



Democracy, Dictatorship and Regime Change

Spring 2020

Class code

POL-UA 9994

Instructor Details

Carmela Lutmar

Office Hours: by appointment

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Democracy, Dictatorship and Regime Change

Tuesday, 10-1

Brandeis, Room 104

Class Description

The purpose of this course is to examine key topics, major contributions, and recent advances in the study of democracy, dictatorship, and regime change. We will cover the classic regime types (democracy, hybrid regimes, and dictatorship), transitions between them, and the strategies they (and their leaders) use to stay in power. We will cover such topics as the origins of these regimes, the role that leaders and institutions play in them, how they deal with civil unrest or other threats to their power, and more. We will first cover the theoretical foundations of each topic, and then delve into empirical examples focusing on the Middle East and North Africa.

Desired Outcomes

This course has the following learning goals:

1. To provide all students with a solid understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding the origins, conduct, and institutional foundations of democracies, dictatorships and the various degrees that exist between them.
2. To provide a deeper understanding of the current systems of governance in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as their modern history.
3. High achieving students will also learn how to write a full research paper using primary and secondary sources, how to critique existing research, and how to build a convincing argument for their final paper.

Assessment Components

Students are expected to attend class regularly and arrive on time. Students must complete all assigned readings before the class meeting and be prepared to participate actively in discussions of the readings and current events. Students are required to turn in all written assignments on the dates scheduled. Late work will be penalized.

Students will be evaluated on the following basis:

1. Class Attendance and Participation (10%)

2. Country Presentations (10%)

Each lesson will focus on a different country in the MENA region which will then be used as a case-study for the theories presented that day. Students will be required to choose a country and introduce it to the class during the relevant lesson. You are free to present their chosen countries however you see fit, using media, stories, statistics, etc.

3. Critical Review Papers (40%)

Students are required to submit two papers, 6-8 double-spaced pages at most, due via NYU Classes by the beginning of the 4th and 9th classes. The goal is to pick an article from the readings, summarize its main argument(s), and then criticize it on various grounds – methodological, flow of argument, etc.

4. Final Paper (40%)

*Students are required to submit a final research paper on any of the topics covered in the syllabus, 15-20 double-spaced pages at most. Students will have to finalize the topic with the instructor before starting to work on the paper. The students are required to formulate a clear research **question** and answer it using both primary and secondary sources. Students will also be required to give a short presentation of their topic during the final class. We will learn what a good research question is, and how to conduct a comprehensive literature review.*

Failure to submit or fulfill any one of the required course component results in failure of the class.

Assessment Expectations

Grade A: Full attendance, thoughtful participation, assignments turned in on time and meet assigned grading criteria

Grade B: Full attendance, thoughtful participation, assignments turned in on time but partially meet assigned grading criteria

Grade C: Partial attendance, little participation, assignments turned in late and/or partially meet assigned grading criteria

Grade D: Partial attendance, no participation, assignments turned in late and/or do not meet assigned grading criteria

Grade F: Poor attendance, no participation, assignments turned in late and/or do not meet assigned grading criteria

Grade conversion

A=94-100

A-=90-93

B+=87-89

B=84-86

B-=80-83

C+=77-79

C=74-76

C-=70-73

D+=67-69

D=65-66

F=below 65

Grading Policy

No-shows for in-class presentations and assignments submitted after the deadline without requesting an extension will receive zero grades.

If a student believes an inadvertent error was made in the grading of an individual assignment or in assessing an overall course grade, a request to have the grade re-evaluated may be submitted. To appeal an assigned final grade, the student should first email the course instructor requesting clarification about how the grade was determined. If the student is not satisfied with the outcome of the discussion and wishes to appeal the grade further, a formal written appeal should be submitted to the site director. **This appeal must be submitted within 30 days after the grade has been posted; appeals that are submitted after this deadline will not be considered.**

Attendance Policy

Study abroad at Global Academic Centers is an academically intensive and immersive experience, in which students from a wide range of backgrounds exchange ideas in discussion-based seminars. Learning in such an environment depends on the active participation of all students. And since classes typically meet once or twice a week, even a single absence can cause a student to miss a significant portion of a course. To ensure the integrity of this academic experience, class attendance at the centers is mandatory, and **unexcused absences will be penalized with a two percent deduction from the student's final course grade.** Students are responsible for making up any work missed due to absence. Repeated absences in a course may result in failure.

All medical-based absence requests **MUST** be presented to the Manager of Student Life and Housing (MSLH). In the case of illness, contact the MSLH within seven (7) days of the absence or as soon as practicable and provide medical documentation. Non-medical requests should be made to the Assistant Director for Academics (AD/Academics) and in advance of the intended absence. Your instructors will be informed of any excused absence; they are not authorized to approve your absence, and they are required to report any absences to the AD/Academics.

