

Political Science 395 (Winter 2022)
Democracy Under Siege

Northwestern University, Department of Political Science

Thursday 10:00AM - 12:50PM

In-person seminars: Scott Hall 201 (Ripton Room)

Remote-format seminars: <https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/96991808691>

****Syllabus Version: January 20, 2022****

Instructor: Jordan Gans-Morse

Office Hours: Monday 11:00AM-12:00PM and Wednesday 9:00AM-10:00AM

Location: <https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/7923230706>

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COURSE SUMMARY

Since the mid-2000s, democracy has been under siege. In countries such as Russia, Turkey, and Venezuela, democracy has collapsed entirely. In longstanding democracies including the United States, democratic institutions have faced historically unprecedented strain from populist movements such as Trumpism. Looking to the future, democracies likely will encounter novel challenges resulting from phenomena such as artificial intelligence and climate change. This course will survey recent trends in democratic backsliding, drawing on both classic studies of why democracies collapse and emerging research about uniquely 21st century threats to democracy. We will also consider potential political strategies and reforms for promoting the resilience of democracies.

The course is organized around the following themes:

Week 1: Introduction

Week 2: Defining democracy

Week 3: Democratic backsliding and breakdown

Week 4: Political Polarization

Week 5: Economic Inequality

Week 6: Populism

Week 7: 21st Century Challenges – Disinformation, Robots, and Climate Change

Week 8: The United States in comparative perspective

Week 9: What can be done?

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Evaluation in the course will be decided as follows:

Participation: 35%

Research Paper: 50%

In-Class Presentation: 15%

Participation

Students are expected to complete all readings prior to each session and to attend every seminar. Seminar participation will count for 35% of each student's overall grade. Students are expected to make multiple comments in every session, but more is not necessarily better; the objective is to make thoughtful contributions to the discussion.

Research Paper

The primary assignment for this course is a research paper of approximately 15 to 20 pages. The writing assignment will count for 50% of the overall grade. Students may pick a research topic of their choice, as long as the topic is related to general themes of the course.

This is not a project that can be completed at the last minute, and there will be deadlines to meet throughout the term:

Thursday, January 27: By or on this date, students should discuss possible research topics with the professor during office hours.

Thursday, February 3: A two-paragraph research topic proposal and preliminary bibliography of at least five sources due.

Thursday, February 10: Annotated bibliography of at least ten sources due.

Thursday, February 24: Preliminary outline of paper due. By or on this date, students should discuss progress with the professor during office hours.

Friday, March 4: Partial rough draft (at least 7 double-spaced pages) due.

Friday, March 11: Final draft of paper due **by noon**.

Late assignments will be penalized a half-grade (e.g., an A becomes an A-) per day, with the exception of documented cases of illness or family crisis. In such cases, a request must be made to the professor prior to the assignment's due date. Papers previously or simultaneously submitted for another course will not be accepted.

Possible types of research papers include, but are not limited to, the following:

Literature Review: Choose one of the topics from the weekly seminars and write a critical literature review on the topic. A critical literature review, drawing on multiple sources, highlights key debates in a research agenda, the positions of prominent scholars in these debates, the extent to which debates have or have not been settled, and areas for future research. Although a literature review involves a summary of existing works, it is essential

to recognize that a good review also includes *original critical analysis*. Such analysis may critique specific studies, present an original way of classifying or organizing an ongoing debate, or offer insights on important avenues of future research.

Region or Country Study: Choose a region or country and develop analyze the state of democracy in your chosen case study. Examine sources of democratic backsliding and/or resilience. Based on your findings, consider the extent to which your case study confirms or disconfirms the conclusions of readings we will be doing for the course.

Empirical Analysis: Choose a claim from the literature we have been reading and examine the empirical support for this claim. Offer a critique of the sources of data and methodological approaches used in various studies. Address how types of data and methodological approaches affect each study's findings and offer conclusions about which studies are most methodologically convincing.

In-Class Presentation

Students will be expected to make a short in-class presentation on their research topic. The presentation will count for 15% of the overall grade. More information will be provided about this assignment later in the quarter.

ZOOM POLICY

Given that this course is based on interaction and discussion, students are expected to keep their video on during seminars conducted via Zoom. I recognize that for technical or other reasons, this sometimes might not be possible. If you face extenuating circumstances, please inform the instructor.

COVID-19 POLICIES

COVID-19 Classroom Expectations

Students, faculty, and staff must comply with University expectations regarding appropriate classroom behavior, including those outlined below and in the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#). With respect to classroom procedures, this includes:

- Policies regarding masking and social distancing evolve as the public health situation changes. Students are responsible for understanding and complying with current masking, testing, Symptom Tracking, and social distancing requirements.
- In some classes, masking and/or social distancing may be required as a result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation for the instructor or a student in the class even when not generally required on campus. In such cases, the instructor will notify the class.
- No food is allowed inside classrooms. Drinks are permitted, but please keep your face covering on and use a straw.

- Faculty may assign seats in some classes to help facilitate contact tracing in the event that a student tests positive for COVID-19. Students must sit in their assigned seats.

If a student fails to comply with the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#) or other University expectations related to COVID-19, the instructor may ask the student to leave the class. The instructor is asked to report the incident to the Office of Community Standards for additional follow-up.

COVID-19 Testing Compliance Statement

To protect the health of our community, Northwestern University requires unvaccinated students who are in on-campus programs to be tested for COVID-19 twice per week. Students who fail to comply with current or future COVID-19 testing protocols will be referred to the Office of Community standards to face disciplinary action, including escalation up to restriction from campus and suspension.

Exceptions to Class Modality

In-person classes at Northwestern are scheduled to resume on January 18. Individual students will not be granted permission to attend remotely except as the result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation as determined by AccessibleNU.

Maintaining the health of the community remains our priority. If you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID do not attend class and update your Symptom Tracker application right away to connect with Northwestern's Case Management Team for guidance on next steps. Also contact the instructor as soon as possible to arrange to complete coursework.

Students who experience a personal emergency should contact the instructor as soon as possible to arrange to complete coursework. Should public health recommendations prevent in person class from being held on a given day, the instructor or the university will notify students.

