

Democracy and Citizenship
Master's in Political Science
Academic Year 2025-2026 (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 five main parts. After three introductory sessions covering fundamental aspects of the theory and practice of democracy and citizenship, the remaining parts will look at the following topics:

- Citizenship, inequality and globalization
- Migration and democracy
- Gender politics
- Climate crisis and democracy

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 Reading

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 (3 Sessions)

The aim of these introductory sessions is to give an overview of the study of democracy and citizenship in order to provide context for the topics that we shall be studying in this module. The main focus is on liberal democracy, as this is by far the most influential regime form that can be described as democratic.

Session 1

Part 1: Introduction to module (objectives, content, evaluation, formal aspects etc.)

Part 2: Theory Of Liberal Democracy

- Liberal Democracy: what is it?
- Liberal Democracy: meaning/interpretations

Compulsory Reading

- MacPherson, C.W.B. (1977) *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: OUP. Chapters 2,3 and 4.

Additional Reading

- Held, D. (various editions) *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapters 5 and 6.
- Ishiyama, J.T., Kelman, T. and Pechenina, A. (2010) "Models of Democracy", in John T. Ishiyama, and Marijke Breuning (eds.) *21st Century Political Science: a Reference Handbook*. SAGE Publications. Available through the library.

Session 2

Part 1: Liberal Democracy: theoretical alternatives and challenges to liberal democracy

Compulsory Reading

One from the following:

- Pateman, C. (2012) "Participatory Democracy Revisited". *Perspectives on Politics*. 2012;10(1):7-19. <https://doi:10.1017/S1537592711004877>
- Biebricher, (2015) "Neoliberalism and Democracy", *Constellations*, Volume 22, No 2, pp. 255-266. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12157>
- Phillips, A. (1992) "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?", *Political Studies*, Vol. 40, S1, Available [here](#).
- Mudde, C. (2021) 'Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism'. *Government and Opposition*, 56, p. 577-597. Available [here](#)

Part 2. Liberal Democracies in Practice: when, where and why did they emerge?

Compulsory Reading

- Jepsen, E. (2010) "Processes of Democratization" in John T. Ishiyama, and Marijke Breuning (eds.) *21st Century Political Science: a Reference Handbook*. SAGE Publications. Available through the library.

Additional Reading

- Gunitsky, Seva (2014) "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century". *International Organization*, 68, pp. 561-597. <https://doi:10.1017/S0020818314000113>
- Therborn, Göran (1977) "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy", [New Left Review](#) 1/103, May-June pp. 3-41

Session 3: Liberal Democracies in Practice: democratic backsliding in the 21st Century

Compulsory Reading

- Levitsky, S. and Ziblatt, D. (2019) *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown. Introduction and chapter 5.
- E.G. Rau, & S. Stokes, (2025) "Income inequality and the erosion of democracy in the twenty-first century" *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 122 (1) e2422543121, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2422543121>

Additional Reading

- Haggard S, Kaufman R. (2021) *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World*. Cambridge University Press. Available through the library.

In Class Assignments

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. In the classroom, students will be expected to present the main ideas of the relevant texts in groups and answer questions on them as the basis for class discussion.

Part 1. Citizenship, inequality and globalisation. D. Edmiston (4 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 access to welfare, political community and civic participation. 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.

Session 1. T.H. Marshall's Account of Citizenship (8th October)

Compulsory Reading

- 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 Reading

- 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.

Session 2. A Civic Minimum: Prospects for Civic Participation and Democracy (13th October)

Compulsory Reading

- 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 Reading

- 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.

Session 3. Status, habitus and acts of citizenship (15th October)

Compulsory Reading

- 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 Reading

- 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.

Session 4. Social Divisions of Welfare: Activist Politics For and Against Social Citizenship (20th October)

Compulsory Reading

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

Additional Reading

- 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.

Part 2. Migration and Democracy. (5 sessions) E Østergaard-Nielsen (3 sessions) and Alina Vranceanu (2 sessions)

Session 1. Immigrant rights in comparative perspective. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen. (22nd October)

How does migration challenge citizenship policies? What are the main trends? And how can we compare different types of citizenship policies and explain their differences? To these questions we will add class-based discussions on one of the debates related to citizenship acquisition recently: Should citizenship be for sale?

