

Course Syllabus

Title of the course	The Internet in Non-Competitive Politics		
Title of the Academic Programme	Comparative Politics in Eurasia		
Type of the course	Optional (elective)		
Prerequisites	No		
ECTS workload	4		
Total indicative study hours	Directed Study	Self-directed study	Total
	32	120	152
Course Overview	<p>The Internet and politics have a complex interrelationship. The former changes social communication, empowers or reinforces political actors, while political regime and power relations frequently shape the dynamics of the cyberspace. It is especially clear in case of modern non-competitive regimes, as many of them try to utilize Internet to gain legitimacy, competitiveness, and eventually, regime consolidation. The means of the Internet control in non-democracies now go far beyond its blocking and censorship.</p> <p>The course intends to familiarize students with the ways the Internet contributes to authoritarian consolidation and economic development, as well as with the potential of the new media to provoke democratization. The course is arranged to provide a wide comparative perspective of the Internet politics and give students hints to explore this area in their research.</p>		
Intended Learning Outcomes (ILO)	<p>OPLO-7: Able to work out proposals and recommendations for applied research and consulting;</p> <p>PL0-1: Able to use topical research results in political science and adjacent disciplines, apply political science for applied tasks in professional activities.</p>		
Readings / Indicative Learning Resources	<p>Mandatory</p> <p>Christensen, B. (2019). Cyber state capacity: A model of authoritarian durability, ICTs, and emerging media. <i>Government Information Quarterly</i>.</p> <p>Deibert, R. (2015). Authoritarianism goes global: Cyberspace under siege. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 26(3), 64-78.</p> <p>Diamond, L. (2010). Liberation technology. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 21(3), 69-83</p> <p>Gerschewski, J. (2013). The three pillars of stability: legitimation, repression, and co-optation in autocratic regimes. <i>Democratization</i>, 20(1), 13-38.</p> <p>Gerschewski, J., & Dukalskis, A. (2018). How the Internet Can</p>		

Reinforce Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of North Korea. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 19, 12-19.

He, B., & Warren, M. E. (2011). Authoritarian deliberation: The deliberative turn in Chinese political development. *Perspectives on politics*, 9(2), 269-289.

Howard, P. N., Agarwal, S. D., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). When do states disconnect their digital networks? Regime responses to the political uses of social media. *The Communication Review*, 14(3), 216-232.

Kerr, J. A. (2018). Information, security, and authoritarian stability: Internet policy diffusion and coordination in the former Soviet region. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 3814-3834.

Lorentzen, P. (2014). China's strategic censorship. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 402-414.

Maréchal, N. (2017). Networked authoritarianism and the geopolitics of information: Understanding Russian Internet policy. *Media and Communication*, 5(1), 29-41.

Nocetti, J. (2015). Contest and conquest: Russia and global internet governance. *International Affairs*, 91(1), 111-130.

Rød, E. G., & Weidmann, N. B. (2015). Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3), 338-351

Ruijgrok, K. (2017). From the web to the streets: internet and protests under authoritarian regimes. *Democratization*, 24(3), 498-520.

Truex, R. (2017). Consultative authoritarianism and its limits. *Comparative political studies*, 50(3), 329-361.

Weiss, M. L. (2017). Going to the ground (or AstroTurf): a grassroots view of regime resilience. *Democratization*, 24(2), 265-282.

Optional:

Budnitsky, S., & Jia, L. (2018). Branding Internet sovereignty: Digital media and the Chinese–Russian cyberalliance. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21(5), 594-613.

Drezner, D. W. (2004). The global governance of the Internet: Bringing the state back in. *Political Science Quarterly*, 119(3), 477-498.

Dukalskis, A., & Gerschewski, J. (2017). What autocracies say (and what citizens hear): Proposing four mechanisms of autocratic legitimation. *Contemporary Politics*, 23(3), 251-268.

Geddes, B., Wright, J., & Frantz, E. (2014). Autocratic breakdown and regime transitions: A new data set. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(2), 313-331.

Göbel, C. (2011). Authoritarian consolidation. *European political science*, 10(2), 176-190.

Hellmeier, S. (2016). The Dictator's Digital Toolkit: Explaining Variation in Internet Filtering in Authoritarian Regimes. *Politics & Policy*, 44(6), 1158-1191.

