

**CPO 4731: Democratization in Global Perspective**  
Department of Political Science  
University of Florida  
Fall 2024

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**Course Information**

Lecture: Tuesday 8:30 AM - 10:25 AM (AND 0034)  
Thursday 9:35 AM - 10:25 AM (AND 0034)

**Course Description**

What is democracy and why has it spread across the globe? Will it continue? This course will teach students about dictatorships, democratization, and democratic breakdown. We will examine the different "waves" of democratization, explore how country-specific attributes and international factors shape democratic transitions, and discuss how institutional arrangements impact democratic consolidation.

**Course Materials**

There is one required book for this course. Students can purchase the book in the UF Bookstore or online. All the other articles and book chapters can be found on the UF E-Learning (Canvas) at <http://elearning.ufl.edu/>.

Teorell, Jan. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

**Course Requirements**

1. Class Discussions (10%)  
You are expected to attend all class meetings prepared for an in-depth discussion of the assigned course material. A portion of your final grade will be based on your attendance and participation. I will take attendance in each class via a sign-in sheet. Please know that attendance is not equal to participation. Participation may include providing personal insight to the material, outside articles, current events, or responding to classmates. I understand some students may feel uncomfortable speaking in class, however, all students will benefit from hearing a wide range of perspectives. I encourage you to step outside your comfort zone to ask, answer, or comment on a question throughout the course. If you are someone who frequently contributes to class discussion, I urge you to be considerate of your fellow classmates and provide opportunities for others who wish to speak.

2. Policy Recommendation Memos (30%)  
Each student will write two policy memos. Each memo will be approximately 1,500 words in length. You will receive additional instructions on these memos in class. The deadlines for these two memos can be found in the class schedule below.
  
3. Midterm Exam (30%)  
There will be an in-class midterm exam on October 8, 2024. It is worth 30% of the final grade. Students should review all the class materials and apply them in answering the question(s).
  
4. Final Exam (30%)  
There will be a final exam on December 3, 2024, during our class. It is worth 30% of the final grade. Students should review all the class materials and apply them when answering the question(s).

### **Grading Scale**

| Percent   | Grade |
|-----------|-------|
| 93.4-100  | A     |
| 90.0-93.3 | A-    |
| 86.7-89.9 | B+    |
| 83.4-86.6 | B     |
| 80.0-83.3 | B-    |
| 76.7-79.9 | C+    |
| 73.4-76.6 | C     |
| 70.0-73.3 | C-    |
| 66.7-69.9 | D+    |
| 63.4-66.6 | D     |
| 60.0-63.3 | D-    |
| 0-59.9    | E     |

### **Course Policies**

**Syllabus** This syllabus is a living document, which means it is subject to change. We will communicate all potential changes in our class meetings and on Canvas.

**Academic Integrity:** The University of Florida is an institution of learning, research, and scholarship that is strengthened by the existence of an environment of integrity. It is essential that all members of the University practice academic integrity and accept individual responsibility for their work and actions. Students are responsible for doing their own work, and academic dishonesty of any kind will be subject to sanction and referral to the university's Academic Integrity Committee, which may impose additional sanctions.

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 Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. [Click here to read the Conduct Code](#). If you have any questions or concerns, please consult me.

**Expected Workload:** You should be aware that our course requires a *significant* deal of outside work including reading, writing, analysis, and preparing comments. As a Carnegie I, research-intensive university, UF is required by federal law to assign at least 2 hours of work outside of class for every contact hour. Work done in these hours may include reading/viewing assigned material and doing explicitly assigned individual or group work, as well as reviewing notes from class, synthesizing information in advance of exams or papers, and other self-determined study tasks.

For our 3-credit class, this means you should expect to spend 6-9 hours per week outside of class. The amount of time spent on this course may vary by week. I strongly encourage you to speak to me during office hours if you encounter any struggles or difficulties.

