

Democracy and Citizenship
Master's in Political Science
Academic Year 2024-2025 (Autumn Term)
10 ECTS
Mondays & Wednesdays 15 to 17.30

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Objectives

In many ways, political science can trace its origins back to the attempts by thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle to come to terms with the concepts of democracy and citizenship as they emerged in the Ancient Greek poleis, particularly that of Athens.

While modern liberal democracy functions in quite a different way from its ancient predecessor, the normative, theoretical and empirical preoccupations of the Ancients have continued to inform modern debates on democracy and citizenship, concerned as they are with questions such as regime change, political participation, citizen rights, and institutional arrangements. In addition, other questions, such as the increasing democratic demands of citizens, have become central to debates surrounding the functioning of liberal democratic systems.

The purpose of this module is to present some of the main debates and approaches to understanding liberal democracy and citizenship as these have developed over time in the West, and to this end the module is divided into six parts. The first examines the challenges posed by the climate crisis for liberal democracies, while the second part focuses on individuals' attitudes towards democracy and other forms of government. The third part deals with one of the central features of democratic systems, namely political participation, while the fourth looks at key questions related to democratic backsliding. The final part looks at the international dimension of democracy, and in particular the issue of democracy, citizenship are conceived in relation to migration.

At the end of the module, students are expected to be able to demonstrate a thorough understanding of a wide range of theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches to the study of themes related to democracy and citizenship.

Preparatory Readings

For students new to Political Science, the following texts provide good background for some of the themes that will be dealt with in this module:

- Held, D. (various editions) *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Diamond L. & M. F. Plattner, eds., (2009), *Democracy. A Reader*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (2003), eds., *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press. Available [here](#).

Module Contents

Introduction. Democracy and Citizenship: questions new and old. J. Etherington (30th September)

The aim of this introductory class is to give an overview of the study of democracy and citizenship in order to provide context for the themes that we shall be studying in this module. The session then presents the different parts of the module, before discussing the formal aspects involved.

Recommended readings

- Macpherson, C.W. (various editions) *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford. OUP.
- Held, D. (various editions) *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Part 1. Capitalism and Liberal Democracy. John Etherington (5 sessions)

The relationship between capitalism and liberal democracy has been a source of controversy both within and beyond academia since the 19th century, a controversy that shows no sign of abating. In many ways, this debate revolves around the question of how much power the citizen body, acting through the state, should have over the process of capitalist accumulation: should the right to private property and profit – ‘market justice’ – be insulated from popular control? Or should social justice, based on, for example, wealth and income redistribution and environmental protection, take precedence?

Given that this tension between capitalism and liberal democracy has never been static, this part of the module analyses the development of this relationship over time, from the 19th century until the present day, when concern for democracy under the neoliberal order has (re)emerged with force.

Organisation of the sessions

For each session readings are assigned, and these will be accompanied by discussion topics that students are expected to prepare at home as the basis for subsequent discussion in class.

Class 1: Analysing Capitalism and Democracy: concepts and theories (2nd October)

The first session discusses basic conceptual issues, such as the nature of capitalism itself, and attempts to theorise the relationship between capitalism and liberal democracy over time.

Compulsory readings

- Block, F. (2001) "Introduction" in Polanyi, K. *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Polanyi, K. *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapter 19.

Additional readings

- Marx, K. *Capital*. Volume 1. Chapters 26-33.
- Meiksins Wood, E. (1995) *Democracy against Capitalism: renewing historical materialism*. Cambridge: CUP. Chapter 1.

Class 2: Embedding Liberalism: how post-war democracies regulated capitalism (7th October)

In this session, we will analyse the attempts made by almost all Western governments in the post-WW2 period to 'embed' capitalism within both international and domestic systems of regulation, based mainly around the ideas of Keynesian economics.

Compulsory readings

- King, D. (1987) *The New Right: Politics Markets and Citizenship*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. Ch. 4, p.49-63.
- Hopkin, J. (2020) *Anti-System Politics: The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies*. New York: Oxford Academic. Chapter 1. (Available on-line through the library)

Additional readings

- Ruggie, J. G. (1982) "International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order", *International Organization*, 36, 2, pp. 379-415.
- Offe, K. (2003) "Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State: Factors of Stability and Disorganization", *Policy Sciences* 15, pp. 225-246

Class 3. Disembedding Liberalism: the Neoliberal challenge (9th October)

The breakdown of the Keynesian consensus on the back of economic crisis in the 1970s led to the emergence of a new set of ideas, subsequently termed 'neoliberalism'. In this session, we will analyse the neoliberal critique of the post-war settlement between democracy and capitalism and the proposals to reconfigure this relationship.

