POL2780H1F: Authoritarianism and Authoritarian Subjects (Fall 2024)

Edward Schatz
General class meetings: 3-5 pm, selected Wednesdays
Small group meetings: TBA
Office Hours: by appointment

Description

This course considers the varied relationships between regime, society, and the individual under authoritarian rule. It begins by surveying pillars of authoritarianism, such as repression, political economy, political institutions, and information management. It then turns to informality, resistance, coping, identity, public goods provision, participation, and legitimacy. Through this course, we get a closer view of the (often ignored) dynamics of life under authoritarianism.

The workshop places much weight on student participation. At the start of the term, the instructor will divide the students into groups of two or three. Each group meets weekly with the instructor, and each group meets independently for one hour. At these weekly meetings, one student delivers a prepared essay pertaining to the week's material, while the other students—and then the instructor—offer a critique. In the following week, students switch roles.

Readings

- *Main Readings:* Weekly readings are available via the U of T Library website. Where that is not possible (e.g., books that do not have a digital version), I will upload pdfs to Quercus.

- *Recommended Readings:* Readings listed as "recommended" may or may not be available via the Library website. It is your responsibility to plan ahead and coordinate with other students to ensure access to these readings.

Evaluation

- *Attendance and Participation (20%).* We meet in small groups. Attendance, engagement, and participation are at the core of this workshop.

- *5-page Essays (3 x 10 = 30%).* Three times during the term, students write a 5-page essay to read aloud during the small-group session. The essay must be emailed to other students in the small group and to myself at least 24 hours before the session. I will provide additional guidance in class. Essays will be critiqued by the instructor and by peers.

- *2-page Critiques (6 x 3 = 18%).* Six times during the term, students write a 2-page critique of a peer's 5-page essay. The student read the critique aloud during the small-group session. I will provide additional guidance in class.

- *Final Paper (32%).* Building upon the readings for the course, students write a 15-20 page paper that engages the literature on authoritarianism. This paper can take a number of forms, including a review essay of recent books, a research agenda, or an alternative

approved by the instructor. In each case, the purpose will be to bring to bear the wide range of readings assigned for the course into a coherent discussion of the topic. More information will be provided in class. Paper workshops will be run November 20 and November 27. The paper itself is due on December 11.

Course Policies

- *Office hours*: If you have questions about the readings, the discussion, or the assignments, office hours are best. Email me to schedule a meeting.

- *Email*: Consult the syllabus and other course information **before** submitting emails.

- *Keep copies:* Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their assignments before submitting them. Keep them until the marked assignments have been returned.

- *Plagiarism:* Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on Plagiarism at http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html. This course uses anti-plagiarism software to deter plagiarism. Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to this software for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the digital reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers.

- *Extensions*: On rare occasions, circumstances justify an extension. I discuss possible extensions during office hours, not via email. I consider such circumstances until one day before the due date. After that, I discuss this possibility only if a student has an official note from a doctor or from the University.

- *Missed Assignments*: If, due to an emergency, you miss an assignment, you may make up the assignment only with a note from the university or a physician. You <u>must contact me within 48 hours</u> of the missed assignment.

- *Accessibility Needs:* The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility as soon as possible.

- *Generative AI*. The use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools is strictly prohibited in all course assessments unless explicitly stated otherwise by the instructor. This includes, but is not limited to, ChatGPT, GitHub Microsoft Copilot, AI Tutor and Teacher's Assistant Pro, and open-source models that you have trained and/or deployed yourself. You may not interact with, nor copy, paraphrase, or adapt any content from any generative AI for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. Any use of generative AI for an assignment will be considered use of an unauthorized aid, which is a

form of academic misconduct under the [Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters](#). You may use generative artificial intelligence tools for learning and practicing the concepts in this course, but these tools may <u>not</u> be used for preparing course assignments.

This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to ensure that evaluations are a fair and accurate assessment of your learning. Though it may be tempting to use generative AI when completing assignments, this will inhibit your learning. If the work you submit is essentially the output of generative AI, then what have you learned and what value are you adding? Think of it this way: if a potential employer or supervisor can get as much from an AI tool as what you're able to do yourself, then why should they hire you at all? You should aim to understand course content at a level that far exceeds what an automated tool can achieve. Our course—and in particular, each assignment—is designed to help you attain true mastery of the course content. If you have questions or are stuck, please come to office hours, where I will be happy to help.