IN-CLASS ELECTRONICS POLICY

Please turn all phones off before the seminar. Note that this implies no texting as well as no calls. It is permissible to bring your laptop to the seminar discussions, but it goes without saying that laptops should be used for note taking only.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students in this course are required to comply with the policies found in the booklet, "Academic Integrity at Northwestern University: A Basic Guide." All papers submitted for credit in this course must be submitted electronically unless otherwise instructed by the professor. Your written work may be tested for plagiarized content. For details regarding academic integrity at Northwestern or to download the guide, visit:

<https://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/academic-integrity/index.html>

ACCESSIBILITY

Northwestern University is committed to providing the most accessible learning environment as possible for students with disabilities. Should you anticipate or experience disability-related barriers in the academic setting, please contact AccessibleNU to move forward with the university's established accommodation process (email: accessiblenu@northwestern.edu; phone: 847-467-5530). If you already have established accommodations with AccessibleNU, please let the professor know as soon as possible, preferably within the first two weeks of the term, so we can work together to implement your disability accommodations. Disability information, including academic accommodations, is confidential under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act.

SUPPORT FOR WELLNESS AND MENTAL HEALTH

Northwestern University is committed to supporting the wellness of our students. Student Affairs has multiple resources to support student wellness and mental health. If you are feeling distressed or overwhelmed, please reach out for help. Students can access confidential resources through the Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS), Religious and Spiritual Life (RSL) and the Center for Awareness, Response and Education (CARE). Additional information on all of the resources mentioned above can be found here:

<https://www.northwestern.edu/counseling/>
<https://www.northwestern.edu/religious-life/>
<https://www.northwestern.edu/care/>

CLASS RECORDINGS

This class or portions of this class will be recorded by the instructor for educational purposes, such as providing students who must quarantine due to Covid-19 concerns with access to lecture materials. If needed, the professor will provide additional information about how members of the class can access the recordings. Portions of the course that contain images, questions or commentary/discussion by students will be edited out of any recordings that are saved beyond the current term.

Prohibition of Recording Classes by Students

Unauthorized student recording of classroom or other academic activities (including advising sessions or office hours) is prohibited. Unauthorized recording is unethical and may also be a violation of University policy and state law. Students requesting the use of assistive technology as an accommodation should contact [AccessibleNU](#). Unauthorized use of classroom recordings – including distributing or posting them – is also prohibited. Under the University's [Copyright Policy](#), faculty own the copyright to instructional materials – including those resources created specifically for the purposes of instruction, such as syllabi, lectures and lecture notes, and presentations. Students cannot copy, reproduce, display, or distribute these materials. Students who engage in unauthorized recording, unauthorized use of a recording, or unauthorized

distribution of instructional materials will be referred to the appropriate University office for follow-up.

COURSE MATERIALS

There is one required book for the course:

- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018)

Other materials will be made available in electronic form via Canvas. In addition, the following resources may be of interest:

- V-Dem Democracy Reports (https://www.v-dem.net/democracy_reports.html)
- Freedom House *Freedom in the World* reports (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world>)
- Bright Line Watch reports on public and expert opinions about the status of democracy in the United States (<http://brightlinewatch.org/our-work/>)

COURSE OVERVIEW

Week 1: Introduction

Thursday, January 6

Week 2: Defining Democracy

Thursday, January 13

Key Themes

- How should democracy be defined?
- What is the difference between electoral and liberal democracy?
- What makes democracy normatively desirable? What makes it normatively undesirable?

Assigned Readings

- Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2,3 (1991): 75-88
- Pages 10-26 in Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Larry Diamond, "Defining and Developing Democracy," in Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and José Antônio Cheibub, eds., *The Democracy Sourcebook* (MIT Press, 2003)
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (1997): 22-43
- Caleb Craine, "The Case Against Democracy," *The New Yorker* (October 31, 2016)
- Chapter 6 in R.J. Rummel, *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997)
- Erin Blakemore, "30,000 People Were 'Disappeared' in Argentina's Dirty War. These Women Never Stopped Looking," *History.com* (March 7, 2019)

Supplementary Readings

- Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947)
- Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (Yale University Press, 1972)
- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993)
- David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49,3 (1997): 430-51
- Jason Brennan, *Against Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2016)
- Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press, 2017)

Week 3: Democratic Backsliding and Breakdown

Thursday, January 20

Key Themes

- To what extent is the world experiencing a wave of democratic backsliding?
- What is the difference between democratic backsliding and democratic breakdown?
- What types of democratic backsliding or breakdown are most common in recent years? How do these patterns compare to earlier waves of democratic regression?
- Are the world's longstanding democracies experiencing a democratic "deconsolidation"?

Assigned Readings

- Ishaan Tharoor, "The 'Free World' Keeps Shrinking," *The Washington Post* (March 3, 2021)
- Larry Diamond, "Democratic Regression in Comparative Perspective: Scope, Methods, and Causes," *Democratization* 28,1 (2021): 22-42
- Nancy Bermeo, "On Democratic Backsliding," *Journal of Democracy* 27,1(2016): 5-19
- Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect," *Journal of Democracy* 27,3 (2016): 5-17
- Intro and Chapters 1, 4, and 5 in Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York, Crown 2018)

Supplementary Readings

Recent reports on the state of global democracy:

- V-Dem Institute, "Democracy Report 2021: Autocratization Turns Viral" (https://www.v-dem.net/static/website/files/dr/dr_2021.pdf)
- Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy Under Siege" (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>)
- Sarah Repucci, "From Crisis to Reform: A Call to Strengthen America's Battered Democracy," Freedom House Special Report (March 2021) (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-report/2021/crisis-reform-call-strengthen-americas-battered-democracy>)

On democratic breakdown:

- Juan Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown & Reequilibration* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978)
- Nancy Bermeo, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2003)
- Agnes Cornell, Jørgen Møller, and Svend-Erik Skaaning, "The Real Lessons of the Interwar Years," *Journal of Democracy* 28,3 (2017): 14-28

- Agnes Cornell, Jørgen Møller, and Svend-Erik Skaaning, *Democratic Stability in an Age of Crisis: Reassessing the Interwar Period* (Oxford University Press, 2020)
- Kurt Weyland, *Assault on Democracy: Communism, Fascism, and Authoritarianism During the Interwar Years* (Cambridge University Press, 2021)
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Lessons from Latin America: Democratic Breakdown and Survival," *Journal of Democracy* 24,2 (2013): 123-37

On democratic backsliding:

- David Waldner and Ellen Lust, "Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding," *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 93-113
- Aziz Huq and Tom Ginsburg, "How to Lose a Constitutional Democracy," *UCLA Law Review* 65 (2018): 78-168
- Anna Lührmann and Staffan I. Lindberg, "A Third Wave of Autocratization is Here: What is New About It?" *Democratization* 26,7 (2019): 1095-1113
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, "The Anatomy of Democratic Backsliding," *Journal of Democracy* 32, 4 (2021): 27-41
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge University Press, 2021)
- Licia Cianetti and Seán Hanley, "The End of the Backsliding Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 32,1 (2021): 66-80
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The New Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 31,1 (2020) 51-65
- V. Ximena Velasco Guachalla, Calla Hummel, Sam Handlin, and Amy Erica Smith, "Latin America Erupts: When Does Competitive Authoritarianism Take Root?" *Journal of Democracy* 32, 3 (2021): 63-77