King, G., Pan, J., & Roberts, M. E. (2013). How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2), 326-343.

Linde, J., & Karlsson, M. (2013). The Dictator's New Clothes: The

	<p>Relationship Between E-Participation and Quality of Government in Non-Democratic Regimes. <i>International Journal of Public Administration</i>, 36(4), 269-281.</p> <p>Toepfl, F. (2018). Innovating consultative authoritarianism: Internet votes as a novel digital tool to stabilize non-democratic rule in Russia. <i>new media & society</i>, 20(3), 956-972.</p> <p>Truex, R. (2017). Consultative authoritarianism and its limits. <i>Comparative political studies</i>, 50(3), 329-361.</p> <p>Warf, B. (2011). Geographies of Global Internet Censorship. <i>GeoJournal</i>, 76(1), 1-23.</p> <p>Yan, W. (2018). Where is the Deliberative Turn Going? A Survey Study of the Impacts of Public Consultation and Deliberation in China. <i>International Journal of Communication</i>, 12, 22.</p>				
Teaching and Learning Methods	<p>The course consists of 8 interactive lectures and 8 seminars, the latter include discussion groups, presentations in small groups and individual assignments.</p> <p>The following teaching methods are involved:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interactive lectures followed by multimedia presentations; - Debates and open discussions based on mandatory readings. 				
Content and Structure of the Course					
№	Topic	Total	Directed Study		Self-directed Study
			Lectures	Seminars	
1	Non-Competitive Regimes: An Overview	19	2	2	15
2	The Internet and Democratization	19	2	2	15
3	The Internet Censorship in Non-Democracies	19	2	2	15
4	Propaganda and Trolling on the Internet	19	2	2	15
5	Surveillance in Autocracies and Beyond	19	2	2	15
6	Consultative Authoritarianism Online	19	2	2	15
7	Regulation: Internet Policy of Authoritarian Regimes	19	2	2	15
8	Global Internet Governance: Non-Democracies' Stance	19	2	2	15
Total study hours		152	14	18	120
Indicative Assessment Methods and Strategy	<p>The final grade consists of the following marks:</p> <p>In-class participation, 25 % (G_{class}): contribution of a student to discussions during seminars, her / his knowledge of the subject and level of literature comprehension.</p> <p>Essay, 30 % (G_{essay}): each student is to prepare an essay according to the recommendations.</p>				

	Final Exam, 45 % (G_{exam}): an exam is conducted in the session period in a written format (open questions).		
Indicative Self- Study Strategies	Type	+/-	Hours
	Reading for seminars (lecture materials, mandatory and optional resources)	+	35
	Assignments for seminars / tutorials / labs	+	25
	Essay preparation	+	40
	Preparation for the exam		20
Academic Support for the Course	Academic support for the course is provided via LMS, where students can find: guidelines and recommendations for doing the course; guidelines and recommendations for self-study; samples of assessment materials		
Facilities, Equipment and Software	Classes for lectures and seminars should be equipped with multimedia facilities (PC or laptop, projector)		
Course Instructor	Yury Kabanov, senior lecturer, ykabanov@hse.ru		

Lecture 1. Non – Competitive Regimes: An Overview

Authoritarian regimes: characteristics and types. Hybrid political regimes (electoral and complete). Regime resilience and its sources: legitimation, cooptation and repression.

Seminar 1. Sources of Authoritarian Stability

Read the literature and be ready to discuss the following questions:

- What is authoritarian stability?
- How mechanisms of authoritarian stability reinforce each other?
- How modern technologies (including the Internet) may contribute to authoritarian stability, and in which ways they may destabilize the regime?

Mandatory Readings:

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

Christensen, B. (2019). Cyber state capacity: A model of authoritarian durability, ICTs, and emerging media. *Government Information Quarterly*.

Gerschewski, J., & Dukalskis, A. (2018). How the Internet Can Reinforce Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of North Korea. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 19, 12-19.

Optional Readings:

Geddes, B., Wright, J., & Frantz, E. (2014). Autocratic breakdown and regime transitions: A new data set. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(2), 313-331.

Göbel, C. (2011). Authoritarian consolidation. *European political science*, 10(2), 176-190.

Dukalskis, A., & Gerschewski, J. (2017). What autocracies say (and what citizens hear): Proposing four mechanisms of autocratic legitimation. *Contemporary Politics*, 23(3), 251-268.

