China and the World

(Subject to Change)

Instructor

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Office hours: F: 9:30 am -12:30 pm (Zoom link: $\underline{\text{https://ufl.zoom.us/j/95452437550}}) \text{ and } \\$

by appointment

Course Overview

This class examines the politics of contemporary China. It divides into two large parts. In the first half, we focus on the domestic politics of China. In the second, we look at its foreign relations. Many important topics concerning China will be covered, such as political system, authoritarian rule, nationalism, economic openness, strategic thinking, US-China relations, etc. It seeks to maintain a balance between theory and policy, analytics and empirics. Through this class you will learn how various theories play out in making sense of China's great transformation.

Course Objectives

Upon finishing this class, students are expected to have a good understanding of the important aspects of contemporary Chinese politics, i.e., institutions, processes, policies, and their effects. With this understanding, students should be able to engage in informed discussion and analysis of political events involving China. This class also serves as a stepping stone for students aspiring to do rigorous research on China.

Requirements

No prerequisite is in place. But it certainly helps, if you have some basic understanding of politics, economics, or sociology. No Chinese language skill is required either. Keen interests in China and concern over the current world will be sufficient and more important.

Two Response Papers: 15% × 2

- You choose weekly readings (any number of them in a given weekly reading assignment) on which you plan to write a response paper.
- But you can only write response papers **prospectively**, i.e., on articles we have Not discussed.

- 4-6 pages (excluding bibliographies), double-spaced, 12 font, Times Newman, 1' margin, and in-text citation (author-year with bibliographies listed at the end of the main text)
- Due on Canvas via Turnitin submission before the class when the readings on which you choose to write a response paper will be discussed
 - The first response paper has to be submitted as late as before Apr. 7th's class.

One Final Paper: 25%

- About 12 pages (including bibliographies), double-spaced, 12 font, Times Newman, 1' margin, and in-text citation (author-year with bibliographies listed at the end of the main text)
- Due on Canvas via Turnitin submission
 - o Apr. 22th, 2022 on Canvas at 11: 59 pm, est.
 - Late submission will be punished with reduction of 1/3 letter grade each day the work is overdue.

Discussion: 25%

• Lead class discussion **once**. Each weekly discussion will start with a presentation of an article assigned to you as listed in Discussion below. (Details will be sent to you within the first two weeks of the semester).

Participation: 15%

Regularly participate in class discussion and other types of class activities

Attendance: 5%

• You will lose all the points for attendance if you miss more than three classes (inclusive) without legitimate excuses that are provided in sufficient advance.

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies. Click here for university policies.

Individual extra-credit work will not be allowed.

Grading Scheme

Your final cumulative score will be converted to a letter grade using the following scheme: 93.4 or higher = A; 90-93.3 = A-; 86.7-89.9 = B+; 83.4-86.6 = B; 80-83.3 = B-; 76.7-79.9 = C+; 73.4-76.6 = C; 70-73.3 = C-; 66.7-69.9 = D+; 63.4-66.6 = D; 60-63.3 = D-; <60 = E.

More information on grades and grading policies is here: https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx

Reading Materials

No books are required for this course. Journal articles will be assigned, which you will find on Canvas in the folder **Files**. You are expected to finish at least **Two** articles assigned for Thursdays' lectures.

Course Outline

Week 1

Jan. 06 Introduction and Expectation

Videos: PBS, *China: A Century of Revolution*, ep.1-3. (Optional but highly recommended. You can watch them anytime during the semester or even your years at UF and beyond.)

Week 2

Jan. 11 Political System and Leadership

Lawrence, Susan V., and Micheal F. Martin. 2013. "Understanding China's Political System." CRS Report for Congress. Washington, D.C: Congressional Research Service. CSIS. 2017. "Xi's Signature Governance Innovation: the Rise of Leading Small Groups"

Recommended:

Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph, and Mingxing Liu. 2012. "Getting Ahead in the Communist Party: Explaining the Advancement of Central Committee Members in China." *American Political Science Review* 106 (1):166-87.

Xu, Chenggang. 2011. "The Fundamental Institutions of China's Reforms and Development." *Journal of Economic Literature* 49 (4):1076-151.

