

POSC 4421-101

# Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Totalitarianism

Spring 2019

T, Th 9:30 – 10:45  
Wehr Chemistry 002

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Office Hours: T,Th 11:00 – 12:00

## Course Overview

Francis Fukuyama famously proclaimed “the end of history” in the summer of 1989 as the Cold War drew to a close and long-tenured communist regimes ceased to exist throughout Europe. At the time it seemed sensible to believe that democracy had triumphed over its modern antithesis, totalitarianism. Yet, in the nearly three decades since policymakers and scholars celebrated the perceived ultimate triumph of liberal (capitalist) democracy, authoritarian regimes have persisted throughout the world. Communism may have expired as a viable alternative, but today democracy is still challenged by a variety of authoritarian regimes. Totalitarianism is no longer common, yet dictatorship appears to be thriving in diverse places such as China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere.

This course examines how political science views “ideal types” of political systems. We consider normative and positive approaches to their manifestations in countries at different points in time. Topics include power, legitimacy, ruling elites, institutions, and economics. We explore political system change through different transition mechanisms. Political, economic, and social outcomes resulting from differences in regime type are compared. We assess different causal mechanisms and apply a variety of theoretical approaches to the empirical world.

## Course Objectives

**Knowledge and Reasoning** This course is designed to build on previous political science courses and increase your knowledge and understanding of the diverse set of political regimes and institutions in the world today. I expect you to exercise your critical thinking skills and assess theories and causal mechanisms in light of empirical information from the historical and contemporary world.

**Writing and Analysis** This course involves building research and writing skills. Political Science 4421 is designed as a writing-intensive course. As such, some of your effort in this class will be dedicated to discussion and peer revision of written assignments. It is my hope that you will become a stronger writer over the course of this semester, and be better prepared for law school, graduate school, or work.

## Course Requirements

In this course you will prepare for and attend lectures, participate in class discussions, complete five small assignments, take two exams, and complete a 12-15 page term paper. Details of these expectations are provided below.

Prerequisite(s) for this class include: POSC 2401 or junior standing. This means that you should have a basic familiarity with the terminology used in comparative political science (i.e. presidential versus parliamentary systems) or be able and willing to augment your knowledge outside of the normal proceedings of this class. It is my intention to spend most of our time together diving into theories and empirical evidence rather than basic vocabulary; this latter activity is a primary function of the POSC 2401 course. Contact me with questions or concerns.

### ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION

There is a companion website to the course available on D2L. I will use this site to disseminate information regarding the course such as reminders about exams and assigned tasks. I will also collect your writing assignments and post grades on D2L. You may direct all questions regarding the performance of D2L to the University Help Desk at 414-288-7799 or <http://www.marquette.edu/its/help>. I expect you to check the D2L course site often for announcements and other materials, and to be sure to check your university email as well.

When sending emails to myself or other students, I expect that you will be professional, courteous, and write in complete sentences. Any email correspondence that does not include a salutation (i.e. "Hello,") and some identification of who you are (i.e. "Thanks, A. Student") **will not receive a response**. You should get in the habit of writing emails in a professional manner, since instructors, employers, or clients will react much better to well-written correspondence.

## REQUIRED MATERIAL

I expect that you will prepare for each week by reading the assigned material from the required book(s) and or/additional readings posted on D2L. The required book(s) for this course:

Dahl, R. 2015. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
ISBN (format): 978-0300194463 (2nd Ed.)

Teorell, J. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*. New York: Cambridge University Press.  
ISBN (format): 978-0521139687 (paperback)

There is another book that is not required, but rather *strongly recommended*. I will place this book on course reserve, but as it is a reference volume for writing, I think it best for you to obtain a copy for yourself if at all possible.

LaVaque-Manty and LaVaque-Manty. 2015. *Writing in Political Science: A Brief Guide*. New York: Oxford University Press.  
ISBN (format): 978-0190203931 (paperback)

You can purchase these books through the campus bookstore, although I *strongly* urge you to explore used/electronic/rental options by obtaining the books from an online source (i.e. Amazon). There is no reason to buy a brand new copy if you can get a good used copy or if you are comfortable with a rental or an eBook, which typically are much less expensive. You must have a copy of all required books to succeed in the course, however. There are additional readings which will be made available on D2L.