**Attendance:** To successfully pass this course, your participation and engagement is necessary. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings and other materials listed for that day. However, if you are sick or have been in contact with someone who is sick please stay home and take care of yourself. Please let me know if you are not attending class because of illness. You will not be penalized for missing classes (within reason). If you are sick for more than a couple of days, please get an excused absence so we can discuss options. If you miss class, you are encouraged to ask your classmates for their notes or come to office hours to talk about the class you missed.

**In-Class Recording:** Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, *students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor*.

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium,

to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student

**Lecture Slides:** I will post redacted lecture slides on the course website at the conclusion of each class meeting. The slides are meant as a guide and are in no way a substitute for attending lecture. My hope is that by making the slides available students will not feel that they must spend the entire class furiously taking notes and instead pay close attention to the lecture, ask questions, and participate deeply in class discussion.

**Communication:** Students should use Canvas to contact me. Although you may email me at my UF email account, the university strongly encourages communication via Canvas to avoid the potential of violations of student confidentiality protected by [FERPA](#). I encourage students to visit my virtual office hours to discuss any questions, comments, or concerns regarding the course.

**Email/Messaging Hours:** You may email or message me via Canvas at any time that is convenient to you. I will respond within one business day between the hours of 9 am and 5 pm. If you do not receive a reply from me after 24 hours, please resend your message. Although I may sometimes reply outside of these designated hours, responses cannot be guaranteed after 5pm on weekdays, weekends, or holidays. Please plan accordingly to have your questions answered in advance of assignment and exam deadlines.

**Exams:** There are two exams. Exams will draw from all assigned readings up to that point. If you know you will miss the exam for a UF-sponsored commitment (e.g. traveling with the debate team, softball team, orchestra, ROTC, etc.) *or* for some foreseeable personal commitment *that is not discretionary* (e.g. a scheduled medical procedure, like surgery) *or* because of an existential-level family emergency (e.g. death, medical emergency you will be able to make up the exam. If the miss is because of a scheduled event, you must let me know at least two weeks in advance (email is perfectly acceptable and preferred). I will work with you to make accommodations, but it is your responsibility to arrange with me to take a makeup exam.

**Grades Adjustment:** I do not round or adjust grades under any circumstances. This policy is not an attempt to be harsh but to hold all students in equal standing.

**Absences:** Absences are factored into participation and presentation grades. I understand that unforeseen events can arise and therefore missing a class will not harm your grade. However, a pattern of absences will result in a low participation score. If for some reason you must miss class outside of two meetings, you must contact me in advance (i.e., prior to class starting).

**Late or Make-up Assignments:** No late or make-up assignments will be accepted without prior approval. If an assignment is submitted late without prior approval, it will receive a 0. Generally,

at least one week in advance notice is required for assignment or exam extension request. Per university attendance policy, acceptable reasons for absence from or failure to participate in class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays, and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused. Assignment deadlines for other courses will not be considered.

**Accessibility Services:** If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you should contact the UF Disability Resource Center (DRC) as soon as possible ([dso.ufl.edu/drc](https://dso.ufl.edu/drc)). Please be sure that necessary accommodations are properly documented by the UFDRC. To obtain a classroom accommodation, you must first pre-register with the DRC (352.392.8565) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to your instructors when requesting an accommodation. I am always happy to make whatever accommodations you may need to be successful in the course.

**Technology Resources:** The UF Computing Help Desk can assist you with any of your technical issues. You can access the Help Desk 24/7 at <https://helpdesk.ufl.edu/>, 352-392- HELP (4357), or [helpdesk.@ufl.edu](mailto:helpdesk.@ufl.edu). If you use email, write from your [gatorlink@ufl.edu](mailto:gatorlink@ufl.edu) email address, or include your UFID and/or GatorLink username (NOT your password!) in the body of the email. Provide complete information regarding the course and content to which you are referring.