NYU Policy on Religious Holidays

1. Students who anticipate being absent because of any religious observance should, whenever possible, notify faculty and the AD/Academics in advance of such anticipated absence.
2. Whenever feasible, examinations and assignment deadlines should not be scheduled on religious holidays. Any student absent from class because of his/her religious beliefs shall not be penalized for any class, examination, or assignment deadline missed on that day or days. In the event that examinations or assignment deadlines are scheduled on a religious holiday, any student who is unable to attend class shall be permitted the opportunity to make up any examination or to extend any assignment deadline missed on that day or days.
3. That no adverse or prejudicial effects shall result to any student who avails him/ herself of the provisions of the resolution.
4. A violation of these policies and principles shall permit any aggrieved student to bring forward a grievance, provided under the University Grievance Procedure.

Late Submission of Work

All works must be submitted on time, unless you have received an explicit extension. Any late submission may result in grade deduction at the sole discretion of the instructor.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Academic accommodations are available for students with documented disabilities. Please contact the Moses Center for Students with Disabilities at 212-998-4980 or see their website (<http://www.nyu.edu/life/safety-health-andwellness/students-with-disabilities.html>) for further information.

Plagiarism Policy

Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's words, ideas, judgment, images or data as though they were your own, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Plagiarism constitutes an academic offence for which you can be disciplined. Punishment may include a failing grade, suspension or expulsion. In all confirmed cases, a report will be sent to the student's Dean at NYU or, in the case of a non-NYU student, to the home institution.

Internet Research Guidelines

It is hard to overestimate the importance of the internet to the build up of contemporary knowledge of the world around us. But it needs to be used wisely. This means that one must be selective and careful when relating to internet-based sources, identifying and distinguishing opinions from facts, and journalism from academics. One should make clear reference to internet sources, allowing the reader the opportunity to consult these resources as and if required. As with all sources of information, use the internet critically.

Please also note that the 'world-wide web' exists in many languages. Many sources about Israel in English, for instance, will be aimed at tourists or readers living primarily in English-speaking regions of the world. Sources might differ when reading them in other languages.

NYUTA's Writing Center

Established in coordination with NYU's Expository Writing Center, NYUTA's Writing Center is available to help you with all genres of writing, from senior theses to smaller response papers; from personal statements to cover letters; from PowerPoint presentations to creative assignments. The Center can help you at any stage of the writing process, from figuring out the demands of an assignment, to working with or researching sources, to brainstorming a thesis and outline, to finalizing a project or reviewing a draft. However, please note that writing sessions are held as a joint session, an active exercise between the student and writing advisor – this is not a proofreading service!

Please view the Writing Center as an opportunity, not a punishment. It is meant equally for student-writers who are not confident in their skills as well as students who are quite talented and strong, but recognize the value of a second look. Moreover, rest assured that your instructors will value and appreciate your initiative to visit the writing center.

For more information or to schedule an appointment, please contact NYUTA's AD/Academics, Edan Raviv (room 201; edanr@nyu.edu).

Session 1

Leaders, Regimes and Systems: Israel

Students will learn to

1. Distinguish between various regime types
2. Learn what motivates leaders in different political systems

*Plattner, Marc F. "Is democracy in decline?" *Journal of Democracy* 26(1) (2015): 5-10.

*Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter Two.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Eleven.

Jones, Benjamin F. and Olken, Benjamin A. 2006. "Do leaders matter? National leadership and growth since World War II". *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3):835–864.

Session 2

Democracy, Dictatorship and Hybrid Regimes

Students will learn distinguish between degrees of democracy and dictatorship as well as what defines regimes as such.

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter One.

*Diamond, Larry. 2002. "Thinking about hybrid regimes". *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2):21–35.

*Cheibub, José A., Gandhi, Jennifer, and Vreeland, James R. 2010. "Democracy and dictatorship revisited". *Public Choice*, 143(1):67–101.

Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan A. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-16.

Session 3

Explanations and Transitions to Democracy: Post-Arab Spring Egypt and Tunisia

Session 3

Students will learn the various ways of transitioning to democracy from dictatorship. We will give examples from past cases in Eastern Europe as well

*Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters One and Six.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapters Thirteen and Seventeen.

*Bellin, Eva. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Arab World," *Comparative Politics*, January 2004

*Goldstone, Jack A. "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011

*Gause, III, F Gregory. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2011

Session 4

Correlates and Transitions to Democracy: The Palestinian Authority

Session 4

*Przeworski, Adam and Limongi, Fernando. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and facts". *World Politics*, 49(3):155–83.

