

Authoritarian Politics

Course provider

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Description

Is the number of authoritarian regimes increasing and, if so, why? How do dictators seek to fortify their rule and what determines if they are successful? What is the respective importance of institutions, ideology, and the political economy in fostering authoritarian stability? Do dominant notions of leadership masculinity promote authoritarianism? To what extent are established democracies immune to autocratization? And why do some people choose to mobilize for authoritarianism? This course will tackle these questions and more. Its focus is on exploring the varieties of authoritarianism and tactics of domination, the factors sustaining it, and the reasons behind regime collapse. We will critically review major works on the topics and investigate contemporary examples, including phenomena such as authoritarian learning during the Arab uprisings, personalist leadership in China and Russia, and latent authoritarianism in the West.

Learning outcomes

The course aims to enable students to:

- Acquire a strong understanding of various regime types and how these give rise to different strategies of domination
- Identify tactics of authoritarian regeneration
- Be able to assess the relationship between repression and control
- Become familiar with the political economies of dictatorships
- Explain the interrelated yet distinct processes of authoritarian decay and breakdown
- Discuss the relative importance of formal versus informal institutions
- Identify key sources of authoritarian soft power and evaluate their importance

After completing the course students will be able to:

- Critically analyse and evaluate key works, both qualitatively and quantitatively grounded

- Recognise and understand a range of empirical research designs used to study authoritarianism
- Collect and critically evaluate primary data; this involves a firm understanding of the particular methodological and ethical challenges of conducting research on authoritarian regimes and how these can be mitigated

Sessions

- i. The authoritarian landscape
- ii. Institutions
- iii. Political economy and human development
- iv. Repression and control
- v. Propaganda, ideology, and legitimacy
- vi. Gender
- vii. International politics
- viii. Authoritarian breakdown, resurgence, regime change, and inception

Introductory readings

This list includes various cutting-edge works on authoritarian politics and its varieties; familiarity with these will be useful throughout the course:

- Cheeseman, Nic. *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the Rules of the Game Shape Political Developments*. CUP, 2018.
- Chehabi, H. E., and Juan J. Linz. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Eibl, Ferdinand. *Social Dictatorships*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Ermakoff, Ivan. *Ruling Oneself out: A Theory of Collective Abdications*. Duke University Press, 2008.
- Geddes, Barbara, et al. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. CUP, 2018.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. CUP, 2010.
- Meng, Anne. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. CUP, 2020.
- Overy, R. J. *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*. Allen Lane, 2004.
- Sarotte, M. E. *The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall*. Basic Books, 2014.
- Svobik, Milan W. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. CUP, 2012.
- Wedeen, Lisa. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Wolf, Anne. *Ben Ali's Tunisia: Power and Contention in an Authoritarian Regime*. OUP, 2022.

1. The authoritarian landscape

- a) Is the difference between autocracy and democracy one of kind or one of degree?
- b) How has the category of authoritarian regimes changed over time and why?
- c) What are the sources of autocratization?
- d) Are elections a good way to distinguish autocratic from democratic regimes?

Primary readings

- Blaydes, Lisa. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. CUP, 2011. (Chapter 3)
- Gilbert, Leah, and Mohseni, Payam. "Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2011, pp. 270–297.
- Levitsky, Steven., and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Meng, Anne. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. CUP, 2020. (Chapters 1 and 2)
- Morse, Yonatan L. "Electoral Authoritarianism and Weak States in Africa: The Role of Parties versus Presidents in Tanzania and Cameroon." *International Political Science Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2018, pp. 114–129.
- Winters, Jeffrey A, and Page, Benjamin I. "Oligarchy in the United States?" *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2009, pp. 731–751.

Further readings

- Bermeo, Nancy. "Democracy and the Lessons of Dictatorship." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1992, pp. 273–291.
- Brooker, P. *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*. St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., Smith, A., Siverson, R. M., & Morrow, J. D. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT, 2003.
- Davey, Ryan, and Koch, Insa Lee. "Everyday Authoritarianism: Class and Coercion on Housing Estates in Neoliberal Britain." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2021, pp. 43–59.
- Diamond, Larry Jay. "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2002, pp. 21–35.
- Esen, Berk, and Gumuscu, Sebnem. "Rising Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 9, 2016, pp. 1581–1606.
- Frantz, Erica., 2016. Autocracy. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. April: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-3>.