Lecture 2. The Internet and Democratization

Internet and political power: Reinforcement and Redistribution. Cyber-optimists. The Internet and possible democratization effects. The Arab Spring and the effects of the social media.

Seminar 2. Can the Internet Promote Democracy?

Read the literature and be ready to discuss the following questions:

- How does the Internet contribute to the existing theories on democratization?
- What possible mechanisms of the Internet-led democratization can you distinguish?
- What are limitations of cyber-optimist approach?

Mandatory Readings:

Ruijgrok, K. (2017). From the web to the streets: internet and protests under authoritarian regimes. *Democratization*, 24(3), 498-520.

Rød, E. G., & Weidmann, N. B. (2015). Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3), 338-351

Diamond, L. (2010). Liberation technology. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(3), 69-83

Optional Readings:

Best, M. L., & Wade, K. W. (2009). The Internet and Democracy: Global catalyst or democratic dud?. *Bulletin of science, technology & society*, 29(4), 255-271.

Groshek, J. (2010). A time-series, multinational analysis of democratic forecasts and Internet diffusion. *International Journal of Communication*, 4, 33.

Pirannejad, A. (2017). Can the internet promote democracy? A cross-country study based on dynamic panel data models. *Information Technology for Development*, 23(2), 281-295.

Margetts, H. (2013). The internet and democracy. In *The Oxford handbook of internet studies*.

Lecture 3. The Internet Censorship in Non-Democracies

Censorship and self-censorship on the Internet: tools and approaches. Internet – censorship in China. Access denial and disconnection in autocracies during crises.

Seminar 3. Internet – Censorship and Disconnection in Autocracies

Read the required literature and be ready to discuss patterns of the Internet censorship in the following regions: East Asia (China, Singapore), Post-Soviet Space (Belarus, Kazakhstan) and the Middle East (Qatar, UAE).

Mandatory Readings:

Lorentzen, P. (2014). China's strategic censorship. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 402-414.

Howard, P. N., Agarwal, S. D., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). When do states disconnect their digital networks? Regime responses to the political uses of social media. *The Communication Review*, 14(3), 216-232.

Optional Readings:

King, G., Pan, J., & Roberts, M. E. (2013). How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2), 326-343.

Hellmeier, S. (2016). The Dictator's Digital Toolkit: Explaining Variation in Internet Filtering in Authoritarian Regimes. *Politics & Policy*, 44(6), 1158-1191.

Warf, B. (2011). Geographies of Global Internet Censorship. *GeoJournal*, 76(1), 1-23.

Lecture 4. Propaganda and Trolling on the Internet

Propaganda in non-democracies: classic and modern theories. Propaganda in the social media. “Troll factories” and “astroturfing” technologies.

Seminar 4. “Astroturfing” on the Web

Read the literature and be ready to discuss the following questions:

- What is astroturfing in relation to political process and public opinion?
- How is the “public opinion” manufactured by means of the social media?

- What are the differences of using such technologies across different regimes and media platforms?

Mandatory Readings:

1. Weiss, M. L. (2017). Going to the ground (or AstroTurf): a grassroots view of regime resilience. *Democratization*, 24(2), 265-282.

Lecture 5. Surveillance in Autocracies and Beyond

Surveillance and dataveillance: ethical and technical dilemmas. Security vs. freedom dilemma. Big Data and authoritarianism. Illiberal practices in democracies. Government – business relations on the Internet (Facebook and Google).

Seminar 5. Illiberal Practices in Autocracies and Democracies

Read the required literature and be ready to discuss the following questions:

- What ethical issues are related to the problem of surveillance and dataveillance?
- Are these ethical challenges pertinent to authoritarian countries only?
- What role do transnational companies play in politically motivated dataveillance?

Mandatory Readings:

Hintz, A., & Milan, S. (2018). Through a Glass, Darkly: Everyday Acts of Authoritarianism in the Liberal West. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 19.

Lecture 6. Consultative Authoritarianism Online

Consultative authoritarianism and authoritarian deliberation online. E-government and e-participation in non-democracies. Online policy participation and regime resilience.

Seminar 6. Online Consultations and Regime Consolidation

Read the required literature and be ready to discuss the following issues:

- What is consultative and deliberative authoritarianism? What are their manifestations online?
- In which ways e-government and e-participation can contribute to regime resilience?
- What politics and policy factors might hinder successful e-tools implementation in non-democracies?

