

**International Relations 204: Dictatorship and Democracy**  
**University of Rochester**  
**Tuesday and Thursday, 9:40 AM to 10:55 AM**  
**Lattimore 210**

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Office hours: Wednesday 9am-11am, 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 transitions to democracy, 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 two books: Gordon Harvey's *Writing With Sources: A Guide for Students* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing Co., 2008 – older versions okay) and 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 24th.

**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 three five page papers (summing to 60%) due on October 15 (at the beginning of class), November 19 (at the beginning of class), and on December 19 (in my faculty mailbox or my office by 4 PM), one 4-page country report, to be done in collaboration with another student (10%), and in-class participation in discussions and assignments (30%).

Prompts for all written assignments will be distributed at least two weeks before the due date.

**Flexibility policy:**

Students are free to set the grading weight placed on their three papers at any point between five and fifty percent, so that the three weights sum to 60 percent. Cards will be distributed in class on September 5th, and cannot be changed after that date.

**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.*

Late assignments will be deducted three points for each 24-hour period or fraction thereof that they are late.

**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 200 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.

The rubric for grading all essays is found below.

**Studying and collaboration:**

You are welcome to study and discuss paper drafts with classmates. Doing so is a valuable skill and means of feedback. Please send me clarification questions when you have them. I reserve the right not to answer any inquiries seeking feedback on potential grades or the value of arguments.

All final work *must* be your own product.

**Accommodations:**

If you need accommodations, please coordinate these with the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning well in advance of deadlines. 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 assignment deadlines. If you cannot make deadlines, 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.

Use *Writing with Sources*. Throughout the semester, we'll discuss more on proper citation and writing.

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.**

### **September 3 - Introduction to the Course**

*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.

Part I: Definitions

### **September 5**

#### **Why We Care About Regime Type**

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

### **September 10**

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

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *The Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (June). Pp. 115-144.

## September 12

### Part II: Transitions

#### The breakdown of democracy after World War II

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 17\*\*

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ch. 6, 7.

## September 19

#### 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.

*Country Report #1: Brazil* [Cohon]

## September 24

### 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 26

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.

## October 1

### 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.

*Country Report #2: Singapore OR India*

## October 3\*\*

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 8 – No class

## **October 10**

### **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.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2011. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. ch. 5, 8.

Schock, Kurt. 1999. "People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma," *Social Problems* 46(3): 355-375.

*Country Report #3: Republic of the Philippines OR Chile*

## **October 15**

**First paper due in paper format at the BEGINNING of class.**

### **How do institutions matter?**

Fish, M. Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 7

Lijphart, Arend. 1994. "Democracies: Forms, performance, and constitutional engineering," *European Journal of Political Research* 25: 1-17.

## **October 17\*\***

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

## **October 22**

### **Diffusion**

Brinks, Daniel and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* 39(4): 463-489.

Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. "International Diffusion and Democratic Change," in Nathan J. Brown, ed. *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. ch. 11.

## **October 24\*\***

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.]

## III. Democratic Consolidation

### Why do democracies survive/consolidate?

## **October 29**

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.

*Country Study #4: Thailand OR Indonesia*

**October 31\*\***

**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.

IV. Authoritarian Persistence

Why does authoritarianism recur or persist?

**November 5**

**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 7\*\***

**Parties and Coalitions**

Arriola, Leonardo. 2013. "Capital and Opposition in Africa: Coalition Building in Multiethnic Societies," *World Politics* 65(2): 233-272.

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

*Country Report #5: Republic of China (Taiwan) OR South Korea*

**November 12**

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 14\*\***

**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 Report #6: Poland OR Hungary*

**November 19**

**Second paper due in paper format, at BEGINNING OF CLASS.**

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

Dunning, Thad. 2005. "Resource Dependence, Economic Performance, and Political Stability," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4): 451-482.

V. Cases

**November 21**

Prospects for Democratization: China

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 26 – Class TBD**

**November 28 – No class**

**December 3\*\***

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.

Optional readings will be available on Blackboard.

*Country Report #7: Nigeria OR Botswana*

Prospects for Democratization: The Middle East

Penner Angrist, Michele. 2010. *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Reiner. pp. 1-68. [To be replaced by 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (2013) when available.]

**December 5**

Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-149.

Way, Lucan. 2011. "The Lessons of 1989," *Journal of Democracy* 22(4): 17-27.

**December 10**

Optional readings will be made available on Blackboard

**December 12 – Final Discussion\*\***

**FINAL PAPER DUE DECEMBER 19TH BY 4 PM TO MY OFFICE OR FACULTY MAILBOX, THIRD FLOOR OF HARKNESS HALL.**

Grading Rubric for Written Work

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
<b>Completeness (25 points)</b>	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.
<b>Clarity (25 points)</b>	Ideas are provided in a logical and organized order that makes it easy to follow the author's argument and thoughts. The author provides guidance to readers. Grammatical and spelling errors are minimal.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it not too hard for readers to follow the argument. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Ideas are not presented in an organized or logical order, making the argument difficult to follow. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay confusing. Grammatical and spelling errors are frequent.
<b>Support (20 points)</b>	Every point in the argument is supported with valid inferences from evidence or logic.	Minor points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	At least one major point is unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	Many major points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.
<b>Research (20 points)</b>	More than five sources, of which at least three are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Sources include both general background sources and specialized sources. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are mostly acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are used without acknowledgement.	Fewer than five sources are used, or fewer than two of the minimum five sources used are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books.
<b>Source Documentation (10 points)</b>	Correct attributions are provided for all quotations, esoteric facts, and original research.			Correct attributions are not provided for quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.