- Khan, Mushtaq H. "Markets, States and Democracy: Patron-Client Networks and the Case for Democracy in Developing Countries." *Democratization*, vol. 12, no. 5, 2005, pp. 704–724.
- Linz, Juan J. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder, 2000.
- Moore, Barrington. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Beacon Press, 1993.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1973.
- Overy, R.J. *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*, Allen Lane, 2004. (Chapter 1)
- Svobik, Milan W. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. CUP, 2012. (Chapter 1, 2)
- Weaver, Vesla M, and Prowse, Gwen. "Racial Authoritarianism in U.S. Democracy." *American Association for the Advancement of Science*, vol. 369, no. 6508, 2020, pp. 1176–1178.
- Williamson, Scott. "Elections, Legitimacy, and Compliance in Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from the Arab World." *Democratization*, 2021, pp. 1–22.

2. Institutions

- a) What determines institutional strength in autocracies?
- b) Which strategies can incumbents pursue to renew regime institutions? What determines whether these succeed or fail?
- c) To what extent are legislatures in authoritarian regimes 'rubber stamps'?
- d) What methodological challenges does the institutional turn in authoritarian politics pose?

Primary readings

- Collord, M. "The Legislature: Institutional Strengthening in Dominant-Party States." In N. Cheeseman (ed.), *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the Rules of the Game Shape Political Developments*. CUP, 2008. (pp. 281-303).
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A Way. "Not Just What, but When (and How): Comparative-Historical Approaches to Authoritarian Durability." In James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (eds). *Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis*, CUP, 2015, pp. 97–120.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Murillo, María Victoria. "Variation in Institutional Strength." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2009, pp. 115–133.
- Pepinsky, Thomas. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2014, pp. 631–653.
- Svobik, Milan W. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. CUP, 2012. (Chapter 4, 6)

- Wolf, A. *Ben Ali's Tunisia: Internecine Contention in an Authoritarian Regime*. OUP, 2022. (Chapter 1)

Further readings

- Collord, Michaela. "Pressuring MPs to Act: Parliament, Organized Interests and Policymaking in Uganda and Tanzania." *Democratization*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2021, pp. 723–741.
- Geddes, Barbara, et al. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. CUP, 2018. (Chapter 5, 6)
- Gehlbach, Scott, et al. "Formal Models of Nondemocratic Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2016, pp. 565–584.
- Lai, Brian, and Slater, Dan. "Institutions of the Offensive: Domestic Sources of Dispute Initiation in Authoritarian Regimes, 1950-1992." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 50, no. 1, 2006, pp. 113–126.
- Levitsky, Steven. and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. CUP, 2010. (pp. 54–83)
- Martinez-Bravo, M. et al. *Do Local Elections in Non-Democracies Increase Accountability? Evidence from Rural China*, Cambridge, Mass: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4-5, 2008, pp. 715–741.
- Meng, Anne. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. CUP, 2020. (Chapter 1, 2)
- Meng, Anne. "Ruling Parties in Authoritarian Regimes: Rethinking Institutional Strength." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2021, pp. 526–540.
- Slater, Dan. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2003, pp. 81–101.
- Smith, Benjamin. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics*, vol. 57, no. 3, 2005, pp. 421–451.
- Williamson, Scott, and Magaloni, Beatriz. "Legislatures and Policy Making in Authoritarian Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 53, no. 9, 2020, pp. 1525–1543.

3. Political economy and human development

- a) Does the provision of social services enhance regime stability and, if so, how?
- b) Why do some authoritarian regimes invest copious resources into development aid and with what effect?
- c) 'Citizens are necessarily worse off under autocracy.' Discuss.
- d) Should public institutions in democracies accept donations and sponsorships from authoritarian regimes?