Compulsory readings

- King, D. (1987) *The New Right: Politics Markets and Citizenship*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. Ch. 4, p.63-69.
- Biebricher, (2015) "Neoliberalism and Democracy", *Constellations*, Volume 22, No 2, pp. 255-266. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12157>

Class 4. Disembedding Liberalism: Neoliberalism and democracy in practice (14th October)

From the perspective of legitimacy crises, as developed by authors such as Wolfgang Streek, in this session we analyse the different political and economic strategies undertaken under neoliberalism to overcome the contradictions between capitalism and democracy.

Compulsory readings

- Streek, W. (2014) *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*. London: Verso. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Additional readings

- Blyth, M. (2002) *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5. (Available on-line through the library).
- Harvey, D. (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: OUP. Chapter 3. (Available on-line through the library).

Class 5. Disembedding Liberalism: the consequences for liberal democracies (16th October)

The final session looks at the consequences of the neoliberal order for democratic political systems, particularly in the aftermath of the 'Great Recession' that began in 2008. Specifically, we shall analyse the position that the disembedding of economic power from democratic control has brought with it the rise of far-right populism as both a cause and effect of the current crisis of liberal democracy.

Compulsory readings

- Hopkin, J. (2020) *Anti-System Politics: The Crisis of Market Liberalism in Rich Democracies*. New York: Oxford Academic. Chapter 2. (Available on-line through the library).
- Streek, W. (2014) *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*. London: Verso. Chapter 2.

Additional readings

- Artner, A-M, (2018) “Can Capitalism Be Truly Democratic?”, *Review of Radical Political Economics* 50:4, 793-809.
- Weeks, J. (2018) “Free Markets and the Decline of Democracy”, *Review of*

Part 2. Does Democracy Really Work? Enrique Hernández (5 sessions)

Organization of the Sessions (Part 2)

All students are expected to have read and prepared the compulsory readings before coming to class and to take an active part in the sessions. All sessions will take the form of class discussions of the set texts. Each student will act as a discussion leader in one of the sessions (3 students per session). In addition to the compulsory readings, discussion leaders must read at least one of the optional readings.

24 hours before each session discussion leaders must upload a PDF document to the Campus Virtual with 3/4 questions for in-class discussion/debate.

These questions should be based on the readings. The questions can refer to any aspect of the readings: points that are not clear in the text, criticism of some aspect of the readings, the implications of the findings for the functioning of democracy...

Class 1: The State of Democracy (21st October)

Compulsory readings

- Przeworski, Adam. 2024. “Who Decides What Is Democratic?” *Journal of Democracy* 35(3): 5–16.
- Angiolillo, Fabio, Martin Lundstedt, Marina Nord, and Staffan I. Lindberg. *Forthcoming*. “State of the World 2023: Democracy Winning and Losing at the Ballot.” *Democratization* doi:[10.1080/13510347.2024.2341435](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2024.2341435).

Optional readings

- Little, Andrew T., and Anne Meng. 2024. “Measuring Democratic Backsliding.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 57(2): 149–61.

Class 2: The Perspective of Citizens. Is Democracy Still the Only Game in Town? (23rd October)

Compulsory readings

- Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 2](#)
- Wuttke, Alexander, Konstantin Gavras, and Harald Schoen. 2022. “Have Europeans Grown Tired of Democracy? New Evidence from Eighteen Consolidated Democracies, 1981–2018.” *British Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 416–28.

- Foa, Roberto Stefan, A. Klassen, M. Slade, A. Rand, and R. Collins. 2020. "The Global Satisfaction with Democracy Report 2020." *Bennett Institute for Public Policy, University of Cambridge, January*.

Optional readings

- Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Yascha Mounk. 2017. "The Signs of Deconsolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 28(1): 5–15.
- Adserà, Alicia, Andreu Arenas, and Carles Boix. 2023. "Estimating the Value of Democracy Relative to Other Institutional and Economic Outcomes among Citizens in Brazil, France, and the United States." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 120(48): e2306168120.

