**NEW DEMOCRACIES**

**POLS 5410/6410**

**(3 Units)**

Fall 2013

Professor Sam Handlin ([sam.handlin@utah.edu](mailto:sam.handlin@utah.edu))

Time: MW 1:25-2:45 PM

Classroom: BU C 108

Office: OSH 321

Office Hours: MW, 3:15-4:15 (or by appointment)

**COURSE OVERVIEW**

Since the mid 1970s, democracy has spread across much of the globe, such that by 2005 a larger proportion of the world’s population lived under democratic rule than ever before. This “wave” of democratization was arguably one of the most important global political developments of our lifetimes. Yet in the last decade, the growth of democracy has stagnated or declined, leading some to declare a “democratic recession.” The first half of this course examines the nature and causes of the wave of democratization in recent decades. Why did this wave of democratization occur and why did some countries democratize while others did not? What role did the United States and the European Union play in fostering democracy? The second half of the course examines the democratic recession, with particular attention to the role that “counter-hegemonic autocracies” – countries such as China, Russia, and Venezuela that are not democracies and that seek to counter US influence and power – might have played. What explains the democratic recession? Have these countries, in pursuing their own objectives, played a meaningful role in propping up authoritarian regimes and halting the advance of democratization? How will these dynamics shape global politics in the 21st century?

**TEACHING METHODS AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

The first half of the course will be centered on lectures with integrated breaks for discussion of key issues. Readings will familiarize students with major theories regarding regime outcomes during the “Third Wave” of democracy. Discussions will be geared toward understanding and discussing the major themes and questions of the weekly readings, as well as analyzing the methods utilized by scholars to develop and test their theories. You should come to class having thought about the readings extensively and ready to discuss them with your classmates, but you should always conduct yourself respectively and keep in mind the different backgrounds, experiences, and interests that others bring with them.

The structure of the second half of the course will change substantially, with an emphasis on active learning and collaborative student research groups. We will engage in two elaborate simulations – a controversial election in Ukraine and a Summit of the Americas – in which student groups represent key actors (ie, the US, the EU, Russia, the Ukrainian government, Ukrainian pro-democratic opposition, etc) and these groups will be responsible for researching their strategies, preparing policy memos, and then making key decisions as events unfold and the other groups reveal what they are doing. Willingness to participate fully in these simulations and research groups is an absolute requirement for taking the course.

**COURSE GRADING AND ASSIGNMENTS**

**Participation (15%)**

Students are expected to attend class. While you may understandably miss a few classes over the semester, missing a significant number of classes will open you up to losing points in this category.

Participation in the simulations is mandatory and essential to this component of your grade. Participation means working with your assigned group on assignments and to prepare for the simulations. It also means attending all four classes in which we actually conduct the two simulations.

**Rapid Response (10%)**

From August 28th to October 30th, there are 15 classes for which readings are assigned. For at least seven of these classes (chosen by you), you are required to post a “rapid response” to the readings for that week on our class blog as set up through Canvass.

These rapid responses should represent positive or negative reactions to the readings and/or brief thoughts that the readings inspire about the topic. Ideally, these rapid responses would be posted the night before class but any responses posted before the class period will count. (Note: There will be no credit for responses posted during or after class.)

Grading of the rapid response will mostly rest on whether or not you do them – I will not be evaluating your quick reflections so much as checking them off.

**Policy Briefs (20%)**

As part of each simulation, each student group will prepare a policy brief that breaks down the issues facing the actor they are playing. I will hand out and discuss more specific guidelines for these briefs before the simulations. Each brief will be worth 10% of your grade.

**Midterm (25%) and Final (30%)**

The midterm (25% of your grade) and final (30%) will be short (7-8 page total) take-home exams in which you will write two essays on questions that I provide. For both exams, I will provide the questions but you will have some degree of choice. You will have roughly one week to complete each exam, with exact due dates to be determined. You should plan to write these exams on a computer using Microsoft Word and to email them to me in a single file by 11:59 PM on the due date.

