



AUTHORITARIAN PRACTICES BEYOND NATIONAL REGIMES

-Provisional Programme -

Day 1 Monday, 2 July 2018

Door open: 9.00 hrs.

Location: University Library, Singel 425, Belle van Zuylenzaal, room: C1.13

9.15 – 9.30 Introduction with Brian Burgoon (director of AISSR) and Marlies Glasius

9.30 – 11.00 Session 1: Digital Authoritarianism and Dissent *Chair: Adele Del Sordi.*

Presenters:

- Ron Deibert (Citizenlab Toronto) with ‘*Cyberspace Under Siege.*’
- Jennifer Pan (Stanford) with ‘*Hash Money: How Welfare and Surveillance Fail to Prevent Collective Action in China.*’
- Kris Ruijgrok (UvA) with ‘*Internet use and sympathizing with an anti-government protest movement.*’
- Marcus Michaelsen (UvA) with ‘*Transforming threats to power: the international politics of internet control in Iran.*’

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break

11.15 – 12.45 Session 2: Authoritarianism and Mobility: Diasporas *Chair: Kris Ruijgrok*

Presenters:

- Fiona Adamson (SOAS) with ‘*Turkey’s ‘Diaspora Engagement’ Policies: Transnational Citizenship or ‘Remote Control’ Authoritarianism?’*
- Bert Hoffmann (GIGA) with ‘*Diasporas and Authoritarian Regime Resilience: Lessons from the Cuban Case.*’
- Gerasimos Tsourapas (University of Birmingham) with ‘*The Politics of Migration in Modern Egypt. Strategies for Regime Survival in Autocracies.*’
- Sam Wrighton (Oxford) with ‘*Hungarian extra-territorial naturalisations in Serbia and Slovakia; patronage facilitated gerrymandering and vote buying.*’

12.45 – 14.00 Lunch. *Room: Potgieterzaal (Building C, ground floor, room: 0.01).*

14.00 – 15.30 Session 3: Subnational Authoritarianism *Chair: Aofei Lv*

Presenters: ‘

- Tomila Lankina (LSE) with ‘*Soviet Legacies of Economic Development, Oligarchic Rule and Electoral Quality in Eastern Europe’s Partial Democracies: The Case of Ukraine.*’
- Jos Bartman (UvA) with ‘*Repression by subnational undemocratic regimes.*’
- Imke Harbers (UvA) with ‘*Electoral Democracy Across Indian States.*’

15.30 – 15.45 Coffee Break

15.45 – 17.15 Session 4: Authoritarian Norm Diffusion *Chair: Marcus Michaelsen*

Presenters:

- Thomas Ambrosio (North Dakota State) with ‘*Authoritarian Diffusion or Illusion? Exploring Practical and Methodological Issues of Conducting Authoritarian Diffusion Research.*’
- Marlies Glasius (UvA) with ‘*Illiberal Norm Diffusion: How Do Governments Learn to Restrict NGOs?’*
- Andre Bank (GIGA) with ‘*Authoritarian Diffusion and Learning: Lessons from the Middle East.*’
- Emanuela Dalmaso (UvA) with ‘*The Moroccan Authoritarian Diffusion between Ideology and Policy Transfer.*’

18.30 hrs Dinner at Café de Jaren (Nieuwe Doelenstraat 20-22, Amsterdam.)





AUTHORITARIAN PRACTICES BEYOND NATIONAL REGIMES

-Provisional Programme -

Day 2

Tuesday, 3 July 2018

Door open: 9.15 hrs.

Location: University Library, Singel 425, Belle van Zuylenzaal, room: C1.13

9.30 – 11.00 Session 5: Rethinking Concepts of Authoritarianism and Illiberalism

Chair: Imke Harbers

Presenters:

- John Heathershaw (Exeter) with *'Transnational Uncivil Society: A Framework for Discussion from Eurasia and Beyond.'*
- Catherine Owen (Exeter) with *'Theoretical Chapter Active Citizens and 'Authoritarian Governmentality' in Russia and China.'*
- Marlies Glasius (UvA) with *'Authoritarian Practices Beyond the State: Book Proposal.'*

11.00 – 11.15 Coffee Break

11.15 – 12.45 Session 6: Authoritarianism and Mobility: Students and Universities

Chair: Jos Bartman

Presenters:

- Nathalie Koch (Syracuse) with *'Laboratories of liberalism: American higher education and constructing "authoritarianism" in the Arabian Peninsula.'*
- Adele Del Sordi (GS-OSES at LMU Munich) and Fariza Tolesh (Nazarbayev University) with *"Back home, back to the old ways? Exploring Bolashak alumni's potential to introduce political change through job search and workplace practices".*
- Aofei Lv (UvA) with *"Study abroad: Less or More Patriotic?"*

12.45 – 14.00 Lunch Room: Potgieterzaal (Building C, ground floor, room: 0.01).