Primary readings

- APSA Newsletter, 'Development Aid from Dictators: Damaging for Democracy?' 17, 2, 2019, https://mk0apsaconnectbvvy6p6.kinstacdn.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/26/2019/09/2019_2-APSA_June2019.pdf
- Chen, Jidong, et al. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2016, pp. 383–400.
- Miller, Michael K. "Electoral Authoritarianism and Human Development." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 48, no. 12, 2015, pp. 1526–1562.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Limongi, Fernando. "Political Regimes and Economic Growth." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1993, pp. 51–69.
- Shadmehr, Mehdi. "Investment in the Shadow of Conflict: Globalization, Capital Control, and State Repression." *The American Political Science Review* 113, no. 4, 2019, pp. 997–1011.
- Thomson, H. *Food and Power: Agricultural Policy under Democracy and Dictatorship*. CUP, 2019. (Chapter "Regime Type, Agricultural Policy, and Political Stability")

Further readings

- Albertus, Michael. *Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform*. CUP, 2015. (Chapter 1 and pp. 60–67)
- Gehlbach, Scott, and Keefer, Philip. "Investment without Democracy: Ruling-Party Institutionalization and Credible Commitment in Autocracies." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2011, pp. 123–139.
- Gray, Kevin, and Lee, Jong-Woon. "Following in China's Footsteps? The Political Economy of North Korean Reform." *Pacific Review*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2017, pp. 51–73.
- Haber, Stephen, and Menaldo, Victor. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 105, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1–26.
- Hale, Henry E. "Explaining Machine Politics in Russia's Regions: Economy, Ethnicity, and Legacy." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2003, pp. 228–263.
- Hertog, Steffen. "The Sociology of the Gulf Rentier Systems: Societies of Intermediaries." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2010, pp. 282–318.
- Hsieh, Chang-Tai, et al. "The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela's 'Maisanta.'" *American Economic Journal. Applied Economics*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2011, pp. 196–214.
- Mueller, Lisa. "Personal Politics without Clientelism? Interpreting Citizen-Politician Contact in Africa." *African Studies Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2018, pp. 28–54.
- Olson, Mancur, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 87, no. 3, 1993, pp. 567–576.

- Pan, Jennifer. *Welfare for Autocrats: How Social Assistance in China Cares for Its Rulers*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2020. (Chapter 1)
- Shih, Victor, et al. "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, no. 1, 2012, pp. 166–187.
- Shih, Victor (ed.). *Economic Shocks and Authoritarian Stability: Duration, Financial Control, and Institutions*. University of Michigan Press, 2020.
- Truex, Rory. "The Returns to Office in a 'Rubber Stamp' Parliament." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 108, no. 2, 2014, pp. 235–251.
- Wright, Joseph. "Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth and Investment." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2008, pp. 322–343.

4. Repression and control

- a) What determines whether repression 'works'?
- b) How do incumbents try to solve the 'coercive dilemma'?
- c) How does variation in states' security apparatus affect the nature of violence?
- d) What obstacles do autocrats face when evaluating potential security threats? How do they seek to mitigate them?

Primary readings

- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. *Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence*. CUP, 2016. (Chapter 1, 2)
- Hill, Daniel W, and Jones, Zachary M. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 108, no. 3, 2014, pp. 661–687.
- Klor, Esteban F, et al. "Cronyism in State Violence: Evidence from Labor Repression During Argentina's Last Dictatorship." *Journal of the European Economic Association*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2021, pp. 1439–1487.
- Kwong, Ying-ho. "Political Repression in a Sub-National Hybrid Regime: the PRC's Governing Strategies in Hong Kong." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2018, pp. 361–378.
- Rozenas, Arturas, and Zhukov, Yuri M. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger.'" *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no. 2, 2019, pp. 569–583.
- Svulik, M.W. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. CUP, 2012. (Chapter 5)
- Wolf, A. *Ben Ali's Tunisia: Internecine Contention in an Authoritarian Regime*. OUP, 2022. (Chapter 3)

