

HGO4401 - Democratization and civil society in developing countries

@= the article is available online

(three unpublished manuscripts will be made available on Canvas)

Green = new reading

1. Introduction (Kristian Stokke)

@ Stokke, K. (2018). Democratization in the Global South: From democratic transitions to transformative democratic politics. *Geography Compass*, 12(12), 1-15. DOI: 10.1111/gec3.12412 (15 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Grugel, J. (2003). Democratization studies: Citizenship, globalization and governance. *Government and Opposition* 38(2): 238-264.

2. Transitions from authoritarianism (Kristian Stokke)

@ Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21. doi.org/10.1353/jod.2002.0003 (17 pages)

@ Fukuoka, Y. (2014). Debating Indonesia's Reformasi: Bridging "Parallel Universes". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 44(3), 540-552. DOI: 10.1080/00472336.2014.895026 (13 pages)

@ Møller, J., & Skaaning, S.-E. (2013). The Third Wave: Inside the Numbers. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4), 97-109. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2013.0057 (14 pages)

@ Schmitter, P. C. (2017). The Role of Elites in Democratization. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 23(1), 33-46. DOI: 10.1007/s11366-017-9494-7 (14 pages)

@ Slater, D., & Wong, J. (2013). The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(3), 717-733. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592713002090 (17 pages)

Stokke, K., & Soe Myint Aung. (forthcoming). Transition to democracy or hybrid regime? The dynamics and outcome of democratization in Myanmar. *European Journal of Development Research*. (12 pages) – manuscript available on Canvas

Recommended additional readings:

@ IDEA. (2017). *The Global State of Democracy 2017: Exploring Democracy's Resilience*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

@ Schmitter, P. C. (2010). Twenty-Five Years, Fifteen Findings. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 17-28. DOI: 10.1353/jod.0.0144

3. Democratic decline and authoritarian resurgence (Kristian Stokke)

@ Diamond, L. (2015). Facing Up to the Democratic Recession. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 141-155. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2015.0009 (15 pages)

@ Grigera, J. (2017). Populism in Latin America: Old and new populisms in Argentina and Brazil. *International Political Science Review*, 38(4), 441-455. DOI: 10.1177/0192512117701510 (15 pages)

@ Hadiz, V. R. (2017). Competing populisms in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *International Political Science Review*, 38(4), 488–502. DOI: 10.1177/0192512117697475 (15 pages)

@ Haggard, S., & Kaufman, R. R. (2016). Democratization During the Third Wave. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 125-144. DOI: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-042114-015137 (20 pages)

@ Levitsky, S. & Way, L. (2002). The rise of competitive authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2002.0026 (15 pages)

@ Schmitter, P. C. (2015). Crisis and Transition, But Not Decline. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 32-44. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2015.0004 (13 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Freedom House. (2019). Freedom in the World 2019: Democracy in Retreat. Washington D.C.: Freedom House.

@ The Economist (2018). Democracy Index 2018: Me too? Political participation, protest and democracy. London: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

4. International engagement in political change (Kristian Stokke)

@ Börzel, T. A. (2015). The noble west and the dirty rest? Western democracy promoters and illiberal regional powers. *Democratization*, 22(3), 519-535. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.1000312 (17 pages)

@ Carothers, T. (2009). Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental. *Journal of Democracy*, 20(1), 5-19. (15 pages)

@ Chen, D., & Kinzelbach, K. (2015). Democracy promotion and China: blocker or bystander? *Democratization*, 22(3), 400-418. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.999322 (19 pages)

@ Hackenesch, C. (2015). Not as bad as it seems: EU and US democracy promotion faces China in Africa. *Democratization*, 22(3), 419-437. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.1002476 (19 pages)

@ Møller, J., & Skaaning, S.-E. (2013). Regime Types and Democratic Sequencing. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(1), 142-155. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2013.0010 (14 pages)

@ Öniş, Z. (2017). The Age of Anxiety: The Crisis of Liberal Democracy in a Post-Hegemonic Global Order. *The International Spectator*, 52(3), 18-35. DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2017.1325133 (18 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Carothers, T., & Samet-Marram, O. (2015). *The new global marketplace of political change*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

@ Acharya, A. (2017). *Global Governance in a Multiplex World*. Badia Fiesolana: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