Jan. 13 Discussion

Nathan, Andrew. 2016. "Who Is Xi?" *New York Review of Books*. Lee, Sangkuk. 2017. "An Institutional Analysis of Xi Jinping's Centralization of Power." *Journal of Contemporary China* 26(105):1-12.

Jan. 18 Authoritarian Responsiveness

Chen, Jidong, Jennifer Pan, and Yiqing Xu. 2016. "Sources of Authoritarian Responsiveness: A Field Experiment in China." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (2):383-400.

Xu, Yiqing, and Yang Yao. 2015. "Informal Institutions, Collective Action, and Public Investment in Rural China." *American Political Science Review* 109 (2):371-91.

LÜ, Xiaobo, and Pierre F. Landry. 2014. "Show Me the Money: Interjurisdiction Political Competition and Fiscal Extraction in China." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3):706-22.

Truex, Rory. 2014. "The Returns to Office in a "Rubber Stamp" Parliament." *American Political Science Review* 108 (2):235-51.

Recommended:

Jiang, Junyan, and Yu Zeng. 2020. "Countering Capture: Elite Networks and Government Responsiveness in China's Land Market Reform." *The Journal of Politics* 82: 13-28.

Jan. 20 Discussion

Huang, Xian. 2013. "The Politics of Social Welfare Reform in Urban China: Social Welfare Preferences and Reform Policies." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 18 (1):61-85.

Tsai, Lily L. 2007. "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China." *American Political Science Review* 101 (2):355-72.

Week 3

Jan. 25 Regime Support

- Huang, Haifeng. 2015. "International Knowledge and Domestic Evaluations in a Changing Society: The Case of China." *American Political Science Review* 109 (3):613-34.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2015. "A War of (Mis)Information: The Political Effects of Rumors and Rumor Rebuttals in an Authoritarian Country." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2):1-29.
- LÜ, Xiaobo. 2014. "Social Policy and Regime Legitimacy: The Effects of Education Reform in China." *American Political Science Review* 108 (2):423-37.
- Li, Lianjiang. 2010. "Rights Consciousness and Rules Consciousness in Contemporary China." *The China Journal* (64):47-68.

Jan. 27 Discussion

- Lü, Xiaobo. 2014. "Does Changing Economic Well-Being Shape Resentment about Inequality in China?" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49 (3):300-20.
- Landry, Pierre F., Deborah Davis, and Shiru Wang. 2010. "Elections in Rural China: Competition without Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (6):763-90.

Week 4

Feb. 1 Authoritarian Resilience

- Wang, Yuhua, and Carl Minzner. 2015. "The Rise of the Chinese Security State." *The China Quarterly* 222:339-59.
- Chen, Dingding, and Katrin Kinzelbach. 2015. "Democracy Promotion and China: Blocker or Bystander?" *Democratization* 22 (3):400-18.
- Wang, Yuhua. 2014. "Coercive Capacity and the Durability of the Chinese Communist State." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47 (1):13-25.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 2009. "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53 (3):416-33.

Feb. 3 Discussion

Liu, Yu, and Dingding Chen. 2012. "Why China Will Democratize." *The Washington Quarterly* 35 (1):41-63.

Pei, Minxin. 2021. "China: Totalitarianism's Long Shadow." *Journal of Democracy* 32(2): 5-21.

Week 5

Feb. 8 Internet: Censorship, Propaganda, and Surveillance

- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107 (2):1-18.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." American Political Science Review 111: 484-501.
- Xu, Xu. 2021. "To Repress or to Co-Opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science* 65: 309-25.

Feb. 10 Discussion

- Ya-Wen Lei. 2011. "The Political Consequences of the Rise of the Internet: Political Beliefs and Practices of Chinese Netizens." *Political Communication* 28(3): 291-322.
- Han, Rongbin. 2015. "Defending the Authoritarian Regime Online: China's "Voluntary Fifty-Cent Army"." *The China Quarterly* 224: 1006-25.

Week 6

Feb. 15 Economic Development

Gilboy, George C. 2004. "The Myth behind China's Miracle," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August). Zhao, Suisheng. 2010. "The China Model: Can it Replace the Western Model of Modernization?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 19 (65), 2010, pp. 419-436.