14.00 – 15.30 Session 7: Digital Authoritarianism and Corporate Actors

Chair: Emanuela Dalmasso

Presenters:

- Arne Hintz (Cardiff) with *'Citizen Scores: Datafied Citizens in the Scoring Society.'*
- Ting Luo (Leiden University) with *'Asymmetrical Power Between Internet Giants and Users in China.'*
- Ben Wagner (CIHR) with *'Why companies lie: Falsifying information about internet shutdowns.'*

15.30 – 15.45 Coffee Break

15.45 – 17.15 Session 8: New Research Agendas

Chair: Marlies Glasius

Roundtable Discussion

18.30 hrs Dinner at Café Kapitein Zeppos (Gebed Zonder End 5, Amsterdam.)





SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF PARTICIPANTS

Fiona B. Adamson is an Associate Professor (Reader) of International Relations at SOAS, University of London. Her research interests include international migration, diaspora politics, transnationalism and security. Adamson has published in *International Security*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *Current History*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* and *Political Science Quarterly*. She is a contributor to numerous edited volumes, and has co-edited a Routledge series on Security Governance. Dr Adamson is co-convenor of the London Migration Research Group (LMRG) and sits on the editorial boards of the *American Political Science Review* (APSR) and *European Journal of International Relations* (EJIR). She received her PhD from Columbia University and BA from Stanford University. Prior to joining SOAS, where she served as Chair of the Department of Politics and International Studies (2010-13), she was Director of the Program in International Public Policy at University College London (UCL). Fiona was a Leverhulme Research Fellow in 2015-17 and has held visiting fellowships at Harvard University, Stanford University, Humboldt University in Berlin and University of Basel, Switzerland. Fiona's recent publications can be found on ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fiona_Adamson

Thomas Ambrosio is a Professor of Political Science at North Dakota State University and teaches courts on international politics and international law. He has published three books and edited two volumes, as well as numerous articles and book chapters. His main areas of research include authoritarianism, Russian foreign policy, and America's place in the international system. His most recent research projects include: authoritarian learning and the diffusion of authoritarian ideas and methods; the geopolitics of Barack Obama's State of the Union addresses; American threat perceptions of Russia; Russia's rhetoric surrounding the annexation of Crimea; and, Russia's treaty networks with China, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. He is currently working on a project examining hereditary grooming and succession in the former Soviet Union with a scholar from Denmark. A recent commentary piece on authoritarian norms can be found here: <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/1474/1474>

Dr. André Bank is a Senior Research Fellow at the GIGA Institute of Middle East Studies in Hamburg where he serves as the Speaker of the IDCAR (International Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes) network: <https://idcar.giga-hamburg.de> In the summer semester 2018, he is also Acting Full Professor at the University of Freiburg. More information and a list of his publications can be found here: <https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/team/bank>.

Jos Bartman is a PhD candidate at the Department of Politics, University of Amsterdam, and a team member of the ERC-funded project Authoritarianism in a Global Age. His PhD research focuses on how subnational authoritarian regimes use repression. He gained fieldwork experience during his research master, during which he conducted four months of fieldwork in rural West-Bengal. For his current research he has conducted fieldwork in Veracruz (Mexico) and Gujarat (India), where he has interviewed targets and executors of political repression. His most recent publication 'Murder in Mexico: are journalists victims of general violence or targeted political violence?' published in *Democratization* and can be found here: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510347.2018.1445998>.

Emanuela Dalmasso holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Turin (Italy) and she is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Politics, University of Amsterdam. Her main areas of expertise and interest are Middle East Politics and Gender Studies with a specific focus on Morocco. She has previously published on these topics in the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *Totalitarian*





Movements and Political Religions, Contemporary Arab Affairs, Mediterranean Politics, Globalizations and Political Geography. Her work is based on extensive fieldwork in Morocco and Tunisia.

