

**Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy, and International Relations
Department of Political Science**

POLITICAL DYNAMICS: COMPARATIVE AUTHORITARIANISM

**Winter 2010
PhD**

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Class hours: Tuesdays, 1.30-3.10pm and Thursdays 9.00-10.40am

Office hours: Tuesdays, 10-11pm and Fridays 10-11am

Course description: With all but a handful of states now declaring themselves democratic, and with the number of ‘actual democracies’/free societies on the rise, there seems to be little necessity for understanding authoritarian politics. However, authoritarianism is resilient and manifold. There are about fifty countries in the world today that are considered not free, and many more that can only be considered as partly free. The course offers a comparative outlook to the study of authoritarianism, and more generally a discussion of the breakdown of democracies, regime change, the outbreak of revolutions/rebellions. It combines a theoretical reflection on political transformation broadly conceived (democratization, transition to authoritarianism) with a focus on the conditions that lead to the emergence, consolidation and collapse of non democratic regimes. Empirical manifestations of non democratic politics in various parts of the world, including post-communist Eurasia, post-colonial Africa, the Middle East and East Asia, will be considered.

Aims

The course’s main aim is to provide students with a strong understanding of: the variety of regime types, with special reference to the typology of authoritarian regimes; the means of power consolidation used by non-democratic regimes, including coercion, consent and co-optation; the various forms of collective action and resistance to authoritarian rule; the way in which regimes change and collapse.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students will:

- ✓ acquire a firm understanding of the scholarship on non democratic rule;
- ✓ critically engage with the literature on regime formation, consolidation and change;
- ✓ apply their knowledge of the theoretical concepts to empirical cases.

Assessment

The assessment for this course consists of the following elements:

- 10% Class participation: This requires you to have done the required reading (you are strongly encouraged to read more than that) and actively participate to the discussion. Class attendance is mandatory.
- 20% Seminar presentations (2*10%): These are 15-minute presentations, accompanied by a one-page outline, circulated at least 48 hours before the presentation.
- 30% and 40%: 3,000 and 4,000-word research papers. Titles to be circulated in class.

Deadlines

Paper I (4,000 words): Monday 22 February 2010 3pm

Paper II (3,000 words): Monday 5 April 2010 5pm

Lecture topics

Class	Topic
1	Introduction
2	Totalitarianism
3	Typology of authoritarian states
4	Personal rule
5	(neo-)Sultanism
6	Neo-patrimonial regimes
7	Coercion, co-optation and consent
8	Political Economy I
9	Political Economy II
10	Foreign policy
11	Religion and authoritarianism
12	Protests, Pacts and Rebellion I
13	Protests, Pacts and Rebellion II
14	Revolutions I
15	Revolutions II
16	Civil society I
17	Civil society II
18	Hybrid regimes
19	Ethnocracies
20	External intervention and regime change
21	Authoritarianism and its aftermath
22	Chinese Democracy?

Suggested background readings

This is not a requirement or a pre-requisite. However, familiarising yourself with the work (note: on totalitarianism) below will help you get a sense of some of the issues that will be 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)

The following novels are interesting literary reflections on totalitarianism:

G. Orwell, *1984* (1949)

G. Orwell, *Animal Farm* (1945)

R. Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (1953)

Additional resources

This course makes use of e-learning. If you are not already a registered user, please go to <http://e-learning.ceu.hu> and register. This will enable you to access additional material for this course.

NOTE: Please note that the course reader includes ch. 4 ('Authoritarian Regimes') of J.J. Linz's *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (pp. 159-261). This is a lengthy article and while you are not expected to read it all for one session (selected pages will constitute the required reading in some weeks) you would nevertheless greatly benefit from reading it thoroughly. I strongly encourage you to find the time to do so.

1 Introduction – What is authoritarian rule?

The lecture introduces the concept of authoritarianism, starting from Juan Linz's seminal work. An overview of the course, including its format and modes of assessment, follow.

Required reading

Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, ch. 1, pp. 49-63

Additional reading

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, Palgrave (2000) Introduction

S. Kaufman Purcell, Authoritarianism. A Review Essay. *Comparative Politics*, 5(2), 1973, pp. 301-312.

2 Totalitarian regimes

The lecture introduces the concept of totalitarianism. The discussion will focus on distinguishing it from authoritarian rule.

Required reading

Brooker, ch. 1, pp. 7-21

H. Arendt, Authority in the Twentieth Century. *Review of Politics*, 18(4), 1956, pp. 403-417.

Additional reading

H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Part III

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)

G. Orwell, *1984*

3 Typologies of authoritarian rule

The lecture outlines the key features of authoritarian rule and identifies some of the main types of authoritarian regimes, including military, one-party and bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes.