## EXAMS

There are two exams in this class, each worth 20% of your final grade. Both the midterm and the final will include a few essay questions. The midterm will cover the material in the first half of the class, and the final exam will cover the material in the second half.

Exams in this course will be take-home format. While this means that you can use your notes and the readings for the class, you should be prepared and use your time carefully. You must take the exam on the day listed in the schedule below, but you may take the exam at a different time than our class meets if that is convenient for you, as long as you are done and have submitted the exam by 11:59 PM.

You will be given four hours to complete each exam and submit a readable file (.docx, .doc, .odt) to the appropriate dropbox on D2L. I will be using the Turnitin.com feature to ensure originality of answers. You should take the exam independently and not consult other students. I will monitor D2L user data on exam days to ensure there is no inappropriate behavior occurring.

If you have a university-approved excuse for missing an exam, you have 24 hours to contact me in order to have the opportunity for a make-up. If you do not contact me within this time and provide documentation of your absence, you will not be allowed a make up.

## ASSIGNMENTS

There are five short assignments, each worth 2% of your final grade. These assignments are intended to tie what you are learning in class with popular culture/social media. For each assignment, you will be given specific instructions and will complete the assignment using the D2L discussion board feature. Once you have posted your response to the assignment, you will then get to respond to your classmates' posts (like you would to a post on social media). These assignments are supposed to be fun and should not take a great deal of time.

For example, one of the assignments will ask you to write a tweet (280 characters) relating to the material that week. You will post the tweet on D2L using the discussion board feature. Then, you will respond to other students by indicating you would "like" or that you would retweet their post. You can also respond with a reply if so motivated.

## RESEARCH PAPER

There is one large writing assignment in this course, a research paper, worth 40% of your final grade. The final paper will be 12-15 pages and utilize at least five (5) academic sources. This means that you will be required to find information about your topic independently (outside of class time) and pace yourself to work on the project throughout the semester. To help you remain motivated to work on the paper, the project includes a few smaller assignments which are due throughout the semester, and help you build the final draft.

In a separate document (available on D2L) I have outlined the research paper project and given you a choice between three different questions to answer. As part of the research paper project you will fill out a prospectus worksheet where you select the question you will answer. Other components of the project include a 1-2 page outline, an annotated bibliography, a short draft for peer review, a peer review of another student paper, and the final draft.

Research paper assignments must be uploaded as a document to the appropriate D2L drop-box by 11:59 PM on the due dates listed in the schedule below. The document must be one of the following file types: .doc, .docx, .odt, .txt, .rtf, .pdf note that Apple Pages cannot be read by D2L. Unreadable files will receive no points.

Late assignments will be penalized (and could receive zero points) depending on how late and the context. Late final drafts **will not be allowed** since the paper is due very close to the end of the semester. You should also note that **I will not accept a final draft if you have not completed all of the supporting assignments**. This means that skipping the small assignments and handing me a paper at the end of the course will result in losing 40% of your final grade. To put this another way, it is practically impossible to pass this course if you do not turn in all of the research paper assignments.

Like the exams, the final paper will be checked using the Turnitin.com service. Plagiarism is unacceptable and will result in a zero for the paper *at minimum* and will likely mean a conversation with the university administration. There is no excuse for plagiarism, and you will be found out if you try it. I have included on D2L some resources to help you identify and avoid plagiarism, in case you are not confident about avoiding it. The writing center is also a good resource; you may of course always ask me for help too.

## **PARTICIPATION**

Participation is an essential component to this course. This is not a lecture-based class where I do all the talking. I will at times have some slides or material prepared to explore the readings and/or some difficult topics. However, most of each class period will feature questions and discussions from the class on the readings and topics assigned.

In an effort to focus class discussion, I have included at least one discussion question for each topic (see schedule below). Every student is responsible for reading the required material and preparing some ideas to discuss the question for that topic. It is my intention that students will also develop additional questions, ideas, and comments in the course of preparing for class.

Sometimes class discussion is dominated by a few well prepared (or at least, outspoken) students. I may intervene to manage discussion when necessary, including limiting responses from frequent participators and/or specifically calling on infrequent participators. If I call on you and you are not prepared many times throughout the semester, your participation grade will suffer.