Naughton, Barry. 2010. "China's Distinctive System: Can It Be a Model for Others?" *Journal of Contemporary China* 19 (65):437-60.

Feb. 17 Discussion

Rithmire, Meg, and Hao Chen. 2021. "The Emergence of Mafia-Like Business Systems in China." *The China Quarterly*: 1-22.

Jaros, Kyle A., and Yeling Tan. 2020. "Provincial Power in a Centralizing China: The Politics of Domestic and International "Development Space"." *The China Journal* 83: 79-104.

<u>Week 7</u>

Feb. 22 Nationalism

Fish, Eric. 2014. A Glimpse into Chinese Nationalism. *The Diplomat*.

- Weiss, Jessica Chen. 2013. "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China." *International Organization* 67 (1):1-35.
- Wallace, Jeremy L., and Jessica Chen Weiss. 2015. "The Political Geography of Nationalist Protest in China: Cities and the 2012 Anti-Japanese Protests." *The China Quarterly* 222:403-29.
- Woods, Jackson S. and Bruce J. Dickson. 2012. "Victims and Patriots: Disaggregating Nationalism in China," GWU Political Science Department, Nov.

Recommended:

Li, Xiaojun, Jianwei Wang, and Dingding Chen. 2016. "Chinese Citizens' Trust in Japan and South Korea: Findings from a Four-City Survey." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(4): 778-789.

Feb. 24 Discussion

- Gries, Peter Hays. 2002. "Nationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy," in *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy*, Yong Deng and Fei-Ling Wang, eds. (Rowman & Littlefield).
- Yang, Xiangfeng. 2021. "Domestic Contestation, International Backlash, and Authoritarian Resilience: How Did the Chinese Party-State Weather the Covid-19 Crisis?". *Journal of Contemporary China*: 1-15.

Week 8

Mar. 1 Strategic Thinking

- Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2003. "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27 (4):5-56.
- Schweller, Randall L., and Xiaoyu Pu. 2011. "After Unipolarity: China's Visions of International Order in an Era of U.S. Decline." *International Security* 36 (1):41-72.

Recommended:

- Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2013. "How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security* 37 (4):7-48.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. 2012 "The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China," *European Journal of International Relations* 18(1): 53-75.

Mar. 3 Discussion

- Chen, Dingding and Jianwei Wang. 2011. "Lying Low No More?: China's New Thinking on the Tao Guang Yang Hui Strategy," *China: An International Journal* 9(2): 196-199. Callahan, William A. 2012. "Sino-speak: Chinese Exceptionalism and the Politics of History,"
 - Journal of Asian Studies 71(1): 33-55.

Mar. 5-13: Spring Break

Week 9

Mar. 15 US-China Relations

- Saunders, Phillip C. 2013. "The Rebalance to Asia: U.S.-China Relations and Regional Security." *Strategic Forum* 281: 1-16.
- Ross, Robert S. 2012. "The Problem With the Pivot: Obama's New Asia Policy Is Unnecessary and Counterproductive," *Foreign Affairs* 91(6): 70-82.
- Nathan, Andrew J., and Andrew Scobell. 2012. "How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing's Fears." *Foreign Affairs* 91(5): 32-47.

Recommended:

Anonymous, 2021. The Longer Telegram: Toward a New American China Strategy.

Mar. 17 Discussion

Shambaugh, David. 2011. "Coping with a Conflicted China." *The Washington Quarterly* 34 (1):7-27.

Nye, Joseph, Jr. 2020. "Perspectives for a China Strategy." Prism 8(4): 121-131.

Week 10

Mar. 22 Rise and Expansion

- Breslin, Shaun. 2009. "Understanding China's Regional Rise: Interpretations, Identities and Implications," *International Affairs* 85(4): 817-835.
- Martin, Michael F. 2010. "China's Sovereign Wealth Fund: Developments and Policy Implications." CRS Report for Congress, Washington, D.C: Congressional Research Service.
- Pu, Xiaoyu. 2016. "One Belt, One Road: Visions and Challenges of China's Geoeconomic Strategy." *Mainland China Studies* 59: 111-132.
- EPSC. 2015. "The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: A New Multilateral Financial Institution or a Vehicle for China's Geostrategic Goals."
- Chow, Peter C Y. 2016. "What the RMB in the SDR Really Means." East Asia Forum.

