

CPO 4731: Democratization in Global Perspective
Department of Political Science
University of Florida
Fall 2020

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 1-4pm

Course Information

Lecture: Tuesday 10:40 AM - 11:30 AM (TUR 2318)
Thursday 10:40 AM - 12:35 PM (TUR 2318)

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 are two required books for this course. Students can purchase them 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 Participation (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 participation. Please know that attendance is not equal to participation. Your grade will reflect not just whether you show up, but engagement in the discussion.
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 open-book, open-note midterm exam on October 15, 2020, during our class. 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 an open-book, open-note midterm exam on December 12, 2020, during our class. It is worth 30% of the final grade. Students should review all the class materials and apply them in answering the question(s).

Grading Scale

I use the following grading scale: “A-” = [90-93.3), “A” = [93.4-96.6), “A+” = [96.7-100], with other letter grades following analogous intervals.

Course Policies

Privacy Protection: As in all courses, unauthorized recording and unauthorized sharing of recorded materials is strictly prohibited. As our class sessions will be live and students should both attend with their camera engaged and participate orally and in writing, lecture and class sessions will never be recorded by the professor nor any student. This policy is in place to ensure the privacy of our classmates and to ensure our material can be discussed openly and honestly.

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 lecture. My hope is that by the slides you will not have to spend the entire class furiously note taking and can pay close attention to the lecture, ask questions, and participate deeply in class discussion.

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).

Communication: Students should use Canvas to contact me. Although you may email me at my UF email account, the university strongly encourages we communicate via Canvas to avoid the potential of violations of student confidentiality protected by [FERPA](#). I strongly encourage students to visit my virtual office hours, available by [appointment](#), 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 two business days between the hours of 8am and 5pm. If you do not receive a reply from me after 48 hours, please resend your message. Although I may sometimes reply outside of these designated hours, responses cannot be guaranteed after 5pm on weekdays, on weekends, or holidays. Please plan accordingly to have your questions answered in advance of assignment and exam deadlines.

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. 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 also specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions (sccr.dso.ufl.edu/process/student-conduct-code). Violations of the Honor Code is unacceptable and devalues the teaching and learning experience for the entire community. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. Should you have questions regarding academic integrity and honesty, I suggest reviewing the policies found on the University website and/or speaking with me during office hours.

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). Please be sure that necessary accommodations are properly documented by the UFDRS. 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 entirety of our course will take place virtually, requiring the use of a working computer and access to audio-visual resources (e.g., webcam, microphones). If you are struggling to use Zoom or Canvas, please review these [UF Quick Start guides](#). This [link](#) also connects to UF resources regarding internet connectivity.

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. If you use email, write from your 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.

Finally, keep in mind that in a pinch you can dial in to our virtual class using your cellphone to participate in class.

Late Assignments: Make-up assignments are only offered under valid and documented circumstances. Typically, all make-up work must be submitted within 72 hours of the

grade submission deadline. Any assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized a full letter grade each day it is late.

Exams: There is only one exam: an in-class midterm on October 22nd. That exam 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 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 a week 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 and Appeals: You will be graded on your academic performance. This includes clarity of thought, knowledge of the material, composition, spelling, and grammar. Students can appeal grades that they believe are incorrect. Grade appeals will consist of a single typed page that identifies the problem and presents a reasoned argument that the grade fits the appeal criteria.

Week 1: Introduction

9.1.20 Course Introduction

9.3.20 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)

Week 2: Dictatorship

9.8.20 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)

9.10.20 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.

Week 3: Origins and Spread of Democracy

9.15.20 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)

9.17.20 Waves?

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

Drezner, Daniel. "The Fourth Wave of Democratization?" *Foreign Policy*. 2005.

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

Week 4: Major Theories of Democratization

9.22.20 Alternative Approaches

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

9.24.20 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 155-179)

Week 5: Major Actors and Motivations -From Below

9.29.20 Popular Mobilization

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

10.1.20 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.

Week 6: Major Actors and Motivations -From Above

10.6.20 Interests and Actions

Geddes, Barbara. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. University of Michigan Press, 2003. (Read pages 53-86)

10.8.20 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)

Week 7: Delaying Democratization

10.13.20 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)

10.15.20 **Midterm Exam**

Week 8: Elections

10.20.20 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)

10.22.20 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.

Policy Brief 1 Due

Week 9: Authoritarian Resilience

10.27.20 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.

10.29.20 China

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.

Week 10: Democracy Promotion

11.3.20 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.

11.5.20 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.

Week 11: Principles of Constitutional Design

11.10.20 Principles and Practice

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

- 11.12.20 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

Week 12: Principles of Constitutional Design Cont.

- 11.17.20 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)
- 11.19.20 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.

Week 13: Case Study Debate

- 11.24.20 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 Consolidation

- 12.1.20 What is it? What hinders it?
- 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.

12.3.20

Final Exam

Week 15:

The Future of Democracy

12.8.20

Discussion of Exam