Class 3: What Type of Democracy? The Unfulfilled Democratic Ideal (28th October)

Compulsory readings

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Anderson, Christopher J., and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *American Political Science Review* 91(1): 66–81.

Optional readings

- König, Pascal D., Markus B. Siewert, and Kathrin Ackermann. 2022. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Citizens' Preferences for Democracy: Taking Stock of Three Decades of Research in a Fragmented Field." *Comparative Political Studies* 55(12): 2015–49.
- Ferrín, Mónica, and Enrique Hernández. 2021. "Preferences for Consensus and Majoritarian Democracy: Long- and Short-Term Influences." *European Political Science Review* 13(2): 209–25.

Class 4: Citizens as a Safeguard? The Role of Citizens in Democratic Backsliding (30th October)

Compulsory readings

- Svobik, Milan W. 2019. "Polarization versus Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 30(3): 20–32.
- Krishnarajan, Suthan. 2023. "Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior." *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 474–96.

Optional readings

- Avramovska, Elena, Johanna Lutz, Filip Milačić, and Milan W. Svobik. 2022. *IDENTITY, PARTISANSHIP, POLARIZATION. How Democratically Elected Politicians Get Away with Autocratizing Their Country*. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.
- Frederiksen, Kristian Vrede Skaaning. 2024. "Do Partisanship and Policy Agreement Make Citizens Tolerate Undemocratic Behavior?" *The Journal of Politics* 86(2): 766–81.

- Jacob, Marc S. 2024. "Citizens as a Democratic Safeguard? The Sequence of Sanctioning Elite Attacks on Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* n/a(n/a). doi:[10.1111/ajps.12847](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12847).

Class 5: Elites and Liberal Institutions: Guardians or Culprits? (4th November)

Compulsory readings

- Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2019. *How Democracies Die*. Crown. Chapter 5.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2023. *Tyranny of the Minority: How to Reverse an Authoritarian Turn, and Forge a Democracy for All*. Random House. Chapters 5-6.

Optional readings

- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2019. "The Institutional Roots of Democratic Backsliding." *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): e11–16.
- Clayton, Katherine, Nicholas T. Davis, Brendan Nyhan, Ethan Porter, Timothy J. Ryan, and Thomas J. Wood. 2021. "Elite Rhetoric Can Undermine Democratic Norms." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(23): e2024125118

Part 3. Citizenship, inequality and globalisation. D. Edmiston (5 sessions)

Citizenship as a status, concerns who gets what from the terms of membership within a given political community. Citizenship as a practice, explains how and why some are recognised as 'worthy' members whilst others are not. This part of the module explores how the rights and responsibilities of contemporary citizenship mediate the nature of civic participation, belonging and global mobility. We begin with T.H. Marshall's seminal account of the civil, political and social pillars of the citizenship, and its contested functions when it comes to capitalism, democracy and inequality. We explore the limitations of Marshall's framework by 'looking up' to the responsibilities of the state to provide a *Civic Minimum* and what this implies about possibilities for genuine (political) participation in everyday life. We then go on to explore the activist politics over social citizenship in struggles for institutional recognition and support between unequal citizens and subjects. This part of the module ends by considering the extent to which the status and practice of citizenship is becoming dis-embedded from national borders and boundaries.

Class 1. T.H. Marshall's Account of Citizenship (6th November)

Compulsory Readings

- Isin, E. & Wood. P. (1999) 'Modern Citizenship: Civic, Political and Social'. In: *Citizenship and Identity*, SAGE Publications, pp. 34-53. Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uab/detail.action?docID=1024043>.

Additional Readings

- Bulmer, M. I., & Rees, A. (2016). *Citizenship today: The contemporary relevance of TH Marshall*. Routledge.

- Marshall, T. H., & Bottomore, T. (1992). *Citizenship and Social Class*. Pluto Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt18mvns1>
- Offe, C. (1982) 'Some contradictions of the modern welfare state'. *Critical Social Policy*, 2(5): 7-16.