## **ATTENDANCE**

Attendance is important to your success in this class. Not counting the first class day of class or scheduled off days and exams, there are 27 attendance days. You can miss up to four (4) unexcused absences without it negatively affecting your grade. Note that missing more than four attendance days unexcused could result in you receiving a WA grade (at the discretion of the instructor). Marquette's guidelines on attendance– which form the basis of this policy– can be found in the undergraduate bulletin.

You must contact me immediately if you are going to be late or if you have an emergency and need to leave early. If you miss a partial class period without discussing it with me, this will count as an unexcused absence. If you are only a few minutes late, you will be warned; but know that I will eventually take away partial or complete attendance points for students who are habitually late, depending on the severity of the offense.

If you have an emergency or a unique situation during the semester which may cause you to miss more than four classes, you must discuss it with me immediately and we will develop a mutually agreeable solution. Failure to let me know why you have missed several attendance days will almost certainly lead to a WA grade.

Good attendance may be used to justify improving the final course grade of students who are “on the line” between grade categories. Even though it is not officially included in the calculation of your final grade, *attendance does matter*.

## Grading Policies

Consistent with the above requirements, course grades will be calculated as follows: five assignments (10%), two exams at 20% each (40%), the research paper project (40%), and participation (10%) for a total 100%.

### Final Grade Calculation

Assignments, five total	10%
Exams, two total	40%
Research Paper project	40%
Participation	10%
Total:	100%

Grades will appear on D2L, typically within approximately five business days from the due date. Grades will be calculated using the scale below. Rounding and grade curves are at my discretion. You are responsible for ensuring that you have received grades for all completed work. If you do not see a grade for a completed exam or assignment, you should contact me immediately. After the last class meeting I will not entertain any questions about missing work or change grades on work completed during the semester.

### Grading Scale

100–93	A	87–83	B	77–73	C	67–63	D
92–90	A–	82–80	B–	72–70	C–	62–60	D–
89–88	B+	79–78	C+	69–68	D+	59– 0	F

## PROFESSIONALISM

You will be expected to behave professionally in this class. That is to say, you will be expected to arrive on time and to attend all meetings. You will be prepared for each class and actively participate in discussion. I will not tolerate disruptive behavior, including, but not limited to: reading non-class material, conversing during lectures, insulting classmates or the instructor, or leaving early. I also will not tolerate students who do not put forth every effort.

**During class you will not be allowed to use electronic devices for anything other than academic activities.** This means no social media, Youtube, etc. It is disruptive to other students and rude to the instructor and will not be tolerated. Should I encounter you misusing electronic devices during lecture, I reserve the right to take away your attendance/participation points for the day. If the behavior is distracting to other students you will be asked to surrender the device for the duration of the class or leave the room.

## ACADEMIC DISHONESTY

I take plagiarism extremely seriously. Let it be noted for the record that cheating in any form will not be tolerated; besides, academic dishonesty violates Marquette's Honor Code. Anyone caught cheating on an examination will be punished according to University guidelines. In addition, if a paper is handed in without any citations, improper citations, or plagiarized material the paper will receive a zero, and you will be referred to the university for disciplinary action. Please consult the section on student academic dishonesty in the Undergraduate Bulletin for a listing of the practices that may be considered cheating.

## EQUAL ACCESS NOTICE

If you have a disability and require accommodations, please contact me early in the semester so that your learning needs may be appropriately met. You will need to provide documentation of your disability to the Office of Disability Services. If you are unsure of what you need to qualify for services, visit ODS's website at [www.marquette.edu/disability-services](http://www.marquette.edu/disability-services) or contact the Office of Disability Services at 414-288-1645.

## IMPORTANT REGISTRAR DEADLINES

You should be aware of these university-wide spring semester dates which apply this course.

Late add deadline	Tuesday	01/22	11:59 PM
Last day to drop without W	Tuesday	01/22	11:59 PM
Last day to drop with W	Friday	04/12	

# Course Schedule

The topics covered and readings required for each class period appear on the following pages. Readings from the required book(s) are indicated using the author-date system. Any readings not in the required books are available on D2L. Following the course schedule (electronic copy only) is a list of all required D2L readings in full citation format in case you want to obtain your own copy or need to reference something in your assignments this semester.