Ron Deibert is a political science professor and director of the Citizen Lab at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. The Citizen Lab is an interdisciplinary research and development laboratory working at the intersection of the Internet, global security, and human rights. Deibert was a co-founder and a principal investigator of the OpenNet Initiative and Information Warfare Monitor (2003-2012) projects, and the author of *Black Code: Surveillance, Privacy, and the Dark Side of the Internet* (Random House: 2013). He was one of the founders of Psiphon, one of the world's leading Internet censorship circumvention applications. Find more of his work here: <https://deibert.citizenlab.ca/bio/>

Adele Del Sordi was a postdoctoral researcher in Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, where she contributed to the project *Authoritarianism in a Global Age* by looking at the impact of globalization on authoritarian sustainability in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Her research interests include: stability of authoritarian regimes, post-Soviet politics and authoritarian learning. Adele Del Sordi has received a PhD in Political Systems and Institutional Change from the Institute of Advanced Studies IMT in Lucca (Italy). A qualitative scholar, she has conducted extensive fieldwork in Kazakhstan between 2011 and 2017. Since November 2017, Adele Del Sordi is a post-doctoral researcher at the Graduate School of East and South East European Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, Germany. Here a link to her personal profile at the Graduate School: <http://www.gs-oses.de/adele-delsordi-eng.html>

Marlies Glasius is a Professor in International Relations at the Department of Politics, University of Amsterdam and principal investigator of the ERC-funded project *Authoritarianism in a Global Age*. Her research interests include authoritarianism, international criminal justice, human security and global civil society. She holds a PhD cum laude from the Netherlands School of Human Rights Research, and previously worked at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). She is the author of *The International Criminal Court: A Global Civil Society Achievement* (2006) and *Foreign Policy on Human Rights: Its Influence on Indonesia under Soeharto* (1999), and co-editor of volumes on international criminal justice (with Zarkov, 2014); on human security (with Kaldor, 2006); on civil society (with Kostovicova, 2011, with Lewis and Seckinelgin, 2004 and the annual *Global Civil Society Yearbook* (2001-2011). Marlies' most recent publication is 'What authoritarianism is ... and is not: a practice perspective' (*International Affairs*). More publications can be found here: <http://www.uva.nl/profiel/g/1/m.e.glasius/m.e.glasius.html>

Imke Harbers is an associate professor of political science at the University of Amsterdam. She is the author of "Incorporating Space in Multimethod Research: Combining Spatial Analysis with Case-Study Research" (*PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 50(4), pp. 1032-1037 (with Matthew C. Ingram)). Her recent publications can be found here: <http://www.uva.nl/profiel/h/a/i.harbers/i.harbers.html>

John Heathershaw is Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Exeter. His research addresses conflict and security in authoritarian political environments, especially in post-Soviet Central Asia. He convenes the Exeter Central Asian Studies (ExCAS) research network and directs its Central Asian Political Exiles (CAPE) project. He is a board member of the European Society for Central Asian Studies (ESCAS) and chair of the organising committee for ESCAS's 2019 conference which will be held in Exeter. Heathershaw's most recent publications are *Dictators Without Borders* (Yale 2017), 'Laundering Cash, Whitewashing Reputations' (*Journal of Democracy*, 2018) and 'How postcolonial is post-Western IR?' (*Review of International Studies*, 2018).





Arne Hintz is Senior Lecturer at the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Culture, Cardiff University, where he leads the MA Digital Media and Society and co-directs the Data Justice Lab. His research connects digital citizenship, communication policy and civil society. Currently he is working on projects on data scores and data policies; previously he led the collaborative research project “Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society: State-Media-Citizen Relations After the Snowden Leaks”. His publications include the upcoming book *Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society* (<https://www.wiley.com/en-gb/Digital+Citizenship+in+a+Datafied+Society-p-9781509527199>).

Bert Hoffmann is Senior Researcher at the GIGA Institute of Latin American Studies, which is part of GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany. He also is Head of the GIGA Berlin Office and Professor of Political Science at the Freie Universität Berlin. For the past four years he has been a Principal Investigator in the research network on “International Diffusion and Cooperation of Authoritarian Regimes” (<https://idcar.giga-hamburg.de/>). My most recent work is forthcoming in the *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, (so no link yet). *More Than “Authoritarian Solidarity”: Unbundling the International Cooperation Survival Package of Socialist Cuba*. One that is online is “*Bureaucratic socialism in reform mode: the changing politics of Cuba’s post-Fidel era*”; you find it at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2016.1166050> though only the abstract is free to access.

