

Political Science 356: Transitions to Democracy and Dictatorship

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Everyday life is dramatically different depending on whether one resides in a democracy or under a dictatorship. People who once lived under a dictatorship often describe the experience as having lived with “two faces”: one for the public sphere, where they dare not share their true thoughts, and one for the private sphere, where they can speak openly to only a small number of people. How do these two different regime types develop? This course explores this question, specifically examining successful, incomplete, and failed transitions to democracy. The incomplete transitions result in hybrid regimes, stuck between democracy and dictatorship, and the outright failures result in non-democracies, such as dictatorships. The course uses examples from most regions of the world, including Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, North America, and South America.

Course Materials

We will read scholarly works as well as first-hand accounts from participants in and observers of transitions to democracy and dictatorship. The course also incorporates feature films, documentary film clips, and policy exercises.

Books and Articles: Three works are available for purchase at the bookstore: *Santiago's Children*, *The Magic Lantern*, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*. The books are also on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library. Other required materials will be available on the course Blackboard site, unless otherwise noted. Paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned.

News: Students are strongly encouraged to follow world events. These sources offer some of the best foreign coverage:

- *The New York Times* can be accessed for free on a Case computer or through VPN at <http://library.case.edu/ksl/collections/newspapers/>. Select Factiva; then from the top left menu bar select News Pages. Under the *NYT*, see the default front page and select Foreign Desk. For a personal print or digital subscription, see the left menu bar at www.nytimes.com.
- *The Economist* can be accessed for free on a Case computer or through VPN from KSL's eJournal Portal at http://lu4ld3lr5v.search.serialssolutions.com/?sid=sersol&SS_jc=ECONLON&title=The%20Economist%20%28London%29. The page provides links to Factiva, which contains *Economist* articles from 1981 to the present, and to the Economist Historical Archive, which covers 1843-2009. For a subscription, see <https://www.economistsubscriptions.com/ecom26/global/index.php>
- National Public Radio (WCPN 90.3 FM) broadcasts brief news updates at the top of the hour and news analyses throughout the day on programs like Morning Edition, All Things Considered, and Marketplace. See <http://www.wcpn.org> for the schedule and podcasts.

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post, select Blackboard on Case's home page, login, select POSC 356, choose Assignments, Discussion Questions, click on the appropriate week, select Reply, write your questions, and click Submit. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the Blackboard home page.

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion. Students should craft two analytical questions based on each week's readings and post them on the course Blackboard site by 8 pm Monday prior to class meetings during Parts I through IV of the course. Students should read their classmates' questions before the start of class. The instructor will select some questions for class discussion, and students are welcome to raise questions in class. Students are expected to actively participate in class discussion. Students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials and to pose questions for discussion. Readings should be completed by the first day of the week they are assigned, and paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned. Because participation is critical to understanding the material, students are expected to attend all classes. Except under extraordinary circumstances, repeatedly not posting discussion questions or absenteeism will negatively affect students' final grades.

Short Essays: In addition to reading course materials and participating in class, undergraduates will write a short essay for two weeks during part two of the course and two weeks during part three of the course, for a total of four short essays. The purpose of the short essays is to help students understand, critique, and integrate the readings and prepare to pose questions for discussion in class. In these papers, students should develop an argument related to an analytical question and their countries of focus (see below), such as what impact have the economic systems had on regime change in their countries. The strongest papers typically introduce the argument in the first paragraph and then use evidence from the readings throughout the remainder of the paper to defend the argument. They also usually incorporate ideas from each reading for that week and perhaps draw on ideas from previous readings as well. Short essays should be between one and a half to two pages double-spaced. Papers, printed out, must be submitted at the beginning of the first class of the week the analyzed materials are assigned. Evaluation of the papers will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of writing.

Country Research: Students will select two countries from a list of authoritarian countries that have experienced political liberalization in the last twenty years. They will identify and read materials about the countries during weeks two through 12 of the semester in order to write three reports, described below, and inform their short essays. There is no required number of sources. Instead students should read sufficient sources in order to develop convincing arguments for their reports. A workshop on sources will be held in class September 5.