**Academic Resources:** There are many other campus, academic resources you should take advantage of throughout the semester. These include:

- E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at [helpdesk@ufl.edu](mailto:helpdesk@ufl.edu).
- Library Support: <http://cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask> Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.
- Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392- 6420. General study skills and tutoring. <https://teachingcenter.ufl.edu/>
- Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers. <http://writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio/> Now offering online consultation.
- On-Line Students Complaints: <https://distance.ufl.edu/getting-help/student-complaintprocess/>.
- Career Connections Center: <https://career.ufl.edu/> Career assistance and counseling.

**Crisis Resources:** If you or someone you know is struggling with any crisis including but not limited to gender, sexual, racial, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Florida resources available. Some of these include:

- U Matter, We Care ([umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu), 352-392-1575, <https://umatter.ufl.edu>)
- RESPECT – UF Division of Student Affairs (<https://respect.ufsa.ufl.edu>)

- Counseling and Wellness Center – available 24/7 (352-392-1575, <https://counseling.ufl.edu>)
- Student Health Care Center (352-392-1161, <https://shcc.ufl.edu>)
- Multicultural & Diversity Affairs (352-392-1217, <https://multicultural.ufl.edu>)
- Hitchcock Field & Fork Pantry- Assisting members of our campus community who experience food insecurity - <https://pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu>
- UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center (352-733-0111)
- Gainesville Police Department (non-emergency #: 352-955-1818, <https://gainesvillepd.org>)

### **University Covid-19 Protocols:**

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 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.uflhealth.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 are 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](mailto: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.

### **Week 1: Introduction**

8.22.24      Course Introduction

## **Week 2: Democracy and Dictatorship**

8.27.24      What is democracy? How do we define it? How should we define it?  
Coppedge, Michael. *Democratization and Research Methods*. Cambridge University Press, 2012. (Chapter 2, pages 11-48)  
**Print out the freedom house activity word doc**

8.29.24      What are dictatorships?  
  
Ezrow, Natasha, and Erica Frantz. *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2011. (Chapter 1, pages 1-24)

## **Week 3: Democracy - Dictatorship**

9.3.24      Venezuela Case Study

Corrales, Javier, and Michael Penfold-Becerra. *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*. Brookings Institution Press, 2011. (Read just the Introduction, pages 1-14)

Handlin, Samuel. "Mass Organization and the Durability of Competitive Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from Venezuela." *Comparative Political Studies* 49.9 (2016): 1238-1269. (Read 1246-1253; 1257-1258)

Naím, Moisés, and Francisco Toro. "Venezuela's Suicide." *Foreign Affairs* 97 (2018): 126.

9.5.24      No Class – APSA

## **Week 4: Determinants of Democratization**

9.10.24      Waves of Democracy

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. University of Oklahoma press, 1993. (Chapter 1, pages 3-31)

Doorenspleet, Renske. "Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization." *World Politics*. 52 (1999): 384-401.

Diamond, Larry. "A Fourth Wave or False Start? Democracy After the Arab Spring" *Foreign Affairs*. (2011)

9.12.24      Alternative Approaches

Teorell, Jan. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. (Chapters 1 and 2)

**Week 5: Structural vs Social Forces**

9.17.24 Economic Determinants

Teorell, Jan. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. (Chapter 3)

Przeworski, Adam and Limongi, Fernando. 1997. Modernization: Theories and facts. *World Politics*, 49(3):155–83. (Read 155-169)

9.19.24 Popular Mobilization

Teorell, Jan. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. (Chapter 5)

**Week 6: Masses and Elites**

9.24.24 Revolutionary Surprise

Kuran, Timur. 1991. “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989”. *World Politics*, 44:7–48.

King, Gary, Pan, Jennifer, and Roberts, Margaret E. 2013. How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review*. Read (326-328)

Weyland, Kurt. "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?." *Perspectives on Politics* 10.4 (2012): 917-934.

9.26.24 Interests and Actions

Geddes, Barbara. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. University of Michigan Press, 2003. (Read pages 50-86)

**Week 7 Democratic Transitions**

10.1.24 Relinquishing Power

McFaul, Michael. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* (2002): 212-244.