Compulsory reading

- Koopmans, Ruud, and Ines Michalowski (2016). Why Do States Extend Rights to Immigrants? Institutional Settings and Historical Legacies Across 44 Countries Worldwide. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1), 41-74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016655533>
- Bauböck, Rainer (ed), (2018). 'Should citizenship be for sale. In Bauböck, R (Ed.) *Debating Transformations of National Citizenship*, Springer, IMISCOE research series, <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-92719-0>. (read the introduction to this section and one contribution for and one against selling citizenship (should be clear from introduction which are which – each entry is just 3-4 pages).

Additional reading

- Vink, M. (2017). Comparing Citizenship Regimes. In Shachar, A., R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad and M. Vink eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. Oxford University Press, pp. 221-244
- Goodman, S. W. (2023). Citizenship Studies: Policy Causes and Consequences. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 26, pp. 135-152. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051921-102729>.
- Joppke, C. (2018). The instrumental turn of citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 858–878. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440484>

Supplementary resources

- <https://globalcit.eu/>
- <http://www.mipex.eu/>
- <http://www.impic-project.eu/>

Session 2. Immigration and politics in representative democracies: the rise of the far right. Alina Vranceanu (27th October).

This session is the first of two that shift our focus to how immigration impacts voting behaviour and party competition in (mostly Western) European democracies. We will explore research examining the relationship between increased immigration and the rise of far-right parties. In addition, we will consider the role of cultural and material grievances, changing social norms, and other contributing factors in shaping the electoral success of this party family.

Compulsory reading

- Alrababah Ala, Andreas Beerli, Dominik Hangartner, and Dalston Ward. 2024. The free movement of people and the success of far-right parties: Evidence from Switzerland's border liberalization. *American Political Science Review*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424001151>

- Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Julia Schulte-Cloos. 2020. Support for radical parties in Western Europe: Structural conflicts and political dynamics. *Electoral Studies* 65: 102138.

Additional reading

- Blinder, Scott, Robert Ford, and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten. 2013. The better angels of our nature: How the antiprejudice norm affects policy and party preferences in Great Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (4): 841–857.
- Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. Revenge of the radical right. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1738-1765
- Dinas, Elias, Konstantinos Matakos, Dimitrios Xeferis, and Dominik Hangartner. 2019. Waking up the Golden Dawn: Does exposure to the refugee crisis increase support for extreme-right parties? *Political Analysis* 27(2): 244–254.
- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth. 2008. What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe?: Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3–23.
- Rydgren, Jens. 2008. Immigration sceptics, xenophobes or racists? Radical right-wing voting in six West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research* 47(6): 737–765.
- Valentim, Vicente. 2024. *The normalization of the radical right: A norms theory of political supply and demand*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

Session 3. Responding to the far-right: Party strategies and democratic consequences. **Alina Vranceanu (29th October)**

In this session, we will examine the strategies that political parties can adopt in response to the rise of their far-right competitors – such as accommodation, (de-)legitimization, and so on - and assess the effectiveness of these approaches. We will also explore the consequences of far-right parties' success for party competition and the quality of democracy in liberal democracies.

Compulsory reading

- Chou, Winston, Rafaela Dancygier, Naoki Egami, and Amaney Jamal. 2021. Competing for loyalists? How party positioning affects populist radical right voting. *Comparative Political Studies* 54(12): 2226-2260.
- Daur, Valentin. 2024. Legitimize or delegitimize? Mainstream party strategy toward (former) pariah parties and how voters respond. *American Political Science Review* 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424000996>

Additional reading

- Bichay, Nicolas. 2022. Populist radical-right junior coalition partners and liberal democracy in Europe. *Party Politics* 30(2): 236-246.
- Hinterleitner, Markus, and Fritz Sager. 2023. Political challengers and norm erosion in advanced democracies. *European Journal of Political Research* 62(4): 1301-1319.

- Hjorth, Frederik, and Martin Vinæs Larsen. 2022. When does accommodation work? Electoral effects of mainstream left position taking on immigration. *British Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 949–957.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae, and Heike Klüver. 2020. Responding to far-right challengers: does accommodation pay off? *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(2): 273-291.
- Svolik, Milan W., Elena Avramovska, Johanna Lutz, and Filip Milačić. 2023. In Europe, democracy erodes from the right. *Journal of Democracy* 34(1): 5-20.
- Valentim, Vicente, Elias Dinas and Daniel Ziblatt. 2025. How mainstream politicians erode norms. *British Journal of Political Science* 1-10. Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/british-journal-of-political-science/article/how-mainstream-politicians-erode-norms/BC0B68653A663F2A90E7423B403B4A00>

Session 4. Transnational voting rights. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen (3rd November)

Mobile citizens challenge the idea of congruence between voters and territories. What are the main trends in transnational voting rights? Why do states grant voting rights to non-resident citizens (emigrants)? What are the main hypotheses/explanations in the literature?