Required reading

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

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

Military regimes

Brooker, ch. 2 pp. 44-52

Brooker, ch. 3

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

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

A.A. Mazrui, Soldiers as Traditionalizers: Military Rule and the Re-Africanization of Africa. *World Politics*, 28(2), 1976, pp. 246-272.

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.

One Party Rule

M.L. Kilson, Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics. *World Politics*, 15(2), 1963, pp. 262-294.

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch 2, pp. 36-44

C. C. Beer, Institutional Change in Mexico: Politics after One-Party Rule. *Latin American Research Review*, 37(3), 2002, pp. 149-161.

Brooker, ch. 4.

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

Linz, ch. 4, pp. 184-208

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

Brooker, ch 2. pp. 29-35

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.

4 Personal rule

Building on Weber's notion of traditional authority, the lecture discusses the concept of personal rule, especially with reference to authoritarian regimes in Africa.

Required reading

M. Weber, Traditional Authority, pp. 226-241

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

Additional reading

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch 2 pp. 52-58,

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch. 6

Linz, ch. 3

5 (neo-)Sultanism

The concept reviews the concept of Sultanism as a type of traditional authority, and then introduces neo-Sultanistic regimes as a sub-type of non democratic regimes, as developed by Linz and Chehabi.

Required reading

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.

6 Patrimonialism and neo-patrimonialism

Building on Weber's concept of patrimonialism, the lecture revisits the concept and examines its more modern applications around the world, particularly in post-colonial contexts.

Required reading

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

Additional reading

Linz, ch 3

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.

7 Coercion, cooptation and consent: Legitimacy and beyond

The lecture discusses some of the means through which authoritarian regimes consolidate and retain their power. This session focuses on the role of ideology, co-optation, consent and repression.

Required reading

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

Additional reading

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

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

A. March, State ideology and the legitimation of authoritarianism: the case of post-Soviet Uzbekistan, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 8(2), 2003, pp. 209-232.

E. Bellin, The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 36(2), 2004, pp.139-157.

C.-M. Park, Authoritarian Rule in South Korea: Political Support and Governmental Performance. *Asian Survey*, 31(8), 1991, pp. 743-761.

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.

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

M. Weber, *Economy and Society Vol I*, pp. 31-38

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch. 5, pp. 100-128

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

C.-S. Lee, Kim Il-Song of North Korea. *Asian Survey*, 7(6), 1967, pp. 374-382.

C. Armstrong, North Korea Takes on the World. *Current History*, 106, 2007.

8 Political economy I

The lecture examines the way in which economy works under authoritarian regimes. Here the focus is on the relationship between development and democracy.

Required reading

M. Olson, Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *The American Political Science Review*, 87(3), 1993, pp. 567-576.

M. Ross, 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?', *World Politics*, 53(3), 2001, pp. 325-361.

Additional reading

- S. Haggard; R.R. Kaufman, The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions. *Comparative Politics*, 29(3), 1997, pp. 263-283.
- K.L. Remmer, Democracy and Economic Crisis: The Latin American Experience *World Politics*, 42(3), 1990, pp. 315-335.
- N. van de Walle, Economic Reform in a Democratizing Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 32(1), 1999, pp. 21-41.
- R.R. Kaufman, Democratic and Authoritarian Responses to the Debt Issue: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico. *International Organization*, 39(3), 1985, pp. 473-503.
- R. Robison, Authoritarian States, Capital-Ownning Classes, and the Politics of Newly Industrializing Countries: The Case of Indonesia. *World Politics*, 41(1), 1988, pp. 52-74
- J.R. Oneal, The Affinity of Foreign Investors for Authoritarian Regimes. *Political Research Quarterly*, 47(3), 1994, pp. 565-588.

9 Political economy II

The lecture examines the way in which economy works under authoritarian regimes. The lecture introduces the concept of 'rentier state' and focuses on the relationship between resource wealth and authoritarianism.

Required reading

- 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.

Additional reading

- 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.

10 The foreign policy of authoritarian states

The lecture examines the way in which authoritarian states conduct their foreign policy and asks whether this is in any way different from the way in which democratic states do.

Required reading

- M. Taylor Fravel, Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes. *International Security*, 30(2), 2005, 46-83.
- C. Jourde, The International Relations of Small Neauthoritarian States: Islamism, Warlordism, and the Framing of Stability. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(2), 2007.

