

**Democracy and Citizenship**  
**Master's in Political Science**  
**Academic Year 2023-2024 (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 (2nd October)**

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.

### **Compulsory 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. Does Democracy Really Work? The citizens' perspective. Enrique Hernández (5 sessions)**

#### **Organization of the Sessions (Part 1)**

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 additional 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: Studying citizens' attitudes towards democracy: the concept of political support (4<sup>th</sup> October)**

### **Compulsory readings**

- Almond, G.A., Verba, S., 1963. The civic culture: political attitudes and democracy in five nations, Abridged. ed, Little, Brown series in comparative politics, analytic studies. Little, Brown, Boston, Mass, chapter 1.
- Norris, P., 2011. Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited. Cambridge University Press, New York. chapter 2

## **Class 2: Support for democracy and growing discontent: Is democracy still the only game in town? (9<sup>th</sup> October)**

### **Compulsory readings**

- Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Yascha Mounk. 2017. "The Signs of Deconsolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 28(1): 5–15.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2019. "Polarization versus Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 30(3): 20–32.
- Boese, Vanessa A. et al. 2022. "State of the World 2021: Autocratization Changing Its Nature?" *Democratization* 29(6): 983–1013.

### **Additional readings**

- Malka, Ariel, Yphtach Lelkes, Bert N. Bakker, and Eliyahu Spivack. 2022. "Who Is Open to Authoritarian Governance within Western Democracies?" *Perspectives on Politics* 20(3): 808–27.
- Braley, Alia et al. 2022. "The Subversion Dilemma: Why Voters Who Cherish Democracy Participate in Democratic Backsliding." *Aletheia*. <https://osf.io/npa9x/>.
- Norris, Pippa. 2011. Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited. Cambridge University Press, New York. chapter 5

## **Class 3: The long-term impact of institutions: Historical legacies (11<sup>th</sup> October)**

### **Compulsory readings**

- Fuchs, Dieter, Giovanna Gludorossi, and Palle Svensson. 1995. "Support for the Democratic System." In *Citizens and the State, Beliefs in government*, eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Neundorf, Anja, Johannes Gerschewski, and Roman-Gabriel Olar. 2020. "How Do Inclusionary and Exclusionary Autocracies Affect Ordinary People?" *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12): 1890–1925.

### **Additional readings**

- Neundorf, Anja, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2020. "Dictators and Their Subjects: Authoritarian Attitudinal Effects and Legacies." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12): 1839–60.

- Mishler, William, and Richard Rose. 2002. "Learning and Re-Learning Regime Support: The Dynamics of Post-Communist Regimes." *European Journal of Political Research* 41(1): 5–36.
- Kern, Holger Lutz, and Jens Hainmueller. 2009. "Opium for the Masses: How Foreign Media Can Stabilize Authoritarian Regimes." *Political Analysis* 17(04): 377–99.

#### **Class 4: The impact of institutional performance (1): corruption and winners/loser (16<sup>th</sup> October)**

##### **Compulsory readings**

- 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.
- Anderson, Christopher J., and Yuliya V. Tverdova. 2003. "Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes Toward Government in Contemporary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 91–109.

##### **Additional readings**

- Clayton, Katherine et al. 2021. "Elite Rhetoric Can Undermine Democratic Norms." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118(23): e2024125118.
- Kumlin, Staffan, and Peter Esaiasson. 2012. "Scandal Fatigue? Scandal Elections and Satisfaction with Democracy in Western Europe, 1977–2007." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(02): 263–82.
- Esaiasson, Peter, Sveinung Arnesen, and Hannah Werner. 2022. "How to Be Gracious about Political Loss—The Importance of Good Loser Messages in Policy Controversies." *Comparative Political Studies*: 00104140221109433.

#### **Class 5: The impact of institutional performance (2): policies and the economy (18<sup>th</sup> October)**

##### **Compulsory readings**

- Claassen, Christopher, and Pedro C. Magalhães. 2022. "Effective Government and Evaluations of Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 55(5): 869–94.
- Krishnarajan, Suthan. 2022. "Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior." *American Political Science Review*: 1–23.