*Graduate Students (MA and PhD)*

Graduate students will participate in all the course activities and discussions, including the simulations. However, instead of a midterm and final, they will write a research paper (15-20 pages) as the primary written assignment.

Research papers should involve the deployment of empirical information garnered from sources outside the syllabus in order to probe or test original ideas related to major course themes. They should not take the form of “literature reviews” (e.g., simple summaries or discussions of extant research on a topic). Instead, the goal is to produce a research paper suitable for presentation at an academic conference.

For the research papers, students are expected to do the following:

1. Have an initial meeting with me to discuss ideas during class time on **October 9th**.
2. Prepare a short research proposal (5-7 pages), which lays out your plan for the paper in more detail, due **November 1**.
3. Hand in the final paper, due **December 16**.

**COURSE READINGS**

There is only one required book for the course:

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

We will utilize this book heavily during the first half of the course and it will also inform much of what we do during the simulations. You must acquire your own copy, which is easily accessible through Amazon or other online retailers.

All other readings for the course will be made available in electronic form through Canvass in the “Modules” section.

**MISCELLANEA**

**Academic Misconduct**

All written assignments will be checked for plagiarism using TurnItIn.com and other measures. All quotations in written assignments must include a clear citation to the work from which they are taken. Otherwise they will be treated as plagiarism. **Any form of academic dishonesty will result in a failing grade for the course and other disciplinary action, up to expulsion from the university.**

**Late Assignments**

Late written assignments will lose one third of a grade (ie, from A to A-) for every day they are late. Extensions are only available on rare circumstances, in the case of documented emergencies and medical conditions, and **must be discussed with me prior to the deadline for that assignment.**

**Cell Phones in Class**

Cell phones must be turned off in class and kept out of sight. I don’t want to ever see the phone in your hand or on your desk.

**Wellness**

Personal concerns such as stress, anxiety, relationship difficulties, depression, cross-cultural differences, etc., can interfere with a student’s ability to succeed and thrive at the University of Utah. For helpful resources contact the Center for Student Wellness - [www.wellness.utah.edu](https://www.umail.utah.edu/owa/redir.aspx?C=Ymwy-SOKuE6GY48_wj6EqSLsK2zAUc8IDJsotYSsy8asD2rKSYVrD9MEPeQ0puY8N0Q3xhhKSK4.&URL=http%3a%2f%2fwww.wellness.utah.edu" \t "_blank); 801-581-7776.

**ADA Statement**

The University of Utah seeks to provide equal access to its programs, services and activities for people with disabilities. If you will need accommodations in the class, reasonable prior notice needs to be given to the Center for Disability Services, 162 Olpin Union Building, 581-5020 (V/TDD). CDS will work with you and the instructor to make arrangements for accommodations. All information in this course can be made available in alternative format with prior notification to the Center for Disability Services.” (www.hr.utah.edu/oeo/ada/guide/faculty/)

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

**August 26**

Introduction

**What is Democracy? What are Political Regimes?**

**August 28**

Robert Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 1-32.

David Collier and Steven Levitsky. 1997. “Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research.” *World Politics*, 49:3, 430-451.

**September 2**

Labor Day

**The Third Wave of Democratization: An Overview**

**September 4**

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*.

Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. Chapter 1 and 1st half of Chapter 2: 3-46.

Freedom House. 2013. *Freedom in the World*. (SKIM)

**Explaining Democratization – Some Classic Approaches**

**September 9 – Modernization Theory**

Lipset, Seymour Martin Lipset 1959. “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic

Development and Political Legitimacy.” *American Political Science Review* 53, 69-

105.

Przeworski , Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” *World*

*Politics* 49, 155-183.

**September 11 – Transitions**

O’Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1-56.

**Are We Asking the Right Questions?**

**September 16 – Authoritarian Regimes Matter**

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. What Do We Know About Democratization After 20 Years? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 115-144.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2002. The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, 13:2. 51-65.

**September 18 – International Factors: Diffusion**

Kopstein, Jeffrey and David Reilly. 2000. Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Post-Communist World. *World Politics*, 53:1.

Brinks, Daniel and Michael Coppedge. 2006. Diffusion is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39:4.