Recommended:

- Ikenberry, G. John. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 23-37.
- Flores-Macias, Gustavo, and Sarah Kreps. 2013. "The Foreign Policy Consequences of China's Economic Rise: A Study of China's Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006," *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 357-371.

Mar. 24 Discussion

Lampton, David. 2007. "The Faces of Chinese Power," *Foreign Affairs* 86(1):115-127. Chin, Gregory, and Ramesh Thakur. 2010. "Will China Change the Rules of Global Order?" *The Washington Quarterly* 33 (4):119-38.

Week 11

Mar. 29 China's Foreign Aid

- Zhang, Denghua, and Graeme Smith. 2017. "China's Foreign Aid System: Structure, Agencies, and Identities." *Third World Quarterly* 38: 2330-46.
- Woods, Ngaire. 2008. "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and The Silent Revolution in Development Assistance." *International Affairs* 84 (6):1205-21.
- Wolf, Charles Jr., Xiao Wang and Eric Warner. 2013. *China's Foreign Aid and Government-Sponsored Investment Activities*, Rand.
- Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, Brad Parks, Austin M Strange, and Michael J Tierney. 2018. "Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa." *International Studies Quarterly* 62: 182-94.

Mar. 31 Discussion

Li, Xiaojun. 2017. "Does Conditionality Still Work? China's Development Assistance and Democracy in Africa", *Chinese Political Science Review* 2: 201-220. Naim, Moises. 2009. "Rogue Aid." *Foreign Policy*.

Week 12

Apr. 5 China and Global Governance

- Li, Xiaojun. 2012. "Understanding China's Behavioral Change in the WTO Dispute Settlement System." *Asian Survey* 52 (6):1111-37.
- Wu, Mark. 2016. "The China, Inc. Challenge to Global Trade Governance." *Harv. Int'l L.J.* 57: 261-324.
- Liu, Tiewa. 2012. "China and Responsibility to Protect: Maintenance and Change of Its Policy for Intervention." *The Pacific Review* 25 (1):153-73.
- Fullilove, Michael. 2011. "China and the United Nations: The Stakeholder Spectrum." *The Washington Quarterly* 34 (3):63-85.

Recommended:

- Richardson, Courtney J. 2011. "A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime." *International Peacekeeping* 18 (3):286-97.
- Sauvant, Karl P., and Michael D. Nolan. 2015. "China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment and International Investment Law." *Journal of International Economic Law* 18 (4):893-934.
- Zeng, Ka. 2016. "Understanding the Institutional Variation in China's Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs): the complex interplay of domestic and international influences." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25 (97):112-29.
- Inboden, Rana Siu. 2021. "China at the UN: Choking Civil Society." *Journal of Democracy* 32(3):124-135.

Apr. 7 Discussion

Bacchus, James, Jeremie Waterman, and Erin Ennis. 2018. "The WTO and the China Challenge." The Heritage Foundation, *Lecture* 1299: 1-17. Nov. 30th.

Verhoeven, Harry. 2014. "Is Beijing's Non-Interference Policy History? How Africa is Changing China." *The Washington Quarterly* 37 (2):55-70.

Week 13

Apr. 12 China and Its Neighbors

Gewirtz, Paul. 2016. *Limits of Law in the South China Sea*. Brookings.

Chiang, Min-Hua. 2019. "Contemporary China-Japan Relations: The Politically Driven Economic Linkage." *East Asia* 36: 271-90.

Pak, Jung H. 2020. *Trying to Loosen the Linchpin: China's Approach to South Korea*. Brookings.

Apr. 14 Discussion

Chubb, Andrew. 2021. "PRC Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Measuring Continuity and Change, 1970–2015." *International Security* 45: 79-121.

Madan, Tanvi. 2020. "China is Losing India: A Clash in the Himalayas Will Push New Delhi Toward Washington." *Foreign Affairs*, June. 22.

Week 14

Apr. 19 Wrap-up

Final Paper Due on Apr. 22th, 2022 on Canvas at 11: 59 pm, est.

