

**International Relations 204: Dictatorship and Democracy**  
**University of Rochester**  
**Tuesday and Thursday, 11:05 AM to 12:20 PM**  
**Morey 401**

Instructor: Adam Cohon

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Office hours: Tuesday 1pm-2pm, Wednesday 9am-10am, or by email appointment

Francis Fukuyama over twenty years ago predicted that democracy was the final regime type, and that all countries would in time embrace it. In this course we examine where he was right, and where he was wrong. We first define democratic and authoritarian regime types, and the presence of both types and hybrid types across the world. We examine both democratic breakdown and democratic transitions, using cases from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America since the Second World War. In studying democratic transitions, we also develop theories on why particular countries remain non-democratic. In the final section of the course, we examine the persistence of non-democratic regimes and the prospects for future democratic transitions, particularly in China and in the recent "Arab Spring." In each section, we will consider actor-based, structural, and institutional explanations for regime change.

**Course Materials:**

All course materials will be posted onto Blackboard, or available through the University of Rochester library website. Lecture slides will be available on Blackboard before the start of each class.

I ask students to buy one book, Elizabeth Jean Wood's *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Used copies are acceptable. Be sure that you do not accidentally purchase Professor Wood's 2003 book, which concerns only El Salvador. The book will be discussed in class on October 11th.

**Course Requirements:**

Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all assignments, and participate in class discussions and activities. The assignments comprise in-class participation (20%), one 7-8 page paper due on November 20, with a first draft of at least five pages (not including citations) due on November 8 (20%), one 4-page country report, to be

done in collaboration with another student (10%), a midterm to be held on October 18, (10-40%), and a final to be held on a date set by the Registrar (10-40%).

**Flexibility policy:**

Students are free to set the grading weight placed on their midterm and final examinations at anywhere between 10 and 40 percent, so that the two weights sum to 50 percent. Cards will be distributed in class on September 4th, and cannot be changed after that date.

Students may also opt to write an original research paper alone or with other students in lieu of the final. The original research paper should be ten pages if written alone, fifteen pages if written in a pair, twenty pages if written in a group of three, and twenty-five pages if written in a group of four. The paper will be due on December 12 at 5 PM. Students choosing this option should contact me for procedures and discussions. Only one grade will be given to the entire group.

**Grading scale:**

93 to 100% - A  
90 to 92.99% - A-  
87 to 89.99% - B+  
84 to 86.99% - B  
80 to 83.99% - B-  
77 to 79.99% - C+  
74 to 76.99% - C  
70 to 73.99% - C-  
Below 69.99% - failing

*All students will receive an extra 2% on their grade if at least 95% of students in the class complete online course evaluations.*

**Re-grades:**

Students should feel free to contact me about re-grades due to arithmetic errors. If students feel that grades were incorrectly given, they can re-submit the assignment to me with a memorandum of at least 250 words explaining why they thought they deserve a different grade. Requests for re-grades should be made within 72 hours after the results have been passed back. I reserve the right on re-grades to lower, raise, or maintain any grade.

**Written work standards:**

All written work should be written in Times New Roman font, size 12, double-spaced, with 1" margins on all sides of the paper. Citations are mandatory, in either Chicago or MLA style. The bibliography at the end does not contribute to the page count.

Examinations will comprise identification questions, to be answered in one or two paragraphs, and an essay response. The rubric for grading all essays is found below.

Examinations will require you to write with a pen or pencil for the entire period. I will provide paper and extra pens for those who forget their materials. During examinations, all other materials (including backpacks, computers, and phones) will need to be left at the door or (even better) at home.

### **Studying for the examinations:**

You are welcome to study with classmates for the examinations, and send me clarification questions before the examination. I reserve the right not to answer any inquiries seeking feedback on potential examination responses.

### **Accommodations:**

If you are entitled to examination accommodations, please coordinate these with the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning well in advance of the examination. Their information and policies can be found at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/index.html> **I cannot make these arrangements for you; you must contact CETL (formerly LAS) yourself.**

There will be no make-ups for students who miss the midterm and final examination. If you cannot make the midterm examination, for prior reasons only, please let me know at least 48 hours in advance, and we can make alternative arrangements. I may ask you for verifiable evidence of any emergency.