Class 2. A Civic Minimum: Prospects for Civic Participation and Democracy (11th November)

Compulsory Readings

- Lötter, H. (2008) 'Poverty as threat to democratic values.' *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 22(2): 177-195.
- White, S. (2004) 'Social Minimum'. *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. Available at: <https://seop.illc.uva.nl/entries/social-minimum/>

Additional Readings

- Ross, M. (2006) 'Is Democracy Good for the Poor?', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(4): 860–74.
- Plant, R. (1988) 'Needs, agency and welfare rights', in DONALD, M. T. (ed.) *Rights and Welfare: the theory of the welfare state*. Westview Press, pp. 55-74.
- White, S. G. (2003) *The civic minimum: On the rights and obligations of economic citizenship*. Oxford University Press.

Class 3. Status, habitus and acts of citizenship (13th November)

Compulsory Readings

- Edmiston, D., & Humpage, L. (2018) 'Resistance or resignation to welfare reform? The activist politics for and against social citizenship'. *Policy & Politics*, 46(3): 467-484.
- Isin, E. (2008) 'Theorizing acts of citizenship'. In: Isin, Engin F. and Nielsen, Greg M. eds. *Acts of Citizenship*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 15–43.

Additional Readings

- Ellison, N. (2000) 'Proactive and Defensive Engagement: Social Citizenship in a Changing Public Sphere'. *Sociological Research Online*, 53. Available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.5153/sro.513>
- Isin, E. & Turner, B. (2002) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, London: Sage.
- Ishkanian, Armine (2022) *Social movements and social policy: new research horizons*. *Journal of Social Policy*, 51 (3). 582 - 595.

Class 4. Social Divisions of Welfare: Activist Politics For and Against Social Citizenship (18th November)

Compulsory Readings

- Turner, J. (2016) '(En) gendering the political: Citizenship from marginal spaces'. *Citizenship Studies*, 20(2): 141-155.

Additional Readings

- Burchardt, T. (2001) The social division of welfare: some reflections on the search for equity, In: Alcock, P., Glennerster, H., and Oakley, A. (eds.) *Welfare and wellbeing: Richard Titmuss's contribution to social policy*, Policy Press.
- Fraser, N. (1998) 'Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, Participation'. *WZB Discussion Paper*, 98-108, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- Lister, R., Smith, N., Middleton, S., et al. (2003) 'Young people talk about citizenship: empirical perspectives on theoretical and political debates', *Citizenship studies*, 7(2): 235-253.

Class 5. Mutations in Citizenship amidst Globalisation (20th November)

Compulsory Readings

- Fairfield, T. (2013) 'Going where the money is: Strategies for taxing economic elites in unequal democracies'. *World Development*, 47: 42-57.
- Ong, A. (2006) 'Mutations in Citizenship'. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23(2-3): 499-505.

Additional Readings

- Clarke, J., Coll, K., Dagnino, E., et al. (2014) *Disputing Citizenship*, Policy Press.
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Duke University Press.
- Sassen, S. (2006) *Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages*. Cambridge University Press.

Part 4. Migration and Democracy. E Østergaard-Nielsen (2 sessions).

Class 1. State-diaspora relations and transnational voting rights (EØN) (25th November)

International migration challenge the idea of congruence between voters and territory. The number of countries granting dual citizenship has risen markedly. In addition, countries granting voting rights to citizens abroad has grown from 38 to 141 since 1990. Why do states grant such voting rights to non-resident citizens (emigrants)? What are the main hypothesis/explanations in the literature? And what do mobile citizens tend to vote in homeland elections.

Obligatory background readings

- Lafleur, J-M. (2015), 'The enfranchisement of citizens abroad: Variations and explanations, *Democratization*, 22 (5), 840-860.
- Fliess, N., Ali Kiani and Eva Østergaard-Nielsen (2024), Why do autocracies enfranchise their citizens abroad? A large-N event history analysis, 1990-2010, *Democratization*, online first, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2024.2383795>

Supplementary readings

- Burgess, K. (2018) 'States or Parties? Emigrant outreach and transnational engagement', *International Political Science Review*, 29: 3, pp. 369-383.
- Turcu, A. and R. Urbatsch (2023) 'Is populism popular abroad? Evidence from diasporas around the globe', *Party Politics* 29(3), 587-593.

