

Democracy and Citizenship

Master's in Political Science
Academic Year 2018-2019, Fall semester
10 ECTS
Mondays and Wednesdays 15 to 17.30h

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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, then, 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 analyses the historical social, economic and institutional conditions that have allowed liberal democracy to develop and flourish in some places and not in others. The second part introduces students to the study of the quality of democracy. In the third, fourth, fifth and sixth parts, we explore some the challenges faced by contemporary democratic political systems such as corruption, economic performance, external migration, the rise of populism, increasing democratic discontent, declining political participation, increasing inequality, and the effects of digital media on citizen engagement.

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 the concepts democracy and citizenship

Module Content

Introduction. Democracy and Citizenship: questions new and old (E. Hernández) (3/10)

The aim of this introductory class is to give you an overview of the study of democracy and citizenship through the ages 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

- Course Syllabus
- Dahl, R. A. (1998). *On democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 1. Pages: 1-4
- Held, D. (2006). *Models of democracy* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Polity. Introduction. Pages: 1-11
- Lijphart, A., 1999. Patterns of democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT Pages: 1-46

Part 1. The Emergence, Origins and Quality of Liberal Democracy (L. Bernardi) (7 sessions).

Format of the Sessions (Part 1)

I organize my sessions as seminars, where students undertake intensive reading and discussion of recent research plus selected older works, supported by a short (no more than 30-40 minutes) introduction for each session by me. All students will be expected to attend each session, fully prepared to discuss that day's readings.

Students in small groups (group membership and size to be decided at the introductory session of the course on Oct 1st) are expected to take the lead in orienting the discussion of that day's reading by organizing the material in some way as to draw out interesting questions or gaps in the arguments of the readings and raising questions for discussion (not narrow factual questions, but broad ones about theoretical approaches, conceptualization, empirical applications, etc.). Each member of the leading group has to come up with at least two questions and a group representative has to email me the list of questions decided by their group the day before the session. I recall that class participation is not only positively evaluated in the course as well as in the Master's final grade, but it is also essential for a dynamic and successful discussion during the sessions.

1. Democracy: Definitional Conundrums (8/10)

Compulsory Readings

- Morlino, Leonardo (2011), *Changes for Democracy. Actors, Structure, Processes*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Chs. 2 & 3. Available at Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Dahl, Robert A. (1971), *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, New Haven, Yale University Press, pp. 1-16.
- Schmitter, Philippe & Terry Karl (1993), "What Democracy is... and is not", in L. Diamond & M. Plattner (eds), *The global resurgence of democracy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press: 39-52.

Additional Readings

- Diamond, Larry (2003), "Defining and Developing Democracy", in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 29-39.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1987) *Theory of Democracy Revisited*, vol. 1, Chatham (NJ), Chatham.
- Diamond, Larry (2002), "Elections Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes", *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 25-31.

- Schedler, A. (2006), *Electoral Authoritarianism. The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner.

2. The Socio-Economic Determinants of Democracy (10/10)

Compulsory Readings

- Huntington S. (1991), “Democracy’s Third Wave”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 93-98
- Dahl R.A. (1989), *Democracy and its Critics*, New Haven, Yale UP., Chs. 17 & 18.

Structural versus genetic explanations:

- Rustow, D.A. (1970), ‘Transition to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model.’ *Comparative Politics*, Vol 2, pp. 337-363
- Skocpol T. (1994), “Social Revolutions in the Modern World”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 65-70

Economic determinants:

- Lipset, S.M. (1959 e 1981), *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*, excerpt in Dahl, R.A. & Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp 56-64
- Huber E., D. Rueschemeyer D., and J.D. Stephens (1993) ,“The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A. , Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 71-75
- Przeworski, A., M. Alvarez, J.A. Cheibub and F. Limongi (2000), “Economic Development and Political Regimes”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp 108-116

Additional Readings

- Putnam, R.D., R. Leonardi & R.Y. Nanetti (1993), *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Moore, Barrington (1966), *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Acemoglu, D. & J.A. Robinson (2006), *Economic Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

3. The Cultural Determinants of Democracy (15/10)

Compulsory Readings

- Inglehart R. & Baker W.E (2000). “Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 168-180
- Przeworski, A., J.A. Cheibub e F. Limongi (1998), “Culture and Democracy”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A. , Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 181-190
- Lipset, S.M. (1993), “The Centrality of Political Culture”, in L. Diamond & M.F. Plattner (eds), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 134-137
- Diamond, L. (1999), *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P., Ch. 5: “Political Culture”, pp. 161-217
- Welzel, C., R. Inglehart & H.D. Klingemann (2003), “The theory of human development: A cross-cultural analysis.” *European Journal of Political Research* 42: 341-379.