Things we do not discuss (specifically or in depth) but should have if more time is granted

Human Rights

Kam, Stefanie, and Michael Clarke. 2021. "Securitization, Surveillance and 'De-Extremization' in Xinjiang." *International Affairs* 97: 625-42.

Human Rights Watch. 2020. China's Global Threat to Human Rights.

Glasser, Susan B. 2012. "Head of State: Hillary Clinton, the Blind Dissident, and the Art of Diplomacy in the Twitter Era." *Foreign Policy* (July/August)

Bass, Gary J. 2011. "Human Rights Last." Foreign Policy (March/April)

Taiwan

Chang-Liao, Nien-chung, and Chi Fang. 2021. "The Case for Maintaining Strategic Ambiguity in the Taiwan Strait." *The Washington Quarterly* 44: 45-60.

Wu, Charles Chong-Han. 2021. "The End of Washington's Strategic Ambiguity? The Debate over U.S. Policy toward Taiwan." *China Review* 21: 177-202.

Books of Interest (Not required for the class. Certainly not an exhaustive list)

• Rosemary Foot, *China, the UN, and Human Protection: Beliefs, Power, Image.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2020.

- Scott L. Kastner, Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector, *China's Strategic Multilateralism: Investing in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security*, Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Guobin Yang, *The Power of the Internet in China: Citizen Activism Online*, Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Mary E. Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China*, Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Robert S. Ross and Alastair Iain Johnston, *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, Stanford University Press, 2006.
- David Zweig. *Internationalizing China: Domestic Interests and Global Linkages*, Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*, Princeton University Press, 1998.

General Policies and Guidelines

Students Requiring Accommodations

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started/. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

Course Evaluation

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/.

Class Demeanor

Students are expected to arrive to class on time and behave in a manner that is respectful to the instructor and to fellow students. Please avoid the use of cell phones and restrict eating to outside of the classroom. Opinions held by other students should be respected in discussion, and conversations that do not contribute to the discussion should be held at minimum, if at all. Materials and Supplies Fees There are no additional fees for this course.

University Honesty Policy

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest

standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (https://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conducthonor-code/) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Counseling and Wellness Center

Contact information for the Counseling and Wellness Center: http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

Recording

Our class sessions may be audio visually recorded for students in the class to refer back and for enrolled students who are unable to attend live. Students who participate with their camera engaged or utilize a profile image are agreeing to have their video or image recorded. If you are unwilling to consent to have your profile or video image recorded, be sure to keep your camera off and do not use a profile image. Likewise, students who unmute during class and participate orally are agreeing to have their voices recorded. If you are not willing to consent to have your voice recorded during class, you will need to keep your mute button activated and communicate exclusively using the "chat" feature, which allows students to type questions and comments live. The chat will not be recorded or shared. As in all courses, unauthorized recording and unauthorized sharing of recorded materials is prohibited.

COVID-Related Guidelines

In response to COVID-19, the following practices are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and to further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.

If you are not vaccinated, get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available at no cost and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit this link for details on where to get your shot, including options that do not require an appointment: https://coronavirus.ufhealth.org/vaccinations/vaccine-availability/. Students who receive the first dose of the vaccine somewhere off-campus and/or outside of Gainesville can still receive their second dose on campus.

You are expected to wear approved face coverings at all times during class and within buildings even if you are vaccinated. Please continue to follow healthy habits, including best practices like frequent hand washing. Following these practices is our responsibility as Gators.

Sanitizing supplies are available in the classroom if you wish to wipe down your desks prior to sitting down and at the end of the class.

Hand sanitizing stations will be located in every classroom.

If you sick, stay home and self-quarantine. Please visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website about next steps, retake the questionnaire and schedule your test for no sooner than 24 hours after your symptoms began. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 (or email covid@shcc.ufl.edu) to be evaluated for testing and to receive further instructions about returning to campus. UF Health Screen, Test & Protect offers guidance when you are sick, have been exposed to someone who has tested positive or have tested positive yourself. Visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website for more information.

Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

If you are withheld from campus by the Department of Health through Screen, Test & Protect you are not permitted to use any on campus facilities. Students attempting to attend campus activities when withheld from campus will be referred to the Dean of Students Office.

Continue to regularly visit coronavirus. UFHealth.org and coronavirus. ufl.edu for upto-date information about COVID-19 and vaccination.