*Boix, Carles and Stokes, Susan C. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization". *World Politics*, 55(4):517–49.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Twelve.

Acemoglu, Daron, Johnson, Simon, Robinson, James A., and Yared, Pierre. 2008. "Income and democracy". *American Economic Review*, 98(3):808–42.

Lipset, Seymour M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites for Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy". *American Political Science Review*, 53(1):69–105.

Cincotta, Richard. "Socioeconomic Studies," in Seismic Shift: Understanding Change in the Middle East, Stimson Center, May 2011, http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Socioeconomic_Studies.pdf

Brownlee, Jason. "Why the Modest Harvest?" Journal of Democracy, October 2013

Critical Paper One Due

Session 5

Democratic Consolidation and Breakdown: Lebanon

Session 5

Students will learn the factors that help consolidate democracies, and what explains its survival. Students will also analyze the variables that makes democracies collapse.

*Linz, Juan J. and Stepan, Alfred. 1996. Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-86

*Svolik, Milan. 2008. "Authoritarian reversals and democratic consolidation". American Political Science Review, 102(2):153–168.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Eight.

Weingast, Barry R. 1997. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law". American Political Science Review, 91(June):245–263.

Svolik, Milan W. 2013. "Learning to love democracy: Electoral accountability and the success of democracy". American Journal of Political Science, 57(3): 685-702

*Pearlman, Wendy. "Emigration and Power: a Study of Sects in Lebanon 1860-2010", Politics and Society, March 2013

Chatty, Dawn. "Statelessness and Tribal Identity on Lebanon's Eastern Borders", Mediterranean Politics, September 2013

Session 6

Revolution and Endogenous Institutional Change: Yemen

Session 6

Students will learn when revolutions start, and what explains the variation in their occurrence.

*Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter Eight.

*Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2010. "Leader Survival, Revolutions, and the Nature of Government Finance." American Journal of Political Science 54(4): 936-950.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Seven.

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2000. "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(4): 1167-1199. (skim pages 1169-1181)

*Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Session 7

Monarchies: Jordan and Morocco

Session 7

Monarchies "survived" the Arab Spring without much turmoil. We will discuss about this puzzle and try to analyze its causes.

Svolik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters One and Two.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Ten.

*Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter One.

Wintrobe, Ronald. "How to understand and deal with dictatorship: an economist's view," *Economics of Governance* 2001, No. 2, pp. 35-58

*Gause, III, F Gregory. "Kings for All Seasons: How the Middle East's Monarchies Survived the Arab Spring," *Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper #8*, September 2013.

Session 8

Institutions in Dictatorships: Nasser's Egypt and Khomeini's Iran

Session 8

Students will learn about the various institutions in dictatorships, and how those differ from institutions in democracies.

Svolik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter Four.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Three.

*Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter Two.

Acemoglu, Daron. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-47.

*Mancur Olson, 1993, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development" *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576

*Wittenberg, Jason. 2010, "Beyond Dictatorship and Democracy: Rethinking National Minority Inclusion and Regime Type in Interwar Eastern Europe," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(8): 1089-1118

Steven Cook. 2012. *The Struggle for Egypt: from Nasser to Tahrir Square*, Oxford UP, 2012. Chapters One, Two and Three.

Hiro, Dilip. 1985. *Iran under the Ayatollas*, Routledge. Chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

Session 9

Power in Dictatorships: The Gulf

Session 9

Power is an elusive term, and its components vary. Students will learn about the Gulf states, and how they use the relatively limited power they have to achieve their foreign policy goals.

*Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith. 2011. *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*, New York: Public Affairs. Chapters Two, Three, Four, Five and Six.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Six.

*Brownlee, Jason. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 59, pp. 595-628.

*Przeworski, Adam. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," 2007, *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(11): 1279-1301

Herz, John H, "The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Régimes: A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions," *Journal of Politics*, 14(1): 19-40

*Nathan, Andrew. 2003, "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, 14(1): 6-17

Frantz, Natasha. 2011, *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and their Leaders*. Continuum Press, pp. 81-112.

Rees, EA. 2004, "Leader Cults: Varieties, Preconditions and Functions," in Balázs Ápor et al., (eds), *The Leader Cult in Communist Dictatorships: Stalin and the Eastern Bloc*. Palgrave, pp. 3-26.

Kechichian, Joseph. *Power and Succession in Arab Monarchies: A Reference Guide*, Rienner 2008.