## I. REGIME TYPES AND TRANSITIONS

### Week 1: Course introduction

Tu 01/15

Syllabus; Hoover Green (Unpub.) *How to Read Political Science*

Fukuyama (1989) *The End of History?*

**Question:** What is the “end of history” and can we be sure it happened/is happening?

Th 01/17

Dahl (2015) *On Democracy*. Ch. 4 and 5

Schmitter and Karl (1991). “What Democracy Is... and Is Not”

**Question:** What is democracy... and what is it not?

### Week 2: Conceptualization and Measurement

Tu 01/22

Dahl, Robert. 1972. *Polyarchy*. pp 1-9

Przeworski (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. pp 10-14

Dahl (2015) *On Democracy*. Ch. 10 and 11

**Question:** Is there one conceptual definition of democracy in political science, or is this a contested concept?

Th 01/24

Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland (2010). *Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited*. Read through the end of section 4.

Coppedge and Gerring (2011). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach”

**Question:** Does how we measure democracy matter? What approach is best?

**DUE:** Research project prospectus worksheet

### Week 3: Authoritarianism & Its Subtypes

Tu 01/29

Linz and Stepan (1996). "Modern Nondemocratic Regimes." in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*

Geddes, Wright, and Franz (2014). "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set"

**Question:** Are all nondemocratic regimes alike? Can we measure the concepts underlying authoritarianism?

Th 01/31

Diamond (2002). "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes"

Levitsky and Way (2002). "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism"

**Question:** Is "authoritarian" a meaningful regime type? How far should we go in stretching the concept of authoritarianism (and democracy)?

Fr 02/01

First Media Assignment **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

### Week 4: Totalitarianism

Tu 02/05

Gentile (2013) "Total and Totalitarian Ideologies" in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*

Linz (2000). *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Ch. 2

**Question:** Is totalitarianism a distinct regime type? Can we distinguish it from authoritarian regimes using empirical data?

Th 02/07

Selected readings from *Communism, Fascism, & Democracy*, ed. Cohen (1962). Includes writings from Lenin, Stalin, Huber, and speech excerpts from Hitler.

Wedeen (1999). *Ambiguities of Domination*. Ch. 1

Fifield (2017). "Life under Kim Jong Un." *The Washington Post*. This is an online "graphic" containing excerpts from people who escaped from the PRK regime.

**Question:** Do the ideas of revolutionaries/practitioners of totalitarianism fit with the accounts of the Syrian and North Korean regimes?

Fr 02/08

Outline of research project **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

## Week 5: Democratization & Consolidation

Tu 02/12

Teorell (2010). *Determinants of Democratization*. Intro and Ch. 1

Przeworski (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. pp 51-66

**Question:** Which of the approaches introduced in the readings makes the most sense to you? Can you think if a transition not explained by any of them?

Th 02/14

Linz and Stepan (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. pp 3-15

Diamond (1994). "Toward Democratic Consolidation"

**Question:** What is consolidation? Can we measure this phenomenon reliably?

Fr 02/15

Second Media Assignment **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

## Week 6: Theories of Regime Change

Tu 02/19

Teorell (2010). *Determinants of Democratization*. Ch. 2, 3, and 4

**Question:** Revisit the first question from week 5. With more detailed explanation, can you determine which of these approaches makes the most sense theoretically? Which matches empirical evidence best?

Th 02/21

Teorell (2010). *Determinants of Democratization*. Ch. 5

Weyland (2012). "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?"

**Question:** What role does mass mobilization have in the transition process? Is mass mobilization a guarantee for a successful transition?

## Week 7: Persistent Authoritarianism

Tu 02/26

Brownlee (2007). *Persistent Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Ch. 1

Schedler (2010). "Authoritarianism's Last Line of Defense"

**Question:** How do institutions- particularly representative ones- factor into authoritarian persistence?

Th 02/28

Ross (2008). "Oil, Islam, and Women"

Greene (2010). "The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance"

**Question:** Resources seem to matter a great deal to authoritarian persistence. What is the mechanism at work here? Is there more than one?

