

Democracy and Dictatorship

Pol 426/2326

Winter 2019

TC 24

Professor Lucan Ahmad Way

Office: Munk 109N

Office hours: Mondays 3-4 or by appointment

Email: lucan.way@utoronto.ca

This course explores the sources of democracy, authoritarianism and the durability of authoritarian regimes. First, where does democracy come from? Why does democracy emerge and survive in some countries but not others? Next, what explains the durability of authoritarian regimes? Why do some dictatorships persist while others do not? Why are some autocrats more or less durable in the face of challenges to their rule?

We will explore theories rooted in leadership, economic development, natural resources, polarization, regime type, and civil military relations. The first part of the course will provide overviews of these literatures. The second part of the course will then explore the utility of competing approaches by exploring cases failed democracy in Weimar Germany and Chile in 1973; as well as authoritarian durability (China during the Tiananmen square protests in 1989) and instability (Iran in 1979). What theories best explain these different outcomes?

Course requirements:

The course grade will be based on the following:

WEEKLY RESPONSE PAPERS: (25%) The response papers -- ½ to 1 page in length – should summarize each of the readings for all weeks and provide **one** question about any or more than one of the readings. The papers should explicitly discuss **each** of the week’s readings and be submitted on blackboard to me by **noon** the day of class. **Note that graduate students are required to summarize one of the suggested readings in addition to the required reading.** In general, I recommend that students make explicit reference to the author(s) of the works in question. Note that for the books, you should summarize separately **each** of the required chapters. **The papers will not be graded.** Instead, an A (85%) will be given as long as the paper is handed in on time and there is evidence that the reading has been done. **No credit will be given for late papers.** Note, that you will *not* be expected to write a response paper for the weeks in which you choose to do a lit review and a short paper (see below).

LITERATURE REVIEW: (25%) You should write a 3-4 page literature review (12 point, double spaced) for one of the theory weeks (weeks 2 through 7). This exercise is NOT primarily a summary of the arguments – but a critique of the readings that highlights the differences and similarities between the arguments of the different readings (how are the approaches

similar and different?). **This review is due on the day of that week's discussion.** Late papers will not be accepted.

SHORT PAPER: (35%) You will be asked to write a 7-8 page paper (12 point double spaced) assessing the importance of voluntarist AND structural variables in explaining the regime outcomes in one of the weeks 9-12. The paper should draw on both the required reading as well as 3 other sources focusing on the particular crisis that are not in the syllabus. This paper is due on the last day of class. You will be deducted 5% for each day your paper is late.

Note: Those enrolled in Masters or PhD may replace this with a research paper (20 pages) on a topic of their choosing related to regimes and regime outcomes. Students who choose to do this should inform me and send me a topic by Feb 5. This paper is due on the last day of class.

DEBATE: (7.5%) In each of the four final weeks, there will be a debate on the voluntarist or structural roots of regime outcomes in weeks 9-12. You will need to volunteer for one of these teams (I strongly encourage you to volunteer for the same topic on which you decide you write your paper – but this may not always be possible)

GENERAL CLASS PARTICIPATION: (7.5%) All students will be expected to participate actively in each class. Attendance will be taken and will count towards your participation grade. During the debates (weeks 9-12) in which you are not on one of the teams, you are expected to ask questions based on the reading.

Grade breakdown:

Weekly responses:	25%
Literature critique (4 pages) due day of class:	25%
Short paper (7 pages):	35%
Debate:	7.5%
Class participation:	7.5%

Use of Turnitin for papers

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Laptop/Tablet Policy

This seminar will be a laptop and tablet free zone. There is now significant research available showing that laptop/tablet use in class disturbs those around the laptop/tablet user and has negative effects on the laptop/tablet user's performance on tests *even when the laptop is used appropriately for note-taking*. This is in addition to the copious evidence that the kind of multitasking that usually accompanies laptop/tablet use in the classroom hurts academic

performance. I have therefore decided that laptops/tablets cannot be used in my seminar. Please do not bring them to lecture or leave them in your bag.

Required readings:

Readings marked with an # can be found on the U of T library website. Readings marked with an * can be found on blackboard. All other readings are from books available for purchase. The following required readings are available for purchase at the UT bookstore.

- Arturo Valenzuela *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*

(also available online:

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb02805>)

- Charles Kurzman, *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Harvard University Press.
- Dingxin Zhao *The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*. University of Chicago Press.
- Benjamin Hett, *The Death of Democracy: Hitler's Rise to Power and the Downfall of the Weimar Republic* Penguin

Week 1 January 7: Introduction

Overview of course. What is democracy? What is authoritarianism?

Week 2: January 14: Structuralism versus voluntarism

Mahoney and Snyder, "Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Regime Change", *Studies in Comparative International Development* 34:2 (Summer 1999): 3-32.

* Philippe Schmitter and Guillermo O'Donnell. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule*, pp. 3-37.