Additional Readings

- Sen, Amartya (1999), “Democracy as a universal value”, *Journal of Democracy*, 10.3 , pp 3-17
- Yu-Tzung Chang & Yun-Han Chu & Chong-Min Park (2007), “Authoritarian Nostalgia in Asia “, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18, pp. 66-80
- Amaney Jamal & Tessler M. (2008), “The Democracy Barometers: Attitudes in the Arab World, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, pp. 97-110
- Lagos M. (2008), “The Democracy Barometers: Latin America’s diversity of views”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, pp. 111-125

4. The Institutional Determinants of Democracy (17/10)

Compulsory Readings

Institutional determinants:

- Linz, J.L., (1990), “The perils of presidentialism”, excerpt from Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 258-65
- Shugart M. S. & Carey J. (1992), “Presidents and Assemblies”, excerpt from Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 272-6
- Lijphart, A. (1993), “Constitutional choices for new democracies”, in L. Diamond & M.F. Plattner (eds), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 72-84

Elites and mass motivations

- Lijphart A., (1969), “Consociational democracy”, excerpt in Dahl, R.A., Shapiro, I., Cheibub J.A. (eds) (2003), *The Democracy Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press, pp. 142-146
- Higley J. & Burton M. (1989), “The elite variable in democratic transitions”, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 54, pp. 17-32
- Wetzel C. (2006), “Democratization as an emancipative process: the neglected role of mass motivations”, *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 45, issue 5, pp 871-896

Additional Readings

- Horowitz, Donald L. (1990) “Comparing Democratic Systems”, *Journal of Democracy*, 1(4): 73–9
- Mainwaring, Scott (1993), “Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy. The Difficult Combination”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 26(2): 198–228
- Power, Timothy J. and Mark J. Gasiorowski (1997), “Institutional Design and Democratic Consolidation in the Third World”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 30(2): 123–55
- Elgie, Robert (2008), “The Perils of Semi-Presidentialism: Are They Exaggerated” *Democratization* 51(1): 49-66.

5. Democratic Quality: The Procedural Process (22/10)

Compulsory Readings

- O’Donnell Guillermo, (2005) “Why the rule of law matters?”, in Diamond, L. & Morlino, L. (eds) *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*, The Johns Hopkins U.P., pp. 3-17.
- Strom, Kaare (1992), “Democracy as political competition”, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35, 4-5, pp. 375-396.
- Schedler, Andreas (1999), ‘Conceptualizing Accountability’, in A. Schedler, L. Diamond, and M. F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, pp. 13-28.

- O'Donnell Guillermo (1999), 'Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies', in A. Schedler, L. Diamond, and M. F. Plattner (eds), *The Self-Restraining State*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, pp. 29-51.

Additional Readings

- Maravall, J.A. (2002) The rule of law as a political weapon, in Maravall, J.A., Przeworski, A. (eds.), *Democracy and the rule of law*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kaase, Max (2007), "Perspectives on Political Participation", in R.J. Dalton & H.-D. Klingemann (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch.42, pp 783-797.
- Schmitter, Philippe (2005), "The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability", in Diamond, Larry & Morlino, Leonardo (eds), *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins U. P., pp. 18-31
- Bartolini, Stefano (1999-2000), "Collusion, Competition and democracy", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 11(4) and 12(1), pp. 435-70 and 33-65.

6. Democratic Quality: Contents and Results (24/10)

Compulsory Readings

- Beetham, David (2005), "Freedom as the Foundation", in Diamond, L. & Morlino, L. (eds), *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins U. P., pp. 32-46.
- Ruesh Meyer, Dieter (2005), "Addressing Inequality", in Diamond, L. & Morlino, L. (eds), *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins U. P., pp. 47-61.
- Powell, Bingham G. (2005), "The Chain of Responsiveness", in Diamond, L. & Morlino, L. (eds), *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins U. P., pp. 62-76.
- Eulau, Heinz & Paul Karpis (1977), "The puzzle of representation: specifying components of responsiveness", *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 3, pp. 233-54.