5. Politics of liberal, illiberal and hybrid peace (Kristian Stokke)

@ Goodhand, J., & Walton, O. (2009). The Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding? International Engagement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 3(3), 303-323. DOI: 10.1080/17502970903086693 (21 pages)

@ Lewis, D., Heathershaw, J., & Megoran, N. (2018). Illiberal peace? Authoritarian modes of conflict management. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 53(4), 486-506. DOI: 10.1177/0010836718765902 (21 pages)

@ Mac Ginty, R. (2010). Hybrid Peace: The Interaction Between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Peace. *Security Dialogue*, 41(4), 391-412. DOI: 10.1177/0967010610374312 (22 pages)

@ Mac Ginty, R. (2010). No war, no peace: Why so many peace processes fail to deliver peace. *International Politics*, 47(2), 145-162. DOI: 10.1057/ip.2010.4 (18 pages)

@ Smith, C. Q. (2014). Illiberal peace-building in hybrid political orders: managing violence during Indonesia's contested political transition. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(8), 1509-1528. DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2014.946277 (20 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Höglund, K., & Kovacs, M. S. (2010). Beyond the absence of war: the diversity of peace in post-settlement societies. *Review of International Studies*, 36(02). DOI: 10.1017/s0260210510000069

@ Stokke, K. (2012). Peacebuilding as Small-State Foreign Policy. Norway's Peace Engagement in a Changing International Context. *International Studies* 49: 207-231. DOI: 10.1177/0020881714532334

6. Political parties and democratic representation (Kristian Stokke)

@ Chandra, K. (2005). Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2), 235-252. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3688028> (18 pages)

@ Randall, V. (2007). Political Parties and Democratic Developmental States. *Development Policy Review*, 25(5), 633-652. (20 pages)

@ Sindre, G. M. (2018). From secessionism to regionalism: Intra-organizational change and ideological moderation within armed secessionist movements. *Political Geography*, 64, 23-32. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2018.02.004 (10 pages)

Stokke, K. (forthcoming). The party-state nexus in Myanmar: Military statebuilding and constrained development of political parties in Myanmar. In E. Mobernd & E. Hansson (Eds.), *The Party-State Nexus in Asia*. (12 pages) – manuscript available on Canvas

@ Thompson, M. R. (2016). The Moral Economy of Electoralism and the Rise of Populism in the Philippines and Thailand. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 32(3), 246-269. DOI: 10.1177/0169796x16652028 (24 pages)

@ Ufen, A. (2012). Party Systems, Critical Junctures, and Cleavages in Southeast Asia. *Asian Survey*, 52(3), 441-464. DOI: AS.2012.52.3.441 (24 pages)

7. Contentious politics of citizenship (Kristian Stokke)

@ Robins, S., Cornwall, A. & von Lieres, B. (2008). Rethinking 'citizenship' in the postcolony. *Third World Quarterly* 29(6): 1069-1086. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802201048 (18 pages)

@ Haarstad, H. (2007). Collective political subjectivity and the problem of scale. *Contemporary Politics* 13(1), 57-74. DOI: 10.1080/13569770701246237 (18 pages)

@ Hapsari, M. (2017). Constructing palm oil justice movements in Indonesia: Citizenship and collective identity. In E. Hiarij and K. Stokke (eds.), *Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia. (22 pages)

@ Leitner, H., Sheppard, E. & Sziarto, K. M. (2008). The spatialities of contentious politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33(2), 157-172. (16 pages)

@ Lodge, T., & Mottiar, S. (2015). Protest in South Africa: motives and meanings. *Democratization*, 23(5), 819-837. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2015.1030397 (19 pages)

Sørboe, C. (forthcoming). From Noise to Voice: Brazil's 'June uprisings' and political subjectification. (12 pages) – manuscript available on Canvas

Recommended additional reading:

@ Stokke, K. (2017). Politics of citizenship: Towards an analytical framework. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71(4), 193-207. DOI: 10.1080/00291951.2017.1369454

8. Citizenship in the world of work (David Jordhus-Lier)

@ Houeland, C. (2017). Between the street and Aso Rock: the role of Nigerian trade unions in popular protests. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36(1), 103-120. DOI: 10.1080/02589001.2017.1396297 (18 pages)