Compulsory reading

- Lafleur, J-M. (2015). The enfranchisement of citizens abroad: Variations and explanations, *Democratization*, 22 (5), 840-860, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2014.979163>
- 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>

Additional reading

- Burgess, K. (2018). States or Parties? Emigrant outreach and transnational engagement, *International Political Science Review*, 29 (3), 369-383, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512118758>
- Østergaard-Nielsen, E, Ciornei I and Lafleur, J (2019). Why do parties support emigrant voting rights? *European Political Science Review*, 11(3), 377-394, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773919000171>
- Umpierrez de Reguero, S., Bauböck, R. & Wegschaider, K. (2024). Evaluating special representation of non-resident citizens: Eligibility, constituency and proportionality. *International Migration*, 00, 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.13263>

Supplementary resources

- <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/>

Session 5. Migration and democratization in countries of origin. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen (5th 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?

Compulsory reading

- Kapur, D. (2014). Political Effects of International Migration, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 479–502, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-043010-095807>
- Escribà-Folch, Abel, Covadonga Meseguer, and Joseph Wright (2022). *Migration and Democracy: How Remittances Undermine Dictatorships*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-25 (Introduction).

Additional reading

- Escribà-Folch A. et al, Meseguer C., Wright, J. (2018). Remittances and protest in dictatorships, *American Journal of Political Science*, 62 (4), 889-904, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12382>
- Pérez-Armendáriz, C. (2014). Cross-Border Discussions and Political Behavior in Migrant-Sending Countries, *Studies of Comparative International Development*, 49, 67–88, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-014-9152-4>
- Careja, R., & Emmenegger, P. (2011). Making Democratic Citizens: The Effects of Migration Experience on Political Attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(7), 875-902. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414011428591>
- Rother, S. (2009). Changed in Migration? Philippine Return Migrants and (Un)Democratic Remittances. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8(2), 245-274. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156805809X12553326569713>

In-class assignments:

For each session, students must read the obligatory readings and upload 3-4 comments or questions for in-class discussion to the Campus Virtual at least two working days before the corresponding session. These comments/questions should engage critically with the readings and provide a sound basis for starting a meaningful discussion in class. During class we may also engage in exercises, including written assignments based on the obligatory readings, exploring relevant online resources or more in-depth debates on selected topics. The submitted comments/questions and the in-class discussion and, where applicable, exercises will each count for 50% of the grade of part 2.

Part 3. Gender, Politics and Democracy (4 sessions) Eva Anduiza.

“Gender” has become a salient issue in media, party manifestos, and elections. But gender is neither a simple concept nor a single issue. It is a slippery, multidimensional, complex bundle of matters, often with conflicting epistemic and political perspectives. In these sections we tackle some of them: What is a feminist perspective in political science? Can we do feminist science and still aim for objectivity? Why should there be women in politics? Have we achieved political equality between men and women? Are men and women different in politics? What is the relationship between gender and the far right?

Content

Session 1. Ontological, epistemological and conceptual debates (10th November)

Compulsory reading

- Hekman, Susan. 1997. “Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22(2): 341–65. doi:[10.1086/495159](https://doi.org/10.1086/495159).
- Savolainen, Jukka, Patrick J. Casey, Justin P. McBrayer, and Patricia Nayna Schwerdtle. 2023. “Positionality and Its Problems: Questioning the Value of Reflexivity Statements in Research.” *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 18(6): 1331–38. doi:[10.1177/17456916221144988](https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916221144988).