Further readings

- Aksoy, Deniz, et al. "Terrorism in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 74, no. 3, 2012, pp. 810–826.
- Bhasin, Tavishi, and Gandhi, Jennifer. "Timing and Targeting of State Repression in Authoritarian Elections." *Electoral Studies*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2013, pp. 620–631.
- Blaydes, Lisa. *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*. Princeton: 2018. (Chapter 2, 10)
- Davenport, Christian. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1–23.
- Dragu, Tiberiu, and Przeworski, Adam. "Preventive Repression: Two Types of Moral Hazard." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no. 1, 2019, pp. 77–87.
- Finkel, Evgeny. "The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 109, no. 2, 2015, pp. 339–353.
- Frantz, Erica, and Kendall-Taylor, Andrea. "A Dictator's Toolkit: Understanding How Co-optation Affects Repression in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 51, no. 3, 2014, pp. 332–346.
- Gregory, Paul R, et al. "Rational Dictators and the Killing of Innocents: Data from Stalin's Archives." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2011, pp. 34–42.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. "Rethinking China's Coercive Capacity: An Examination of PRC Domestic Security Spending, 1992–2012." *The China Quarterly*, vol. 232, 2017, pp. 1002–1025.
- Khawaja, Marwan. "Repression and Popular Collective Action: Evidence from the West Bank." *Sociological Forum*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1993, pp. 47–71.
- Khlevniuk, O. V., and Vadim A. Staklo. *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror*. Yale University Press, 2004.
- Wang, Yuhua. "Empowering the Police: How the Chinese Communist Party Manages Its Coercive Leaders." *The China Quarterly*, vol. 219, 2014, pp. 625–648.
- Wilson, Matthew C, and Piazza, James A. "Autocracies and Terrorism: Conditioning Effects of Authoritarian Regime Type on Terrorist Attacks." *American Journal of Political Science*, 2013.
- Young, Lauren E. "The Psychology of State Repression: Fear and Dissent Decisions in Zimbabwe." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no. 1, 2019, pp. 140–155.

5. Propaganda, ideology, and legitimacy

- a) What is the comparative importance of economic interest, security, legality, and performance in authoritarian legitimation?
- b) "Ideology is epiphenomenal to regime stability." Discuss.

- c) Which factors determine whether the media is a tool of propaganda or a threat to authoritarian control?
- d) What is the function of regime propaganda?

Primary Readings

- Dukalskis, Alexander, and Gerschewski, Johannes. "What Autocracies Say (and What Citizens Hear): Proposing Four Mechanisms of Autocratic Legitimation." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2017, pp. 251–268.
- Huang, Haifeng. "Propaganda as Signaling." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 47, no. 4, 2015, pp. 419–437.
- Lynch, Marc. "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2011, pp. 301–310.
- Mayer, Robert. "Strategies of Justification in Authoritarian Ideology." *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2001, pp. 147–168.
- Omelicheva, Mariya Y. "Authoritarian Legitimation: Assessing Discourses of Legitimacy in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan." *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2016, pp. 481–500.
- Suisheng Zhao. "The Ideological Campaign in Xi's China." *Asian Survey*, vol. 56, no. 6, 2016, pp. 1168–1193.
- Wedeen, Lisa. "Acting 'As If': Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1998, pp. 503–523.

Further readings

- Dimitrov, Martin K. "Debating the Color Revolutions: Popular Autocrats." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2009, pp. 78–81.
- Gerschewski, Johannes. "The Three Pillars of Stability: Legitimation, Repression, and Co-optation in Autocratic Regimes." *Democratization*, vol. 20 no. 1, pp.13–38.
- Gerschewski, Johannes. "Legitimacy in Autocracies: Oxymoron or Essential Feature?" *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2018, pp. 652–665.
- Grdešić, Marko. *The Shape of Populism: Serbia before the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. University of Michigan Press, 2019. (Introduction and Chapter 1)
- Gunitsky, Seva. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2015, pp. 42–54.
- Levi, Margaret, et al. "Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs." *The American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2009, pp. 354–375.
- Lorentzen, Peter. "China's Strategic Censorship." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2014, pp. 402–414.
- March, Andrew F. "From Leninism to Karimovism: Hegemony, Ideology, and Authoritarian Legitimation." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2003, pp. 307–336.
- Marquez, Xavier. "The Irrelevance of Legitimacy." *Political Studies*, vol. 64, no. 1, 2016, pp. 19–34.