##### **Additional readings**

- Amat, Francesc, Andreu Arenas, Albert Falcó-Gimeno, and Jordi Muñoz. 2020. *Pandemics Meet Democracy. Experimental Evidence from the COVID-19 Crisis in Spain*. SocArXiv. preprint. <https://osf.io/dkusw> (August 25, 2020).

- Frederiksen, Kristian Vrede Skaaning. 2022. "Does Competence Make Citizens Tolerate Undemocratic Behavior?" *American Political Science Review* 116(3): 1147–53.
- Krishnarajan, Suthan, Jonathan Doucette, and David Andersen. 2022. "Early-Adulthood Economic Experiences and the Formation of Democratic Support." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1–20.

## **Part 2. The Democratic Paradox: do citizens know about politics? Marta Gallina (2 sessions)**

### **Organisation of Sessions**

Students are expected to prepare the compulsory readings before each session. During the sessions, students are encouraged to actively participate in discussions. To facilitate engaging discussions, students should prepare at least three questions or comments related to the readings. While it is not mandatory, students can also explore supplementary materials and share their insights on them.

### **Class 1. Political Sophistication and its Electoral Consequences (23<sup>rd</sup> October)**

As citizens are called to choose their own representatives, it is usually assumed that having an informed, interested and aware electorate is a preferable condition for liberal democracies. However, democratic citizens are found to be politically unsophisticated, uninterested and ultimately detached from the political process. Why is this the case? And what consequences does this have on the quality of the democratic process? Can politically unsophisticated citizens still cast a reasoned and meaningful vote and, if this is the case, have citizens' capacities been underestimated by political pundits?

### **Compulsory readings**

- Rapeli, L. (2018). Does sophistication affect electoral outcomes? *Government and Opposition*, 53(2), 181-204.
- Gerber, D., Nicolet, S., & Sciarini, P. (2015). Voters are not fools, or are they? Party profile, individual sophistication and party choice. *European Political Science Review*, 7(1), 145-165.

### **Supplementary readings**

- Arnold, J. R. (2012). The electoral consequences of voter ignorance. *Electoral Studies*, 31(4), 796-815.
- Nai, A. (2015). The maze and the mirror: Voting correctly in direct democracy. *Social Science Quarterly*, 96(2), 465-486.

### **Class 2. Do Parties and Voters Speak the Same Language? (25<sup>th</sup> October)**

In liberal democracies, political parties are responsible for structuring the political competition and labelling the political alternatives. Parties' discourse typically

structures along an ideological continuum: left versus right, liberal versus conservative, etc. However, research investigating voters' attitudes have found long time ago that most citizens are not ideological. This means that, while the political discourse structures along ideology, citizens (mostly) do not rely on the ideological continuum to form their political opinions. What does this imply for democracies? Does this pose a problem of representation gap? Can voters understand the language of political parties and does political sophistication play a role in making parties' discourse more intelligible to citizens?

#### **Compulsory readings:**

- Lupton, R. N., Myers, W. M., & Thornton, J. R. (2015). Political sophistication and the dimensionality of elite and mass attitudes, 1980– 2004. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2), 368-380.
- Dalton, R. (2021). The representation gap and political sophistication: A contrarian perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(5), 889-917.

#### **Supplementary readings:**

- Wheatley, J., & Mendez, F. (2021). Reconceptualizing dimensions of political competition in Europe: A demand-side approach. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 40-59.
- Gallina, M. (2022). Mass issue attitudes, political sophistication and ideology: the European case. *Acta Politica*, 1-20.

### **Part 3. Capitalism and Liberal Democracy. John Etherington (4 sessions)**

The relationship between capitalism and liberal democracy has been a source of controversy both within and beyond academia since the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 (30<sup>th</sup> 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 (6<sup>th</sup> November,)**

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. 3, 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.

### **Class 3. Disembedding Liberalism: the Neoliberal challenge (8<sup>th</sup> November)**

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 how neoliberalism was advanced by capitalist interests and how they sought to redefine the relationship between economic and democratic political power.

#### **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 4. Disembedding Liberalism: the consequences for liberal democracies (13<sup>th</sup> November)**

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 Radical Political Economics* 50:4, 637-648.