Additional reading

- Kováts, Eszter. 2022. “Only I Know My Gender: The Individualist Turn in Gender Theory and Politics, and the Right-Wing Opposition.” *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics* 8(1): 110–27. doi:[10.17356/ieejsp.v8i1.448](https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v8i1.448).
- Lovenduski, Joni. 1998. ‘Gendering Research in Political Science’. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1(Volume 1, 1998): 333–56. doi:[10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.333](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.333).
- Social Research Institute. 2025. Review of Data, Statistics and Research on Sex and Gender. University College London.
- Rubin, Gayle. 1975. ‘The Traffic of Women: Notes on the “Political Economy” of Sex’. In *Toward and Anthropology of Women*, New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Session 2. Women in politics: representation, quotas and political ambition (17th November)

Compulsory reading

- Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2014. ‘Uncovering the Origins of the Gender Gap in Political Ambition’. *The American Political Science Review* 108(3): 499–519.
- Weeks, Ana Catalano, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilde Coffé. 2023. “When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties

and Strategic Descriptive Representation.” *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 421–38. doi:[10.1017/S0003055422000107](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000107).

Additional reading

- Hughes, Melanie M., Pamela Paxton, and Mona Lena Krook. 2017. “Gender Quotas for Legislatures and Corporate Boards.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 43(Volume 43, 2017): 331–52. doi:[10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053324](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053324).
- Phillips, Anne. 1996. ‘Dealing with Difference: A Politics of Ideas, or a Politics of Presence?’ In *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, ed. Seyla Benhabib. Princeton University Press, 139–52.
- Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. “Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(Volume 12, 2009): 51–69. doi:[10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.123839](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.123839).

Session 3. Gender gaps in attitudes and voting (24th November)

Compulsory reading

- Shorrocks, Rosalind. 2021. *Women, Men, and Elections: Policy Supply and Gendered Voting Behaviour in Western Democracies*. New York. Chap. 2.
- Off, Gefjon, Amy Alexander, and Nicholas Charron. 2025. “Is There a Gender Youth Gap in Far-Right Voting and Cultural Attitudes?” *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1(aop): 1–6. doi:[10.1332/25151088Y2025D000000077](https://doi.org/10.1332/25151088Y2025D000000077).

Additional reading

- Dassonneville, Ruth. 2021. “Change and Continuity in the Ideological Gender Gap a Longitudinal Analysis of Left-Right Self-Placement in OECD Countries.” *European Journal of Political Research* 60(1): 225–38. doi:[10.1111/1475-6765.12384](https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12384).
- Howell, Susan E., and Christine L. Day. 2000. ‘Complexities of the Gender Gap’. *Journal of Politics* 62(3): 858–74. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-3816.00036>.
- Immerzeel, Tim, Coffé, Hilde and Van Der Lippe, Tanja (2015) ‘Explaining the gender gap in radical right voting: A cross-national investigation in 12 Western European countries’, *Comparative European Politics*, 13(2), pp. 263–286.
- Fraile, Marta (2014) ‘Do women know less about politics than men? The gender gap in political knowledge in Europe’, *Social Politics*, 21(2), pp. 261–289.

Session 4. Attitudes towards gender equality (1st December)

Compulsory reading

- Becker, Julia, and Chris Sibley. 2016. “Sexism.” In *Handbook of Stereotyping Prejudice and Discrimination*, New York, London: Psychology Press.
- Goren, Paul, and Christopher Chapp. “Moral Power: How Public Opinion on Culture War Issues Shapes Partisan Predispositions and Religious Orientations.” *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 1 (2017): 110–28. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000435>.

Additional reading

- Anduiza, Eva, and Guillem Rico. 2024. 'Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash'. *American Journal of Political Science* 68(2): 478–93. doi:[10.1111/ajps.12759](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12759).
- Off, Gefjon, Nicholas Charron, and Amy Alexander. 2022. 'Who Perceives Women's Rights as Threatening to Men and Boys? Explaining Modern Sexism among Young Men in Europe'. *Frontiers in Political Science* 4.
- Schaffner, Brian F. 2021. "Optimizing the Measurement of Sexism in Political Surveys." *Political Analysis*: 1–17. doi:[10.1017/pan.2021.6](https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2021.6).

In-class assignments

Grades for 50% corresponding of the in-class activities will be allocated based on in-class participation as well as through the assessments of short Q&A exercises done in-class (hand-written), on the basis of the compulsory readings that must be done prior to each session. Students will be allowed to use printed material for these brief assignments.

