

## HGO4401 – Fall 2023

### Reading list

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#### 1. Introduction

@ Boese, V. A., Lundstedt, M., Morrison, K., Sato, Y., & Lindberg, S. I. (2022). State of the world 2021: Autocratization changing its nature? *Democratization*, 1-31. doi:10.1080/13510347.2022.2069751 (31 pages)

@ Heller, P. (2022). Democracy in the Global South. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 48(1), 463-484. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-030320-123449 (22 pages)

@ 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

@ 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)

@ Kuznetsov, V. (2022). The Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia and the Birth of the Arab Spring Uprisings. In J. A. Goldstone, L. Grinin, & A. Korotayev (Eds.), *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century: The New Waves of Revolutions, and the Causes and Effects of Disruptive Political Change* (pp. 625-649). Cham: Springer International Publishing. (25 pages)

@ Riedl, R. B., Slater, D., Wong, J., & Ziblatt, D. (2020). Authoritarian-Led Democratization. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23(1), 315-332. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-052318-025732 (18 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)

@ 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)

@ 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)

Recommended additional readings:

@ IDEA. (2022). *The Global State of Democracy 2022: Forging Social Contracts in a Time of Discontent*. 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

@ 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.

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

### **3. Social movements and democratic deepening**

@ Amenta, E., Caren, N., Chiarello, E., & Su, Y. (2010). The Political Consequences of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36(1), 287-307. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120029 (21 pages)

Hapsari, M. (2022). Constructing Palm Oil Justice Movements in Indonesia: Citizenship and Collective Identity. In E. Hiariej & K. Stokke (Eds.), *Politics of Citizenship in Indonesia* (pp. 151-174). Singapore: Springer. (24 pages)

@ Pillay, D. (2013). Between Social Movement and Political Unionism: COSATU and Democratic Politics in South Africa. *Rethinking Development and Inequality 2*, 10-27. (18 pages)

@ Rydstrom, H., Nguyễn, H. T., & Hoàng, A. N. (2023). The Lgbt Movement in Vietnam. In E. Hansson & M. L. Weiss (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Civil and Uncivil Society in Southeast Asia* (pp. 223-241). (19 pages)

@ Sørboe, C. M. (2022). Urban uprisings between Revolutionary Openings and Reactionary Outcomes: making sense of the 2013 “June Days” in Brazil. *Urban Geography*, 1-20. doi:10.1080/02723638.2022.2055925 (20 pages)

@ Ufen, A. (2023). Civil Society and Efforts at Regime Change in Southeast Asia. In E. Hansson & M. L. Weiss (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Civil and Uncivil Society in Southeast Asia* (pp. 101-117). (17 pages)

@ 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:

@ Magdahl, J. E. (2022). Theorising approaches to social movement spatialities: Local and global contestations of neoliberal water services. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1-16. doi:10.1111/tran.12550

@ Hansson, E., & Weiss, M. L. (Eds.). (2023). *Routledge Handbook of Civil and Uncivil Society in Southeast Asia*.

@ 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

@ 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)

Sørboe, 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*

### **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)

Stokke, K. (submitted). Political inclusion at the margins of the Myanmar state? Ethnic parties and the struggle for representation in a majoritarian hybrid regime. (20 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. Seminar on democratization and civil society

#### 5. Autocratization

@ Cassani, A., & Tomini, L. (2020). Trajectories and Modes of Autocratization in the Early 21st Century. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 13(3), 1539-1558. doi:10.1285/i20356609v13i3p1539 (20 pages)

@ DeVotta, N. (2021). Ethnoreligious nationalism and autocratization in Sri Lanka. In S. Widmalm (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization in South Asia* (pp. 285-297). (23 page)

@ 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)

@ Joshi, D. K. (2021). Neo-authoritarianism in India under Narendra Modi. In S. Widmalm (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization in South Asia* (pp. 23-34). (12 pages)

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

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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.

@ 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)

@ 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)

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

@ Widmalm, S. (Ed.) (2021). *Routledge Handbook of Autocratization in South Asia*: Routledge.

@ 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. Resistance against autocratization

@ Bello, W. (2019). Neoliberalism, Contentious Politics, and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia. In B. Berberoglu (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Social Movements, Revolution, and Social Transformation* (pp. 249-268). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. (20 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)

@ Maerz, S. F. (2018). The Many Faces of Authoritarian Persistence: A Set-Theory Perspective on the Survival Strategies of Authoritarian Regimes. *Government and Opposition*, 55(1), 64-87. doi:10.1017/gov.2018.17 (24 pages)

Tomini, L., Gibril, S., & Bochev, V. (2022). Standing up against autocratization across political regimes: a comparative analysis of resistance actors and strategies. *Democratization*, 1-20. doi:10.1080/13510347.2022.2115480

Stokke, K. & Nyi Nyi Kyaw (unpublished article manuscript). Revolutionary resistance against full autocratization. Actors and strategies of resistance after the 2021 military coup in Myanmar. (20 pages)

Yssen, S. S. F. & Stokke, K. (unpublished article manuscript). Autocratization and Civil Society Response in Tunisia. (20 pages)

@ 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)

@ 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)

@ 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:

@ 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)

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

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. Seminar on autocratization and civil society**

### **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)

@ Koch, N. (2019). Post-triumphalist Geopolitics: Liberal Selves, Authoritarian Others. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 18(4), 909-924. (16 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, 1-11. 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., Klo Kwe Moo Kham, Nang K.L. Nge, & Kvanvik, S. H. (2022). Illiberal Peacebuilding in a Hybrid Regime. *Authoritarian Strategies for Conflict Containment in Myanmar. Political Geography*(93), 1-14. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102551>

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

#### 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 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: 709 pages