Meetings at a Glance

Date	Topic(s)	notes
September 4	What is Authoritarianism?	
September 11	Repression	
September 18	Political Economy	
September 25	Institutions	
October 2	Information OR Identity	Small groups will select either topic 5a or 5b.
October 9	Informality	
October 16	Resisting	
October 23	Humour(ing)	
October 30	READING WEEK	READING WEEK
November 6	Coping	
November 13	Participating OR legitimacy	Small groups will select either topic 10a or 10b.
November 20	PAPER WORKSHOP	PAPER WORKSHOP
November 27	PAPER WORKSHOP	PAPER WORKSHOP
December 11	FINAL PAPER DUE	FINAL PAPER DUE

Course Outline

Topic 1: What is authoritarianism? (General Meeting)
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. Chapter 2, "The World of Authoritarian Politics." In *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 19–50. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139176040.002.

- Glasius, M. (Ed.) 2015. "APSA Comparative Democratization." *APSA Comparative Democratization* vol. 13, issue 2. http://www.compdem.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/APSA-CD-June-2015.pdf.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1954. "What is Authority?" https://www.pevpat-ugent.be/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/H-Arendt-what-is-authority.pdf.

Recommended
- Gibson, Edward L. 2005. "Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries." *World Politics* 58 (1): pp. 101–32. https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2006.0018.
- Linz, Juan J. 2000. Chapter 4, "Authoritarian Regimes" *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 159-261. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1515/9781685850043.
- Filippo, Costa Buranelli. 2020. "Authoritarianism as an institution? The case of Central Asia." *International Studies Quarterly* 64, (4): pp. 1005-1016. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaa058.
- McMann, Kelly M., Matthew Maguire, John Gerring, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2021. "Explaining subnational regime variation: Country-level factors." *Comparative Politics* 53, no. 4: pp. 637-685. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.5129/001041521X16007785801364.

Topic 2: Repression (General Meeting)
- Ong, Lynette H., 2022. "Bulldozers, Violent Thugs, and Nonviolent Brokers," *Outsourcing Repression: Everyday State Power in Contemporary China.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-15. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1093/oso/9780197628768.003.0001.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. Chapter 5, "Moral hazard in authoritarian repression and the origin of military dictatorship." In *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 123–161. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139176040.002.
- Jiménez, Maryhen. 2023. "Contesting autocracy: Repression and opposition coordination in Venezuela." *Political Studies* 71 (1): pp. 47-68. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1177/0032321721999975.
- FILM: Death and the Maiden (1994). https://www.kanopy.com/en/utoronto/video/10614167 Death and the Maiden.

Recommended
- Geddes Barbara, Joseph Wright, Erica Frantz. 2018. Chapter 8, "Why Dictatorships Fall." *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 177-217. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316336182.008.

Topic 3: Political Economy
Start of small-group workshops
Begin submitting/reading aloud written essays & critiques

- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2006. Chapter 2, "Our Argument." *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-47.

https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=244431.
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. 2016. "The Dynamics of Global-Domestic Institutional Interaction in Postcommunist Russia and Elsewhere." *Demokratizatsiya* 24 (4): pp. 457-473. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/634319.
- Markus, Stanislav. 2015. "Introduction." *Property, Predation, and Protection: Piranha Capitalism in Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–17. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9781316104743.
- Gultom, Yohanna M.L. 2021. "When Extractive Political Institutions Affect Public-Private Partnerships: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia's Independent Power Producers under Two Political Regimes." *Energy Policy* 149: pp. 1- 11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.112042.

Recommended
- Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *The American Political Science Review* 99, no.3: pp. 315–25. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30038942.
- Rutland, Peter. 1993. *The Politics of Economic stagnation in the Soviet Union: The Role of Local Party Organs in Economic Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9780511559297.
- Volkov, Vadim. 2002. Chapter 4, "Bandits & Capitalists." *Violent Entrepreneurs: The use of force in the making of Russian capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 97 – 125. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=4517880.
- Zhang, Qi, Dong Zhang, Mingxing Liu, and Victor Shih. 2021. "Elite Cleavage and the Rise of Capitalism under Authoritarianism: A Tale of Two Provinces in China." *The Journal of Politics* 83 (3): pp. 1010–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/711131.