Mandatory Readings:

He, B., & Warren, M. E. (2011). Authoritarian deliberation: The deliberative turn in Chinese political development. *Perspectives on politics*, 9(2), 269-289.

Truex, R. (2017). Consultative authoritarianism and its limits. *Comparative political studies*, 50(3), 329-361.

Optional Readings:

Yan, W. (2018). Where is the Deliberative Turn Going? A Survey Study of the Impacts of Public Consultation and Deliberation in China. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 22.

Toepfl, F. (2018). Innovating consultative authoritarianism: Internet votes as a novel digital tool to stabilize non-democratic rule in Russia. *new media & society*, 20(3), 956-972.

Truex, R. (2017). Consultative authoritarianism and its limits. *Comparative political studies*, 50(3), 329-361.

Linde, J., & Karlsson, M. (2013). The Dictator's New Clothes: The Relationship Between E-Participation and Quality of Government in Non-Democratic Regimes. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 36(4), 269-281.

Lecture 7. Regulation: Internet Policy of Authoritarian Regimes

Modes of the Internet regulation (L. Lessig), legal tools and coding. Internet policy actors. Reactive and proactive Internet policy. Digital economy under authoritarianism.

Seminar 7. Internet Policy in Autocracies

Read the required literature and be ready to discuss the following issues:

- What modes of the Internet regulation did L. Lessig distinguish? How are they interconnected?
- How do these regulation modes influence political and economic aspects of the Internet development in non-democracies? Give examples

Mandatory Readings:

Kerr, J. A. (2018). Information, security, and authoritarian stability: Internet policy diffusion and coordination in the former Soviet region. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 3814-3834.

Maréchal, N. (2017). Networked authoritarianism and the geopolitics of information: Understanding Russian Internet policy. *Media and Communication*, 5(1), 29-41.

Optional Readings:

Budnitsky, S., & Jia, L. (2018). Branding Internet sovereignty: Digital media and the Chinese-Russian cyberalliance. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21(5), 594-613.

Lecture 8. Global Internet Governance: Non-Democracies' Stance

Global Internet governance: timeline and main actors. Multistakeholderism and multilateralism in the Internet governance. Data nationalism and digital sovereignty in the Internet governance.

Seminar 8. Authoritarianism and the Internet Governance

Read the required literature and be ready to discuss the following questions:

- What are the main differences between multistakeholderism and multilateralism in the global Internet governance?
- Can political regime be a significant variable in defining a country's approach towards the Internet governance?
- How do data nationalism and digital sovereignty contribute to the authoritarian discourse on the Internet governance?

Mandatory Readings:

Deibert, R. (2015). Authoritarianism goes global: Cyberspace under siege. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(3), 64-78.

Nocetti, J. (2015). Contest and conquest: Russia and global internet governance. *International Affairs*, 91(1), 111-130.

Optional Readings:

Drezner, D. W. (2004). The global governance of the Internet: Bringing the state back in. *Political Science Quarterly*, 119(3), 477-498.

Annex 2

Course ILO(s)	Teaching and Learning Methods for delivering ILO(s)	Indicative Assessment Methods of Delivered ILO(s)
OPLO-7: Able to work out proposals and recommendations for applied research and consulting;	In – class participation Essay	In – class participation assessment Essay assessment Exam
PLO-1: Able to use topical research results in political science and adjacent disciplines, apply political science for applied tasks in professional activities	In – class participation Essay	In – class participation assessment Essay assessment Exam

Assessment Criteria

In-class Participation

Grades	Assessment Criteria
«Excellent» (8-10)	Active participation throughout the seminar, both qualitative and quantitative contribution to the discussion, showing excellent comprehension of the assigned literature, without mistakes or some mistakes (1-2), original thinking and strong evidence of preparation.
«Good» (6-7)	Not constant participation, but the contribution to the discussion is valuable (one detailed answer, or 3-4 short commentaries), some minor mistakes (3-4) are made, showing evidence of preparation to the seminar.
«Satisfactory» (4-	The student does not participate in the discussion, but shows a satisfactory level of material comprehension when deliberately asked

5)	by a lecturer, with some problems (hesitation) in answering follow-up questions.
«Fail» (0-3)	The student does not show up at the seminar without a good excuse, or shows no material comprehension when asked by a lecturer, not able to answer questions using relevant information.