Critical Paper Two Due

Session 10

Popular Resistance and the Dictator's Response: Syria

Session 10

Students will learn –

1. When do masses decide to resist a dictatorship?
2. Will dictators respond in the same way in all instances of unrest?
3. What explains the variations in the dictators' reactions?

Lynch, Marc. "A Partial Syria Reset," *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 27, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/09/27/a_partial_syria_reset_obama_diplomacy

*Timur Kuran, 1991, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44(3): 7-48

Yongshun Cai, 2008, "Power Structure and Regime Resilience: Contentious Politics in China," *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(2): 411-432

Ryan, Curtis. "The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria," Middle East Report, #262 (Spring 2012), <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/new-arab-cold-war-struggle-syria>

*Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Smith, Alastair. 2011. The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics, New York: Public Affairs. Chapter Eight.

Session 11

Dealing with Dictatorships: Libya

Session 11

Students will learn about the various ways we can counter dictatorial regimes. What determine the variation in our responses?

*Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith. 2011. The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics, New York: Public Affairs. Chapter Seven.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa. Westview Press. Chapter Fourteen.

*Wintrobe, Ronald 2001, "How to understand, and deal with dictatorship: an economist's view," Economics of Governance 2: "Dealing with Dictatorship." Part III.

Roy, Olivier. "The Transformation of the Arab World," Journal of Democracy, July 2012

Brumberg, Daniel. "Transforming the Arab World's Protection-Racket Politics," Journal of Democracy, July 2013

Linz, Juan. "Democratization Theory and the Arab Spring," Journal of Democracy, April 2013

Session 12

Islamic Authoritarianism: Saudi Arabia and Iran

Session 12

Religion is a powerful force to mobilize the masses. Students will learn about the links between religion and dictatorships. Are Islamic dictatorships any different than other dictatorships?

*Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?," Journal of Democracy, Volume 21, Number 1, pp. 93-104.

Fish, M Stephen. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism," World Politics 55(1): 4-37.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa. Westview Press. Chapter Four.

Fish, M Stephen. Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence. 2011, Oxford University Press Chapters Two and Seven.

*Russett, Bruce. "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?" 2004, World Politics, 56(3): 582-607.

Session 13

Regime Change and the Resource Curse: Iraq

Session 13

Students will learn about the Resource Curse phenomenon – and its links to regime change

*Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse, How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. pp. 63-109.

Gasiorowski, Mark, David E. Long, and Bernard Reich (eds). 2013. 7th edition. *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westview Press. Chapter Five.

*Ross, Michael. 2004. How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases. *International Organization*, 58(01), pp.35-67.

Session 14

Regime Types, Foreign Policy and Military Intervention: The Middle East

Session 14

States intervene for various reasons. Students will learn those motives, and analyze their usefulness in the short and long run in achieving the goals of their initiators.

Kobi Michael and Yoel Guzansky (eds). 2017. *The Arab World on the Road to State Failure*. INSS

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Smith, Alastair, Siverson, Randolph M., and Morrow, James D. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapters Six and Nine.

Reiter, Dan and Alan C. Stam. 1998. "Democracy, War Initiation, and Victory." *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 377-389.

Huntington, S.P., 2000. *The clash of civilizations?*. In *Culture and Politics* (pp. 99-118). Palgrave Macmillan US.

*Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Randolph M. Siverson and Gary Woller. 1992. "War and the Fate of Regimes: A Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 638-646.

Goemans, H.E. 2000. "Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(5): 555-579.

*Easterly, William, Shanker Satyanath and Daniel Berger. 2008. "Superpower Interventions and Their Consequences for Democracy: An Empirical Inquiry." NBER Working Paper No. 13992, National Bureau of Economic Research. (Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w13992>)

Kurth, James. "Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq: Legal Ideals vs. Military Realities", *Orbis*, Winter 2006

*Pattison, James. "The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya", *Ethics and International Affairs*, Fall 2011

**Classroom
Etiquette**

Please raise your hand before speaking in class.

Computers are acceptable in class, but please do not abuse this privilege by using them for non-class related activities.

Place all mobile devices on silent.

Your Instructor

Carmela Lutmar has a BA in Political Science and Philosophy (1993) from the University of Haifa, and MA in Peace Science from the University of Notre Dame (1995), and a PhD in International Relations (2004) from NYU. Research interests include leadership, mediation in civil wars, peace agreements design and implementation, compliance in international agreements, regime changes, and institutional design in the aftermath of military occupations. Publications include a book on regional peacemaking and conflict management, as well as a planned book on regional stability and leadership changes in the Middle East. Articles include mediation in civil wars, the impact of leadership changes in rebel groups on mediation in civil wars.