Topic 4: Institutions
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. Chapter 4, "When and Why Institutions Contribute to Authoritarian Stability: Commitment, Monitoring, and Collective Action Problems in Authoritarian Power-Sharing." *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 85–120. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139176040.002.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. Chapter 6, "Why Authoritarian Parties? The Regime Party as an Instrument of Co-Optation and Control." *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 162-195. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139176040.002.
- Meng, Anne, Jack Paine, and Robert Powell. 2023. "Authoritarian power sharing: Concepts, mechanisms, and strategies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 26, no. 1: pp. 153-173. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052121-020406.
- FILM: The Lives of Others (2006) https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=MON1187

Recommended
- Scott, James C. 1969. "Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 63, no. 4: pp. 1142-1158. https://doi.org/10.2307/1955076.
- Geddes Barbara, Joseph Wright, Erica Frantz. 2018. Chapter 6, "Why Parties and Elections in Dictatorships?" *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 177-217. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316336182.008.

Topic 5a: Information Management/Control
- Dukalskis, Alexander. 2021. Chapter 7, "Projecting Peace and Prosperity: Authoritarian Image Management and RPF Rwanda," *Making the World Safe for Dictatorship*. Oxford University Press, pp. 139-159. https://books-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks6/oso6/2021-05-20/1/oso-9780197520130.
- Vanderhill, Rachel. 2020. "Censorship, Surveillance, and Propaganda: The Cases of Iran and Russia." *Autocracy and Resistance in the Internet Age*. Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 55-108. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1515/9781626379190-004.
- Taylor, Monique. 2022. "Building Digital Authoritarianism: From the Great Firewall to the New IP." *China's Digital Authoritarianism. Politics and Development of Contemporary China*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 1-24. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1007/978-3-031-11252-2_1.
- Byler, Darren. 2022. "The Social Life of Terror Capitalism Technologies in Northwest China." *Public Culture* 34: pp. 167–193. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-9584694.

Recommended
- Dukalskis, Alexander. 2021. Chapter 3, "Mechanisms of Authoritarian Image Management," *Making the World Safe for Dictatorship*. Oxford University Press, pp. 33-55. https://books-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks6/oso6/2021-05-20/1/oso-9780197520130.
- Pearson, James S. 2024. "Defining Digital Authoritarianism." *Philosophy & Technology* 37:73: pp. 1-19. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s13347-024-00754-8.pdf.
- Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. "Corrupting the cyber-commons: Social media as a tool of autocratic stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 1: pp. 42-54. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714003120.
- Darnton, Robert. 2014. Part III, "Communist East Germany: Planning and Persecution." *Censors at Work : How States Shaped Literature* First Edition. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Schatz, Edward. 2009. "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda-Setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan." *Comparative Politics* 41 (2): pp. 203-220. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.5129/001041509X12911362972034.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *The*

American Political Science Review 111 (3): pp. 484–501. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055417000144.

- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *The American Political Science Review* 107 (2): pp. 326–43. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000014.
- Mattingly, Daniel C., Elaine Yao. 2022. "How Soft Propaganda Persuades." *Comparative Political Studies*, 55 (9): pp. 1569-1594. https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140211047403.
- FILM: Triumph of the Will (1935), Nazi propaganda film.

Topic 5b: Identity

- Stroup, David R. 2022. Chapter 1, "'God is a Drug': Ethnic Politics in the Xi Jinping Era." *Pure and True: The Everyday Politics of Ethnicity for China's Hui Muslims*. University of Washington Press: pp. 31-51. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv2br1029.7.
- Aldoughli, Rahaf. 2022. "What is Syrian nationalism? Primordialism and romanticism in official Baath discourse." *Nations and Nationalism* 28, no. 1: pp. 125-140. https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12786.
- Gedamu, Yohannes. 2022. Chapter 4, "Authoritarian Survival and Ethnic Federalism: The Literature." *The Politics of Contemporary Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Authoritarian Survival*. Routledge, pp. 61-80. https://librarysearch.library.utoronto.ca/permalink/01UTORONTO_INST/14bjeso/alma9 91107219098206196.
- Zaporozhchenko, Ruslan. 2024. "The end of "Putin's Empire?" ontological problems of Russian imperialism in the context of the war against Ukraine, 2022." *Problems of Post-Communism* 71, no. 2: pp. 119-130. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/10758216.2022.2158873.