Additional Readings

- Huber, John D. & Bingham G. Powell (1994), "Congruence between Citizens and Policymakers in Two Visions of Liberal Democracy", *World Politics*, 46(3): 291-326.
- Stokes, Susan C. (1998), "Constituency Influence and Representation", *Electoral Studies*, 17(3): 351-367.
- Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes & Bernard Manin (1999), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1.
- Altman, D. & A. Pérez-Liñán (2002), "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries", *Democratization*, 9(2): 85-100.

7. Democratic Quality: Empirical Applications (29/10)

Compulsory Readings

- Morlino, L. (2011) *Changes for Democracy. Actors, Structure, Processes*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Chs. 7-8.
- Lindberg, Staffan I., Michael Coppedge, John Gerring & Jan Teorell (2014), "V-Dem: A New Way to Measure Democracy", *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 159-169.
- Munck, G.L. & J. Verkuilen (2002), "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy. Evaluating Alternative Indices", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(1): 5-34.

Additional Readings

- Lijphart, A. (1999), "The Quality of Democracy: Consensus Democracy Makes a Difference", in A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, Ch. 16.
- Rothstein, Bo (2011), *The Quality of Government*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- Roberts, Andrew (2010), *The Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe*; Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bühlmann, Marc, Wolfgang Merkel, Lisa Müller & Bernhard Weßels (2012), “The Democracy Barometer: A New Instrument to Measure the Quality of Democracy and its Potential for Comparative Research”, *European Political Science* 11(4): 519-536.
- Treier, Shawn & Simon Jackman (2008), “Democracy as a Latent Variable”, *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 201-217.

Part 2. Does Democracy Really Work? The citizens’ perspective (E. Hernández) (6 sessions)

Format 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 (4/5 students per session). In addition to the compulsory readings, discussion leaders must read the additional readings.

48 hours before each session discussion leaders must send me 4/5 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...

1. Studying citizens’ attitudes towards democracy: the concept of political support. (31/10)

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](#)
- Easton, David 1975. A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support, *British Journal of Political Science* 5: 435-457.

Additional readings

- Norris, P., 2011. *Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge University Press, New York. [chapter 3](#)

2. Support for democracy and growing discontent: Is democracy still the only game in town? (5/11)

Compulsory readings

- Norris, P., 2011. *Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge University Press, New York. [chapters 4 & 5](#)
- Foa, R.S., Mounk, Y., 2017. The Signs of Deconsolidation. *Journal of Democracy* 28, 5–15.
- Shin, D.C., Kim, H.J., 2018. How Global Citizenries Think about Democracy: An Evaluation and Synthesis of Recent Public Opinion Research. *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 19, 222–249.

Additional readings

- Voeten, Erik, 2017. Are people really turning away from democracy? *Journal of Democracy* Web Exchange.

3. A changing paradigm: From allegiant to critical/assertive citizens. (7/11)

Compulsory readings

- Dalton, R.J., Welzel, C., 2014. Political Culture and Value Change, in: Dalton, R.J., Welzel, C. (Eds.), *The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens*. Cambridge University Press.

- Dalton, R.J., Shin, D.C., 2014. Reassessing the Civic Culture Model, in: Dalton, R.J., Welzel, C. (Eds.), *The Civic Culture Revisited: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizens*. Cambridge University Press., Cambridge.
- Qi, L., Shin, D.C., 2011. How mass political attitudes affect democratization: Exploring the facilitating role critical democrats play in the process. *International Political Science Review* 32, 245–262

Additional readings

- Claassen, C., 2018. Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive? *Unpublished Manuscript*

4. The long-term impact of institutions: Historical legacies. (12/11)

Compulsory readings

- Fuchs, D., 1999. The democratic culture of unified Germany, in: Norris, P. (Ed.), *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Oxford University Press, New York
- Mishler, W., Rose, R., 2002. Learning and re-learning regime support: The dynamics of post-communist regimes. *European Journal of Political Research* 41, 5–36.
- Lechler, M., McNamee, L., (*Forthcoming*). Indirect Colonial Rule Undermines Support for Democracy: Evidence From a Natural Experiment in Namibia. *Comparative Political Studies*

Additional readings

- Mattes, R., Bratton, M., 2007. Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience. *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 192–217.