Country List: Bahrain (2003), Bhutan (2009), Burundi (2004), Djibouti (2000), Egypt (2013), El Salvador (1998), Ethiopia (1996), Gambia (2002), Ghana (2001), Guyana (1994), Haiti (2007), Indonesia (1999), Kenya (2003), Kyrgyzstan (2006), Lebanon (2006), Libya (2013), Malawi (1995), Mali (1991), Mexico (2000), Mozambique (1991), Nigeria (1998), Pakistan (2009), Panama (1994), Peru (2001), Philippines (1996), Romania (1996), Senegal (2003), South Africa (1994), Taiwan (1996), Tanzania (1995), Thailand (1998), Tunisia (2012), Ukraine (2006), Venezuela (1996)

Country Reports: Students will write three country reports. The first will analyze the countries' regimes and the regimes' evolution prior to political liberalization using regime theories from week one. The second will analyze the political liberalization in the two countries using the democratic transition theories from weeks two, four, five, six, and seven. The third will characterize obstacles to democratic consolidation in the countries using those theories from weeks eight through 11. The strongest papers typically introduce the argument in the first

paragraph, offer a comparison and/or contrast of the countries as part of the argument, and use evidence from the research materials and assigned readings throughout the remainder of the paper to defend the argument. Each report should be approximately six pages double-spaced, excluding the work cited page(s). The first country report should be emailed to the instructor prior to the time class begins September 19. The second and third reports, in print, should be submitted at the beginning of class October 17 and November 26, respectively. Students will draw on their reports in discussions October 17 and November 26. Evaluation of the reports will take into account the quality of research, degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, quality of writing, and, for the second two reports, participation.

Film Viewings: During the semester we will watch three political feature films. The first students will watch on their own. The others will be shown on Thursdays in the evening so that we can watch the films in their entirety as a class. We will select times that work with people's schedules. Class will not meet those Thursday afternoons.

All written work should be carefully structured and grammatically correct. Informal citations—phrases like “as Dahl argues”—are acceptable. To avoid plagiarism, students should review “Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It,” distributed in class. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

The four short essays will constitute 30 percent of the course grade; the three country reports 60 percent; and class participation and attendance ten percent. Students will lose a half a grade on any assignment for each day it is late.

Course Schedule and Readings

Day 1 (August 27): Introduction to Democracy and Dictatorship and the Course

NO CLASS August 29

Watch the film *Das Leben der Anderen* (The Lives of Others) this day or Friday. The film is on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library. Also read for next week.

PART I: REGIME TYPES

Week 1 (September 3, 5): Regime Types—Democracy and Dictatorship

Robert Alan Dahl. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971. Read 1-11.

Juan J. Linz. "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain." In *Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology*, edited by Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan, 251-283. New York: Free Press, 1970. Read 251-268.

Steve Reifenberg. *Santiago's Children*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Read chapter two, pages 24-28, chapters 5, 8, 13, 14, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 33, and Epilogue. Also see map facing page 1.

PART II: TRANSITIONS to DEMOCRACY

Week 2 (September 10, 12): Transitions to Democracy—Socioeconomic Conditions

Seymour Martin Lipset. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (1959): 69-105. Read 75-85.

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49, (January 1997): 155-183.

Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55 (July, 2003), 517-549.

Review country list and read material about possible countries of interest in order to select two.

Due September 12: Declaration of two countries for research and bibliography of potentially useful materials. Write names of countries at top of bibliography.

Week 3 (September 17, 19): Research Week

Students should use this week to complete readings necessary to write their first country report. Class will not meet September 17 or September 19.

Due September 19: First Country Report

PART II: TRANSITIONS to DEMOCRACY [continued]

Week 4 (September 24, 26): Transitions to Democracy—Elite Bargaining

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Read "Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes," "Negotiating (and Renegotiating) Pacts," "Resurrecting Civil Society (and Restructuring Public Space)," 15-36, 37-47, 48-56, 57-64, 74-78.