Recommended

- Dukalskis, Alexander, and Junhyoung Lee. 2020. "Everyday nationalism and authoritarian rule: A case study of North Korea." *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6: pp. 1052-1068. https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.99.
- Ha, Hyun Jeong. 2017. "Emotions of the Weak: Violence and Ethnic Boundaries among Coptic Christians in Egypt." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (1): pp. 133–151. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1201586.
- Caskey, Gregory W, and Ilia Murtazashvili. 2022. "The Predatory State and Coercive Assimilation: The Case of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang." *Public Choice* 191 (1–2): 217–235. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-022-00963-9.

Topic 6: Informality

- Chikhladze, Tatia, and Huseyn Aliyev. 2019. "Towards an 'Uncivil' Society? Informality and Civil Society in Georgia." *Caucasus Survey* 7 (3): 197–213. https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2019.1690384.
- Ledeneva, Alena. 1998. Introduction and Chapter 4. *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Koehler, Kevin. 2008. "Authoritarian Elections in Egypt: Formal Institutions and Informal Mechanisms of Rule." *Democratization* 15 (5): 974–990. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340802362612.
- Mişcoiu, Sergiu, and Louis-Marie Kakdeu. 2023. "Authoritarian clientelism: the case of the president's 'creatures' in Cameroon." *Political Parties and Electoral Clientelism.* Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, pp. 49-67.

Recommended
- Lazarev, Egor. 2023. Chapter 6, "Laws in Conflict?: Hybrid Legal Order in Contemporary Chechnya." *State-Building as Lawfare: Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 175–208. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/9781009245913.
- Schatz, Edward. 2004. Chapter 3 "Two Faces of Soviet Power," *Modern Clan Politics: The Power of "Kinship" in Kazakhstan and Beyond*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, pp. 46-71.
- Zhang, Shanruo Ning. 2015. Chapter 4, "Guanxi, Informal Politics, and Everyday Forms of Political Engagement." *Confucianism in Contemporary Chinese Politics : An Actionable Account of Authoritarian Political Culture*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, pp. 79-96. https://search-ebscohost-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1197035&site=ehost-live.
- Tazebew, Tezera, and Asnake Kefale. 2021. "Governing the economy: rule and resistance in the Ethiopia-Somaliland borderlands." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 15, no. 1: pp. 147-167. https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2020.1863100.

Topic 7: Resistance

- Wedeen, Lisa. 1998. "Acting "As If": Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria." *Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History* vol. 40 no. 3: pp. 503-523. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001388.
- O'Brien, Kevin J. 2023. "Neither Withdrawal nor Resistance: Adapting to Increased Repression in China." *Modern China* 49 (1): pp. 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/00977004221119082.
- Scott, James C.. 2008. Chapter 1, "Behind the Official Story." *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-17. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.12987/9780300153569.
- Scott, James C.. 2008. Chapter 7, "The Infrapolitics of Subordinate Groups." *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 83-202. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.12987/9780300153569.

Recommended
- Norton, Sean T. 2024. "Demolition and Discontent: Governing the Authoritarian City." *American Journal of Political Science* 68 (2): pp. 678–95. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12749.
- Clarke, Killian. 2019. "Authoritarianism, non-violent resistance, and Egypt's Kefaya Movement." *Social Movements, Nonviolent Resistance, and the State*. Routledge, 211-235. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429467783-11.

- Scott, James C.. 1987. Chapter 3, "The Landscape of Resistance." *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 45-85. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=3420902.
- Scott, James C.. 1987. Chapter 6, "Stretching the Truth: Ideology at Work." *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 184-240. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=3420902.

Topic 8: Humour
- Pearce, Katy, and Adnan Hajizada. 2014. "No laughing matter: Humor as a means of dissent in the digital era: The case of authoritarian Azerbaijan." *Demokratizatsiya* 22, no. 1: pp. 67-85. https://demokratizatsiya.pub/archives/22_1_B158221228502786.pdf.
- Astapova, Anastasiya. 2021. Chapter 2, "Why do all dictators have moustaches?" *Humor and rumor in the post-Soviet authoritarian state*. Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 43-66. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/detail.action?docID=6458869.
- Goodall, H. L., Pauline Hope Cheong, Kristin Fleischer, and Steven R. Corman. 2012. "Rhetorical Charms: The Promise and Pitfalls of Humor and Ridicule as Strategies to Counter Extremist Narratives." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, no. 1: pp. 70–79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26298556.
- Bernal, Victoria. 2013. "Please forget democracy and justice: Eritrean politics and the powers of humor." *American Ethnologist* 40, no. 2: pp. 300-309. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12022.