On democratic deconsolidation:

- Responses to Foa and Mounk (2016) in *Journal of Democracy* online exchange (<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/online-exchange-democratic-deconsolidation/>)
 - Amy Alexander and Christian Welzel, "The Myth of Deconsolidation: Rising Liberalism and the Populist Reaction"
 - Pippa Norris, "Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks"
 - Erik Voeten, "Are people really turning away from democracy?"
 - Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The End of the Consolidation Paradigm: A Response to Our Critics"
- Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The Signs of Deconsolidation," *Journal of democracy* 28,1 (2017): 5-15
- Jan Zilinsky, "Democratic Deconsolidation Revisited: Young Europeans are Not Dissatisfied with Democracy," *Research & Politics* 6,1 (2019): 1-8
- Alexander Wuttke, Konstantin Gavras, and Harald Schoen, "Have Europeans Grown Tired of Democracy? New Evidence from Eighteen Consolidated Democracies, 1981–2018," *British Journal of Political Science* 52,1 (2022): 416-28

Week 4: Political Polarization

Thursday, January 27

Key Themes:

- How might political polarization undermine democracy?
- How polarized is the United States, and how does this compare to polarization in other parts of the world?
- What are the different types of political polarization that social scientists have identified?

Assigned Readings

- Lee Drutman, "How Hatred Came to Dominate American Politics," *FiveThirtyEight.com* (October 5, 2020)
- Jennifer McCoy, Tahmina Rahman and Murat Somer, "Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Polities," *American Behavioral Scientist* 62,1 (2018): 16-42
- Milan Svolik, "Polarization versus Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 30,3 (2019): 20-32
- Chapter 10 in Yochai Benkler, Rob Faris, and Hal Roberts, *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Chapters 1 and 2 in Ezra Klein, *Why We're Polarized* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2020)

Supplementary Readings

Polarization in comparative perspective:

- Jennifer McCoy and Murat Somer, "Toward a Theory of Pernicious Polarization and How it Harms Democracies," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681, 1 (2019): 234-71.
- Chapter 2 in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge University Press, 2021)
- Milan Svolik, "When Polarization Trumps Civic Virtue: Partisan Conflict and the Subversion of Democracy by Incumbents," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 15,1 (2020): 3-31
- Levi Boxell, Matthew Gentzkow, and Jesse Shapiro, "Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. w26669 (2020)
- Noam Gidron, James Adams, and Will Horne, *American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Samuel Handlin, "The Logic of Polarizing Populism: State Crises and Polarization in South America," *American Behavioral Scientist* 62,1 (2018): 75-91

Polarization in the United States:

See also readings for Week 8

- Eli Finkel, Christopher Bail, Mina Cikara, Peter Ditto, Shanto Iyengar, Samara Klar, Lilliana Mason et al., "Political Sectarianism in America," *Science* 370, 6516 (2020): 533-36
- Shanto Iyengar, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra, and Sean Westwood, "The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States," *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 129-46
- Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018)
- Alan Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018)
- Morris Fiorina and Samuel J. Abrams, "Political Polarization in the American Public," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 563-88
- Matthew Graham and Milan Svolik, "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 114,2 (2020): 392-409
- Jon Kingzette, James Druckman, Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Matthew Levendusky, and John Barry Ryan, "How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85,2 (2021): 663-77
- Paul Pierson and Eric Schickler, "Madison's Constitution Under Stress: A Developmental Analysis of Political Polarization," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 37-58
- Sam Rosenfeld, *The Polarizers: Postwar Architects of our Partisan Era* (University of Chicago Press, 2017)

Week 5: Economic Inequality

Thursday, February 3

Key Themes

- How might economic inequality undermine democracy?
- How much has economic inequality increased in the United States, and how does this compare to other parts of the world?
- What types of economic and political shifts are contributing to inequality?
- Why isn't there more redistribution of wealth in democracies?

Assigned Readings

- Pages 645-47 ("Democracy, Polyarchy, and Market Capitalism") in Robert Dahl, "Equality versus Inequality," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 29, 4 (1996): 639-648
- Pages 1097-1098 and 1102-1106 in Helen Milner, "Is Global Capitalism Compatible with Democracy? Inequality, Insecurity, and Interdependence," *International Studies Quarterly* 65, 4 (2021): 1097-1110
- Chapter 1 in Carles Boix, *Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads* (Princeton University Press, 2019)
- Pages 103-118 in Adam Bonica, Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, "Why Hasn't Democracy Slowed Rising Inequality?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27,3 (2013): 103-24
- Pages 12-13 and 17-26 in Robert Erikson, "Income Inequality and Policy Responsiveness," *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 11-29
- Intro and Chapters 1-3 in Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer – and Turned its Back on the Middle Class* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010)
- Jonathan Hopkin and Julia Lynch, "Winner-Take-All Politics in Europe? European Inequality in Comparative Perspective," *Politics & Society* 44,3 (2016): 335-343

Supplementary Readings

On inequality and democracy:

- Robert Dahl, *On Political Equality* (Yale University Press, 2006)
- Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*, 2nd edition (Princeton University Press, 2017)
- Benjamin Page and Martin Gilens, *Democracy in America? What Has Gone Wrong and What We Can Do About It* (University of Chicago Press, 2020)
- Staffan Lindberg, "Are Increasing Inequalities Threatening Democracy in Europe?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (February 2019)
- Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, "Wealth Inequality and Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 451-68

- Christian Houle, "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61,4 (2009): 589-622

On the preferences and influence of the super-wealthy:

- Benjamin Page, Larry Bartels, and Jason Seawright, "Democracy and the Policy Preferences of Wealthy Americans," *Perspectives on Politics* 11,1 (2013): 51-73
- Benjamin Page, Jason Seawright, and Matthew Lacombe, *Billionaires and Stealth Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 2018)
- Darrell West, *Billionaires: Reflections on the Upper Crust* (Brookings Institution Press, 2014)
- Jeffrey Winters and Benjamin Page, "Oligarchy in the United States?" *Perspectives on Politics* 7,4 (2009): 731-51

On inequality and political responsiveness:

- Mads Andreas Elkjær and Michael Klitgaard, "Economic Inequality and Political Responsiveness: A Systematic Review," *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming)
- Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12,3 (2014): 564-581
- Martin Gilens, *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America* (Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*, 2nd edition (Princeton University Press, 2017)

On inequality and political participation:

- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2012)
- Frederick Solt, "Economic inequality and democratic political engagement," *American Journal of Political Science* 52,1 (2008): 48-60
- William Franko, Nathan Kelly, and Christopher Witko, "Class Bias in Voter Turnout, Representation, and Income Inequality," *Perspectives on Politics* 14,2 (2016): 351-68

On the power of the business sector, interest groups, and lobbyists

- Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States," *Politics & Society* 38,2 (2010): 152-204
- Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, *State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States—and the Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2019)
- David Vogel, *Fluctuating Fortunes: The Political Power of Business in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1989)

- Pepper D. Culpepper, *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Pepper D. Culpepper, "Quiet Politics in Tumultuous Times: Business Power, Populism, and Democracy," *Politics & Society* 49,1 (2021): 133-43
- Lee Drutman, *The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate* (Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Torben Iversen and David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing Capitalism Through a Turbulent Century* (Princeton University Press, 2020)

Week 6: Populism

Thursday, February 10

Key Themes

- What is populism? How might populism undermine democracy?
- How are the threats to democracy from left-wing and right-wing populists similar? How are they different?
- What factors might explain the recent wave of populism?

Assigned Readings

- Introduction and Chapter 1 in Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016)
- Jordan Kyle and Yascha Mounk, "The Populist Harm to Democracy: An Empirical Assessment," Tony Blair Institute for Global Change (December 26, 2018)
- Sheri Berman, "The Causes of Populism in the West," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 71-78
- Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and Populist-Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse," *Perspectives on Politics* 15,2 (2017): 443-54
- Kurt Weyland, "Latin America's Authoritarian Drift: The Threat from the Populist Left," *Journal of Democracy* 24,3 (2013): 18-32
- *The Economist*, "The Threat from the Illiberal Left" (September 4, 2021)
- Ross Douthat, "Why Hungary Inspires So Much Fear and Fascination," *The New York Times* (August 7, 2021) and "Where Liberal Power Lies," *The New York Times* (October 17, 2020)

Supplementary Readings

Definitions, concepts, and trends:

- Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2017)
- Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Erica Frantz, "How Democracies Fall Apart: Why Populism is a Pathway to Autocracy," *Foreign Affairs* (December 5, 2016)
- Kurt Weyland, "Populism and Authoritarianism," in Carlos de la Torre, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism* (New York: Routledge, 2018)
- Kurt Weyland, "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative politics* 34,1 (2001): 1-22
- Sergei Guriev and Elias Papaioannou, "The Political Economy of Populism," *Journal of Economic Literature* (forthcoming)
- Sheri Berman, "The Pipe Dream of Undemocratic Liberalism," *Journal of Democracy* 28,3 (2017): 29-38
- Sheri Berman, "Populism is Not Fascism: But It Could Be a Harbinger," *Foreign Affairs* 95 (2016): 39-44

- William Galston, "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 29,2 (2018): 5-19
- Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Global Populisms and Their Impact," *Slavic Review* 76,S1 (2017): S3-S8
- Iza Ding, Dan Slater, and Huseyin Zengin, "Populism and the Past: Restoring, Retaining, and Redeeming the Nation," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56,2 (2021): 148-169
- David Art, "The Myth of Global Populism," *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming)

On the economic roots of populism:

- Dani Rodrik, "Why Does Globalization Fuel Populism? Economics, Culture, and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism," NBER Working Paper 27526 (2020)
- David Dorn, Gordon Hanson, and Kaveh Majlesi, "Importing political polarization? The Electoral Consequences of Rising Trade Exposure," *American Economic Review* 110,10 (2020): 3139-83
- Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig, "The Surge of Economic Nationalism in Western Europe," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33,4 (2019): 128-51
- Yann Algan, Sergei Guriev, Elias Papaioannou, and Evgenia Passari, "The European Trust Crisis and the Rise of Populism," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (Fall 2017): 309-400
- J. Lawrence Broz, Jeffry Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth, "Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash," *International Organization* 75,2 (2021): 464-94
- Helen Milner, "Voting for Populism in Europe: Globalization, Technological Change, and the Extreme Right," *Comparative Political Studies* (forthcoming)

On the cultural roots of populism:

- Pipa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge University Press, 2019)
- Yotam Margalit, "Economic Insecurity and the Causes of Populism, Reconsidered," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33,4 (2019): 152-70
- Elias Dinas, Konstantinos Matakos, Dimitrios Xeferis, and Dominik Hangartner, "Waking up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-Right Parties?" *Political analysis* 27, 2 (2019): 244-54

Populist trends in specific countries and/or regions:

- Paul Pierson, "American Hybrid: Donald Trump and the Strange Merger of Populism and Plutocracy," *The British Journal of Sociology* 68 (2017): S105-S119
- William Howell and Terry M. Moe, *Presidents, Populism, and the Crisis of Democracy* (University of Chicago Press, 2020)
- Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

- Steven Levitsky and James Loxton, "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes," *Democratization* 20,1 (2013): 107-36
- Wendy Hunter and Timothy J. Power, "Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash," *Journal of Democracy* 30,1 (2019): 68-82
- Kurt Weyland, "How Populism Corrodes Latin American Parties," *Journal of Democracy* 32,4 (2021): 42-55
- Kurt Weyland, "Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe," *Comparative Politics* 31,4 (1999): 379-401
- Milada Anna Vachudova, "Ethnopolitism and Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe," *East European Politics* 36,3 (2020): 318-40
- Milada Anna Vachudova, "Populism, Democracy, and Party System Change in Europe," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 471-98
- Michael Bernhard, "Democratic Backsliding in Poland and Hungary," *Slavic Review* 80,3 (2021): 585-607
- Ivan Krastev, "Eastern Europe's Illiberal Revolution: The Long Road to Democratic Decline," *Foreign Affairs* 97 (2018)
- Sheri Berman and Maria Snegovaya, "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 30,3 (2019): 5-19
- Sheri Berman and Hans Kundnani, "The Cost of Convergence," *Journal of Democracy* 32,1 (2021): 22-36
- M. Steven Fish, "The Kremlin Emboldened: What is Putinism?" *Journal of Democracy* 28,4 (2017): 61-75

On intolerance and illiberalism:

- Thomas Edsall, "One Thing We Can Agree On Is That We're Becoming a Different Country," *The New York Times* (September 8, 2021)
- Pippa Norris, "Cancel Culture: Myth or Reality?" *Political Studies* (forthcoming)
- Dennis Chong and Morris Levy, "Competing Norms of Free expression and Political Tolerance," *Social Research* 85,1 (2018): 197-227
- Timur Kuran, "Another Road to Serfdom: Cascading Intolerance" in Cass Sunstein, ed., *Can It Happen Here? Authoritarianism in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2018)
- Christopher Claassen and James Gibson, "Does Intolerance Dampen Dissent? Macro-Tolerance and Protest in American Metropolitan Areas," *Political Behavior* 41,1 (2019): 165-85
- Michelle Goldberg, "#Cancel Colbert and the Return of the Anti-Liberal Left," *The Nation* (April 2, 2014) and "Do Progressives Have a Free Speech Problem?" *The New York Times* (July 17, 2020)
- At bariweiss.substack.com: Bari Weiss, "The Miseducation of America's Elites" (March 9, 2021) and David French, "The Threat from the Anti-Woke Right" (November 2, 2021)

Week 7: 21st Century Challenges – Disinformation, Robots, and Climate Change

Thursday, February 17

Key Themes

- How do disinformation, automation, and climate change potentially exacerbate the problems of polarization, inequality, and populism?
- How do polarization, inequality, and populism potentially exacerbate the problems related to disinformation, automation, and climate change?
- Beyond polarization, inequality, and populism, in what other ways might disinformation, automation, and climate change undermine democracy?
- How novel are these 21st century threats to democracy?

Assigned Readings

- Joshua Tucker, Yannis Theodoridis, Margaret Roberts, and Pablo Barberá, “From Liberation to Turmoil: Social Media and Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* 28, 4 (2017): 46-59
- Pages 353-362 in Stephan Lewandowsky, Ullrich K.H. Ecker, and John Cook, “Beyond Misinformation: Understanding and Coping with the ‘Post-Truth’ Era,” *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition* 6,4 (2017): 353-69
- William Galston, “Is Seeing Still Believing? The Deepfake Challenge to Truth in Politics,” Brookings Institution Report (January 8, 2020)
- Lee Drutman and Yascha Mounk, “When the Robots Rise,” *The National Interest* (July 4, 2016)
- Yuval Noah Harari, “Why Technology Favors Tyranny,” *The Atlantic* (October 2018)
- Mark Muro, Jacob Whiton, and Robert Maxim, “Automation Perpetuates the Red-Blue Divide,” Brookings Institution Report (March 19, 2019) and Julian Jacobs, “Automation and the Radicalization of America,” Brookings Institution Report (November 22, 2021)
- Pages 8-25 in Daniel Lindvall, “Democracy and the Challenge of Climate Change,” International IDEA Discussion Paper 3/2021
- Beth Gardiner, “White Supremacy Goes Green,” *The New York Times* (February 28, 2020) and Yasmeen Serhan, “The Far Right View on Climate Politics,” *The Atlantic* (August 10, 2021)

Optional

- See the illustrative examples of deepfakes in Tony Aubé, “AI and the End of Truth,” *Start it up* (February 14, 2017): <https://medium.com/swlh/ai-and-the-end-of-truth-9a42675de18>

Supplementary Readings on the Internet and Social Media

On evolving views about the internet and social media's relationship to democracy:

- Thomas Edsall, "Democracy Is Weakening Right in Front of Us: Is Techno-pessimism Our New Future?" *The New York Times* (February 17, 2021)
- Larry Diamond, "Liberation Technology," *Journal of Democracy* 21,3 (2010): 69-83
- Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011)
- Eli Pariser, *The Filter Bubble: How the New Personalized Web is Changing What We Read and How We Think* (New York: Penguin, 2011)
- Cass Sunstein, *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media* (Princeton University Press, 2017)
- Zeynep Tufekci, "How Social Media Took Us from Tahrir Square to Donald Trump," *MIT Technology Review* 14 (2018)

On the impacts of the internet and social media on disinformation and polarization:

- Max Fisher, "'Belonging Is Stronger Than Facts': The Age of Misinformation," *The New York Times* (May 7, 2021)
- Jay Van Bavel, Steve Rathje, Elizabeth Harris, Claire Robertson, and Anni Sternisko, "How Social Media Shapes Polarization," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 25,11 (2021): 913-16
- Pablo Barberá, "Social Media, Echo Chambers, and Political Polarization," in Nathaniel Persily and Joshua Tucker, eds., *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform* (Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Nathaniel Persily, "The Internet's Challenge to Democracy: Framing the Problem and Assessing Reforms," Kofi Annan Foundation Report (2019)
- Kevin Arceneaux and Martin Johnson, "More a Symptom than a Cause: Polarization and Partisan News Media in America," in James Thurber and Antoine Yoshinaka, eds., *American Gridlock: The Sources, Character, and Impact of Political Polarization* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Yochai Benkler, Rob Faris, and Hal Roberts, *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Supplementary Readings on Artificial Intelligence (AI)

Background: What is artificial intelligence (AI)?

- David Kelnar, "The Fourth Industrial Revolution: A Primer on Artificial Intelligence (AI)," *Medium* (December 2, 2016)
- Nick Bostrom, *Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies* (Oxford University Press, 2014)

On the impacts of AI on disinformation and polarization:

- Berit Anderson and Brett Horvath, “The Rise of the Weaponized AI Propaganda Machine,” *Scout.ai* (February 12, 2017)
- Samuel Woolley, *The Reality Game: How the Next Wave of Technology Will Break the Truth* (New York: Public Affairs, 2020)

On AI and macro-political shifts:

- Dirk Helbing, Bruno Frey, Gerd Gigerenzer, Ernst Hafen, Michael Hagner, Yvonne Hofstetter, Jeroen van den Hoven, Roberto Zicari, and Andrej Zwitter, “Will Democracy Survive Big Data and Artificial Intelligence?” *Scientific American* (February 25, 2017)
- Chapter 6 in Carles Boix, *Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads* (Princeton University Press, 2019)
- Chapter 6 in Torben Iversen and David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing Capitalism through a Turbulent Century* (Princeton University Press, 2020)
- Carl Benedikt Frey, *The Technology Trap: Capital, Labor, and Power in the Age of Automation* (Princeton University Press, 2019)

On the impacts of AI and automation on employment:

- Erik Brynjolfsson and Andrew McAfee, *The Second Machine Age: Work, Progress, and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2014)
- Daniel Susskind, *A World Without Work: Technology, Automation and How We Should Respond* (New York: Metropolitan, 2020)
- David Autor, “Why Are There Still So Many Jobs? The History and Future of Workplace Automation,” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29,3 (2015): 3-30