### **Academic Honesty:**

Conduct in class, during assignments and examinations, and in writing coursework should conform to the University's policies on academic honesty. The policy can be found at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty>

Be sure to cite all your sources. When in doubt, add a footnote or endnote. In-text citations are acceptable. All country reports and independent papers should contain a bibliography at the end. Wikipedia is not considered a reliable source of information for this class, and should never be cited as an authority.

Any instance of plagiarism will result in zero credit for the assignment and referral of the student(s) involved to the College Board on Academic Honesty.

### **Course Outline**

**Two asterisks (\*\*) signify a discussion section. Students should come to class prepared to discuss all readings assigned prior to and on that date.**

**I reserve the right to drop or replace readings to better direct learning and sharpen the focus of the course. All readings are required unless otherwise indicated.**

## **August 30 - Introduction to the Course**

Part I: Definitions

### **September 4\*\***

#### Why We Care About Regime Type

*Nunca Más: Report of the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1984. Excerpts.

Bardhan, Pranab. 1999. "Democracy and Development: A Complex Relationship." published in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds. *Democracy's Values*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

### **September 6**

#### What is Democracy? What is Authoritarianism?

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry L. Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is... And Is Not," *The Journal of Democracy* 2:3. Summer 1991. pp. 75-88.

Linz, Juan. 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder: Lynne Reiner. pp. 49-63

Haber, Stephen. 2009 "Authoritarian Government," in Donald Wittman and Barry Weingast, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. [E-book accessible through library]

### **September 11\*\***

#### Classifying Regimes

Freedom House. 2012. *Freedom in the World, 2012*. Available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/reports>

Levitsky, Steven and David Collier. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49:3. 430-451.

*Country Reports 1/2: Singapore and Egypt* [Cohon]

## Part II: Transitions

### September 13

#### The breakdown of democracy

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1978. "Reflections on the patterns of change in the bureaucratic-authoritarian state," *Latin American Research Review* 13:1, pp. 3-38.

Rosenstein-Rodan, Paul N. 1974. "Why Allende Failed," *Challenge* 17:2, May/June, pp.7-13.

### September 15

#### Why did some countries become democratic?

Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2:3. April. pp. 337-363.

Zakaria, Fareed. 1994. "Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," *Foreign Affairs* 73:2. March/April 1994. 109-126.

Kim, Dae Jung. 1994 "Is Culture Destiny? A Reply to Lee Kuan Yew," *Foreign Affairs* 73:6. November/December 1994. 189-194.

### September 20

#### Structural views

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1960. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, NJ: Anchor Books. pp. 21-72. (LARGE PDF)

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 1-59.

### September 25

Di Palma, Giuseppe. 1990. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 14-43.

Waldner, David. 2004. "Democracy and Dictatorship in the Post-Colonial World" unpublished manuscript, University of Virginia.

*Country Reports 3/4: South Korea and Kenya*

## **September 27\*\***

### **Elite-centered views**

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2000. "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality and Growth in Comparative Perspective" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115:4. pp. 1167-1199 [skim the math]

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapters 1-4.

## **October 2**

Snyder, Richard. 1998. "Paths out of Sultanistic Regimes: Combining Structural and Voluntarist Perspectives," in H.E. Chehabi and Juan Linz, eds. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 49-81.

## **October 4**

### **Mass-centered views**

Collier, Ruth Berins and James Mahoney. 1997. "Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 29:3. April. pp. 285-303.

Bellin, Eva. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries," *World Politics* 52:2. January. pp. 175-205.

*Country Reports 5/6: Republic of the Philippines and Chile*

## **October 9 – No class**

## **October 11\*\***

Wood, Elizabeth J. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, entire. [Purchase or on reserve at Rush Rhees.]