Additional reading

- J.D. Hagan, Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness. *International Studies Review*, 38(2), 1994, pp. 183-207.
- M. Peceny, C.C. Beer, S. Sanchez-Terry, A Dictatorial Peace? *American Political Science Review*, 96, 2002, pp. 15-26.
- B. Bueno de Mesquita; R.M. Siverson, War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability. *The American Political Science Review*, 89(4), 1995, pp. 841-855.
- V. M. Hudson; C.S. Vore, Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. *International Studies Review*, 39(2), 1995, pp. 209-238.
- Daniel J. Levinson Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy *Conflict Resolution*, 1(1), 1957, pp. 37-47.
- M. Fumagalli, Alignments and Re-alignments in Central Asia. Rationale and Implications of Uzbekistan's Rapprochement with Russia. *International Political Science Review*, 28(3), pp. 253-271.
- P. Woodward, Relations between Neighbouring States in North-East Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 22(2), 1984, pp. 273-285.

11 Religion and authoritarianism

What is the relationship between Islam and democracy and authoritarianism? What are the factors that sustain authoritarian rule in the Middle East? Why are some Middle Eastern states more authoritarian than others?

Required reading

- Fish, M.S. (2002) Islam and Authoritarianism, *World Politics*, 55, 2002, 4-37

Additional reading

- J. Crystal, Authoritarianism and Its Adversaries in the Arab World. *World Politics*, 46(2), 1994, pp. 262-289.
- M. Ayoob, The Revolutionary Thrust of Islamic Political Tradition. *Third World Quarterly*, 3(2), 1981, pp. 269-276.
- S. Tiano, Authoritarianism and Political Culture in Argentina and Chile in the Mid - 1960's. *Latin American Research Review*, 21(1), 1986, pp. 73-98.
- Ibrahim K. Sundiata, The Roots of African Despotism: The Question of Political Culture. *African Studies Review*, 31(1), 1988, pp. 9-31.
- J. Fox, Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations. *International Studies Review*, 3(3), 2001, pp. 53-73.
- I.A. Karawan, Monarchs, Mullahs, and Marshals: Islamic Regimes? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 524, 1992, pp. 103-119.
- S.A. Arjomand, History, Structure, and Revolution in the Shi'ite Tradition in Contemporary Iran. *International Political Science Review*, 10(2), 1989, pp. 111-119.
- F. Kazemi, Models of Iranian Politics, the Road to the Islamic Revolution, and the Challenge of Civil Society. *World Politics*, 47(4), 1995), pp. 555-574.
- Said Amir Arjomand Iran's Islamic Revolution in Comparative Perspective. *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Apr., 1986), pp. 383-414.
- S. Feldman, Enforcing Social Conformity: A Theory of Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology*, 24(1), 2003, pp. 41-74.
- S.T. Hunter, Iran and the Spread of Revolutionary Islam. *Third World Quarterly*, 10(2), 1988, pp. 730-749.

12 Pacts, protests and rebellion I

The lecture focuses on rebellion and revolution as means to bring authoritarian regimes to an end.

Required reading

J. Ulfelder, Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 311-334 (2005).

Additional reading

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

R.A. Hinnebusch, Party Activists in Syria and Egypt: Political Participation in Authoritarian Modernizing States. *International Political Science Review*, 4(1), 1983, pp. 84-93.

13 Pacts, Protests and rebellion II

The lecture focuses on non-rebellious transitions from authoritarian rule, in particular on the role of intra-elite pacts.

Required reading

K. Collins, Clan, Pacts and Politics in Central Asia. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(3), 2002, pp. 137-152.

Additional reading

A. Keshavarzian, 'Contestation without Democracy: Elite Fragmentation in Iran', in M. Pripstein Posusney, pp. 63-88

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.

14 Revolutions I

The lecture examines the conditions that give rise to revolutions, as well as the evolving understanding of the concept.

Required reading

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

Additional reading

J.A. Goldstone, Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation. *World Politics*, 32(3), 1980, pp. 425-453.

M. Kamrava Revolution Revisited: The Structuralist-Voluntarist Debate. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*, 32, 2, 1999, pp. 317-345

J. Foran Theories of Revolution Revisited: Toward a Fourth Generation? *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Mar., 1993), pp. 1-20

C. Tilly In Search of Revolution. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 6 (Dec., 1994), pp. 799-803.

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.

15 Revolutions II

The lecture reviews the origins, dynamics and implications of the so-called ‘colored revolutions’ across the former Soviet Union and looks at the evolution of state-society relations in terms of social and political activism and state response.

Required reading

Hale, H.E. (2005) Regime Cycles. Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in post-Soviet Eurasia. *World Politics*, 58, pp. 133-165.

Additional reading

Beissinger, M. R. (2007) Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(2), pp. 259-276.

D’Anieri, P. (2006) Explaining the success and failure of post-communist Revolutions. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39, pp. 331-350.

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.

Herd, G.P. (2005) Colorful Revolution and the CIS. ‘Manufactured’ versus ‘Managed’ Democracy? *Problems of Post-Communism*, 52(2), pp. 3-18.

Hill, F. and Jones, K. (2006) Fear of Democracy or Revolution: The Reaction to Andijon. *Washington Quarterly*, 29(3), pp. 111-125.