Natalie Koch is Associate Professor and O’Hanley Faculty Scholar in the Department of Geography at Syracuse University’s Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. She is a political geographer focused on geopolitics, nationalism, and authoritarianism in the post-Soviet space and the Arabian Peninsula. Dr. Koch explores in alternative sites of geopolitical analysis such as sport, spectacle, urban planning, and other allegedly positive expressions of authoritarian state power. She is particularly interested in how and with what effect certain resource-rich authoritarian states allocate rents to promote a positive image of the ruling regime, and she is currently working on a project about renewable energy initiatives and ‘knowledge-economy’ development in Qatar and the UAE. She is the author of *The geopolitics of spectacle: Space, synecdoche, and the new capitals of Asia* (Cornell University Press, 2018) and editor of the book, *Critical geographies of sport: Space, power, and sport in global perspective* (Routledge, 2017). <http://nataliekoch.com/>

Tomila Lankina is Professor of International Relations at the LSE’s International Relations Department. Her current research focuses on comparative democracy and authoritarianism, mass protests and historical patterns of human capital and democratic reproduction in Russia and other states. Recent publications include articles in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *World Politics*, *Demokratizatsiya*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Problems of Post-Communism* among others. She is also author of *Governing the Locals: Local Self-Government and Ethnic Mobilization in Russia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); and *Local Governance in Central and Eastern Europe*, with Anneke Hudalla and Hellmut Wollmann (Palgrave and University of Oxford St. Antony’s Series, 2008). She received her DPhil from the University of Oxford (St Antony’s and Balliol Colleges). She has held research appointments at the Humboldt University in Berlin, at Stanford University, and at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. She has served as consultant to the World Bank, The European Union, the Soros Foundations and other policy bodies. Information about her research, papers, media appearances and blogs could be found on her personal website (popularmobilization.net) and her LSE Experts page (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/researchAndexpertise/experts/profile.aspx?KeyValue=t.lankina%40lse.ac.uk>).

Ting Luo is a post-doctoral fellow in the Institute of Political Science of Leiden University. She is currently working on the European-research-council(ERC)-funded research project on





“Authoritarianism2.0: The Internet, Political Discussion, and Authoritarian Rule in China”. She holds a PhD in government and an MSc in public policy and administration from London School of Economics and Political Science, and a BA in political science from Nankai University in Tianjin, China. Her research interests include comparative politics with a specialization on China, election and democratization, and digital politics. Her recent publications can be accessed from:

https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=list_works&hl=en&user=5IEQxrUAAAAJ

Dr Aofei Lv is a post-doctoral fellow of an ERC project, ‘Authoritarianism in a Global Age’ at Politics Department, University of Amsterdam. Her current research focuses on the changes of state-society relations in China. Her research interests include empowerment of Chinese Internet giants, the political attitudes of Chinese overseas students, public policy process in China, and domestic Chinese politics. Previously, she did her PhD in Politics at University of Glasgow, UK.

Marcus Michaelsen is a lecturer and researcher in the department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. His research interests include media and political transformations, digital media activism, and the politics of internet governance, with a particular focus on Iran and the Middle East. From 2014-2017 he was a postdoc researcher in the UvA research project "Authoritarianism in a Global Age". Marcus obtained a PhD in Media and Communication Studies from the University of Erfurt (Germany) with a dissertation on the role of the internet in Iran’s process of political change. He has a Master’s degree in Middle Eastern Studies from the Université de Provence (France), and has lived and worked for several years in Iran and Pakistan. Latest publications: Far Away, So Close: Transnational Activism, Digital Surveillance and Authoritarian Control in Iran. *Surveillance & Society*, Vol. 15 (3/4). 2017. ‘Exit and Voice in a Digital Age: Iran’s Exiled Activists and the Authoritarian State’. *Globalizations*, 15(2), 248-264.