On AI, authoritarianism, and digital totalitarianism:

- Andrea Kendall-Taylor, Erica Frantz, and Joseph Wright, “The Digital Dictators: How Technology Strengthens Autocracy,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2020)
- Steven Feldstein, “The Road to Digital Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Repression,” *Journal of Democracy* 30,1 (2019): 40-52
- Larry Diamond, “The Road to Digital Unfreedom: The Threat of Postmodern Totalitarianism,” *Journal of Democracy* 30,1 (2019): 20-24
- Ronald Deibert, “The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Three Painful Truths About Social Media,” *Journal of Democracy* 30,1 (2019): 25-39
- Shoshana Zuboff, “‘We Make Them Dance’: Surveillance Capitalism, the Rise of Instrumentarian Power, and the Threat to Human Rights,” in Rikke Frank Jørgensen, ed., *Human Rights in the Age of Platforms* (The MIT Press, 2019)

Supplementary Readings on Climate Change

On the challenges climate change poses to democracy:

- Peter Burnell, "Democracy, Democratization and Climate Change: Complex Relationships," *Democratization* 19,5 (2012): 813-42
- Jeff Colgan, Jessica Green, and Thomas Hale, "Asset Revaluation and the Existential Politics of Climate Change," *International Organization* 75,2 (2021): 586-610
- Richard Youngs, "Green Democracy in Europe," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (September 23, 2021)
- Cameron Abadi, "Thinking Outside the Ballot Box," *Foreign Policy* (Winter 2022)

On climate change and political instability and conflict:

- Marshall Burke, Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, John Dykema, and David Lobell, "Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa," *Proceedings of the national Academy of sciences* 106,49 (2009): 20670-20674
- Melissa Dell, Benjamin Jones, and Benjamin Olken, "Climate Change and Economic Growth: Evidence from the Last Half Century," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. w14132 (2008)

On democratic vs. authoritarian performance in mitigating climate change:

- Pages 26-46 in Daniel Lindvall, "Democracy and the Challenge of Climate Change," International IDEA Discussion Paper 3/2021
- V-Dem Institute, "Policy Brief: The Case for Democracy: Do Democracies Perform Better Combatting Climate Change?" No. #31 (May 11, 2021)
- Marina Povitkina and Sverker Jagers, "Environmental Commitments in Different Types of Democracies: The Role of Liberal, Social-liberal, and Deliberative Politics," V-Dem Working Paper 116 (2021)
- Jana von Stein, "Democracy, Autocracy, and Everything in Between: How Domestic Institutions Affect Environmental Protection," *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming)
- Michèle Bättig, and Thomas Bernauer, "National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?" *International Organization* 63, 2 (2009): 281-308

On eco-authoritarianism:

- Mark Beeson, "The Coming of Environmental Authoritarianism," *Environmental Politics* 19,2 (2010): 276-94
- Dan Coby Shahr, "Rejecting Eco-Authoritarianism, Again," *Environmental Values* 24,3 (2015): 345-66

On eco-fascism/eco-nationalism:

- Jason Wilson, "Eco-Fascism is Undergoing a Revival in the Fetid Culture of the Extreme Right," *The Guardian* (March 19, 2019)
- Peter Beinart, "White Nationalists Discover the Environment," *The Atlantic* (August 5, 2019)

On populism, polarization, and climate change:

- Andrew Leigh, "How Populism Imperils the Planet," *The MIT Press Reader* (November 5, 2021)
- Deborah Lynn Guber, "A Cooling Climate for Change? Party Polarization and the Politics of Global Warming," *American Behavioral Scientist* 57,1 (2013): 93-115
- Robert Huber, Lukas Fesenfeld, and Thomas Bernauer, "Political Populism, Responsiveness, and Public Support for Climate Mitigation," *Climate Policy* 20,3 (2020): 373-86
- Robert Huber, Esther Greussing, and Jakob-Moritz Eberl, "From Populism to Climate Skepticism: The Role of Institutional Trust and Attitudes Towards Science," *Environmental Politics* (forthcoming)
- Matthew Lockwood, "Right-Wing Populism and the Climate Change Agenda: Exploring the Linkages," *Environmental Politics* 27,4 (2018): 712-32
- Pu Yan, Ralph Schroeder, and Sebastian Stier, "Is There a Link Between Climate Change Skepticism and Populism? An Analysis of Web Tracking and Survey Data from Europe and the US," *Information, Communication & Society* (forthcoming)

On the inequality of political influence and climate change mitigation:

- Riley Dunlap and Aaron McCright, "Organized Climate Change Denial," in John Dryzek, Richard Norgaard, and David Schlosberg, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Naomi Oreskes and Erik Conway, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010)
- Sheldon Kamieniecki, *Corporate America and Environmental Policy: How Often Does Business Get Its Way?* (Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Thomas Brewer, *The United States in a Warming World: The Political Economy of Government, Business, and Public Responses to Climate Change* (Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Robert Brulle, "The Climate Lobby: A Sectoral Analysis of Lobbying Spending on Climate change in the USA, 2000 to 2016," *Climatic change* 149,3 (2018): 289-303
- Jonas Meckling, "Oppose, Support, or Hedge? Distributional Effects, Regulatory Pressure, and Business Strategy in Environmental Politics," *Global Environmental Politics* 15,2 (2015): 19-37
- Jacob Grumbach, "Polluting Industries as Climate Protagonists: Cap and Trade and the Problem of Business Preferences," *Business and Politics* 17,4 (2015): 633-59

Week 8: The United States in Comparative Perspective

Thursday, February 24

Key Themes

- How much democratic backsliding has occurred in the United States? How big is the risk of democratic breakdown?
- How similar or different is the current crisis of democracy in the United States to previous crises this country has experienced?
- How similar or different is the current crisis of democracy in the United States to recent episodes of democratic backsliding or breakdown in other countries?
- What lessons can be learned from historical or cross-country comparisons?