Part 4. Climate Crisis and Liberal Democracy. (7 sessions) J. Hickel (2 sessions) and J. Etherington (5 sessions)

The first two sessions of this part of the module will explore the structural drivers of climate change and the ecological crisis on a global scale, and in particular will address such questions as: what is capitalism, how does it structure the world economy, and how does it shape our relationship to nature? How does the ecological crisis reflect the core-periphery dynamics of the capitalist world-system? How can these problems be overcome, and what is a viable pathway to ecological stability?

Building on this, the remaining five sessions focus on the specific relationship between climate change and liberal democracy, both in terms of how climate change impacts on politics in liberal democracies, and of how effectively liberal democracies are able to face the challenges of climate change.

Session 1. Structural drivers and colonial dimensions of ecological breakdown. J. Hickel (12th November)

Compulsory reading

- Patel and Moore. "Introduction", in *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things*.
- Hickel, Dorninger, Wieland, and Suwandi. 2021. "[Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990-2015](#)," *Global Environmental Change* (can skip the Methods section). See also this [podcast](#) for context.
- Very short: Hickel, Jason. 2025. "[Atmospheric colonization and ecological imperialism in the world-system](#)", *Tricontinental Institute*

Additional reading

- Sultana, F. 2022. "[The unbearable heaviness of climate coloniality](#)". *Political Geography*, 99, 102638.
- Hickel, J. 2025. "[Why capitalism is fundamentally undemocratic](#)".
- Fanning and Hickel. 2023. "[Compensation for Atmospheric Appropriation](#)," *Nature Sustainability* (can skip Methods section at end)
- Interactive website: www.globalinequality.org. See entries on "Unequal exchange", "Carbon inequality", "Responsibility for climate breakdown", "Responsibility for excess resource use", and "Climate reparations"

Session 2. Democracy, degrowth, and pathways to eco-social transformation. J. Hickel (19th November)

Compulsory reading

- Hickel and Sullivan. 2024. "[How much growth is required to achieve good lives for all?](#)" *World Development Perspectives*. (or podcast [here](#))
- Opening statement of the [People's Agreement of Cochabamba](#).
- Hickel, Jason. 2023. "[The double objective of democratic ecosocialism](#)", *Monthly Review* (and/or podcast [here](#)). And/or: "[Can socialism solve the climate crisis?](#)", *Tribune*.

Additional reading

- Olk et al. 2023. "[How to pay for saving the world](#)", *Ecological Economics*.
- Heron and Dean. 2022. "[Climate Leninism and revolutionary transition](#)", *Spectre Journal*
- Kallis et al. 2025. "[Post-growth: the science of well-being within planetary boundaries](#)", *The Lancet Planetary Health*.
- Sylla and Hickel. 2024. "[Proposals for unilateral decolonization and economic sovereignty](#)". Progressive International.

Session 3. Climate Change and Democratic Backsliding. J. Etherington (26th November)

This session focusses on how the manifestations of climate change, such as floods, droughts etc. impact on democratic regimes across the world, with particular emphasis on those countries where states struggle to respond to the challenges of climate change.

Compulsory reading

- Beacham, Austin, Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Christina J. Schneider. (2024). *Climate Change, Political Conflict, and Democratic Resilience*. IGCC Working Paper No 11. escholarship.org/uc/item/4wd7x7jv
- 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

- Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative Index: <https://gain.nd.edu/our-work/country-index/rankings/>
- FAO Price Index: <https://www.fao.org/worldfoodsituation/foodpricesindex/en/>

Session 4. Climate Protest, State Repression and Democracy. J. Etherington (3rd December)

One of the most remarkable developments in consolidated liberal democracies over recent years has been the way in which states have repressed climate protest. This session seeks to gauge the extent of such repression and discuss its consequences for democratic politics.

Compulsory reading

- Gulliver, R., Bank, R., Fielding, K. And Louis, W. (2023) 'The Criminalization of Climate Change Protest'. *Contention*, Volume 11, Issue 1, Summer 2023, 24–54. <https://doi.org/10.3167/cont.2023.110103>
- Canineu, M. (2024) 'Environment Defenders Face New Wave of Oppression'. [Newsweek](#).
- Climate Rights International (2024) [On Thin Ice: Disproportionate Responses to Climate Change Protesters in Democratic Countries](#). Chapters 2 and 3.

Session 5. How do Liberal Democratic States Differ in Their Policy Responses to Climate Challenges? J. Etherington (10th December)

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 this session we will discuss the factors that might explain such differences.

