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# **Democratic Transformations in Europe**

Office Hours in Turlington Hall, 3326C: tba

#### PRELIMINARY SYLLABUS, SUBJECT TO CHANGES UNTIL FIRST COURSE WEEK

#### **Description**

This course deals with the transformation from authoritarian to democratic regimes. In theoretical terms, the course shall introduce and discuss the most important concepts in this regard, such as polyarchy and embedded democracy. Furthermore, different explanations for democratic transformation shall be debated, such as economic, cultural, institutional as well as rational choice approaches. The empirical focus of this course shall be on post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe and cover the evolution of numerous countries since the downfall of the Soviet Union. In an excursive fashion, cases from other time periods and regions, such as Asia, Latin America, as well as postwar Germany shall be taken into account.

# Requirements

Attendance (10% of grade)

Two unexcused absences over the course of the semester are allowed; after that, unexcused absences count against students' attendance grade. Excused absences do not count against the grade, but these require prior consultation with the instructor. According to the Office of the University Registrar, "acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and 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." For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalogue

(http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html).

# *Active participation (10% of grade)*

Students are expected to attend class and participate actively, share their opinions and questions and take part in discussions. Required texts will be addressed in the discussions and their reading is mandatory. Student participation is a very important component of this course and any form of verbal involvement in class contributes to its grade. Full and active engagement with the readings, lectures, and discussions in the class is expected. In the interests of fairness, there will be no extra credit assignments for individual students.

Weekly Tuesday Quizzes (15% of grade)

Short quizzes are taking place weekly on Tuesdays, testing student's knowledge about the mandatory readings for each week, which are going to be discussed in the Wednesday sessions. The aim of the quizzes is for students to encourage reading and to self-check on their knowledge.

# *Oral presentation (20% of grade)*

The idea of oral presentations is to provide additional thoughts on the topic of each week. Each student shall give an oral presentation on a subject related to the overall topic of the respective week, starting week 3. Presentations will take place on Fridays (or Wednesdays if there is no regular class on Friday) and must take approx. 10-15 minutes per student. Depending on class size, some presentations may likely be done in pairs or groups, which might affect the duration of individual presentations. Presentations will address major questions on the topic that was discussed during the week and shall provide further research, different perspectives, and inspire discussions in class. Working with research is a crucial part of the presentation. This means that content-wise, oral presentations may build upon the required text(s) of the respective week but must go beyond it based on further academic research. To stay on track, it is therefore highly recommended to talk about your ideas during the office hours, where also additional texts for the presentation can be provided. The grade of the presentation is composed as follows: (1) content: 35%; (2) appropriate use of research: 35%; (3) structure and conduct of the presentation: 30%.

# *Midterm exam (15% of grade)*

The exam will cover content from the first seven weeks of the course. Format and scope of exam will be discussed in class prior to first exam; terms sections will be demonstrated with hypothetical questions. All exam questions can be answered with the content of the lectures and the provided key texts.

# Final paper (30% of grade).

The aim of the final paper is to demonstrate academic skills, namely the development and discussion of a precise research question by utilizing research and, if applicable, empirical data. The paper is due by Sunday, April 17, 11:59 pm. It shall consist of 10 to 12 pages (double-spaced), Times New Roman size 12, plus 1 to 2 pages of bibliography, citing at least seven different academic sources. Discussing the idea of the final paper in the office hours is not required but highly advisable. The grade of the paper is composed as follows: (1) content: 45%; (2) appropriate use of research: 35%; (3) structure and language: 20%.

#### Office hours

Unless announced otherwise, office hours take place as stated above and by appointment via email. Open door principle applies.

# **Policy on Exam Make-Ups**

I will only schedule exam make-ups for students who contact me by email at least one hour before the exam and who can provide official documentation why they were <u>physically</u> unable to take the exam.

# **Grading Scale**

A 93-100 B+ 87-89 C+ 77-79 D+ 67-69 E Below 60

A- 90-92	B 83-86	C 73-76	D 63-66
	B- 80-82	C- 70-72	D- 60-62

#### **Texts**

The required texts and most other readings will be available on-line through CANVAS. The required texts are to be read at each course week. All further readings are optional. The reading schedule below is subject to change depending on the pace of progress and unforeseen scheduling changes. Please refer to the online syllabus for the latest version.

# PART I:

# **CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY**

#### Week 1: Introduction (Jan 5, 7)

L Diamond (2008), The Spirit of Democracy. New York.

JE Lane and S Ersson (2003), Democracy: a comparative approach. London et al.

# Week 2: Thinking about ,democracy' (Jan 10, 12, 14)

\* J Waldron (2012), Democracy. In: D Estland (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy*. Oxford.

### Week 3: Polyarchy and embedded democracy (Jan 19, 21)

RA Dahl (2006), Polyarchal Democracy, in: *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago & London, 63-89.

\* W Merkel (2004), Embedded and defective democracies. *Democratization* 11 (5): 33-58.

#### Week 4: Forms of autocracy (Jan 24, 26, 28)

\* Møller, J and SE Skaaning (2009), Mapping contemporary forms of autocracy. *Totalitarismus und Demokratie* 6 (2), 253-270.