Assigned Readings

- Chapters 2-3 and 6-8 in Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown 2018)
- Robert Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler, Thomas Pepinsky, Kenneth Roberts, and Richard Valelly, "The Trump Presidency and American Democracy: A Historical and Comparative Analysis," *Perspectives on Politics* 17, 2 (2019): 470-79
- Rachel Kleinfeld, "The Rise of Political Violence in the United States," *Journal of Democracy* 32,4 (2021): 160-76
- Robert Kagan, "Our Constitutional Crisis Is Already Here," *The Washington Post* (September 23, 2021)
- Ross Douthat, "The Once and Future Threat of Trump," *The New York Times* (October 5, 2021)
- Elaine Kamarck, "Did Trump Damage American Democracy?" Brookings Institution Report (July 9, 2021)
- John Feerhery, "A Republican Congress is Needed to Fight Left's Slide to Autocracy," *The Hill* (October 5, 2021)

Supplementary Readings

Lessons from a comparative and/or historical perspective:

- Suzanne Mettler and Robert Lieberman, "The Fragile Republic: American Democracy Has Never Faced So Many Threats All at Once," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2020): 183-95
- Suzanne Mettler and Robert Lieberman, *Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2020)
- Robert Kaufman and Stephan Haggard, "Democratic Decline in the United States: What Can We Learn from Middle-Income Backsliding?" *Perspectives on Politics* 17,2 (2019): 417-32
- Pages 143-169 in Aziz Huq and Tom Ginsburg, "How to Lose a Constitutional Democracy," *UCLA Law Review* 65 (2018): 78-169

- Summarized in Aziz Huq and Tom Ginsburg, “How To Lose a Constitutional Democracy,” *Vox* (February 21, 2017)
- Kurt Weyland and Raúl Madrid, eds., *When Democracy Trumps Populism: European and Latin American Lessons for the United States* (Cambridge University Press, 2019)
- Kurt Weyland, “Populism’s Threat to Democracy: Comparative Lessons for the United States,” *Perspectives on Politics* 18,2 (2020): 389-406 [*is good but includes some set theoretic analysis toward the end that might not be great for undergrads*]
- A debate on Weyland’s “Populism’s Threat to Democracy”:
 - Matias López and Juan Pablo Luna, “Assessing the Risk of Democratic Reversal in the United States: A Reply to Kurt Weyland,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* (forthcoming)
 - Kurt Weyland, “Why US Democracy Trumps Populism: Comparative Lessons Reconsidered,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* (forthcoming)

On the risk of democratic breakdown in the U.S.:

Assessments by political scientists and legal scholars

- Bright Line Watch reports on US democracy: <http://brightlinewatch.org/our-work/>
- John Carey, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, Mitchell Sanders, and Susan Stokes, “Searching for Bright Lines in the Trump Presidency,” *Perspectives on Politics* 17, 3 (2019): 699-718
- Sarah Repucci, “From Crisis to Reform: A Call to Strengthen America’s Battered Democracy,” Freedom House Special Report (March 2021)
- Lee Drutman, Larry Diamond, and Joe Goldman, “Follow the Leader: Exploring American Support for Democracy and Authoritarianism,” The Democracy Fund Voter Study Group (March 2018)
- Richard Hasen, “Identifying and Minimizing the Risk of Election Subversion and Stolen Elections in the Contemporary United States,” *Harvard Law Review Forum* (forthcoming)
 - Summarized in Spencer Bokor-Lindell, “Will 2024 Be the Year American Democracy Dies,” *The New York Times* (September 30, 2021)
- Jack Balkin, “Rot and Renewal: The 2020 Election in the Cycles of Constitutional Time,” *Northeastern University Law Review* (forthcoming)
- Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart III, “The Miracle and Tragedy of the 2020 US Election,” *Journal of Democracy* 32,2 (2021): 159-78
- Noam Lupu, Luke Plutowski, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, “Would Americans Ever Support a Coup? 40 Percent Now Say Yes,” *The Washington Post: The Money Cage* (January 6, 2022)
- Larry Bartels, “Ethnic Antagonism Erodes Republicans’ Commitment to Democracy,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 117,37 (2020): 22752–22759
- Christopher Parker and Christopher Towler, “Race and Authoritarianism in American Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 503-19

Commentary and op-eds

- Timothy Snyder, “The American Abyss,” *The New York Times Magazine* (Jan. 9, 2021)
- Aaron Blake, “How Close Were We to an Actual Stolen Election – Stolen by Trump?” *Washington Post* (October 13, 2021)
- Barton Gellman, “Trump’s Next Coup Has Already Begun,” *The Atlantic* (December 6, 2021)
- Laura Thornton, “Why International Election Observers Would Give Wisconsin a Failing Grade,” *The Washington Post* (December 4, 2021)
- Alasdair Roberts, “What Those Mourning the Fragility of American Democracy Get Wrong,” *The Conversation* (January 29, 2021)
- Larry Diamond, “I’m a Democracy Expert. I Never Thought We’d Be So Close to a Breakdown,” *The New York Times* (November 1, 2021)
- Christopher Ingraham, “The United States is Backsliding into Autocracy Under Trump, Scholars Warn,” *The Washington Post* (September 18, 2020)
- Kelly Riddell, “Anti-Trump Left a Threat to American Democracy?” *The Washington Times* (December 19, 2016)
- Matthew Yglesias, “The Great Awakening,” *Vox* (April 1, 2019)

On political violence in the U.S.:

- Lilliana Mason and Nathan Kalmoe, “What You Need to Know About How Many Americans Condone Political Violence,” *The Washington Post* (January 11, 2021)
- Nathan Kalmoe and Lilliana Mason, *Radical American Partisanship: Mapping Violent Hostility, Its Causes, and What it Means for Democracy* (University of Chicago Press, 2022)
- Larry Diamond, Lee Drutman, Tod Lindberg, Nathan Kalmoe, Lilliana Mason, “Americans Increasingly Believe Violence is Justified If the Other Side Wins,” *Politico* (October 1, 2020)
- Alan Feuer, “Fears of White People Losing Out Permeate Capitol Rioters’ Towns, Study Finds,” *The New York Times* (April 6, 2021)
- Sean Westwood, Justin Grimmer, Matthew Tyler, and Clayton Nall, “Current Research Overstates American Support for Political Violence,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (forthcoming)
- Barbara Walter, *How Civil Wars Start – and How to Stop Them* (New York, Crown: 2022)
- William Gale and Darrell West, “Is the US headed for Another Civil War?” *Brookings Institution Report* (September 16, 2021)

On the problems of minoritarian institutions in the U.S.:

- Philip Bump, “How to Rig an American Election,” *The Washington Post* (January 29, 2021)
- Pippa Norris, “Can Our Democracy Survive if Most Republicans Think the Government is Illegitimate?” *The Washington Post* (December 11, 2020)

On the Republican Party:

- Thomas Edsall, "How Far Are Republicans Willing to Go? They're Already Gone," *The New York Times* (June 9, 2021)
- Zack Beauchamp, "Call it Authoritarianism," *Vox* (June 15, 2021)
- Zack Beauchamp, "The Republican Party is an Authoritarian Outlier," *Vox* (September 22, 2020)
- Julian Borger, "Republicans Closely Resemble Autocratic Parties in Hungary and Turkey," *The Guardian* (October 26, 2020)
- Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, "The Republican Devolution," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2019): 42-50
- Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Off Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy* (Yale University Press, 2006)
- Jacob Grumbach, "Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding," University of Washington Department of Political Science Working Paper (2022)
- Chan Suh and Sidney Tarrow, "Suppression by Stealth: The Partisan Response to Protest in State Legislatures," *Politics & Society* (forthcoming)
- Matt Grossmann and David Hopkins, "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: The Asymmetry of American Party Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 13,1 (2015): 119-39
- Joseph Fishkin and David Pozen, "Asymmetric Constitutional Hardball," *Columbia Law Review* 118,3 (2018): 915-82

On electoral support for Trump and Trumpism:

- Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu, "The White Working Class and the 2016 Election," *Perspectives on Politics* 19,1 (2021): 55-72
 - Summarized in Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu, "It's Time to Bust the Myth: Most Trump Voters Were Not Working Class," *The Washington Post: Monkey Cage* (June 5, 2016)
- John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck, *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2019)
- Lilliana Mason, Julie Wronski, and John Kane, "Activating Animus: The Uniquely Social Roots of Trump Support," *American Political Science Review* 115,4 (2021): 1508-16
 - Summarized in Lilliana Mason, Julie Wronski, and John Kane, "Republicans and Democrats have split over whether to support multiethnic democracy, our research shows," *The Washington Post: Monkey Cage* (January 3, 2022)
- Jon Green and Sean McElwee, "The Differential Effects of Economic Conditions and Racial Attitudes in the Election of Donald Trump," *Perspectives on Politics* 17,2 (2019): 358-79
- Diana Mutz, "Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115,19 (2018): E4330-E4339
- Christopher Sebastian Parker, "Status Threat: Moving the Right Further to the Right?" *Daedalus* 150,2 (2021): 56-75
- Joseph Uscinski, Adam Enders, Michelle Seelig, Casey Klofstad, John Funchion, Caleb Everett, Stefan Wuchty, Kamal Premaratne, and Manohar Murthi, "American Politics

in Two Dimensions: Partisan and Ideological Identities Versus Anti-Establishment Orientations," *American Journal of Political Science* 65,4 (2021): 877-95

- Stephanie Muravchik and Jon Shields, *Trump's Democrats* (Brookings Institution Press, 2020)
- Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: The New Press, 2016)
- Katherine Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker* (University of Chicago Press, 2016)
- Robert Wuthnow, *The Left Behind: Decline and Rage in Rural America* (Princeton University Press, 2019)
- Matthew Luttig, "Reconsidering the Relationship Between Authoritarianism and Republican Support in 2016 and Beyond," *The Journal of Politics* 83,2 (2021)
- Emily Ekins and Jonathan Haidt, "Donald Trump Supporters Think About Morality Differently Than Other Voters," *Vox* (February 5, 2016)
- Amanda Taub, "The Rise of American Authoritarianism," *Vox* (March 1, 2016)

On the effects of polarization in the U.S.:

See also readings for Week 4

- Eli Finkel, Christopher Bail, Mina Cikara, Peter Ditto, Shanto Iyengar, Samara Klar, Lilliana Mason et al., "Political Sectarianism in America," *Science* 370, 6516 (2020)
- Shanto Iyengar, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra, and Sean Westwood, "The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States," *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 129-46
- Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018)
- Alan Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018)
- Matthew Graham and Milan Svolik, "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 114,2 (2020): 392-409
- Paul Pierson and Eric Schickler, "Madison's Constitution Under Stress: A Developmental Analysis of Political Polarization," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 37-58
- Darrell West, *Divided Politics, Divided Nation: Hyperconflict in the Trump Era* (Brookings Institution Press, 2019)
- Jon Kingzette, James Druckman, Samara Klar, Yanna Krupnikov, Matthew Levendusky, and John Barry Ryan, "How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85,2 (2021): 663-77
- Douglas Ahler and David Broockman, "The Delegate Paradox: Why Polarized Politicians Can Represent Citizens Best," *The Journal of Politics* 80,4 (2018): 1117-33
- David Broockman, Joshua Kalla, and Sean Westwood, "Does Affective Polarization Undermine Democratic Norms or Accountability? Maybe Not," UC Berkeley, Yale University, and Dartmouth College working paper (2021)

Week 9: What Can be Done?

Thursday, March 3

Key Themes

- What political strategies have proved successful in countries that have reversed democratic backsliding?
- What types of policies or reforms can mitigate political polarization and economic inequality?
- What can be done to minimize the threats to democracy posed by disinformation, AI, and climate change?

Assigned Readings

- *Foreign Policy*, “10 Practical (and Sometimes Uncomfortable) Ideas to Fix Democracy” (Winter 2022)
- Chapter 9 in Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown 2018)
- Pages 934-944 in Murat Somer, Jennifer McCoy, and Russell Luke, “Pernicious Polarization, Autocratization and Opposition Strategies,” *Democratization* 28,5 (2021): 929-48
- Alexander Burns, “How Democrats Planned for Doomsday,” *The New York Times* (January 24, 2021)
- James Fishkin and Larry Diamond, “This Experiment Has Some Great News for Our Democracy,” *The New York Times* (October 2, 2019)
- Alia Braley, Gabriel Lenz, Dhaval Adjodah, Hossein Rahnama, and Alex Pentland, “The Subversion Dilemma: Why Voters Who Cherish Democracy Vote It Away,” UC Berkeley and MIT Working Paper (2021)
- Lee Drutman, “The Two-Party System is Killing Our Democracy,” *Vox* (Jan. 23, 2020)
- Helen Landemore, “Power to the People,” *Foreign Policy* (Winter 2022)
- Karen Kornbluh and Ellen Goodman, “Three Steps to Help Treat America’s Debilitating Information Disorder,” *The Washington Post* (January 13, 2021) and Kevin Roose, “How the Biden Administration Can Help Solve Our Reality Crisis,” *The New York Times* (February 2, 2021)

Supplementary Readings

Resource guides:

- Anna Lührmann, Lisa Gastaldi, Dominik Hirndorf and Staffan I. Lindberg, “Defending Democracy Against Illiberal Challengers: A Resource Guide,” Varieties of Democracy Institute/University of Gothenburg (May 2020)
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