Catherine Owen is British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Politics at the University of Exeter. Previously, she was Lecturer in the Department of History and Civilization at Shaanxi Normal University, Xi’an, China. She is currently working on a monograph that explores public sector reform and the production of active citizenship in contemporary Russia and China. Owen has held Visiting Fellowships at the European University at St Petersburg, Fudan University Shanghai, and the St Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. Her work has been published in a variety of Area Studies, Comparative Politics and International Relations journals, including *Slavic Review*, *Government and Opposition* and *Review of International Studies*. A full list of her publications can be found here: <https://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/politics/staff/cowen/>

Jennifer Pan is an Assistant Professor of Communication, and an Assistant Professor, by courtesy, of Political Science and Sociology at Stanford University. Her research focuses on the politics of authoritarian countries in the digital age. How autocrats constrain collective action. How information technologies influence relations between state and society, and among elites. Pan combines experimental and computational methods with large-scale datasets on political activity in China and other non-democratic regimes to examine these questions. Pan received her Ph.D. from Harvard University’s Department of Government in 2015. She graduated from Princeton University, summa cum laude, in 2004, and until 2009, she was a consultant at McKinsey & Company. The best link for my recent work is my website: <http://jenpan.com/>, the main page has a list of my publications along with links to the full text.

Kris Ruijgrok is a PhD candidate at the Department of Politics, University of Amsterdam and group member of the ERC-funded project Authoritarianism in a Global Age. His PhD research uses a mixed-methods approach to study the role of Internet in street protesting in authoritarian regimes. His article ‘From the Web to the Streets: internet and protests under authoritarian regimes’ was recently published in





Democratization. For his dissertation he has conducted fieldwork in Malaysia studying the role of internet in the Reformasi period at the end of the 1990's and the more recent Bersih protests. Kris graduated cum laude at the University of Amsterdam in 2011 and intends to defend his PhD dissertation in early 2018.

His most recent publication 'From the web to the streets: internet and protests under authoritarian regimes' (*Democratization*) can be found here:

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13510347.2016.1223630?scroll=top&needAccess=true>

Gerasimos Tsourapas is a Lecturer in Middle East Politics at the University of Birmingham. His research focuses on the politics of migrants, refugees, and diasporas in the broader Middle East, and has been supported by the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust. He has published in leading academic journals, including *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Political Science Review*, *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, and *International Studies Perspectives*. His monograph on the politics of Egyptian migration is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press. His most recent publication is 'Authoritarian Emigration States: Soft Power and Cross-Border Mobility in the Middle East.' *International Political Science Review*, 39 (3), 2018, pp. 400-416.

Fariza Tolesh is a young scholar who has recently defended her PhD dissertation. The topic of her thesis was on experiences of foreign educated Kazakhstani graduates in the local labour market. Fariza obtained her doctoral degree at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. She is interested in employability of graduates, labour market development over time, brain drain and brain circulation. Before accidentally joining scholars in the field of education, Fariza studied geography as an undergraduate then narrowed down her interests to demography, particularly migration and population forecasting. She has a master's degree in demography from Charles University in Prague. Currently, Fariza is awaiting her graduation in August 2018 and working as a manager-analyst at a private company in her home town. At the seminar Fariza will present with Adele Del Sordi on the topic of the "Bolashak syndrome" and employment and innovation potential of Kazakhstani graduates returning from abroad.

Dr. Ben Wagner is an Assistant Professor and Director of the Privacy & Sustainable Computing Lab at Vienna University of Economics and Business. In 2014 he founded the Centre for the Internet and Human Rights (CIHR) at European University Viadrina and served as CIHR Director from 2014 to 2016. His research focuses on communications technology at the intersection between rights, ethics and governance. Ben holds a PhD in Political and Social Sciences from European University Institute in Florence. He was previously worked at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, the University of Pennsylvania, Human Rights Watch and the European Council on Foreign Relations. His research has been published in *Telecommunications Policy*, *JITP* and the *International Journal of Communications*.

Sam Wrighton, formerly a Junior Researcher in the Political Science department here at the University of Amsterdam, is now an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded DPhil (Phd) candidate in the University of Oxford's International Relations programme. His research interests include extra-territorial naturalisations, nationalism, passports and the relationship between sovereignty and territory, with a specific regional focus on Russia and Hungary. His dissertation entitled 'The Annexation of Populations: a New State Strategy?' examines Russian and Hungary passportisation processes' and is due for completion in 2020. Find his most recent publication here:

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14747731.2017.1396798>



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