## **Part 4. Democratic Backsliding and the External Dimension of Democratization. Luisa Faustini and Eva Østergaard-Nielsen (6 sessions)**

### **Organization of the first four sessions**

Students are expected to do the compulsory readings before the class and participate actively in the discussion. In order to encourage your participation and raise the level of discussion, I would like to invite you to come up with three questions and/or comments related to the readings (only the compulsory ones are required but you are free to write questions about the additional readings).

Questions/comments should be uploaded to the specific forum that will be open on the Campus Virtual and they will be incorporated into the lesson plan.

### **Class 1: Situating democratic backsliding: definition & measurement (LF) (15<sup>th</sup> November)**



### **Compulsory readings**

- Bermeo, N. 2016 On Democratic Backsliding, *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1), pp. 5-19
- Levitsky S and L. Way (2015). The myth of democratic recession, *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1):45–58

### **Additional readings**

- Cassani, A., and L. Tomini. 2018. "Reversing Regimes and Concepts: From Democratization to Autocratization." *European Political Science* 19: 272–287. doi:10.1057/s41304-018-0168-5.
- Freedom House 2021. "Democracy under Siege" Freedom in the World Annual Report, available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>
- Nazifa Alizada et al. 2021. Autocratization Turns Viral. Democracy Report 2021. University of Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute, available at: <https://www.v-dem.net/en/publications/democracy-reports/>

## **Class 2. Democratic backsliding: empirical patterns and theoretical insights (LF) (20<sup>th</sup> November)**

### **Compulsory readings**

- Ozan O. Varol (2015) Stealth Authoritarianism *Iowa L. Rev.* 1673
- Waldner, D and E Lust (2018) Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21:1, 93-113

### **Additional readings**

- Lührmann, A. and Staffan I. Lindberg (2019) A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it?, *Democratization*, 26:7, 1095-1113.
- Vanessa A. Boese, Martin Lundstedt, Kelly Morrison, Yuko Sato & Staffan I. Lindberg (2022): State of the world 2021: autocratization changing its nature?, *Democratization*, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2022.2069751

## **Class 3. The external dimension of democratization/ autocratization: supply side (LF) (22<sup>nd</sup> November)**

### **Compulsory readings**

- Peter Burnell & Oliver Schlumberger (2010) Promoting democracy – promoting autocracy? *International politics and national political regimes*, *Contemporary Politics*, 16:1, 1-15, DOI: 10.1080/13569771003593805
- Tolstrup, Jakob (2013) When can external actors influence democratization? Leverage, linkages, and gatekeeper elites, *Democratization*, 20:4, 716-742, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2012.666066

### **Additional readings**

- Tansey, Oisín (2016) The problem with autocracy promotion, *Democratization*, 23:1, 141-163, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2015.1095736

- Dandashly, Assem and Noutcheva, Gergana. (2019) Unintended Consequences of EU Democracy Support in the European Neighbourhood, *The International Spectator*, 54:1, 105-120, DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2019.1554340

**Class 4. The external dimension of democratization/ autocratization: demand side (LF) (27<sup>th</sup> November)**

**Compulsory readings**

- Völkel, Jan Claudius (2020): Fanning fears, winning praise: Egypt's smart play on Europe's apprehension of more undocumented immigration, *Mediterranean Politics*, DOI 10.1080/13629395.2020.1758450
- Yom and Al-Momami (2008) The international dimensions of authoritarian regime stability: Jordan in the post-cold war era. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Winter 2008, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 39-60

**Additional readings**

- Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan (2014) External Influence and Democratization: Structure vs. Choice. *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, Number 4, October 2014, pp. 151-156 (Article)
- Toygür, Ilke (2022) Whatever It Takes: When Foreign Policy Becomes the Key for Staying in Power: <https://www.iemed.org/publication/whatever-it-takes-when-foreign-policy-becomes-the-key-for-staying-in-power/?lang=es>
- van Hüllen, Vera (2019) Negotiating democracy with authoritarian regimes. *EU democracy promotion in North Africa*, *Democratization*, 26:5, 869-888, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2019.159337763252

**Class 5. Migration and democratization (EØN) (29<sup>th</sup> 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 a question or critical comment of the analysis to bring to the discussion. Bring this to class in two copies – one for me and one for support in class work/discussions.