Preparation for group work/class discussion:

Prepare a small research on the following issue and write it up in 150-300 words and bring to class: Does your country of citizenship grant voting rights to emigrants? Which of the explanations outlined in the obligatory background reading texts for today do you think best fit the explanation for why your country does or does not grant external voting rights? (If for some reason you are uncomfortable talking about your country of citizenship just choose another case of your liking). Think of 1-2 questions to discuss in class, upload to Campus Virtual by 12.00 the day before class.

You can use the following databases to check the situation of emigrant voting rights across the globe:

- <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voting-abroad>
- <https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/voting-abroad-international-idea-handbook?lang=en>
- <http://globalcit.eu/>

Class 2. Migration and democratization (27th of November)

Migration is often studied in terms of its political impact on countries of residence. But what is the political impact on countries of origin? Through which channels can migration and migrants influence politics in the country of origin? What are social remittances? What are the main factors determining the relationship between financial remittances and political behavior in countries of origin? Do migrant remittances promote democratization at home or help stabilize autocracies?

Obligatory background reading

- Kapur, D. (2014), 'Political Effects of International Migration', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, pp. 479–502.

Preparation for group work/class discussion:

Read Kapur and then choose one of the extra texts below. Write a short summary (150-300 words) of the main argument/finding of your chosen text, which channel and which effect do the authors present? Think of 1-2 questions regarding the analysis. Upload to Campus Virtual by 12.00 the day before class.

- Escriba-Folch A. et al, Meseguer C., Wright, J. (2018), Remittances and protest in dictatorships, *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Pérez-Armendáriz, C. (2014), 'Cross-Border Discussions and Political Behavior in Migrant-Sending Countries', *Studies of Comparative International Development*, 49:pp. 67–88.

- Careja, R and Emmenegger, P. Making Democratic Citizens: The Effects of Migration Experience on Political Attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe, *Comparative Political Studies* 45(7) 875–902
- Rother, S. (2009). 'Changed in Migration? Philippine Return Migrants and (Un) Democratic Remittances', *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8 (2) 245-275.

Part 5. Climate Crisis and Liberal Democracy. J. Etherington (6 sessions)

It could be argued that the biggest challenge facing our political systems at the present and for the foreseeable future relates to the climate crisis and associated effects. This part of the module seeks to shed light on the relationship between liberal democratic political systems and climate change, and in particular:

- how the climate crisis impacts on democratic systems and the prospects for democratization;
- how democracies perform relative to alternative political systems and to each other;
- how liberal democracy as a political system and democracy as a concept might be transformed in the face of the ongoing climate crisis.

Organization of sessions

For each session readings are assigned and these will be accompanied by discussion topics that students are expected to prepare at home as the basis for subsequent discussion in class.

Class 1. Introduction: Climate Crisis, Democracy and Democratization (2nd December)

In this introductory session, we shall first consider what is meant by 'Climate Crisis', before discussing the main areas of research with regards its relationship with democratic politics and policy.

Compulsory Readings

- Peter Burnell (2012) "Democracy, democratization and climate change: complex relationships", *Democratization*, 19:5, 813-842.
Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2012.709684>
- IPCC, (2021) "Summary for Policymakers". In Masson-Delmotte, V. et al. (eds.) *Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA, pp. 3–32. Available at: https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/downloads/report/IPCC_AR6_WGI_SPM.pdf

- In addition, the following databases are of interest:
 - [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change](#)
 - [UN Environment Programme](#)
 - [Climate Change Performance Index](#)
 - [Global Climate Risk Index](#)
 - [Our World in Data](#)
 - [Climate Action Tracker](#)

Class 2. The Consequences of the Climate Crisis for Democracy and Democratization (4th December)

In this session we will first discuss the ways in which climate mitigation policies might increase socio-economic inequalities and thus have an indirect impact on the functioning of democratic systems. The second part of the class focusses on one particular manifestation of climate change - rising food prices – and their relation with political unrest in democratic and non-democratic political settings.

