HGO4401 - Autumn 2019

Syllabus/achievement requirements

@= the article is available online

How to find an article on the reading list

1. Introduction

@ 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:

@ 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)

2. Democratization: Transitions to formal democracy

@ Bernhard, M. (2020). What do we know about civil society and regime change thirty years after 1989? *East European Politics*, 36(3), 341-362. doi:10.1080/21599165.2020.1787160 (22 pages)

@ Carothers, T. (2002). The end of the transition paradigm. *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21. (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)

@ 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 (2020). Transition to democracy or hybrid regime? The dynamics and outcome of democratization in Myanmar. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 32, 274–293. doi:10.1057/s41287-019-00247-x (20 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Gilbert, L., & Mohseni, P. (2011). Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes. Studies in Comparative International Development, 46(3), 270-297. doi:10.1007/s12116-011-9088-x

@ IDEA. (2021). *The Global State of Democracy 2021*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

@ 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 (13 pages)

@ Schmitter, P. C. (2010). Twenty-Five Years, Fifteen Findings. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 17-28. doi:10.1353/jod.0.0144 (13 pages)

3. Representation: Political parties and democratic politics

@ 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)

@ 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. (submitted). Political inclusion at the margins of the Myanmar state? Ethnic parties and the struggle for representation in a majoritarian hybrid regime. (21 pages) – *manuscript available on Canvas*

@ 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)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Chandra, K. (2011). What is an ethnic party? Party Politics, 17(2), 151-169. doi:10.1177/1354068810391153 (19 pages)

@ 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)

4. Representation: Social movements and contentious politics

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

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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)

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

Sørbøe, C. (submitted). Urban Uprisings Between Revolutionary Openings and Reactionary Outcomes: Making sense of the 2013 'June days' in Brazil. (39 pages) – *manuscript available on Canvas*

5. Autocratization: Democratic recession and autocratic deepening

@ Cassani, A., & Tomini, L. (2019). Post-Cold War autocratization: trends and patterns of regime change opposite to democratization. *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica,* 49(2), 121-138. doi:10.1017/ipo.2019.4 (18 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)

@ 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)

@ Lührmann, A., & Lindberg, S. I. (2019). A third wave of autocratization is here: What is new about it? *Democratization*. doi:10.1080/13510347.2019.1582029 (19 pages)

@ Sinkkonen, E. (2021). Dynamic dictators: improving the research agenda on autocratization and authoritarian resilience. *Democratization*, 28(6), 1172-1190. doi:10.1080/13510347.2021.1903881 (19 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ Brubaker, R. (2017). Why populism? *Theory and Society*, 46(5), 357-385. (29 pages)

@ Freedom House. (2021). *Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy under Siege*. Washington D.C.: Freedom House.

@ The Economist (2020). *Democracy Index 2020: In sickness and in health?* London: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

@ Skaaning, S.-E. (2020). Waves of autocratization and democratization: a critical note on conceptualization and measurement. *Democratization*, 27(8), 1533-1542. doi:10.1080/13510347.2020.1799194 (10 pages)

6. Autocratization: Democratic resilience and resistance

@ Chen, Xi. (2020). Civic and Noncivic Activism under Autocracy: Shifting Political Space for Popular Political Action, *Mobilization*, 25(5), 623-640. doi:10.17813/1086-671x-25-5-623 (18 pages)

@ Laebens, M. G., & Lührmann, A. (2021). What halts democratic erosion? The changing role of accountability. *Democratization*, 28(5), 908-928. doi:10.1080/13510347.2021.1897109 (21 pages)

@ Lewis, D. (2013). Civil Society and the Authoritarian State: Cooperation, Contestation and Discourse. *Journal of Civil Society* 9(3), 325-40. doi:10.1080/17448689.2013.818767 (17 pages)

@ Lührmann, A. (2021). Disrupting the autocratization sequence: towards democratic resilience. *Democratization*, 28(5), 1017-1039. doi:10.1080/13510347.2021.1928080 (23 pages)

@ Somer, M., McCoy, J. L., & Luke, R. E. (2021). Pernicious polarization, autocratization and opposition strategies. *Democratization*, 28(5), 929-948. doi:10.1080/13510347.2020.1865316 (20 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

Alagappa, M. (Ed.) (2004). *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

@ Rakner, L. (2021). Don't Touch My Constitution! Civil Society Resistance to Democratic Backsliding in Africa´s Pluralist Regimes. *Global Policy*, 12(S5), 95-105. doi:10.1111/1758-5899.12991 (11 pages)

Stokke, K. (forthcoming). Civil Society during Democratization and Autocratization in Myanmar. In E. Hansson and M. Weiss (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Civil Society in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge (15 pages) – manuscript available on Canvas

7. International engagement in democratization

@ 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)

@ 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.

8. International liberal peacebuilding

@ 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)

@ Koopman, S. (2020). Building an inclusive peace is an uneven socio-spatial process: Colombia's differential approach. Political Geography, 83. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102252 (11 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)

@ Roy, C., Ware, A., & Laoutides, C. (2021). The political economy of Norwegian peacemaking in Myanmar's peace process. Third World Quarterly, 1-17. doi:10.1080/01436597.2021.1909467 (17 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

Chandler, D. (2017). Peacebuilding: The Twenty Year's Crisis, 1997-2017: Palgrave Macmillan.

@ 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

9. Illiberal peacebuilding and authoritarian conflict management

@ Karlsrud, J. (2018). From Liberal Peacebuilding to Stabilization and Counterterrorism. *International Peacekeeping*, 26(1), 1-21. doi:10.1080/13533312.2018.1502040 (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)

@ 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)

Stokke, K., Nang Khin Lay Nge, Klo Kwe Moo Kham and Kvanvik, S. H. (accepted). Illiberal Peacebuilding in a Hybrid Regime. Authoritarian Strategies for Conflict Containment in Myanmar. *Political Geography*. (25 pages) – manuscript available on Canvas (25 pages)

Recommended additional readings:

@ McCarthy, G., & Farrelly, N. (2020). Peri-conflict peace: brokerage, development and illiberal ceasefires in Myanmar's borderlands. Conflict, Security & Development, 20(1), 141-163. doi:10.1080/14678802.2019.1705072

@ Smith, C. Q., Waldorf, L., Venugopal, R., & McCarthy, G. (2020). Illiberal peace-building in Asia: a comparative overview. Conflict, Security & Development, 20(1), 1-14. doi:10.1080/14678802.2019.1705066

10. Conclusion: Lessons and policy implications

@ 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)

Sum: 760 pages

<u>The following texts have been deleted from the earlier reading list (2019)</u>

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

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

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

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

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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 (13 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)

@ 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)

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

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*

Sørbøe, C. (forthcoming). From Noise to Voice: Brazil's 'June uprisings' and political subjectification. (12 pages) – *manuscript available on Canvas* @ Diamond, L. (2015). Facing Up to the Democratic Recession. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 141-155. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2015.0009 (15 pages)

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ Webster, N., Stokke, K. & Törnquist, O. (2009). Democratic insitutionalisation 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)