Compulsory reading

- 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>

Additional 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>

Session 6. Should Liberal Democratic Rights and Freedoms be Suspended to Better Answer the Challenges of Climate Change? (15th 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 reading

- Mittiga, R, (2024) *Climate Change as Political Catastrophe: Before Collapse*. Oxford Academic. Chapters 1, 2 and 3. Available through the library.

Additional reading

- 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>

Session 7. Alternative Democratic Forms in the Face of Climate Crisis. J. Etherington (17th December)

The climate crisis raises questions not only about the dominant economic model in today's societies, but also about how those societies are organised politically. This session explores the arguments in favour of deepening and widening democratic politics as a means of achieving ecological sustainability.

Compulsory Reading

- Johannisova, N. and Wolf, S. (2012) 'Economic democracy: A path for the future?' *Futures*, Volume 44, Issue 6, pp. 562-570. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2012.03.017> . Available through the library.
- 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. Available through the library.

Additional Reading

- 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

The evaluation is divided into the following elements:

In-class assignments: These will be specified by each instructor for their respective sessions, and can take the form of group presentations and exercises, quizzes on assigned readings, small projects etc. Grades for these activities are naturally premised on attendance and participation. These activities represent 60% of the overall grade for the module.

Final essay: 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 12th and the final essay must be handed in by January 22nd. Students will be asked to defend their essay before the relevant professor. It will be graded using 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 final essay represents 40% of the overall grade for the course.

Use of AI/LLM

Following the UAB guidelines, this module allows for a 'restricted use' of Artificial Intelligence/Large Language Models (AI/LLM), meaning that it is permitted for such tasks as:

- Bibliographical research
- Analysing data
- Linguistic correction and other editing tasks

Student must clearly identify which parts have been generated with this technology, specify the tools used and include a critical reflection on how these have influenced the process and the final result of the activity, including the prompts used. The lack of transparency of the use of AI in this assessable activity will be considered a lack of academic honesty and may lead to a partial or total penalty in the grade of the activity, or greater sanctions in serious cases.

It is expressly forbidden to use AI/LLM to develop your ideas and write them. There are several reasons for this:

- 1) The main objectives of this module are for students to develop their knowledge of key contributions to academic debates surrounding democracy and citizenship; to develop their capacity to critically analyse such contributions; and to be able to communicate this in both written and verbal form. Clearly, students who over-rely on AI/LLM will not develop these skills.

- 2) On a more pragmatic level, there are some things that AI/LLM are good at, and some things that they are not. The support tasks outlined above are among the former, while logical reasoning and analysis are among the latter. More often than not, AI/LLM, when prompted, produce text that while sounding plausible, is clichéd and says very little.

In addition, you should also not have blind faith in AI/LLM answers, as on occasions these are nonsensical. To avoid this, you must have prior knowledge from reliable sources. Use AI/LLM to polish what you have written, not to write for you, which is, in any case, very easy to spot for a trained eye.

For more information on this topic, have a look at this paper:

- Jungherr, A. (2023e). Using ChatGPT and other large language model (LLM) applications for academic paper assignments. SocArxiv. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/d84q6>

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.

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](#)

Calendar of Sessions

Session	Date	Professor	Topic	Part
1	29th September	John Etherington	Introduction	0
2	1st October	John Etherington		
3	6th October	John Etherington		
4	8th October	Daniel Edmiston	Citizenship, inequality and globalisation	1
5	13th October	Daniel Edmiston		
6	15th October	Daniel Edmiston		
7	20th October	Daniel Edmiston		
8	22nd October	Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen	Migration and Democracy	2
9	27th October	Alina Vranceanu		
10	29th October	Alina Vranceanu		
11	3rd November	Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen		
12	5th November	Eva Ostergaard-Nielsen		
13	10th November	Eva Anduiza	Gender Politics	3
14	12th November	Jason Hickel	Climate Change and Democracy	4
15	17th November	Eva Anduiza	Gender Politics	3
16	19th November	Jason Hickel	Climate Change and Democracy	4
17	24th November	Eva Anduiza	Gender Politics	3
18	26th November	John Etherington	Climate Change and Democracy	4
19	1st December	Eva Anduiza	Gender Politics	3
20	3rd December	John Etherington	Climate Change and Democracy	4
21	10th December	John Etherington		
22	15th December	John Etherington		
23	17th December	John Etherington		