5. The short-term impact of institutional performance: corruption, the economy, and winners and losers. (14/11)

Compulsory readings

- Anderson, C.J., Guillory, C.A., 1997. Political institutions and satisfaction with democracy: A cross-national analysis of consensus and majoritarian systems. *American Political Science Review* 91, 66–81.
- Anderson, C.J., Tverdova, Y.V., 2003. Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes Toward Government in Contemporary Democracies. *American Journal of Political Science* 47, 91–109.
- Strebel, M. A., Kübler, D., & Marcinkowski, F. (*Forthcoming*). The importance of input and output legitimacy in democratic governance: Evidence from a population-based survey experiment in four West European countries. *European Journal of Political Research*
- Singer, M., (*Forthcoming*). Delegating Away Democracy: How Good Representation and Policy Successes Can Undermine Democratic Legitimacy. *Comparative Political Studies*

Additional readings

- Armingeon, K., Guthmann, K., 2014. Democracy in crisis? The declining support for national democracy in European countries, 2007–2011. *European Journal of Political Research* 53, 423–442.
- Zhai, Y., (*Forthcoming*). Popular democratic perception matters for political trust in authoritarian regimes. *Politics*.

6. Democratic discontent and the rise of populist and challenger parties: Cause or symptom? (19/11)

Compulsory readings

- Bélanger, É., Nadeau, R., 2005. Political trust and the vote in multiparty elections: The Canadian case. *European Journal of Political Research* 44, 121–146.

- Rooduijn, M., van der Brug, W., de Lange, S.L., 2016. Expressing or fuelling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent. *Electoral Studies* 43, 32–40.
- Hooghe, M., Dassonneville, R., 2016. A Spiral of Distrust: A Panel Study on the Relation between Political Distrust and Protest Voting in Belgium. *Government and Opposition* 1–27. doi:10.1017/gov.2016.18

Additional readings

- Hernández, E., 2018. Democratic discontent and support for mainstream and challenger parties: Democratic protest voting. *European Union Politics*

Part 3. Democracy and Political Participation (Carol Galais) (4 sessions)

Format of the Sessions (Part 3)

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 start with a short lecture that complements (not substitutes) the compulsory readings.

After the lecture, the discussion leaders will present the compulsory readings –using a slide presentation or a similar method- and will end with a series of questions for the audience (3/4), sent to the professor in advance. The questions, based on the readings, can refer to methodological aspects of the readings (how this coefficient should be interpreted? Is this indicator appropriate?), theoretical (what do you think about the causal mechanism suggested in the reading?), criticisms (would you have done things differently?) or implications (what is the relevance of this finding?). A short discussion is expected to happen after each reading presentation.

1. Types (modes) of political participation (21/11)

Compulsory readings

- Van Deth, J. W. (2014). *A conceptual map of political participation. Acta Politica*, 49(3), 349-367.
- Ekman, J., & Amnå, E. (2012). Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. *Human affairs*, 22(3), 283-300.
- Alvarez, R. M., Levin, I., & Núñez, L. (2017). The four faces of political participation in Argentina: Using latent class analysis to study political behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(4), 1386-1402.

Additional readings

- Oser, J. (2017). Assessing how participators combine acts in their “political tool kits”: A person-centered measurement approach for analyzing citizen participation. *Social indicators research*, 133(1), 235-258.
- Vissers, S., & Stolle, D. (2014). The Internet and new modes of political participation: online versus offline participation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 17(8), 937-955.

2. To vote or not to vote. Theories on electoral political participation (26/11)

Compulsory readings

- Denny, K., & Doyle, O. (2008). Political interest, cognitive ability and personality: Determinants of voter turnout in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(2), 291-310.
- Geys, B. (2006). Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research. *Electoral studies*, 25(4), 637-663
- Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., & Larimer, C. W. (2008). Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment. *American political Science review*, 102(1), 33-48.

Additional readings

- Blais, A. (2006). *What affects voter turnout?. Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 9, 111-125.
- Harder, J., & Krosnick, J. A. (2008). Why do people vote? A psychological

- analysis of the causes of voter turnout. *Journal of Social Issues*, 64(3), 525-549.
- Blais, A., & ST-VINCENT, S. L. (2011). Personality traits, political attitudes and the propensity to vote. *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(3), 395-417.
- Dahl, V., Amnå, E., Banaji, S., Landberg, M., Šerek, J., Ribeiro, N., ... & Zani, B. (2018). Apathy or alienation? Political passivity among youths across eight European Union countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15(3), 284-301.
- Gallego, A. (2010). Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 29(2), 239-248.