Compulsory Readings

- Markkanen, S. and Anger-Kraavi, A. (2019) “Social impacts of climate change mitigation policies and their implications for inequality”, *Climate Policy*, 19:7, 827-844, DOI: [10.1080/14693062.2019.1596873](https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2019.1596873)
- Hendrix, C.S. and Haggard, S. (2015) “Global food prices, regime type, and urban unrest in the developing world”. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (March), pp. 143-157.
Available at: <https://doi:10.1177/0022343314561599>

Useful data resources

- FAO Price Index: <https://www.fao.org/worldfoodsituation/foodpricesindex/en/>

Further Reading

- Wucherpennig, J. and Deutsch, F. (2009) “Modernization and Democracy: Theories and Evidence Revisited”. *Living Reviews in Democracy*. <http://www.livingreviews.org/lrd-2009-4>
- Herman, P.F. and Treverton, G. (2009) “The Political Consequences of Climate Change”. *Survival*, 51:2, 137-148.
Available at: <https://doi:10.1080/00396330902860876>

Class 3. Democratic Responses to Climate Crisis Action I (December 9th)

While liberal democracies continue to fail to fulfil their legal commitments to climate action, it is nevertheless true that certain democratic states outperform others. In the next two sessions we will discuss the factors that might explain such differences.

Compulsory Readings

- Finnegan, J. J. (2022). “Institutions, Climate Change, and the Foundations of Long-Term Policymaking”. *Comparative Political Studies*, 55(7), 1198-1235. <https://doi-org.are.uab.cat/10.1177/00104140211047416>

Further Reading

- Fredriksson, P.G and Neumayer, E. (2013) “Democracy and climate change policies: Is history important?” *Ecological Economics*, 95, 11-19.
Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2013.08.002>
- Povitkina, M. (2018) “The Limits of Democracy in Tackling Climate Change”, *Environmental Politics*, Vol 27, No. 3, 411–432.
Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2018.1444723>

Class 4. Democratic Responses to Climate Crisis Action II (December 11th)

Compulsory Readings

- Selseny, T., Linnerud, K. and Holden, E. (2022) “Unpacking democracy: The effects of different democratic qualities on climate change performance over time”. *Environmental Science and Policy*, vol. 128, pp. 326-335.

Further Reading

- Escher, R. and Walter-Rogg, M. (2018) “Does the Conceptualization and Measurement of Democracy Quality Matter in Comparative Climate Policy Research?”. *Politics and Governance*, Volume 6, Issue 1, Pages 117–144

Class 5. Non-Democratic Regime Responses to the Climate Crisis (16th December)

It is often assumed that liberal democracies outperform other regime forms in terms of their responses to the climate crisis. However, some scholars have put forward powerful arguments supporting what has been called ‘environmental authoritarianism’ as a possible solution to the problems of democracy in this field. In this session we will analyse these arguments.

Compulsory Readings

- Mittiga, R. (2022) “Political Legitimacy, Authoritarianism, and Climate Change”. *American Political Science Review*, 116(3), 998-1011. Available at: <https://doi:10.1017/S0003055421001301>
- Beeson M (2018) “Coming to terms with the authoritarian alternative: the implications and motivations of China’s environmental policies”. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 34–46. Available at: <https://doi:10.1002/app5.217>

Class 6. Alternative Democratic Forms in the Face of Climate Crisis. (18th December)

For some, the only solution to the climate crisis is a radical reform of the economic system that moves away from the capitalist growth imperative. But what would be the effects of such a shift for how democratic societies organise themselves? This last session seeks to discuss this question.

Compulsory Readings

- Cattaneo, C., D'Alisa, G., Kallis, G. and Zografos, C. (2012) "Degrowth Futures and Democracy", *Futures*, Volume 44, Issue 6. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2012.03.012>
- Nyberg, D., Wright, C., & Bowden, V. (2022). "Decarbonisation, Degrowth and Democracy", in *Organising Responses to Climate Change: The Politics of Mitigation, Adaptation and Suffering* (pp. 165-181). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781009266901.009

Further Reading

- Deese, R.S. (2019). "The Frontiers of Democracy". Ch 1, in: *Climate Change and the Future of Democracy. Environmental Challenges and Solutions*. Springer, Cham. Available at: https://doi-org.are.uab.cat/10.1007/978-3-319-98307-3_1
- Michael Peters (2019) "Can democracy solve the sustainability crisis? Green politics, grassroots participation and the failure of the sustainability paradigm". *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 51:2, 133-141. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2017.1388657>
- Willis, R., Curato, N., & Smith, G. (2022). "Deliberative democracy and the climate crisis." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, March/April e759. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.759>

