

Colonial Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship

ALEXANDER LEE

University of Rochester

JACK PAINE

Emory University



BIBLIOTECA DO SENADO FEDERAL

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview of the Argument and Evidence	4
1.1.1 Origins of Colonial Electoral Institutions	4
1.1.2 Legacies of Colonial Electoral Institutions	7
1.2 Sample, Concepts, and Data	8
1.2.1 Sample of Colonies	9
1.2.2 Conceptualizing and Measuring Democratic Attributes	12
1.3 Colonialism and Democracy: Existing Research	18
1.3.1 Metropolitan Institutions	19
1.3.2 White Settlers	21
1.4 The Road Ahead	24
2 A Theory of Colonial Electoral Institutions	25
2.1 Divergent Preferences over Political Institutions	26
2.1.1 Actors and Goals	26
2.1.2 Why Electoral Representation Mattered	28
2.2 Metropolitan Political Institutions	30
2.2.1 Institutional Similarity and Transaction Costs	30
2.2.2 Domestic Political Constituencies	32
2.3 Size of the White Population	34
2.3.1 Prodemocratic Effects	35
2.3.2 Antidemocratic Effects	38
2.4 Pressure from Non-Europeans	39
2.4.1 Western-Educated Middle Classes	39
2.4.2 Mass Nationalist Movements and Revolt	41
2.4.3 Traditional Elites and National Monarchies	42
2.5 Summary of Theoretical Implications	44

3	Representation in Settler Colonies through 1850	50
3.1	Main Patterns	51
3.2	Comparing Authoritarian Metropoles to Britain	55
3.2.1	Differences in Metropolitan Institutions	55
3.2.2	Authoritarian Colonial Institutions	58
3.2.3	Alternative Explanations	64
3.3	Variation within the British Empire	65
3.3.1	Early Elections and Expanding Autonomy	66
3.3.2	Franchise Restrictions	71
3.3.3	Restricted Autonomy and Revolt	73
3.3.4	Restricted Autonomy in the Second British Empire	75
3.3.5	Gaining High Autonomy in Canada and Oceania	78
3.4	Parliamentary Metropoles beyond the British Empire	80
3.4.1	Oligarchy in the Dutch Empire	81
3.4.2	French Empire after the Revolution	83
3.4.3	Abortive Reforms in the Iberian Empires	85
3.5	Conclusion	89
4	Imperial Expansion and Restrictive Elections: 1850–1945	90
4.1	Main Patterns	91
4.2	Settler Minorities in Africa	96
4.3	Electoral Reversals and Revivals in the West Indies	102
4.3.1	White Minorities and Autocratic Reversals	103
4.3.2	Black Middle Classes and Electoral Revivals	106
4.3.3	Contrast with French Colonies	109
4.4	Port Cities and Non-European Middle Classes	111
4.4.1	India	111
4.4.2	West Africa	116
4.4.3	Middle Eastern Mandates	123
4.5	Conclusion	127
5	Mass Franchise Expansion after 1945	128
5.1	Main Patterns	129
5.2	Democratic Metropoles and Mass Franchise Expansion	132
5.2.1	The Rising Threat of Revolt	132
5.2.2	Political Reforms	134
5.2.3	Female Franchise Expansion	140
5.3	Variation among Metropolitan Democracies	142
5.3.1	Left-wing Metropolitan Governments	142

5.3.2	Comparing British Colonialism: Contestation and Participation	144
5.4	Resisting the Wind of Change: Authoritarian Decolonization	147
5.4.1	African Settler Colonies	147
5.4.2	Portugal and Authoritarian Decolonization	150
5.4.3	National Monarchies	152
5.5	Conclusion	155
6	Postcolonial Persistence	157
6.1	Colonial Pluralism and Self-enforcing Democracy: Theoretical Mechanisms	158
6.2	Main Patterns	161
6.2.1	Persistent Democratic Differences	161
6.2.2	Enduring Effects of Colonial Electoral Institutions	164
6.3	Mechanisms of Persistence	168
6.3.1	Lengthy Colonial Pluralism	168
6.3.2	Short Colonial Pluralism	174
6.3.3	No Colonial Pluralism	180
6.4	Postcolonial Legacies in Early Decolonization Colonies	186
6.4.1	Democratic Legacies in the Neo-Britains	188
6.4.2	Authoritarian Legacies in Iberian America	191
6.5	Conclusion	192
7	Conclusion	194
7.1	Summary of Main Findings	194
7.1.1	Theory: Actors, Goals, and Strategic Options	194
7.1.2	Pluralism of Metropolitan Institutions	195
7.1.3	Dual Effects of White Settlers	195
7.1.4	Pressure from Non-Europeans	197
7.1.5	Postcolonial Persistence	198
7.2	Broader Implications for Democracy and Dictatorship	199
7.2.1	Top-down Democratic Transitions	199
7.2.2	Social Classes and Democratization	199
7.2.3	Democratic Sequencing	201
7.2.4	Dominant-party Democracies	202
7.2.5	Non-Western Institutions and Democracy	203
7.2.6	International Democracy Promotion	205
7.2.7	Political Regimes in the Twenty-First Century	206
	Appendix: Data and Regression Analysis	207

A.1	Chapter 3	207
A.1.1	Tables A.1 and A.2: Interimperial Comparisons	207
A.1.2	Table A.4: Variation within the British Empire	212
A.1.3	Table A.5: Disaggregating Dutch Colonies	214
A.1.4	Table A.6: British versus French Colonies	215
A.1.5	Table A.7: Parliamentary Metropoles and Colony FE	217
A.1.6	Table A.8: Major Anticolonial Revolts before 1850	218
A.2	Chapter 4	219
A.2.1	Categories of Colonies	219
A.2.2	Main Patterns	222
A.2.3	India	226
A.2.4	West Africa	227
A.2.5	References for Additional Early Election Cases	230
A.3	Chapter 5	236
A.3.1	Main Patterns	236
A.3.2	Left-wing Metropolitan Governments	242
A.3.3	Comparing British Colonialism: Contestation and Participation	243
A.3.4	Decolonization in Africa	245
A.3.5	Potential National Monarchs	247
A.4	Chapter 6	249
	<i>References</i>	262
	<i>Index</i>	296