3. Protest. Who, How, Why, What for. (28/11)

Compulsory readings

- Torcal, M., Rodon, T., & Hierro, M. J. (2016). Word on the street: The persistence of leftist-dominated protest in Europe. *West European Politics*, 39(2), 326-350.
- Van Leeuwen, A., Klandermans, B., & van Stekelenburg, J. (2015). A study of perceived protest atmospheres: how demonstrators evaluate police-demonstrator interactions and why. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 20(1), 81-100.
- Wouters, R., & Walgrave, S. (2017). Demonstrating power: How protest persuades political representatives. *American Sociological Review*, 82(2), 361-383.

Additional readings

- Ratliff, T. N., & Hall, L. L. (2014). Practicing the art of dissent: Toward a typology of protest activity in the United States. *Humanity & Society*, 38(3), 268-294.
- Klandermans, B., van Stekelenburg, J., & Walgrave, S. (2014). Comparing street demonstrations. *International Sociology*, 29(6), 493-503.
- Stockemer, D. (2014). What drives unconventional political participation? A two level study. *The Social Science Journal*, 51(2), 201-211.

4. Attitudes and political participation. Interest, trust and duty (3/12)

Compulsory readings

- Catterberg, G., & Moreno, A. (2006). The individual bases of political trust: Trends in new and established democracies. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 18(1), 31-48.
- Levy, B. L., Solomon, B. G., & Collet-Gildard, L. (2016). Fostering political interest among youth during the 2012 presidential election: Instructional opportunities and challenges in a swing state. *Educational Researcher*, 45(9), 483-495.
- Galais, C., & Blais, A. (2016). Beyond rationalization: Voting out of duty or expressing duty after voting?. *International Political Science Review*, 37(2), 213-229.

Additional readings

- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political studies*, 56(1), 76-98.
- Christensen, H. S. (2016). Political Dissatisfactions and Citizen Involvement: Political Participation in Europe during the Early Stages of the Economic Crisis. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 9(1), 19-45.
- Braun, D., & Hutter, S. (2016). Political trust, extra-representational participation and the openness of political systems. *International Political Science Review*, 37(2), 151-165.
- Blais, A., & Achen, C. H. (2017). Civic Duty and Voter Turnout. *Political Behavior*, 1-25.
- Copeland, L. (2014). Value change and political action: Postmaterialism, political consumerism, and political participation. *American Politics Research*, 42(2), 257-282.

Part 4. Democracy, citizenship and international migration (E. Østergaard) (3 sessions)

Format of the Sessions (Part 4)

These three sessions address the impact of migration on citizenship and democracy in migrant countries of residence and origin. The sessions will be a mix of introductions by the teacher and student led discussions.

1. Migration and citizenship in countries of residence. **(5/12)**
 - Joppke, C. (2017), 'Citizenship in Immigration States', in Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., Vink, M. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 384-404.
 - Koopmans, R., Michalowski I., and Waibel, S. (2012), 'Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980–2008', *American Journal of Sociology*, 117:4, pp 1202-1245
 - Baböck, Rainer (ed), (2018), *Debating European Citizenship*, selected debates, <https://www.springer.com/us/book/9783319899046#aboutAuthors> (open access from October 2018).
 - Huddleston, T. et al. (2015), *Migrant Integration Policy Index, 2015*, Barcelona/ Brussels: CIDOB and MPG, Access to Nationality pp s 57-62, <http://mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/files/mipex-2015-book-a5.pdf>
2. Transnational voting rights, **(10/12)**
 - Caramani, D. and Grotz, F., (2015), 'Beyond citizenship and residence? Exploring the extension of voting rights in the age of globalization', *Democratization*, 5, pp. 799-819.
 - 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.
 - Burgess, K. (2018) 'States or Parties? Emigrant outreach and transnational engagement', *International Political Science Review*, 29: 3, pp. 369-383.
3. Migration and democratization in countries of origin **(12/12)**
 - Kapur, D. (2014), 'Political Effects of International Migration', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, pp. 479–502.
 - Escriba-Folch A. et al, Meseguer C., Wright, J. (2015), 'Remittances and Democratization', *International Studies Quarterly*, 59, pp. 571–586.
 - Córdova A and Hiskey J. (2015), 'Shaping Politics at Home: Cross-Border Social Ties and Local-Level Political Engagement', *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 48(11), pp. 1454–1487.
 - Pérez-Armendáriz, C. (2014), 'Cross-Border Discussions and Political Behavior in Migrant-Sending Countries', *Studies of Comparative International Development*, 49:pp. 67–88.