## **October 16 - Review\*\***

## **October 18 - Midterm**

**Guidelines for 7-8 page paper distributed on October 18 after midterm. 7-8 Page Paper due on November 20.**

### III. Democratic Consolidation

#### **October 23**

##### Why do democracies survive/consolidate?

Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy*. 9:2. pp. 91-107.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "Why Democracy Survives," *Journal of Democracy* 9:3. pp. 36-50.

Karl, Terry L. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 23:1. October. pp. 1-21.

#### **October 30**

##### **Institutions matter**

Linz, Juan. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it Make a Difference?" in Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Ch. 1. pp. 3-87 (skim).

Przeworski, Adam, et al. 1997. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in Larry Diamond et al., eds., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies* (Vol. 1). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal," *Comparative Politics* 29:4. July. pp. 449-471.

#### **November 1\*\***

##### Rule of law and the quality of democracy

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5:1. January. pp. 55-69.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2004. "Human Development, Human Rights, and Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta, eds. *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*. South Bend, IN: Notre Dame Univ. Press. pp. 9-92.

*Country Reports 7/8: Indonesia and India.*

#### IV. Authoritarian Persistence

##### Why does authoritarianism recur or persist?

#### **November 6**

##### **On parties**

Darden, Keith and Anna Gryzmala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* 59:1. January. 83-115.

Hale, Henry. 2006. *Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. Ch. 1.

#### **November 8\*\***

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. pp. 37-83.

Jones Luong, Pauline. 2002. *Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts*. New York: Cambridge Univ Press. Ch. 1

#### **November 13**

##### **Economic crisis and democratic survival.**

Armijo, Leslie Elliott, Thomas Biersteker and Abraham F. Lowenthal. 1994. "The Problems of Simultaneous Transitions." *Journal of Democracy*, 5(4), 161-176.

Nelson, Joan. 1993. "The politics of economic transformation: Is the Third World experience relevant to Eastern Europe?" *World Politics*, 45:3, pp. 433-463.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America," *World Politics* 56:2. pp. 262-302.

#### **November 15\*\***

##### **Political economy explanations**

Osaghae, Eghosa. 1999. "Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Faltering Prospects, New Hopes." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 17:1. pp. 5-28

McFaul, Michael. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54:2. 212-244.

*Country Reports 9/10: Hungary and Poland*



**November 20 - Class TBD**

**7-8 Page paper due via email or Blackboard, 5 PM EST.**

**November 22 - No class**

Prospects for Democratization: China

**November 27 \*\***

Nathan, Andrew J. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience" *Journal of Democracy* 14:1, pp. 6-17.

Pei, Minxin. 2008. *China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Ch. 2.

**November 29\*\***

Tsai, Lily. 2007. "Solidarity Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review* 101:2. May. pp. 355-372.

Rowen, Henry. 2007. "When Will the Chinese People Be Free?" *Journal of Democracy* 18:3, July, pp. 38-52.

Prospects for Democratization: The Middle East

**December 4\*\***

Penner Angrist, Michele. 2010. *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Reiner. pp. 1-68.

**December 6\*\***

Tessler, Mark A. and Eleanor Gao. 2005. "Gauging Arab Support for Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 16:3. pp. 83-97.

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

**December 11 – Final Discussion\*\***

Grading Rubric for Written Work

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
Completeness (10 points)	All parts of the assignment are addressed.	A minor part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	A major part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	Two or more major parts of the assignment are unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing them.
Clarity (10 points)	Ideas are provided in a logical order that makes it easy to follow the author's train of thought.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it reasonably easy to follow the author's train of thought.	A few ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay a little confusing.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay confusing.
Support (30 points)	Every point in the argument is supported with valid inferences from evidence or logic.	Minor points are unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.	A major point is unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.	More than one major point is unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.
Research (40 points)	More than 5 sources, of which at least 3 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Sources include both general background sources and specialized sources. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when they are used.	5 sources, of which at least 2 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when they are used.	5 sources, of which at least 2 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Politicized or popular sources are used without adequate comment.	Fewer than 5 sources, or fewer than 2 of 5 are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books.
Source documentation (10 points)	Correct attributions are provided for all quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.			Correct attributions are not provided for all quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.