# Week 5: Transformation as a concept (Jan 31, Feb 2, 4)

R Fishman (1990), Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe's Transition to Democracy. *World Politics* 42 (3): 422-470.

<sup>\*</sup> indicates required readings for each week.

\* DA Rustow (1970), Transitions to Democracy. Comparative Politics 2 (3): 337-363.

# Week 6: Phases of transformation (Feb 7, 9, 11)

R Gunther, NP Diamandouros, and HJ Puhle (eds.) 1995: *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation. Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective.* Baltimore, **pages tba**.

\* A Hadenius and J Teorell (2007), Pathways from Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 143-157.

#### **PART II:**

#### EXPLANATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION

#### Week 7: Democracy and modernization (Feb 14, 16, 18)

A Przeworski (1991). Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pages tba.

\* T Vanhanen (1989), The Level of Democratization Related to Socioeconomic Variables in 147 States, 1980-1985. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 12 (2): 95-127.

# Week 8: Democracy and political culture (Feb 21, 23, 25)

\* GA Almond and S Verba (1965), The Civic Culture. Boston, pages tba.

J Linde and J Ekman (2003), Satisfaction with Democracy: A Note on a Frequently Used Indicator in Comparative Politics. *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (3): 391–408.

# Week 9: Democracy and value orientations (Feb 28, Mar 2, 4)

C Welzel and R Inglehart (2008), The Role of Ordinary People in Democratization. *Journal of Democracy* 19 (1): 126-140.

\* C Welzel and R Inglehart (2009), Political Culture, Mass Beliefs, and Value Change. In: C Haerpfer, P Bernhagen, R Inglehart and C Welzel (eds.): *Democratization*. Oxford, pp. 126-144.

# -Spring Break-

#### Week 10: Democracy and historical institutionalism (Mar 14, 16, 18)

G Alexander (2001), Institutions, Path Dependence, and Democratic Consolidation, in: *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13 (3): 249–270.

J Mahoney (2001), Path-dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (1), 111-141.

# Week 11: Game-theoretic perspectives (Mar 21, 23, 25)

JM Colomer (1995), Game Theory and the Transition to Democracy. The Spanish Model. Aldershot.

\* A Przeworski (1992), The Games of Transition. In: S Mainwaring, Scott, G O'Donnell and JS Valenzuela (eds.), *Issues in Democratic Consolidation. The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, pp. 105-152.

J Ulfelder (2005), Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 311-334.

#### **PART III**

#### **OUTLOOK: AUTHORITARIAN BACKLASH AHEAD?**

# Week 12: Causes of democratic decline (Mar 28, 30, Apr 1)

\* RS Foa and Y Mounk, (2017), The Signs of Deconsolidation. *Journal of Democracy* 28 (1): 5-15

P Norris and R Inglehart (2019), *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism.* Cambridge.

# Week 13: New authoritarianism (Apr 4, 6, 8)

\* S Levitsky and LA Way (2002), Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 51-65.

S Levitsky and D Ziblatt (2018), *How Democracies Die.* New York, pages tba.

#### Week 14: The resilience of democracy (Apr 11, 13, 15)

\* W Merkel and A Lührmann (2021), Resilience of democracies: responses to illiberal and authoritarian challenges. *Democratization* 28 (5), 869-884.

# Week 15: Final reflections (Apr 18, 20)

No readings

#### **Final Notes**

Students Requiring Accommodations

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the Disability Resource Center

# (Links to an external site.)

. 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 professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Click here for guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via ufl.bluera.com/ufl/.

# (Links to an external site.)

Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students here

# (Links to an external site.)

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# 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

### (Links to an external site.)

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 in this class.

#### Recordings

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 Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Software Use

All faculty, staff, and students of the University are required and expected to obey the laws and legal agreements governing software use. Failure to do so can lead to monetary damages and/or criminal penalties for the individual violator. Because such violations are also against University policies and rules, disciplinary action will be taken as appropriate. We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to uphold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

Student Privacy

There are federal laws protecting your privacy with regards to grades earned in courses and on individual assignments. For more information, please see the Notification to Students of FERPA Rights

(Links to an external site.)

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Campus Resources:

Health and Wellness

#### U Matter, We Care:

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.

#### Counseling and Wellness Center: counseling.ufl.edu/cwc

(Links to an external site.)

, and 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

# **Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)**

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161.

University Police Department at 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies), or police.ufl.edu

# (Links to an external site.)

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Academic Resources

# **E-learning technical support**

#### (Links to an external site.)

, 352-392-4357 (select option 2) or e-mail to Learning-support@ufl.edu.

# **Career Resource Center**

### (Links to an external site.)

, Reitz Union, 392-1601. Career assistance and counseling.

# **Library Support**

#### (Links to an external site.)

, Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

# **Teaching Center**

### (Links to an external site.)

, Broward Hall, 392-2010 or 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

# **Writing Studio**

# (Links to an external site.)

, 302 Tigert Hall, 846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

# **Student Complaints Campus**

(Links to an external site.)

# **On-Line Students Complaints**