia*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- K. Rassler (1996) Concessions, repression, and political protest in the Iranian revolution. *American Sociological Review*, 132-152.
- J.A. Goldstone, Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation. *World Politics*, 32(3), 1980, pp. 425-453.
- J.A. Goldstone Ideology, Cultural Frameworks, and the Process of Revolution. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Aug., 1991), pp. 405-453.
- M. Parsa Theories of Collective Action and the Iranian Revolution. *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter, 1988), pp. 44-71.
- Hale, H.E. (2005) Regime Cycles. Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58, pp. 133-165.
- Hale H.E. (2006) Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39, pp. 305-329.
- Herd, G. (2005) Colorful revolutions and CIS: manufactured versus managed democracy. *Problems of Post-communism*, 52(2), pp. 3-18.
- Tucker, J.A. (2007) Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3), pp. 535- 551.
- Z. Wang (2007) Public Support for Democracy in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 16(53), 561-579.
- B. Gilley, The limits of Authoritarian resilience, *Journal of Democracy* 14.1 (2003) 18-26
- S.J. Hood, The Myth of Asian-Style Democracy. *Asian Survey*, 38(9), 1998, pp. 853-866.

Session 9 The International dimension of authoritarianism

Do authoritarian regimes promote autocracy? Do they even care about regime types? If so, through what mechanisms does autocracy diffusion occur?

Core Readings

- Way, Lucan A. (2015). The limits of autocracy promotion: The case of Russia in the 'near abroad'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54, 691-706.
- Ambrosio, Thomas, 2012. The Rise of the 'China Model' and 'Beijing Consensus': Evidence of Authoritarian Diffusion?," *Contemporary Politics*, 18(4), 381-399.

Additional readings

- Fumagalli, Matteo. 2016 Stateness, contested nationhood and imperiled sovereignty: the effects of non-western leverage on Kyrgyzstan's conflicts. *East European Politics*, 32(3), 355-377.
- Ambrosio, Thomas, 2010. Constructing a Framework of Authoritarian Diffusion:

Concepts, Dynamics, and Future Research, *International Studies Perspectives*, 11(4), 375-392.

Ambrosio, Thomas, 2008. Catching the Shanghai Spirit: How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(8), 1321-1344.

Tolstrup, Jakob (2015). Black knights and elections in authoritarian regimes: Why and how Russia supports authoritarian incumbents in post-Soviet States. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54, 673-690.

Bader, Julia (2015). Propping up dictators? Economic cooperation from Chiuna and its impact on authoritarian persistence in party and non-party regimes. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54, 655-672.

Von Soest, Christian (2015). Democracy prevention: The international collaboration of authoritarian regimes. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54, 623-638.

Special issue of the *APSA-Comparative Democratization Newsletter*, 13(1), 2015 on 'The international dimension of authoritarianism'. Essays of Wang, Tansey, Tolstrup, Ambrosio, Tao, Bunce and Hozic.

Session 10 Hybrid regimes

Apart from concluding the course, this session discusses the concept of hybrid regimes and explores possible pathways out of authoritarian rule. Succession and transfer of power are also discussed.

Readings

S. Levitsky and L. Way, 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, p. 51-65.

Fumagalli, Matteo and Turmanidze, Koba. 2017 Taking partly-free voters seriously: Autocratic response to voter preferences in Armenia and Georgia. *Caucasus Survey*, 5(3), 199-215.

Additional readings

J. Brownlee (2009) Portents of Pluralism: How hybrid regimes affect democratic transitions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 515-32.

L. Diamond, 'Thinking about hybrid regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, pp. 21-35.

H. Hale (2010) Eurasian politics as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin's Russia. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 1(1).

W. Merkel (2010) Are dictatorships returning? Revising the 'democratic rollback' hypothesis. *Contemporary Politics*, 16(1), 17-31.

M. Bratton; N. van de Walle, Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 24(4), 1992, pp. 419-442.

M. Bratton; N. Van de Walle, Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. *World Politics*, 46(4), 1994, pp. 453-489.

B. Hoffman (2009) Charismatic authority and leadership change: lessons from Cuba's post-Fidel succession. *International Political Science Review*, 30(3), 229-248.