- Ngoun, Kimly. “Adaptive Authoritarian Resilience: Cambodian Strongman’s Quest for Legitimacy.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 2020, pp. 1–22.
- Pomerantsev, Peter. “The Kremlin’s Information War.” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26, no. 4, 2015, pp. 40–50.
- Rozenas, Arturas, and Stukal, Denis. “How Autocrats Manipulate Economic News: Evidence from Russia’s State-Controlled Television.” *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 81, no. 3, 2019, pp. 982–996.
- Seliger, Bernhard, and Schmidt, Stefan. “The Hermit Kingdom Goes Online ... Information Technology, Internet Use and Communication Policy in North Korea.” *North Korean Review*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2014, pp. 71–88.
- Silva, Patricio. “Technocrats and Politics in Chile: from the Chicago Boys to the CIEPLAN Monks.” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1991, pp. 385–410.
- Sim, Soek-Fang. “Asian Values, Authoritarianism and Capitalism in Singapore.” *Javnost*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2001, pp. 45–66.
- Stier, Sebastian. “Democracy, Autocracy and the News: The Impact of Regime Type on Media Freedom.” *Democratization*, vol. 22, no. 7, 2015, pp. 1273–1295.
- Von Soest, Christian, and Grauvogel, Julia. “Identity, Procedures and Performance: How Authoritarian Regimes Legitimize Their Rule.” *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2017, pp. 287–305.
- Wolf, A. *Ben Ali’s Tunisia: Internecine Contention in an Authoritarian Regime*. OUP, 2022. (Chapter 1)

6. Gender

- a) Is the promotion of women’s rights in some authoritarian regimes purely strategically motivated?
- b) How does authoritarian regime type impact women’s political representation and agency, if at all?
- c) Do prevailing notions of leadership masculinity promote authoritarianism?
- d) When and why is sexual violence widespread in authoritarian regimes?

Primary readings

- Clayton, Amanda, and Zetterberg, Pär. “Gender and Party Discipline: Evidence from Africa’s Emerging Party Systems.” *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 115, no. 3, 2021, pp. 1–16.
- Ibroscheva, Elza. “The First Ladies and the Arab Spring: A Textual Analysis of the Media Coverage of the Female Counterparts of Authoritarian Oppression in the Middle East.” *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 13, no. 5, 2013, pp. 871–880.

- Katerina Stefatos, "Subaltern Bodies: Gender Violence, Sexual Torture, and Political Repression during the Greek Military Dictatorship (1967–1974)". In Victoria Sanford, Katerina Stefatos and Cecilia M Salvi (eds.), *Gender Violence in Peace and War: States of Complicity*. Rutgers University Press, 2016, pp. 19–33.
- Tripp, Aili Mari 'Political Systems and Gender.' In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon (eds.), 2013, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.013.0020
- Tsimonis, Konstantinos. "'Purpose' and the Adaptation of Authoritarian Institutions: The Case of China's State Feminist Organization." *Chinese Journal of Political Science*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2016, pp. 57–74.
- Wood, Elizabeth A. "Hypermasculinity as a Scenario of Power." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2016, pp. 329–350.

Further readings

- Adams, Melinda. "'National Machineries' and Authoritarian Politics: The Case of Cameroon." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2007, pp. 176–197.
- Arriola, Leonardo R, and Johnson, Martha C. "Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2014, pp. 495–510.
- Barnes, Tiffany D, and Burchard, Stephanie M. "'Engendering' Politics." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 46, no. 7, 2013, pp. 767–790.
- Benstead, Lindsay J. "Why Quotas Are Needed to Improve Women's Access to Services in Clientelistic Regimes." *Governance (Oxford)*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2016, pp. 185–205.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Jamal, Amaney A. "Anti-Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and Attitudes about Women's Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Jordan." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 1, 2015, pp. 34–45.
- Donno, Daniela and Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. "Authoritarian Institutions and Women's Rights." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 52, no. 5, 2019, pp. 720–753.
- Dube, Oeindrila, and Harish, S. P. "Queens." *The Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 128, no. 7, 2020, pp. 2579–2652.
- Ennis, Crystal A. "The Gendered Complexities of Promoting Female Entrepreneurship in the Gulf." *New Political Economy*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2019, pp. 365–384.
- Fodor, Eva. "Smiling Women and Fighting Men: The Gender of the Communist Subject in State Socialist Hungary." *Gender & Society*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2002, pp. 240–263.
- Gould, John A, and Moe, Edward. "Nationalism and the Struggle for LGBTQ Rights in Serbia, 1991-2014." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62, no. 5, 2015, pp. 273–286.
- Nagel, Joane. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1998, pp. 242–269.