Smith, Peter H. "Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective." *New York* (2005). (Read 62-70; 90-106)

10.3.24 Survival

Ezrow, Natasha, and Erica Frantz. *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2011. (Read pages 54-61; 67-77)

Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press, 2018. (Skim pages 129 to 136; Read pages 137-143)

**Week 8 Midterm**

10.8.24 Midterm Exam

10.10.24 Authoritarian Elections

Blaydes, Lisa. "Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence From Egypt." *Princeton University Conference on Dictatorships*. 2008.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Read the Introduction)

**Week 9 Democracy via the Ballot**

10.15.24 Stolen Elections

Cantú, Francisco. "The Fingerprints of Fraud: Evidence from Mexico's 1988 Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review* 113.3 (2019): 710-726.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(4):535–551.

Robertson, Graeme. "Political orientation, information and perceptions of election fraud: Evidence from Russia." *British Journal of Political Science* 47.3 (2017): 589-608.

**Policy Brief 1 Due**

10.17.24 When do Elections Lead to Change?

Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62.1 (2010): 43-86.

Donno, Daniela. "Elections and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 57.3 (2013): 703-716.

**Week 10 Prospects for Democratization**

10.22.24 China

Chin, John J. "Nonviolent revolution in China: Past and prospects." *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Studies*. Routledge, 2021. 465-478.

Nathan, Andrew J. "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience." *Critical Readings on the Communist Party of China (4 Vols. Set)*. Brill, 2017. 86-99.

Liu, Yu, and Dingding Chen. "Why China Will Democratize." *The Washington Quarterly* 35.1 (2012): 41-63.

10.24.24 Impetus from Abroad

Teorell, Jan. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press, 2010. (Read Chapter 4)

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, and George W. Downs. "Intervention and Democracy." *International Organization* (2006): 627-649.

**Week 11 Exporting Democracy**

10.29.24 Democratization from Abroad

Finkel, Steven E., Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, and Mitchell A. Seligson. "The Effects of US Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003." *World Politics*. 59 (2006): 404.

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. "Linkage Versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* (2006): 379-400.

10.31.24 Principles and Practice

Wahiu, Winluck. "Introduction" *A Practical Guide to Constitution Building*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), 2011.

**Week 12 Electoral Arrangements**

11.5.24 Electoral Laws and Electoral Integrity

The Politics of Electoral Systems (PES). 2008. Eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford University Press. (Read pages 1-14)

Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2008. (Read pages 119-126)

Norris, Pippa. *Why Elections Fail*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. (Read pages 1-15)

**Policy Brief 2 Due**

11.7.24 Inclusive Legislatures

Rosen, Jennifer. 2013. "The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010." *Political Research Quarterly*, 66 (2): pp 306-321.

Htun, Mala. *Inclusion Without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. (Read Chapter 5)

**Week 13 Executive Power**

11.12.24 Executive Powers and Decision Making

Böckenförde, Markus. "The Design of the Executive Branch" *A Practical Guide to Constitution Building*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), 2011.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew Shugart. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics* (1997): 449-471.

11.14.24 Arab Spring Constitutions

Masoud, Tarek. "The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Road to (and From) Liberation Square." *Journal of Democracy* 22.3 (2011): 20-34.

Way, Lucan. "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Lessons of 1989." *Journal of Democracy* 22.4 (2011): 13-23.

**Week 14 Democratic Stability**

11.19.24 Democratic Consolidation and Backsliding

Schedler, Andreas. "Measuring Democratic Consolidation." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36.1 (2001): 66-92.

Gasiorowski, Mark J., and Timothy J. Power. "The Structural Determinants of Democratic Consolidation: Evidence from the Third World." *Comparative Political Studies* 31.6 (1998): 740-771.

Waldner, David, and Ellen Lust. (2018). "Unwelcome change: Coming to terms with democratic backsliding." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 93-113.

Little, Andrew T., and Anne Meng. "Measuring democratic backsliding." *PS: Political Science & Politics* (2023): 1-13.

11.21.24 Final Exam Review

**Week 15 Exam**

12.3.24 **Final Exam**