Part 5. Citizenship and Digital Media (Camilo Cristancho) (2 sessions)

1. Political engagement and the internet **(17/12)**

Compulsory readings

- Neuman, W. R., Bimber, B., & Hindman, M. (2011). The Internet and four dimensions of citizenship. *The Oxford handbook of American public opinion and the media*, 22-42.
- Skoric, M. M., Zhu, Q., Goh, D., & Pang, N. (2016). Social media and citizen engagement: A meta-analytic review. *New Media & Society*, 18(9), 1817-1839.

Additional readings

- Anduiza, E., Cantijoch, M., & Gallego, A. (2009). Political Participation and the Internet: A field essay. *Information, Communication & Society*, 12(6), 860. doi:10.1080/13691180802282720
- Theocharis, Y., & Lowe, W. (2016). Does Facebook increase political participation? Evidence from a field experiment. *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(10), 1465-1486.
- Boulianne, S. (2015). Social media use and participation: A meta-analysis of current research. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(5), 524-538.
- Loader, B. D., & Mercea, D. (2011). Networking democracy? Social media innovations and participatory politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6), 757-769.
- Cantijoch, M., Cutts, D., & Gibson, R. (2016). Moving Slowly up the Ladder of Political Engagement: A 'Spill-over' Model of Internet Participation. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18(1), 26-48.
- Bond, R. M., Fariss, C. J., Jones, J. J., Kramer, A. D. I., Marlow, C., Settle, J. E., & Fowler, J. H. (2012). A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization. *Nature*, 489(7415), 295-8.

2. Social media and contentious politics (19/12)

Compulsory readings

- Dolata, U., & Schrape, J.-F. (2015). Masses, Crowds, Communities, Movements: Collective Action in the Internet Age. *Social Movement Studies*, 2837(February), 1-18.
- Bennett, L. W. & Segerberg, A. (2012) The Logic of Connective Action, *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol 15, No. 5

Additional Reading

- Enikolopov, R., Makarin, A., & Petrova, M. (2015). Social Media and Protest Participation: Evidence from Russia. Available at SSRN 2696236
- Shirky, C. (2011). Political Power of Social Media-Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change, *The Foreign Aff.*, 90, 28
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Jung, N., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Social media use for news and individuals' social capital, civic engagement and political participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(3), 319-336.
- Anduiza, E., Cristancho, C. & Sabucedo J.M. (2014) Mobilization through online social networks: the political protest of the *indignados* in Spain, *Information Communication & Society* Volume 17, Issue 6, pp. 750-764
- Qi, H., Manrique, P., Johnson, D., Restrepo, E., & Johnson, N. F. (2016). Open source data reveals connection between online and on-street protest activity. *EPJ Data Science*, 5(1), 18.
- Fenton, N. (2015). Left out? Digital media, radical politics and social change. *Information, Communication & Society*, 4462(February), 1-16.

Part 6. The Politics of Post-industrial Democracies (Macarena Ares) (2 sessions)

1. The new politics of class: Individual preferences and party alignments in advanced capitalist democracies (7/1)

Compulsory readings:

- Häusermann, S., & Kriesi, H. (2015). What do voters want? Dimensions and configurations in individual-level preferences and party choice. In P. Beramendi, S. Häusermann, H. Kitschelt, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism* (pp. 202-231). New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Oesch, D., & Rennwald, L. (*Forthcoming*). Electoral competition in Europe's new

tripolar political space: Class voting for the left, centre-right and radical right. *European Journal of Political Research*, 0(0).

- de Koster, W., Achterberg, P., & van der Waal, J. (2013). The new right and the welfare state: The electoral relevance of welfare chauvinism and welfare populism in the Netherlands. *International Political Science Review*, 34(1), 3–20.