D. Brancati (2014) Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 313-26.

- H. Hale (2006) Regime cycles, democracy, autocracy, and revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58(1), 133-165.
- J. Ulfelder (2005) Contentious collective action and the breakdown of authoritarian regimes. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 311-334.
- H. Hale (2015) *Patronal Politics. Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- J. Bronwlee (2007) Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies. *World Politics*, 59(4), 595-628.
- Z. Barany (2015) Exits from Military Rule: Lessons for Burma. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(2), 86-100.
- J. Kornai (2015) Hungary's U-turn: Retreating from Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(3), 34-48.
- M. Morje-Howard and P.G. Roessler, 'Liberalizing electoral outcomes in competitive authoritarian regimes', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 2006, pp. 365-381.
- Schedler, A., The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, pp. 36-50
- McFaul, M. Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia: Actors, Institutions, and Chance. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1), 2001.
- S. Kaufman Purcell, Decision-Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Theoretical Implications from a Mexican Case Study. *World Politics*, 26(1), 1973, pp. 28-54.
- Gill, G., A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia? *Democratization*, 13(1), 2006
- J. Brownlee (2009) Portents of Pluralism: How hybrid regimes affect democratic transitions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53, 515-32.
- McFaul, M., The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in the Post-communist Worlds, *World Politics*, 54(2), 2002, pp. 212-244.
- R.K. Betts; S.P. Huntington, Dead Dictators and Rioting Mobs: Does the Demise of Authoritarian Rulers Lead to Political Instability? *International Security*, 10(3), 1985-1986, pp. 112-146.
- J.H. Herz, On Reestablishing Democracy after the Downfall of Authoritarian or Dictatorial Regimes. *Comparative Politics*, 10(4), 1978, pp. 559-562.
- P.J. Williams, Dual Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Popular and Electoral Democracy in Nicaragua. *Comparative Politics*, 26(2), 1994, pp. 169-185.
- R.H. Dix, The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 35(4), 1982, pp. 554-573.
- K.L. Remmer, Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 17(3), 1985, pp. 253-275.
- F. Agüero, Legacies of Transitions: Institutionalization, the Military, and Democracy in South America. *International Studies Review*, 42(2), 1998, pp. 383-404.

Session 11 Pathways from authoritarian rule

Apart from concluding the course, this session discusses the concept of hybrid regimes and explores possible pathways out of authoritarian rule.

Readings

M. Bratton; N. Van de Walle, Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in

Africa. *World Politics*, 46(4), 1994, pp. 453-489.

Z. Barany (2015) Exits from Military Rule: Lessons for Burma. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(2), 86-100.

Additional readings

W. Merkel (2010) Are dictatorships returning? Revising the 'democratic rollback' hypothesis. *Contemporary Politics*, 16(1), 17-31.

Lee. T. (2015) Defect or Defend. Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia, by Terence Lee, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Steven Saxonberg (2013) *Regime Survival in China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam. Transitions and Non-Transitions from Communism*. CUP 2013

L. Diamond, 'Thinking about hybrid regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, pp. 21-35.

H. Hale (2010) Eurasian politics as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin's Russia. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 1(1).

M. Bratton; N. van de Walle, Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 24(4), 1992, pp. 419-442.

B. Hoffman (2009) Charismatic authority and leadership change: lessons from Cuba's post-Fidel succession. *International Political Science Review*, 30(3), 229-248.

D. Brancati (2014) Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 313-26.

S. Levitsky and L. Way, 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, p. 51-65.

H. Hale (2006) Regime cycles, democracy, autocracy, and revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58(1), 133-165.

J. Ulfelder (2005) Contentious collective action and the breakdown of authoritarian regimes. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 311-334.

H. Hale (2015) *Patronal Politics. Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

J. Bronwlee (2007) Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies. *World Politics*, 59(4), 595-628.

J. Kornai (2015) Hungary's U-turn: Retreating from Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(3), 34-48.

M. Morje-Howard and P.G. Roessler, 'Liberalizing electoral outcomes in competitive authoritarian regimes', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 2006, pp. 365-381.

Schedler, A., The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, pp. 36-50

McFaul, M. Explaining Party Formation and Nonformation in Russia: Actors, Institutions, and Chance. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1), 2001.

S. Kaufman Purcell, Decision-Making in an Authoritarian Regime: Theoretical Implications from a Mexican Case Study. *World Politics*, 26(1), 1973, pp. 28-54.

Gill, G., A new turn to authoritarian Rule in Russia? *Democratization*, 13(1), 2006

McFaul, M., The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in the Post-communist Worlds, *World Politics*, 54(2), 2002, pp. 212-244.

R.K. Betts; S.P. Huntington, Dead Dictators and Rioting Mobs: Does the Demise of Authoritarian Rulers Lead to Political Instability? *International Security*, 10(3), 1985-1986, pp. 112-146.

J.H. Herz, On Reestablishing Democracy after the Downfall of Authoritarian or

- Dictatorial Regimes. *Comparative Politics*, 10(4), 1978, pp. 559-562.
- P.J. Williams, Dual Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Popular and Electoral Democracy in Nicaragua. *Comparative Politics*, 26(2), 1994, pp. 169-185.
- R.H. Dix, The Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 35(4), 1982, pp. 554-573.
- K.L. Remmer, Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 17(3), 1985, pp. 253-275.
- F. Agüero, Legacies of Transitions: Institutionalization, the Military, and Democracy in South America. *International Studies Review*, 42(2), 1998, pp. 383-404.

Session 12 Pathways from authoritarian rule. Course wrap-up

Backsliding, reversal, and non-transitions are also discussed.

Core readings

- Greskovits, B. (2015) The hollowing and backsliding of democracy in East Central Europe. *Global Policy*, 6(51), 28-37.
- Saxonberg, S. (2013). *Transitions and non-transitions from communism*. 'What next?'