- Oyamoto, Clifton M, et al. "Social Norms and Egalitarian Values Mitigate Authoritarian Intolerance Toward Sexual Minorities." *Political Psychology*, vol. 38, no. 5, 2017, pp. 777–794.
- Pelke, Lars. "Party Institutionalization, Authoritarian Regime Types and Women's Political Equality." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2021, pp. 461–486.
- Sater, James N. "Changing Politics from Below? Women Parliamentarians in Morocco." *Democratization*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2007, pp. 723–742.
- Schuler, Paul. "Female Autocrats as Role Models? The Effect of Female Leaders on Political Knowledge and Engagement in Vietnam." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 81, no. 4, 2019, pp. 1546–1550.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. "Gender, Political Participation and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania." *African Studies Review*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1994, pp. 107–131.

7. International politics

- a) Is authoritarian diffusion on the rise?
- b) 'Western support for authoritarian regimes can sometimes be justified.' Discuss.
- c) Have EU efforts at democracy promotion strengthened or weakened authoritarian regimes?
- d) What role did authoritarian learning play in regime responses to the Arab Uprisings?

Primary readings

- Ambrosio, Thomas. "Democratic States and Authoritarian Firewalls: America as a Black Knight in the Uprising in Bahrain." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2014, pp. 331–346.
- Debre, Maria J. "The Dark Side of Regionalism: How Regional Organizations Help Authoritarian Regimes to Boost Survival." *Democratization*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2021, pp. 394–413.
- Heydemann, Steven, and Leenders, Reinoud. "Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime Responses to the 'Arab Awakening'." *Globalizations*, vol. 8, no. 5, 2011, pp. 647–653.
- Jackson, Nicole J. "The Role of External Factors in Advancing Non-Liberal Democratic Forms of Political Rule: A Case Study of Russia's Influence on Central Asian Regimes." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2010, pp. 101–118.
- Van Hüllen, Vera. "Negotiating Democracy with Authoritarian Regimes. EU Democracy Promotion in North Africa." *Democratization*, vol. 26, no. 5, 2019, pp. 869–888.
- Von Soest, Christian. "Democracy Prevention: The International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes." *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2015, pp. 623–638.

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Further readings

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8. Authoritarian breakdown, resurgence, regime change, and inception

- a) Why do scholars frequently fail to predict instances of authoritarian breakdown?
- b) What is the respective importance of economic performance, the military, and international relations for whether regime collapse leads to democracy or to another authoritarian regime?
- c) What prompts citizens to mobilize for autocracy?
- d) What explains the current authoritarian turn of ‘middle powers’?

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Sample Exam Script

This paper contains TWELVE questions.

Answer THREE questions

1. Why do dictators frequently create institutions that constrain their power?
2. To what extent do modes of authoritarian legitimation depend on regime type and duration, if at all?
3. What impact do 'first ladies' have on policy outcomes in authoritarian regimes, if any?
4. What is 'autocracy'?
5. Does development aid from authoritarian regimes pose a threat to democracy?
6. How have the tactics authoritarian rulers use to stay in office changed over time, and why?
7. What evidence is there for authoritarian learning?
8. How do different patterns of socioeconomic capital distribution affect institutional outcomes in autocracies?
9. Are dictators rational actors?
10. How does the type of authoritarian regime impact leaders' foreign policy decisions and alliances, if at all?
11. Was the collapse of the Soviet Union predictable?
12. What role do informal institutions play in authoritarian control?