Additional readings:

- Houtman, D., Achterberg, P., & Derks, A. (2008). *Farewell to the leftist working class*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. Chapter 2
- Gingrich, J., & Häusermann, S. (2015). The decline of the working-class vote, the reconfiguration of the welfare support coalition and consequences for the welfare state. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 25(1), 50–75.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschieer, S., & Frey, T. (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(6), 921–956.

2. Winners and losers of globalization: The populist challenge (9/1)

Compulsory readings:

- Gest, J., Reny, T., & Mayer, J. (2017). Roots of the Radical Right: Nostalgic Deprivation in the United States and Britain. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Inglehart, R.F. & Norris, P. (2016). Trump, Brexit and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. *Harvard Kennedy School Faculty Research Working Paper Series*.
- Gidron, N., & Hall, P. A. (2017). The politics of social status: economic and cultural roots of the populist right. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68(S1), S57–S84.

Additional readings:

- Oesch, D. (2008). Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland. *International Political Science Review*, 29(3), 349–373.
- Burgoon, B. (n.d.). Positional Deprivation and the Economic Roots of Radical Right and Radical Left Voting. Paper presented at the CIS Colloquium, 8 March 2018.
- Rydgren, J. (2007). The Sociology of the Radical Right. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 241–262.

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:

- Macpherson, C.W. (various editions) *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford. OUP
- Held, D. (various editions) *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Crick, B. (various editions) *In Defence of Politics*.
- 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](#).

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

As noted in the Students Guide, we are committed to avoiding plagiarism, and as such every effort is made to detect and punish such cases. **Anti-plagiarism software will be used to check every submission.**

The evaluation is divided into the following elements:

- a) **In-class participation** (10%): Students are expected to have prepared the assigned readings before coming to class and to take an active part in the sessions. **It is compulsory to attend to a minimum of 80% of the sessions in order to pass this module.**
- b) **Short essays** (50%): During the term students will write **3 short essays** (max 1200 words each). Students must write one short essay for Part 1 and one short essay for Part 2. For the remaining essay students can choose for which part they want to write the short essay (Part 3 or Part 4). Please note that it is not possible to write a short essay for Parts 5 and 6. 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:
 - Part 1: November 5th
 - Part 2: November 26th
 - Part 3: December 10th
 - Part 4: December 19th
- c) **Final essay** (40%): 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 15th and the final essay must be handed in by January 25th.

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 your short essays and final essay through the Campus Virtual tasks section, where all graded submissions will be analyzed by the 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 -1 point grade penalty will be applied for each day that a student is late with a graded submission.

Calendar

Session		Day	Topic	
	Reading day (No class)	October 1		
1	EH	October 3	Introduction	Part 1
2	LB	October 8		
3	LB	October 10		
4	LB	October 15		
5	LB	October 17		
6	LB	October 22		
7	LB	October 24		
8	LB	October 29		
9	EH	October 31	The Emergence, Origins, and Quality of Democracy	Part 2
10	EH	November 5		
11	EH	November 7		
12	EH	November 12		
13	EH	November 14		
14	EH	November 19	Does Democracy Really Work? The citizens' perspective	Part 3
15	CG	November 21		
16	CG	November 26		
17	CG	November 28		
18	CG	December 3	Democracy and Political Participation	Part 4
19	EO	December 5		
20	EO	December 10		
21	EO	December 12	Democracy, citizenship and international migration	Part 5
22	CC	December 17		
23	CC	December 19	Citizenship and Digital Media	Part 6
24	MA	January 7		
25	MA	January 9		

EH	Enrique Hernández (7)
EO	Eva Ostergaard (3)
MA	Macarena Ares (2)
LB	Luca Bernardi (7)
CC	Camilo Cristancho (2)
CG	Carol Galais (4)

Useful Data Sources for Students

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

[Economist Intelligence Unit \(EUI\): 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](#)

[EUI's Electoral and Parliamentary Data Portal: Inter-Parliamentary Union \(IPU\); PalrGov; European Election Data \(EDD\); Manifesto Project Database \(CMP\); Chapel Hill Expert Survey \(CHES\); European Election Studies \(EES\); etc.](#)

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

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

[Comparative Agendas Project](#)

[Eurobarometer Data through GESIS](#)

[Eurobarometer Interactive System](#)

[Latinobarómetro](#)

[Asian Barometer](#)