Lucan Way, "Deer in Headlights: Incompetence and Weak Authoritarianism after the Cold War." *Slavic Review* 71, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 619-46.

Week 3: January 21: Oil and Democracy

Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53 (April 2001).

Eva Bellin, "Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, No. 2 (January 2004), pp. 139-157.

Stephen Haber and Victor Menaldo "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review*, 105, No. 1: 1-26, 2011
(read only abstract, introduction, literature review and conclusion... skim the rest)

* David Waldner and Ben Smith, "Rentier States and State Transformations" ms

Suggested reading:

Jones Luong, P. and Erika Weinthal, "Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity, and Domestic Constraints," *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006): 241-263.

Kevin Morrison 2009. "Oil, Nontax Revenue, and the Redistributive Foundations of Regime Stability," *International Organization* 63, Winter 2009: 107-38

Terry Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* 1997

Ben Smith, *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007)

Thad Dunning *Crude Democracy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press) Introduction, pp. 1-36.

Week 4: January 28: Economic development

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review*. 53, No. 1: 69-105.

Boix, Carles and Susan Stokes "Endogenous Democratization" *World Politics* - Volume 55, Number 4, July 2003, pp. 517-549

Christian Houle, "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics*, 61

Ben Ansell and David Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 2010

Carles Boix, "Democracy, Development, and the International System," *American Political Science Review* 105, No. 4, 2011

Suggested:

Daniel Treisman, "Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover," *American Journal of Political Science* 59, No. 4, 2015

Freeman and Quinn, "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered," forthcoming APSR. – (ask me if you want to read this and I will provide it for you)

Week 5: February 4: Polarization

TBD

Graduate students: If you decide to write a research paper, you should submit to me a topic by email by this date and set up a time to discuss the topic with me.

Week 6: February 11: Regime type as a source of regime stability/instability

- # Geddes, Barbara. 1999. “What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:115-44.
- * Milan Svobik. 2012. Chapter 6
- # Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way “The Durability of Revolutionary Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy* 24, No. 3 (2013): 5-17.
- * Houchang E. Chehabi, Juan J. Linz eds. *Sultanistic Regimes*, chapter 1.

Suggested

Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz *How Dictatorships Work* chapter: “Political Institutions As Responses to the Ordinary Dilemmas of Dictatorship” (ms – ask me if you want to read this and I will provide it for you)

Dan Slater, “Democratic Careening,” *World Politics* 2013.

Dan Slater 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics, State-Building, and Authoritarian Durability in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

READING WEEK

Week 7: February 25: Military coups

- * Samuel Huntington *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1968), pp. 192-198, 229-231
- * Eric Nordlinger *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments* (1977) chapter 3
- * Naunihal Singh *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups* (2014) chapters 1-2.
- # John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole “Poverty, The Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power” *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Jan., 1990), pp. 151-183.
- # Deniz Aksoy, David B. Carter and Joseph Wright “Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators” *World Politics* 67 No. 3 (2015): 423-468

Suggested:

- * Lucan Way “The Revolutionary Origins of Chinese Communist Durability” ms (focus on sections related to the Chinese military)
- # J. T. Quinlivan “Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East” *International Security* 24, No. 2 (1999) pp.131-165
- # Nikolay Marinov and Hein Goemans (2014). “Coups and Democracy.” *British Journal of Political Science*, 44, pp 799-825

Week 8 March 4: International Influences and Regime Outcomes

- # Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, “International Linkage and Democratization” *Journal of Democracy*. 16, No. 3, July 2005
- * Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave.*, pp. 85-106.

Kurt Weyland, "The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America"
International Organization 63: 391-423, 2009.

Seva Gunitsky *Aftershocks: Great Powers and Domestic Reforms in the Twentieth Century*.
Introduction (*available on e-books*)

Week 9: March 11: Authoritarianism in Chile

Which approach (structuralist or voluntarist) best explains the Chilean military coup of September 11, 1973?

Valenzuela, read whole book

Note: you must summarize each chapter individually

Week 10 March 18: Rise of Nazis

Debate question:

Which approach (structuralist or voluntarist) provides a better explanation for the failure of Weimar democracy and the rise of the Nazis?

Whole book: Benjamin Hett, *The Death of Democracy: Hitler's Rise to Power and the Downfall of the Weimar Republic* Penguin

Note: you must summarize each chapter individually

Week 11: March 25: China

Debate question:

Which approach (structuralist or voluntarist) provides a better explanation for why the Chinese Communist Regime survived Tiananmen?

Zhao: Introduction, chapters 6 and 7.

Note: you must summarize each chapter individually

Week 12 April 1: Iran

Debate question:

Which approach (structuralist or voluntarist) provides a better explanation for the fall of the Shah in 1979?

Charles Kurzman, *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chaps 1-4, 6-8.

*Ervand Abrahamian "Structural Causes of the Iranian Revolution" in Jack Goldstone ed. *Revolutions* pp. 119-126

Note: you must summarize each chapter individually

Papers due