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

T. Kuzio, ‘Democratic Breakthrough and Revolutions in Five post-communist Countries: Comparative Perspectives on the Forth Wave’, *Demokratizatsiya*, 16(1), 2008, 97-209

16 Civil Society I

Required reading

Marc Morje Howard (2002) The Weakness of post-communist civil society. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(3), 157-169.

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.

Additional reading

A. Bayat (1997) Un-civil society: The Politics of the Informal People. *Third World Quarterly*, 18, 1, 53-72.

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

A. Matveeva (2008) Exporting Civil Society. The Post-Communist Experience. *Problems of Post-communism*, 55(2), 3-13.

17 Civil Society II

Required reading

Roy, O. (2005) The predicament of 'civil society' in Central Asia and the 'Greater Middle East'. *International Affairs*, 81(5), 1001-1012.

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2000) Civil society as social control: state power in Jordan. *Comparative Politics*, 33, 1, 43-61.

Additional reading

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2002) The political limits to non-governmental organizations in Jordan. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(1), 77-93.

M. Fumagalli, 'Microcosms of Repression: Civil Society under Authoritarian Rule' (work in progress).

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. Elanza (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.

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

18 Hybrid regimes

While some countries can be neatly categorised as either democracies or autocracies, many fall somehow in between. The lecture looks at some examples of semi-democratic/semi-authoritarian countries and seeks to identify the main characteristics of hybrid regimes.

Required reading

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

Additional reading

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

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

19 Ethnocracies

The lecture introduces the concept of ethnocracy and its key dimensions, and discusses the extent to which ethnically homogenous societies may be more conducive to one type of regime or another.

Required reading

M.S. Fish and R.S. Brooks, 'Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?', *Journal of Democracy*, 15, (1), 2004, pp. 154-166.

Additional reading

O. Yiftachel, "Ethnocracy" and Its Discontents: Minorities, Protests, and the Israeli Polity. *Critical Inquiry*, 26(4), 2000, pp. 725-756.

J.J. Linz, pp. 233-240

J. Londregan; H. Bienen; N. van de Walle, Ethnicity and Leadership Succession in Africa. *International Studies Quarterly*, 39(1), 1995), pp. 1-25.

N. Rouhana; A. Ghanem, The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30(3), 1998, pp. 321-346.

O. Yiftachel, Democracy or Ethnocracy?: Territory and Settler Politics in Israel/Palestine. *Middle East Report*, 207, 1998), pp. 8-13.

L. Barrington, The Domestic and International Consequences of Citizenship in the Soviet Successor States. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47(5), 1995, pp. 731-763.

S. Orvis, Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism in Kenya's "Virtual Democracy". *African Issues*, 29(1/2), 2001, pp. 8-13.

R. Brubaker, Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutionalist Account. *Theory and Society*, 23(1), 1994, pp. 47-78.

20 External intervention and regime change

The lecture discusses the role of international factors in bringing about political regime in authoritarian states. Special attention is given to post-communist Eurasia.

Required reading

McFaul, M. (2007) Ukraine imports Democracy. External Influences on the Orange Revolution. *International Security*, 32(2), pp. 45-83.

Additional reading

Dimitrova, A. and Pridham, G. (2004) International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and its Limits.

Democratization, 11(5), pp. 91-112.

M. Ottaway, *Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: The Problem of US Credibility*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.

L. Whitehead, *The International Dimension of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (2001).

O'Donnell, G. and Schmitter, P. (eds) (1986) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Some Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, Johns Hopkins University Press.

G. Gill, *The Dynamics of Democratization: Elites, Civil Society and the Transition Process*, St Martin's Press, 2000, ch 2.

Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. (1996) *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation in South Europe, South America and post-Communist Europe*, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Huntington, S. (1991) *the Third Wave. Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press.

21 Authoritarianism and its aftermath

What follows the demise of an authoritarian regime? The lecture looks at the possible outcomes of post-authoritarian rule.

Required reading

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.

Additional reading

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.

P. Brooker, *Non-democratic Governments*, ch. 8 and ch. 10 pp. 256-260

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22 'Chinese democracy'?

The lecture examines the political and economic development of the People's Republic of China between the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century. The discussion will focus on the possibility for the PRC to taken on a democratic turn.

Required reading

- Z. Wang (2007) Public Support for Democracy in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 16(53), 561-579.
- K.J. O'Brien and R. Han (2009) Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 18(6), 359-378.

Additional reading

- B. Gilley, The limits of Authoritarian resilience, *Journal of Democracy* 14.1 (2003) 18-26
- Linz, *Further Reflections on Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, in J.J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, pp. 1-48.
- D. Roy, Singapore, China, and the "Soft Authoritarian" Challenge. *Asian Survey*, 34(3), 1994), pp. 231-242.
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