@ Jordhus-Lier, D. (2017). Claiming industrial citizenship: The struggle for domestic worker rights in Indonesia. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71(4), 243-252. DOI: 10.1080/00291951.2017.1369453 (10 pages)

@ Gleiss, M. S. (2014). How Chinese labour NGOs legitimize their identity and voice. *China Information*, 28(3), 362-381. DOI: 10.1177/0920203X14550376 (20 pages)

@ von Holdt, K. (2013). South Africa: the transition to violent democracy. *Review of African Political Economy*, 40(138), 589-604. DOI: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854040 (16 pages)

Recommended additional reading:

@ Jordhus-Lier, D. C. (2013). Trade unions and democratic transformative politics: Political representation and popular mobilization during local government reform in South Africa. In K. Stokke & O. Törnquist (Eds.), *Democratization in the Global South: The Importance of Transformative Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

9. Politics of urban citizenship in the Global South (Marianne Millstein)

@ Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2012). Party politics, civil society and local democracy – Reflections from Johannesburg. *Geoforum*, 43(2), 178-189. DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.08.006 (12 pages)

@ Hammett, D. (2017). Introduction: exploring the contested terrain of urban citizenship. *International Development Planning Review*, 39(1), 1-13. DOI: 10.3828/idpr.2017.1 (13 pages)

@ Holston, J. (2009). Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries. *City & Society*, 21(2), 245-267. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-744X.2009.01024.x (23 pages)

@ Lemanski, C. (2017). Unequal citizenship in unequal cities: participatory urban governance in contemporary South Africa. *International Development Planning Review* 39: 15-35. DOI: 10.3828/idpr.2017.2 (21 pages)

@ Millstein, M. (2017). Rights, identities and belonging: Reflections on the everyday politics of urban citizenship in Delft, Cape Town. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71(4), 253-267. DOI: 10.1080/00291951.2017.1369457 (15 pages)

@ Mohan, G. (2007). Participatory Development: From Epistemological Reversals to Active Citizenship. *Geography Compass*, 1(4), 779–796. DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2007.00038.x (18 pages)

10. Conclusion: Lessons and policy implications (Kristian Stokke)

@ Stokke, K. & Törnquist, O. (2013). Experiences and strategic interventions in transformative democratic politics. In K. Stokke and O. Törnquist (eds.), *Democratization in the Global South: The Importance of Transformative Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 302-311. (10 pages)

@ Webster, N., Stokke, K. & Törnquist, O. (2009). Democratic institutionalisation of nodes for improved popular representation. In O. Törnquist, N. Webster and K. Stokke (eds.), *Rethinking Popular Representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 223-234. (12 pages)

Sum: 800 pages

Removed from the previous reading list

Aembe, B. & Jordhus-Lier, D. (2017). Within, above, and beyond: Churches and religious civil society activism in South Kivu. *Journal of Civil Society* 1-17. (17 pages)

Auyero, J. & Swistun, D. (2008). The social production of toxic uncertainty. *American sociological review* 73(3): 357-379. (23 pages)

Bagguley, P. (2013). Industrial citizenship: A re-conceptualisation and case study of the UK. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 33(5/6): 265-279. (15 pages)

Carothers, T. (2007). How democracies emerge. The “sequencing” fallacy. *Journal of Democracy* 18(1): 12-27. (16 pages)

Cornwall, A. (2004). Introduction: New democratic spaces? The politics and dynamics of institutionalised participation. *IDS Bulletin* 35(2): 1–10. (10 pages)

Desforges, L., Jones, R. & Woods, M. (2005). New Geographies of Citizenship. *Citizenship Studies* 9(5): 439-451. (13 pages)

Diamond, L. (2013). The flow and ebb of democracy’s third wave. *Mongolian Journal of International Affairs* 18: 94-104. (11 pages)

Edwards, M. (2014). *Civil society* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 1, pp. 1-17. (17 pages)

Eriksen, S.S. (2017). State effects and the effects of state building: Institution building and the formation of state-centred societies. *Third World Quarterly* 38(4): 771-786. (16 pages)

Fudge, J. (2005). After industrial citizenship: Market citizenship or citizenship at work? *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* 631-656. (27 pages)