**September 23 – International Factors: Active Democracy Promotion**

McFaul, Michael. 2004. Democracy Promotion as a World Value. *The Washington Quarterly*, 28:1, 147-163.

Schimmelfennig, Frank and Hanno Scholtz. EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood: Political Conditionality, Economic Development, and Transnational Exchange. *European Union Politics*, 9:2, 187-215.

**Explaining Competitive Authoritarian Outcomes**

**September 25 – Linkage and Leverage as Key Factors**

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 1-83.

**September 30 - Mexico**

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 149-161

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 33-47, 71-115.

**October 2 – Contributing Theoretical Perspectives: The Role of Opposition Movements**

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8 and a little bit of Chapter 9.

**October 7 - Ukraine**

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 213-220.

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.

**October 9**

The midterm exam (take home) will be handed out to undergraduates and questions will be answered regarding the test. Subsequently, I will hold scheduled individual meetings with graduate students to discuss research papers.

**October 14-16**

Fall Break, midterm due by **11:59 PM on October 16**, emailed to me in a single Microsoft Word file with your name in the title.

**PART 2: The Democratic Recession and Counter-Hegemonic Autocracies**

**Overview**

**October 21 – The Democratic Recession**

Hoffman, Barak and Jack Santucci. 2009. “The Democratic Recession.” Working Paper, Center for Democracy and Civil Society, Georgetown University.

Weyland, Kurt. 2013. Latin America’s Authoritarian Drift: The Threat From the Populist Left. *Journal of Democracy*, 24:3.

**October 23 –Authoritarian Counterstrategies at Home**

Carrothers, Thomas. The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion. *Foreign Affairs*, 85:2, 55-68.

Finkel, Evgeny and Yitzhak Brudny. 2012. Russia and the Colour Revolutions. *Democratization*. 19:1, 15-36.

**October 28 –** **Authoritarian Diffusion and Promotion?**

Cameron, David and Mitchell Orenstein. 2011. Post-Soviet Authoritarianism? The Influence of Russia in its ‘Near Abroad.’ *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 28:1.

Corrales, Javier. 2009. Using Social Power to Balance Soft Power. *The Washington Quarterly*. 32:4, 97-114.

**October 30 – The Debate Over Authoritarian Aid**

Naim, Moises. 2007. Rogue Aid. *Foreign Policy*, March/April issue.

Woods, Ngaire. 2008. Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance. *International Affairs*, 84:6, 1205-1221.

**Scenario 1: Ukraine’s 2015 Elections**

**November 4 – Introduction and Overview**

**November 6 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**November 11 - Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**November 13 – Pre-Election Strategy**

Group 1: Strategy Presentation for US State Department

Group 2: Strategy Presentation for Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 3: Strategy Presentation for Yanukovych Administration

Group 4: Strategy Presentation for Fatherland (Yulia Tymoshenko bloc)

Group 5: Strategy Presentation for UDAR (Vitaly Klitschko bloc)

Group 5: Strategy Presentation for Carter Center (Electoral Monitors)

**November 18 – The Election and Aftermath**

We will have an in-class simulation of the aftermath of a controversial election, with groups needing to make decisions and debate issues. More information to be provided later.

**Scenario 2: Summit of the Americas**

**November 20 – Introduction and Overview**

**November 25 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**November 27 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**December 2 – Pre-Summit Strategy**

Group 1: Strategy Presentation for US State Department

Group 2: Strategy Presentation for Venezuelan Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 3: Strategy Presentation for Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 4: Strategy Presentation for Bolivian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 5: Strategy Presentation for Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**December 4– Summit**

We will have an in-class simulation of the aftermath of the summit, with groups needing to make decisions and debate issues. More information to be provided later.

**Course Recap and Review**

**December 9 – Course Recap and Concluding Discussions**

**December 11 – Final Exam**

The final exam (again, take home) will be handed out to undergraduates, questions will be answered regarding that final, and students will complete evaluations and have an opportunity to give feedback, especially on how to improve the simulations.

**Graduate Student Research Papers Due December 16th**

**Undergraduate Final Exam Due December 18th**