

**Democracy and Its Competitors**  
**Spring, 2017**  
**Professor Leslie Anderson**  
**Meeting Time: Tuesday Period 5-7 or 11:45am to 2:45 pm**

Course Description

This is a class on democracy and its various authoritarian competitors. We will study several of the institutional and procedural components of democracy and we will study multiple forms of authoritarianism, including separatism/apartheid, fascism and rightist populism, clientelism, personalism, demagoguery, charisma, and totalitarianism.

Although aspects of this class are about democratization and the slow development of democracy, this is not a course only about democratization. Rather it is a study of the mutual competition that occurs in human societies between the forces of democracy and democratization and the forces that prefer some form of authoritarianism. While many societies that move toward democracy experience a clear point of transition (the first, fair election, for example), the full and complete achievement of democracy does not immediately follow from that point. In fact, democracy co-exists alongside remnants of authoritarianism, in one of its many forms, after the transition toward democracy has begun or even long after democracy has been in place.

Our task in this course will be to understand the development of democracy and the ongoing struggle between democracy and authoritarianism inside a primarily democratic polity. Several of the cases we study here are complex and contradictory, evidencing formal democracy (often for some members of the polity) combined with exclusion, oppression, racism, or terrorism for other members of that same polity. In the course we will seek to understand how nations can resist authoritarianism from within and make democracies more democratic, humane and inclusionary. More often this process can be found in new democracies and is part of the process of democratic transition. But sometimes this struggle also appears in older democracies and is recognizably similar. To understand this tension we must comprehend both the elements of democracy that are vulnerable to authoritarianism and the various guises in which authoritarianism presents itself.

Requirements

This is an elective, graduate seminar. It orients itself toward students who have a serious interest in democracy or in authoritarianism or in both. It is relevant for comparativists and students of American politics. It fulfills one of the requirements for elective courses in the field of comparative politics. The reading load is appropriate for a doctoral seminar and the readings serve as a resource for you in research on democracy for your dissertation or other scholarly studies. The course does not have a specific regional focus but will range across Europe, Latin America, Africa, and the United States. We will look at democracy and authoritarianism in contemporary settings and in historical perspective.

This class needs to include the campaign, the election, and the electoral aftermath of the 2016 election in the United States. However, these events are recent and ongoing

such that published scholarly works have not yet had time to appear. We will need to create this part of the syllabus as we go along. If you are interested in the US case please find some readings that you think are appropriate and suggest them to the class. We will add them to the syllabus in the appropriate weeks. See below for when those weeks appear.

The requirements for this course are several. They include doing all the reading, teaching the reading for one week of the semester and either a final paper or a final exam, your choice. If you have a specific research interest that you can pursue through this course and you would like to write a paper, then the assignment is designed to allow you to explore that interest. You are welcome to explore a case of imperfect or incomplete democracy, a case of authoritarianism, or a case of overlap between the two. You are also welcome to explore more than one case. Your final paper should be 25 pages long. If you prefer to practice for the comprehensive exams then you can take a final exam under the same format we use in the comprehensives. You will have 24 hours to write one question.

### Grading

Your grade is based upon class attendance and participation, upon your teaching in class, and upon the final assignment, either a research paper or a final exam. In either I will grade your work based upon its quality, intellectual depth, reflectiveness, ability to address theory, and the quality of the writing.

### Books and Articles

Two of the listings here are articles. Please note that several books are very light (notable Griffin, Jones, Fritzsche and Hann) and some are even novels. We will decide whether you want to read them, skim them, or how you want to handle them. These books were ordered through the textbook mandatory system. They have also been put on reserve.

### Prerequisites

Dahl, *Polyarchy*

Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*

### *Required*

1. Thornton Anderson, *Creating the Constitution* also on reserve
2. Leslie Anderson, *Democratization by Institutions* also on reserve
3. V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* also on reserve
4. Michael Coppedge, *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela* also on reserve
5. Edward Gibson, *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies* also on reserve
6. Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy* also on reserve

7. Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Moslems in India* also on reserve
8. Robert Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa* also on reserve
9. Robert Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South* also on reserve
10. James Griffin, *Black Like Me* (on the U.S. South) also on reserve
11. Edward Jones, *The Known World* also on reserve
12. Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South From Slavery to the Great Transformation* also on reserve
13. Peter Fritzsche, *Germans Into Nazis* also on reserve
14. Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration* also on reserve
15. Edith Hann, *The Nazi Officer's Wife* (in paper, a true story) also on reserve
16. Stanley Payne, *Fascism in Spain* also on reserve
17. Omar Encarnacion, *Democracy Without Justice in Spain: The Politics of Forgetting* also on reserve
18. Gino Germani, *Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism* (comparing Argentina, Italy, Spain) also on reserve
19. Steven Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective* also on reserve
20. Anderson, *Social Capital in Developing Democracies: Nicaragua and Argentina Compared* also on reserve
21. Susan Eckstein, *The Poverty of Revolution* (on Mexico) also on reserve
22. Javier Auyero, *Poor People's Politics* (on Argentina)
23. Francis Lee and Bruce Oppenheimer, *Sizing Up the Senate*

*Optional and recommended*

Catherine Fosl, *Subversive Southerner: Anne Braden and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Cold War South*

January 10                      Meet, pass out syllabus, discuss course, paper, sign up to teach one week, or at least think about it. Work out class logistics

Part I: Democracy and Its Components

These are some of the various components of democracy that can also offer openings for authoritarianism. Formal state institutions and even constitutional conventions where we write down the rules of democracy can offer openings for some form of authoritarianism or for aggression from and by non-democrats who seek to impose an unfair, unequal or authoritarian system.

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| January 17 | Constitutional Conventions and Formal Institutions of State | T. Anderson, <i>Creating the Constitution</i> and L. Anderson, <i>Democratization by Institutions</i> |
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| January 24 | Linkage Institutions: Parties | V.O. Key, <i>Southern Politics<br/>Nation in State and Nation</i><br>Michael Coppedge, <i>Strong<br/>Parties and Lame Ducks</i> |
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| January 31 | Subnational Politics | Gibson, <i>Boundary Control</i><br>L. Anderson, articles on<br>Nicaragua |
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Question for you: Should we consider the United States Senate here? Should we consider the Electoral College? If so, find your own readings.

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| February 7 | Social Capital and Civil Society | Theda Skocpol, <i>Diminished<br/>Democracy</i><br>Varshney, <i>Ethnic Conflict</i> |
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(The reading for this week assumes that students have read Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* or *Bowling Alone* or Anderson, *Social Capital*)

#### Part II: Democracy's Competitors

We are five weeks into the semester. We turn now to studying several of threats to democracy: separatism, fascism, rightist populism, clientelism. These threats may try to live with or inside democracy and destroy or undermine democracy from within. They are not neatly distinguishable from each other. Additionally, this list is not comprehensive; it is a beginning.

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| February 14 | Separatism, Separate and Unequal, Apartheid South Africa, the U.S. South | Price, <i>The Apartheid State</i><br>Mickey, <i>Paths Out of Dixie</i><br>Griffin, <i>Black Like Me</i><br>Jones, <i>The Known World</i><br>Hahn, <i>A Nation Under Our Feet</i> |
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| February 21 | Fascism with Charisma Or Demagoguery | Fritzsche, <i>Germans into Nazis</i><br>Hahn, <i>Nazi Officer's Wife</i><br>Frei, <i>Adenauer's Germany</i> |
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| February 28 | Fascism by Military Intervention | Payne, <i>Fascism in Spain</i><br>Encarnacion |
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| March 7 | Spring Break |  |
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| March 14 | Peronism and Rightist Populism in Latin America | Gino Germani,<br><i>Authoritarianism, Fascism<br/>and National Populism</i> |
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|          |  | Levitsky, <i>Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America</i><br>Anderson, <i>Social Capital</i> |
| March 21 | Rightist Populism<br>In the United States  | readings to be decided  |
| March 28 |  |   |
| April 4  | Clientelism  | Eckstein, <i>The Poverty of Revolution</i><br>Auyero, <i>Poor People's Politics</i>                   |
| April 11 | Authoritarianism Inside<br>Democratic Institutions<br>Latin America  | Anderson, <i>Democratization By Institutions</i>  |
|          | United States Institutions<br>The Electoral College<br>The U.S. Senate   | Lee and Oppenheimer, <i>Sizing</i><br>other readings to be decided                                    |
| April 18 | last class. We will use this as a catch up class or we may have no class, depending on how well we stay on the syllabus schedule. If we cancel the class you will be able to use the time to work on your exams or papers. |   |