Evaluation

In this module, the main emphasis is on continuous assessment in order to ensure that the different dimensions and concepts related to the sessions are taken on board by students as we progress through the module. This is complemented by a final essay. Evaluation is based on the following criteria:

- Capacity to synthesize the relevant literature
- Capacity to critically evaluate the relevant literature
- Coherence of the argument
- Originality
- Formal aspects, with special reference to correct citation and academic style

The evaluation is divided into the following elements:

a. Short essays (45%): During the term students will write **3 short essays** (max 1200 words each). Students must write one short essay for Part 1, one for either Part 2 or Part 3, and one for either Part 4 or Part 5. The questions for the short essays will be

posted in the Campus Virtual before the end of each part of the module. The dates for handing in the essays are the following:

- Essay 1. Deadline **October 27th** (questions posted October 16th)
- Essay 2. Deadline **December 2nd** (questions posted November 4th/November 20th)
- Essay 3. Deadline **December 31st** (questions posted November 27th /December 18th)

b. **Final essay (35%):** At the end of the course the instructors will post a set of research questions related to each part of the module. Students will have to answer **one** of these questions in an essay of not more than 2500 words. The questions will be published on January 13th and the final essay must be handed in by January 23rd.

c. **Attendance and active participation in in-class activities (20%)**

Plagiarism

Plagiarism will not be tolerated under any circumstances. Professors will actively seek for potential cases of plagiarism, and anti-plagiarism software will be used to analyse every graded submission. Plagiarism in any written piece will entail a fail in the final mark of the module where plagiarism is committed. For further information check Section 9 of the [Student's Guide](#). See also these useful guidelines from [MIT](#) and [Oxford University](#).

Feedback

Comments on work will be available three weeks at the latest after submission. Please do not hesitate to contact the professors for this feedback.

Submission

Please submit all your short essays and final essay through the Campus Virtual tasks section, where **all graded submissions will be analyzed by anti-plagiarism software.**

Grading

All submissions will be graded with a numeric grade ranging from 0 to 10, being 10 the best grade.

Late submissions policy

A one point grade penalty will be applied for each day that a student is late with a graded submission.

Attendance

It is compulsory to attend at least at 80% of the sessions in order to pass this module.

Calendar

Session	Date	Professor	Topic	Part
1	30th September	John Etherington	Introduction to Module	0
2	2nd October	John Etherington	Liberal Democracy and Capitalism	1
3	7th October			
4	9th October			
5	14th October			
6	16th October			
7	21st October	Enrique Hernández	Does Democracy Really Work?	2
8	23rd October			
9	28th October			
10	30th October			
11	4th November			
12	6th November	Daniel Edmiston	Citizenship, Inequality and Globalisation	3
13	11th November			
14	13th November			
15	18th November			
16	20th November			
17	25th November	Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen	Migration and Democracy	4
18	27th November			
19	2nd December	John Etherington	Democracy and Climate Change	5
20	4th December			
21	9th December			
22	11th December			
23	16th December			
24	18th December			

Useful Data Sources for Students

[Freedom House \(FH\): Freedom in the World; Freedom of the Press; Freedom on the Net](#)

[Economist Intelligence Unit \(EIU\): Democracy Index](#)

[Polity IV](#)

[World Bank: Worldwide Governance Indicators \(WGI\)](#)

[Bertelsmann Stiftung: Bertelsmann Transformation Index \(BTI\)](#)

[Quality of Government Institute: various datasets](#)

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA): [State of Democracy Assessments and Voter Turnout Database](#)

[United Nations Development Programme \(UNDP\): Human Development Index \(HDI\)](#)

[Democracy Ranking](#)

[Democracy Barometer](#)

[Varieties of Democracy \(V-Dem\)](#)

[Arend Lijphart's Patterns of Democracy](#)

[Vanhanen's Index of Democracy](#)

[Pippa Norris' various datasets](#)

[European Social Survey \(ESS\)](#)

[World Value Survey \(WVS\)](#)

[Comparative Agendas Project](#)

[Eurobarometer Data through GESIS](#)

[Eurobarometer Interactive System](#)

[Latinobarómetro](#)

[Asian Barometer](#)