- 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.

### **Class 6. State-diaspora relations and transnational voting rights (EØN) (4<sup>th</sup> December)**

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

#### **Obligatory background readings:**

- Lafleur, J-M. (2012), 'Why do states enfranchise citizens abroad? Comparative insights from Italy, Mexico and Belgium', *Global Networks*, 11:4, 481-501
- Brand, L. (2014) 'Arab uprisings and the changing frontiers of transnational citizenship: Voting from abroad in political transitions', *Political Geography*, 41, pp. 54-63

#### **Supplementary readings:**

- Burgess, K. (2018) 'States or Parties? Emigrant outreach and transnational engagement', *International Political Science Review*, 29: 3, pp. 369-383.
- Ostergaard-Nielsen, E, Ciornei I and Lafleur, J (2019), 'Why do parties support emigrant voting rights?' *European Political Science Review*, 11(3), pp. 377-394.

#### **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). Bring this to class in two copies – one for me and one for support in class work/discussions.

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/>

## **Part 5. Climate Crisis and Liberal Democracy. J. Etherington (4 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 (11<sup>th</sup> 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](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](#)
  - [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 (13<sup>th</sup> December)**

In this session we will discuss the multiple ways in which the climate crisis can impact democracy, before focussing on one particular manifestation - rising food prices – and their relation with political unrest in democratic and non-democratic political settings.

### **Compulsory Readings**

- 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>
- 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/>

## **Class 3. What Factors Explain Differences in Climate Crisis Action between Democracies? (December 18<sup>th</sup>)**

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 Readings**

- 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>
- Finnegan, J. (2019) “Institutions, climate change, and the foundations of longterm policymaking”. Working Paper, Grantham Institute. LSE. Available at: <https://www.lse.ac.uk/GranthamInstitute/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/working-paper-321-Finnegan-1.pdf>

### **Further Reading**

- 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.

- Zeynep Clulow (2019) "Democracy, electoral systems and emissions: explaining when and why democratization promotes mitigation," *Climate Policy*, 19:2, 244-257. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2018.1497938>
- 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>

#### **Class 4. Alternative Democratic forms in the Face of Climate Crisis. (20<sup>th</sup> 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**

- 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](https://doi-org.are.uab.cat/10.1007/978-3-319-98307-3_1)
- 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>

#### **Further 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>

#### **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 27<sup>th</sup> (questions posted October 18<sup>th</sup>)
- Essay 2. Deadline November 24<sup>th</sup> (questions posted October 25<sup>th</sup>/November 13<sup>th</sup>)
- Essay 3. Deadline December 31<sup>st</sup> (questions posted December 4<sup>th</sup>/December 20<sup>th</sup>)

**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 12<sup>th</sup> and the final essay must be handed in by January 22<sup>nd</sup>.

**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	Professor	Date	Topic	Part
1	John Etherington	2 <sup>nd</sup> October	Introduction to Module	0
2	Enrique Hernández	4 <sup>th</sup> October	Does Democracy Really Work? The citizens' perspective	1
3		9 <sup>th</sup> October		
4		11 <sup>th</sup> October		
5		16 <sup>th</sup> October		
6		18 <sup>th</sup> October		
7	Marta Gallina	23 <sup>rd</sup> October	The Democratic Paradox: do citizens know about politics?	2
8		25 <sup>th</sup> October		
9	John Etherington	30 <sup>th</sup> October	Liberal Democracy and Capitalism	3
10		6 <sup>th</sup> November		
11		8 <sup>th</sup> November		
12		13 <sup>th</sup> November		
13	Luisa Faustini	15 <sup>th</sup> November	Democratic Backsliding and the External Dimension of Democratization	4
14		20 <sup>th</sup> November		
15		22 <sup>nd</sup> November		
16		27 <sup>th</sup> November		
17	Eva Østergaard-Nielsen	29 <sup>th</sup> November		
18		4 <sup>th</sup> December		
19	John Etherington	11 <sup>th</sup> December	Democracy and Climate Change	5
20		13 <sup>th</sup> December		
21		18 <sup>th</sup> December		
22		20 <sup>th</sup> 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](#)