**NEW DEMOCRACIES**

**POLS 5410/6410**

**(3 Units)**

Spring 2018

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

Time: TH 9:10-10:30 AM

Classroom: BU C 108

Office: Building 72, Office 210

Office Hours: TTH, 2:00-3:00 (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 “autocratic great and regional powers” – countries such as China and Russia 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 respectfully 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 –controversial elections in Armenia and Venezuela – in which student groups represent key actors (ie, the US, the EU, Russia, the Armenian government, Armenian 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 26th to October 30th, there are 16 classes for which readings are assigned. For at least eight 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 after class on **October 7th**.
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 “Files” 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); 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**

**January 9**

Introduction

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

**January 11**

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.

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

**January 16**

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.

**Explaining Democratization – Domestic Factors**

**January 18**

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.

**January 23 – Authoritarian Institutions**

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

**January 25 – Electoral Authoritarianism and Hybrid Regimes**

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

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. “The Menu of Manipulation.” *Journal of Democracy*, 13:2. 36-50.

**Explaining Democratization – International Variables and the West**

**January 30 – 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.

**February 1 – 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**

**February 6 – 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.

**February 8 – Case Study: 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.

**February 13 – 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.

**February 15 - 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.

The midterm exam (take home) will be handed out to undergraduates and questions will be answered regarding the test. Midterm due by **11:59 PM on October 14**, emailed to me in a single Microsoft Word file with your name in the title.

**PART 2: The Democratic Recession and Autocratic Powers**

**Overview**

**February 20 – The Democratic Recession**

Freedom House. 2017. *Freedom in the World*.

Diamond, Larry. 2015. “Facing up to the Democratic Recession.” *Journal of Democracy*, 26:1, 141-155.

**February 22 – 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.

**February 27 – 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.

Bader, Julia, Jorn Gravenholt, and Antje Kastner. 2010. “Would Autocracies Promote Autocracy: A Political Economy Perspective on Regime Type Export in Regional Neighborhoods.” *Contemporary Politics*, 16:1, 81-100.

**March 1 –** **A Closer Look at Russian Influence**

Tolstrup, Jacob. 2015. “Black Knights and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: Why and How Russia Supports Authoritarian Incumbents in Post-Soviet States.” *European Journal of Political Research*.

Way, Lucan. 2015. The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The Case of Russia in its Near Abroad.” *European Journal of Political Research*.

**March 6 – Chinese Influence: The Optimistic View**

Brautigam, Deborah. 2009. The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa. Prologue and Chapter 9.

**March 8 – Chinese Influence: The Negative View**

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

Bader, Julia. 2015. “China, Autocratic Patron? An Empirical Investigation of China as a Factor in Autocratic Survival.” *International Studies Quarterly*, 59:1, 23-33.

**March 13 – Midterm Review and Discussion**

**Scenario 1: Armenia’s 2018 Elections**

**March 15 – Introduction and Overview**

**March 20 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**March 22 - Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**April 3 – Pre-Election Strategy**

Group 1: Strategy Presentation for EU and OSCE Observation Mission

Group 2: Strategy Presentation for Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 3: Strategy Presentation for Armenian regime

Group 4: Strategy Presentation for Heritage (Raffi Hovanissian)

Group 5: Strategy Presentation for Armenian National Congress

**April 5 – 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: Venezuela’s 2018 Elections**

**April 10 – Introduction and Overview**

**April 12 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**April 17 – Class Meetings and Work Groups**

**April 19 – Pre-Electoral Strategy**

Group 1: Strategy Presentation for US State Department

Group 2: Strategy Presentation for Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Group 3: Strategy Presentation for Venezuelan government hardliners

Group 4: Strategy Presentation for Venezuelan government softliners

Group 5: Strategy Presentation for Opposition

**April 24 – Election and Aftermath**

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

**Graduate Student Research Papers Due May 8**

**Undergraduate Final Exam Due May 4**