Timothy Garton Ash. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. 1st Vintage books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1993. Read two of these three chapters or all three if you have time. "Witness and History" "Warsaw: The First Election," "Budapest: The Last Funeral," "Prague: Inside the Magic Lantern, 11-23, 25-60, 78-130.

Research materials for two selected countries.

Week 5 (October 1, 3): Transitions to Democracy—Social Forces

Barrington Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966. Read "England and the Contributions of Violence to Gradualism" [part], 3-20, 29-39.

Ruth Berins Collier. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and Southern America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Read 1-32, 166-181.

Elizabeth Jean Wood. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 8 (October 2001): 862-888.

Research materials for two selected countries.

October 3: Film Viewing—Class will meet in the evening instead of the afternoon.

Week 6 (October 8, 10): Transitions to Democracy—New Economic Approach

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Read "Paths of Political Development" and "Our Argument" [part]. 1-14, 15-43.

Research materials for two selected countries.

PART II: TRANSITIONS to DEMOCRACY [continued]

Week 7 (October 15): Transitions to Democracy—International Influences

Samuel Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Read “Demonstration Effects or Snowballing,” 100-106.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. “Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change,” *Comparative Politics* 38, no. 4 (July 2006): 379-400.

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Read “The Cross-National Diffusion of Democratizing Elections,” 278-306

Research materials for two selected countries.

(October 17): Transitions to Democracy—Country Discussion

Due October 17: Country Report

NO CLASS October 22 and 24

PART III: INCOMPLETE TRANSITIONS

Week 8 (October 29, 31): Incomplete Transitions to Democracy—Hybrid Regimes

Larry Diamond. “Thinking about Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 21-35.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 51-65.

Andreas Schedler. “Authoritarianism’s Last Line of Defense.” *Journal of Democracy*, 21, 1 (2009), 69-80.

Research materials for two selected countries.

PART III: INCOMPLETE TRANSITIONS [continued]

Week 9 (November 5, 7): Incomplete Transitions to Democracy—The Role of Weak States

Guillermo O'Donnell. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." *World Development* (1993): 133-173.

Stephen Holmes. "What Russia Teaches Us Now." *The American Prospect* 33 (1997), 30-39.

Michael Bratton and Eric C.C. Chang. "State Building and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Forwards, Backwards, or Together?" *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 9 (November 2006): 1059-1083.

Research materials for two selected countries.

November 7: Film Viewing—Class will meet in the evening instead of the afternoon.

Week 10 (November 12, 14): Incomplete Transitions to Democracy—Authoritarian Enclaves

Edward L. Gibson. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Read "Territorial Politics and Subnational Democratization: Charting the Theoretical Landscape" [part] and "Subnational Authoritarianism in the United States: Boundary Control and the 'Solid South,'" 1-7, 9-15, 17-34, 35-71.

Kelly M. McMann. "Democratization Beyond National Capitals: Evidence from England and France." article manuscript.

Research materials for two selected countries.

Week 11 (November 19, 21): Incomplete Transitions to Democracy—Economic Obstacles

Joel Hellman. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions." *World Politics* 50 (January 1998): 203-234.

Kelly M. McMann. *Economic Autonomy and Democracy: Hybrid Regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Read 1-5, 28-37

Mary E. Gallagher. "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy." *World Politics* 54 (April 2002): 338-372.

Research materials for two selected countries.

Week 12 (November 26): Incomplete Transitions to Democracy—Country Discussion

Due November 26: Country Report

NO CLASS November 28

PART IV: BREAKDOWN of DEMOCRACY

Week 13 (December 3): Breakdown of Democracy

Nancy Bermeo. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2004. Read “Part 1: Our Literature and Interwar Europe,” “Heroes or Villains? Images of Citizens and Civil Society in Literature on Democracy,” “Ordinary People and the Breakdown of Democracy in Interwar Europe,” and chapter on Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, or Argentina, 3-6, 7-20, 21-63, 67-68 and pages of chapter of your choice.

PART V: CONCLUSION

Conclusion (December 5): Transitions to Democracy and Dictatorship

Students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to integrate the topics we studied.