Recommended
- Al-Rawi, Ahmed. 2016. "Anti-ISIS humor: Cultural resistance of radical ideology." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 17, no. 1: pp. 52-68. https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2016.1157076.
- Merziger, Patrick. 2007. "Humour in Nazi Germany: Resistance and propaganda? The popular desire for an all-embracing laughter." *International Review of Social History* 52, no. S15: pp. 275-290. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859007003240.
- Korkut, Umut, Aidan McGarry, Itir Erhart, Hande Eslen-Ziya, and Olu Jenzen. 2022. "Looking for Truth in Absurdity: Humour as Community-Building and Dissidence against Authoritarianism." *International Political Science Review* 43 (5): pp. 629–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512120971151.

Topic 9: Coping
- Hervouet, Ronan. 2013. "Authoritarianism from below. Lessons from ethnographic studies in Belarus." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 31, no. 2: pp. 19-29. https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/aeer/article/view/4242.
- Desrosiers, Marie-Eve. 2020. "Making do" with soft authoritarianism in pre-genocide Rwanda." *Comparative Politics* 52, no. 4: pp. 557-579. https://doi.org/10.5129/001041520X15756748516507.

- Schatz, Edward. 2004. Chapter 3 "Two Faces of Soviet Power," *Modern Clan Politics: The Power of "Kinship" in Kazakhstan and Beyond*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, pp. 46-71.
- FILM: Persepolis (2007). https://media3-criterionpic-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/htbin/wwform/006?T=MON1512&ALIAS=MON1512_EN.KF&M=0_mq44f1m2&DSTYLE=0#multimedia_resources_MON1512

Recommended
- Figes, Orlando. 2007. *The Whisperers : Private Life in Stalin's Russia*. 1st U.S. ed. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Yurchak, Alexei. 2013. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton University Press.

Topic 10a: Participation and Public goods
- Duckett, Jane, and Guohui Wang. 2017. "Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Provide Public Goods? Policy Communities, External Shocks and Ideas in China's Rural Social Policy Making." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69 (1): pp. 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2016.1274379.
- https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108580373.006.
- Chaguaceda, Armando and Peña Barrios, Raudiel. 2023. "17 Authoritarian participationism and local citizens' assemblies in Latin America: A cross look at three national cases." *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies* edited by Min Reuchamps, Julien Vrydagh and Yanina Welp. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 227-238. https://doi-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1515/9783110758269-019.
- Owen, Catherine. 2020. "Participatory authoritarianism: From bureaucratic transformation to civic participation in Russia and China." *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 4: pp. 415-434. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000248.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan. 2018. "Modernization and authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3: pp. 129-140. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0050.

Recommended
- Kurmanov, Bakhytzhan, and Colin Knox. 2022. "Open Government and Citizen Empowerment in Authoritarian States." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 13 (2): pp. 156–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/18793665221104118.
- Gel'man, Vladimir. 2021. "Constitution, authoritarianism, and bad governance: the case of Russia." *Russian Politics* 6, no. 1: pp. 71-90. https://doi.org/10.30965/24518921-00601005.
- Ho, Selina. 2019. Chapter 6, "Quenching Thirst in China's First-Tier Cities: Shenzhen and Beijing." *Thirsty Cities: Social Contracts and Public Goods Provision in China and India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 159–97.

Topic 10b: Legitimacy
- Lerner, Alexis M. 2021. "The Co-Optation of Dissent in Hybrid States: Post-Soviet Graffiti in Moscow." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (10): 1757–1785. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019879949.

- Gilley, Bruce. 2006. "The meaning and measure of state legitimacy: Results for 72 countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 45, no. 3: pp. 499-525. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00307.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 2015. "Preface." *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria : With a New Preface*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. https://books-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks6/ucpbooks6/2021-02-08/1/9780226333373.
- Vargas Llosa, Mario. 2000. *Feast of the Goat*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Recommended
- Beeson, Mark. 2010. "The coming of environmental authoritarianism." *Environmental Politics* 19, no. 2: pp. 276-294. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010903576918.
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