Fr 03/01

Annotated bibliography **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

## Week 8: Deliberalization

Tu 03/05

Freedom House (2018). "Freedom in the World 2018: Democracy in Crisis"

Plattner (2019). "Illiberal Democracy and the Struggle on the Right"

**Question:** Is democracy in decline? What trajectory should we expect in 2019?

Th 03/07

**Midterm Exam**

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## II: IMPLICATIONS OF REGIME TYPE

No class 03/11 – 03/17 (Spring Break)

## Week 9: Institutional Choice in Democracies

Tu 03/19

Dahl (2015). *On Democracy*. Ch. 10 and 11

Lijphart (1996). "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies"

**Question:** Which institutional arrangement is "best" for democracy?

Th 03/21

Cheibub and Limongi (2002). "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered"

Lindberg (2004). "Women's Empowerment and Democratisation: The Effects of Electoral Systems, Participation, and Experience in Africa"

**Question:** Does institutional choice have a measurable effect on regime stability? What about representation?

Fr 03/22

Third Media Assignment **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

## Week 10: Institutional Choice in Autocracies

Tu 03/26

Bellin (2005). "Coercive Institutions and Coercive Leaders," in Posusney and Angrist (eds.), *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. pp 21-38

Menaldo (2012). "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs."

**Question:** How does institutional "choice" make sense in the authoritarian setting? What role does coercion take on? Is representation relevant at all?

Th 03/28

Gandhi and Przeworski (2007). "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats."

Magaloni (2008). "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." pp 715-730 only

**Question:** Do institutions matter in authoritarian contexts? How do legislatures, parties, and elections affect the survival of autocratic regimes?

## Week 11: Corruption and Elections

Tu 04/02

Anderson and Tverdova (2003). "Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes toward Government in Contemporary Democracies"

Sung (2004). "Democracy and Political Corruption: A Cross-national Comparison."

**Question:** What effect(s) does corruption have on democracy?

Th 04/04

Nichter (2008). "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot."

Frye et al. "Political Machines at Work Voter Mobilization and electoral subversion in the Workplace."

**Question:** Is vote buying or turnout buying more effective? Can either reliably work for an autocrat running in elections?

Fr 04/05

Fourth Media Assignment **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

Rough Draft **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

## Week 12: Political Economy of Regime Type

Tu 04/09

Dahl (2015). *On Democracy*. Ch. 13 and 14

Bellin (2000). "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries."

**Question:** How can democracies with market economies deal with the problem of economic inequality leading to political inequality? Should they even try?

Th 04/11

Baum and Lake (2003). "The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital."

Ross (2006). "Is Democracy Good for the Poor?"

**Question:** Is democracy good for the poor? Can we identify differences in economic growth and development between regimes types reliably?

**DUE:** In-class peer review exercise.

Fr 04/12

Peer review comments **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

**Week 13: Economic/Market Reform**

Tu 04/16

Weyland (1998). "The Political Fate of Market Reform in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe." Stop on p. 663.

Kwon (2004). "Economic Reform and Democratization: Evidence from Latin America and Post-Socialist Countries."

**Question:** Economic reform often happens alongside political reform. Can both be successful simultaneously, or does one need to come first?

Th 04/18

No class – Easter break

**Week 14: Repression, Terrorism, Conflict**

Tu 04/23

Davenport (2007). "State Repression and Political Order."

Armstrong (2009). "Measuring the Democracy-Repression Nexus."

**Question:** What is the "shape" of the relationship between repression and democracy? Might there be normative concerns with this relationship?

Th 04/25

Chenoweth (2013). "Terrorism and Democracy."

Hegre (2014). "Democracy and Armed Conflict."

**Question:** Thinking about these two modes of political violence/conflict, what effect does regime type have on the likelihood of violence? Are there any empirical examples which defy the literature?

Fr 04/26

Research project final draft **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

**Week 15: Promoting & Replicating Regime Type**

Tu 04/30

Brinks and Coppedge (2006). "Diffusion Is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy"

Bader et al. (2010). "Would autocracies promote autocracy? A political economy perspective on regime-type export in regional neighbourhoods"

**Question:** Do regimes try to replicate or influence other regimes to be more like them? Is there such a thing as autocratic diffusion?

Th 05/02

Plattner (2015). "Is Democracy in Decline?"

Mainwaring and Bizzarro (2019). "The Fates Of Third-Wave Democracies."

**Question:** Revisit Fukuyama's *The End of History* which you read at the beginning of the semester. Are we experiencing the "end of history?"

Fr 05/03

Fifth Media Assignment **DUE 11:59 PM** on D2L

**Final Exam** 05/08 (Wednesday)

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## References

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- Diamond, Larry Jay. 1994. "Toward democratic consolidation." *Journal of democracy* 5(3):4–17.
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