Essay

Grades	Assessment Criteria
«Excellent» (8-10)	The essay is relevant to the topic, fully complies with the formal requirements, has a clear and coherent structure, shows a clear argument and its justification, effectively addresses all aspects of the task. Errors are rare and minor.
«Good» (6-7)	The essay is relevant to the topic, overall complies with the formal requirements (with some minor errors), has clear structure that might lack coherence, has an explicit argument, though occasional errors occur.
«Satisfactory» (4-5)	The essay generally addresses the task, but has errors and shortcomings in either format, structure, argument or justification. Errors are frequent and significant. No critical argumentation is presented.
«Fail» (0-2)	Fails to demonstrate any appropriate knowledge.

Exam

Grades	Assessment Criteria
«Excellent» (8-10)	Excellent, full and explicit knowledge of the material. The answer to the question is coherent (essay-like style), and relevant to the question.
«Good» (6-7)	Good and sufficient knowledge of the material. The student mentions sufficient theories, concepts, terms, although may commit several mistakes (1-3) or omissions. The structure of the answer is not always coherent, or there are parts irrelevant to the question.
«Satisfactory» (4-5)	Very basic and not systemized knowledge of the material, with only basic and not deep mention of theories, concepts, terms, with more than 3 mistakes or omissions. The structure of the answer is incoherent.
«Fail» (0-3)	Fails to demonstrate any appropriate knowledge.

Preliminary Questions for the Exam

1. Authoritarian Stability and New Technologies: Repression, Cooptation and Legitimation
2. Internet and Democratization: Cyber-Optimists
3. Internet and Democratization: Cyber-Pessimists
4. Internet Censorship in Authoritarian Countries: Basic and Regional Trends
5. Internet – based Propaganda and “Astroturfing” in Non-Democracies: China and Beyond
6. Dataveillance in Autocracies and Democracies: Ethical and Political Aspects
7. Consultative and Deliberative Authoritarianism Online: Theories and Mechanisms
8. E-Government and E-Participation in Non-Democracies: Origins and Effects
9. Modes of the Internet Regulation (L. Lessig)
10. Digital Economy and Authoritarian Stability
11. Global Internet Governance: Multistakeholderism vs. Multilateralism
12. Data Nationalism and Information Sovereignty: Basic and Regional Trends

Annex 3

Recommendations for students

Recommendations for essay

The essay is written individual assignment aimed at mastering academic and research skills of the students. The aim of the essay is to analyze one or several aspects of the Internet use by non-democratic governments, using a theoretical framework and empirical evidence.

The sample topics are:

1. Does the Internet Cause Democratization? (Evidence from the Arab Spring);
2. E-Participation and Authoritarian Consolidation in China
3. Data Nationalism and Digital Economy in the Middle East

A student is free to offer her / his own topic, provided it is approved by the lecture and meets the following criteria:

- The essay should be problem oriented and presume that argument is based on theoretical knowledge and empirical evidence;
- The topic should be relevant to the course and be reflected in one of the course chapters;
- The essay must include elements of empirical research, based on case-study, statistics etc.

Formal requirements are:

- The volume of the essay should not exceed 25-30 thousand characters, including spaces and references;
- The essay should be written in English and meet the standards of academic writing and academic style;
- The essay should have at least 5 academic reference items, as well as sources of empirical evidence (news, rankings, reports etc.)

Substantive requirements are:

- The essay should have a clear statement of a problem, with the use of concepts and theories within the subject;
- The essay should have analysis and clear argument supported by theoretical and empirical means.

Special conditions for organization of learning process for students with special needs

The following types of comprehension of learning information (including e-learning and distance learning) can be offered to students with disabilities (by their written request) in accordance with their individual psychophysical characteristics:

- 1) *for persons with vision disorders:* a printed text in enlarged font; an electronic document; audios (transferring of learning materials into the audio); an individual advising with an assistance of a sign language interpreter; individual assignments and advising.
- 2) *for persons with hearing disorders:* a printed text; an electronic document; video materials with subtitles; an individual advising with an assistance of a sign language interpreter; individual assignments and advising.
- 3) *for persons with muscle-skeleton disorders:* a printed text; an electronic document; audios; individual assignments and advising.