Giugni, M. (2009). Political opportunities: From Tilly to Tilly. *Swiss Political Science Review* 15(2): 361-367. (7 pages)

Gleiss, M. S. (2017). Discourse, political space and the politics of citizenship. *Norwegian Journal of Geography* 71(4). (ca. 15 pages)

Greer, I., Ciupijus, Z. & Lillie, N. (2013). The European Migrant Workers Union and the barriers to transnational industrial citizenship. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 19(1), 5-20. (15 pages)

Grugel, J. (2003). Democratization studies: Citizenship, globalization and governance. *Government and Opposition* 38(2): 238-264. (27 pages)

Haugen H. Ø. (2013). African pentecostal migrants in China: Marginalization and the alternative geography of a mission theology. *African Studies Review* 56(1): 81-102. (22 pages)

Haynes, J. (2016). Religion and democratisation: What do we now know? *Journal of Religious and Political Practice* 2(2): 267-272. (6 pages)

Hiariej, E. (2017). Post-fundamentalist Islamism and the politics of citizenship in Indonesia. In E. Hiariej and K. Stokke (eds.), *Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia. (approx. 15 pages)

- Jacobs, F., Jordhus-Lier, D. & de Wet, P. T. (2015). The politics of knowledge: Knowledge management in informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town. *Urban Forum* 26(4): 425-441. (16 pages)
- Jordhus-Lier, D., Braathen, E., Dupont, V. & Sutherland, C. (2015). Knowledge and power in upgrading and resettlement initiatives. In V. Dupont, D. C. Jordhus-Lier, E. Braathen and C. Sutherland (eds.), *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru*. London: Routledge, pp. 115-143. (28 pages)
- Koopmans, R. and Statham, P. (1999). Ethnic and civic conceptions of nationhood and the differential success of the extreme right in Germany and Italy. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam and C. Tilly (eds.), *How Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 225-251. (26 pages)
- Mansfield, E.D. & Snyder, J. (2007). The sequencing 'fallacy'. *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): 5-9. (5 pages)
- Meyer, D. S. & Evans, E. (2014). Citizenship, political opportunities and social movements. In H.-A. Van der Heijden (ed.), *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 259-278. (20 pages)
- Newell, S. (2007). Pentecostal witchcraft: Neoliberal possession and demonic discourse in Ivorian pentecostal churches. *Journal of religion in Africa* 37(4): 461-490. (30 pages)
- Randall, V. (2007). Political parties in Africa and the representation of social groups. In M. Basedau, G. Erdmann and A. Mehler (eds.), *Votes, Money and Violence: Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp 82-104. (23 pages)
- Roy, A. (2005). Urban informality: toward an epistemology of planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71(2): 147-158. (12 pages)
- Schlosberg, D. (2004). Reconceiving environmental justice: Global movements and political theories. *Environmental Politics* 13(3): 517-540. (24 pages)
- Scholl, C. (2014). The new social movement approach. In H.-A. Van der Heijden (ed.), *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 233-258. (26 pages)
- Scott, D. & Barnett, C. (2009). Something in the air: Civic science and contentious environmental politics in post-apartheid South Africa. *Geoforum* 40(3): 373-382. (10 pages)
- Stokke, K. (2014). Substantiating urban democracy: The importance of popular representation and transformative democratic politics. In S. Parnell and S. Oldfield (eds.), *A Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. London: Routledge, pp. 257-268. (12 pages)
- Stokke, K., Khine Win & Soe Myint Aung. (2015). Political parties and popular representation in Myanmar's democratization process. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 34(3): 3-35. (32 pages)
- Tapiheru, J. (2017). The politics of citizenship and welfare: The case of natural resource rich regions in Indonesia. In E. Hiarij and K. Stokke (eds.), *Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia. (approx. 15 pages)
- Tomsa, D. (2013). What type of party? Southeast Asian parties between clientelism and electoralism. In D. Tomsa and A. Ufen (eds.), *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. London: Routledge, pp. 20-39. (20 pages)
- Winkler, T. (2013). At the coalface: Community-university engagements and planning education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 33(2): 215-227. (13 pages)
- Zhang, C. & Lillie, N. (2014). Industrial citizenship, cosmopolitanism and European integration. *European Journal of Social Theory* 18 (1): 93-111. (19 pages)