

Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley  
Political Science 191 – 7  
Spring 2022  
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Th 2-4, 202 Social Sciences Bldg.  
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## DEMOCRACY'S GLOBAL CRISIS

This seminar investigates the worldwide crisis of democracy and how democracy's defenders might overcome it. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, democracy was on a global roll; now it is in retreat in every world region. In the United States, the world's oldest and most powerful democracy, one of the two major parties works to restrict voting access and refuses to accept defeat in elections. India, the world's largest democracy, has come under the control of a party that pursues an exclusionary, ethnonational agenda. Poland and Hungary, once exemplars of successful democratization, are now dominated by parties that attack judicial independence and free media. Democracy is under threat in Brazil, the Philippines and other developing-world democracies as well, and authoritarianism has hardened in China, Russia, Venezuela, and much of the Middle East. How can we explain democracy's crisis? How can democrats reverse the autocratic wave, and what must they do to restore democracy's promise?

Our seminar will focus intensively on discussion of the readings, which must be done in their entirety before each class meeting. All readings are available electronically on the bcourses page. Requirements consist of two 2,000-word papers on the readings, a final essay exam, and attendance and active participation in seminar meetings. Grades will be determined on a 100-point scale: each short paper counts for 15 points (for 30 points in total); the final exam for 40 points; and attendance and participation for 30 points. Participation in the online discussions on bcourses will count toward the participation grade.

Use of any electronic or internet devices, including laptops and cellphones, is not allowed during class.

Our books for the course are:

Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: The New Press, 2016).

Mitchell Orenstein, *The Lands in Between: Russia vs. the West and the New Politics of Hybrid War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Peter Pomerantsev, *This Is Not Propaganda: Adventures in the War against Reality* (New York: Public Affairs, 2019).

Shashi Tharoor, *The Battle of Belonging: On Nationalism, Patriotism, and What It Means to Be Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph, 2020).

*Syllabus*

**PART I: DEMOCRACY UNDER SIEGE**

Week 1 (January 20): The Setting

Sarah Repucci and Amy Slipowitz, "Freedom in the World, 2021: Democracy under Siege" (Washington, DC: Freedom House, 2021).

Francis Fukuyama, "30 Years of World Politics: What Has Changed?," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 1 (January 2020), pp. 11-21.

William A. Galston, "The Enduring Vulnerability of Liberal Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 3 (July 2020), pp. 8-24.

Ellen Ioanes, "What Peng Shuai's Rape Says about China," *Vox*, December 5, 2021.

Chris Buckley, "Chinese Tennis Player Denies Sexual Abuse Claim, Raising More Questions," *New York Times*, December 19, 2021.

Week 2 (January 27): The Erosion of Democracy in the Old Democracies

Thomas B. Edsall, "How the Storming of the Capitol became a 'Normal Tourist Visit'," *New York Times*, May 19, 2021.

Michelle Goldberg, "How Republicans Could Steal the 2024 Election," *New York Times*, May 13, 2021.

Barton Gellman, "Trump's Next Coup Has Already Begun," *The Atlantic*, December 6, 2021.

David Brooks, "What Happened to American Conservatism?," *The Atlantic*, December 8, 2021.

Maiko Ichihara, "Japanese Democracy after Shinzo Abe," *Journal of Democracy* 32, 1 (January 2021), pp. 81-95.

Madhav Khosla and Milan Vaishnav, "The Three Faces of the Indian State," *Journal of Democracy* 32, 1 (January 2021), pp. 111-125.

"Global Leader Approval Ratings," *Morning Consult*, updated December 9, 2021 (peruse numbers; note Modi's ratings and compare them with those of other leaders).  
<https://morningconsult.com/global-leader-approval/>

Week 3 (February 3): The Erosion of Democracy in the Neodemocracies and the Endurance of Autocracy

Gi-Wook Shin, "South Korea's Democratic Decay," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 3 (July 2020), pp. 100-114.

Björn Dressel and Cristina Regina Bonoan, "Duterte versus the Rule of Law," *Journal of Democracy* 30, 4 (October 2019), pp. 134-148.

Amy Erica Smith, "Brazil's Populist Playbook," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 4 (October 2020), pp. 76-90.

Tim Hirschel-Burns, "Benin's King of Cotton Makes Its Democracy a Sham," *Foreign Policy*, April 8, 2021.

Tarek Masoud, "The Arab Spring at 10: Kings or People?," *Journal of Democracy* 32, 1 (January 2021), pp. 139-154.

Vivian Yee, "What Have We Done with Democracy? A Decade on, the Arab Spring Seems to Wither," *New York Times*, October 10, 2021.

Javier Corrales, "Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 3 (July 2020), pp. 39-53.

**PART II: UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING DEMOCRACY'S CRISIS**

Week 4 (February 10): Structural Explanations for Democracy's Crisis

Sheri Berman, "The Causes of Populism in the West," *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (May 2021), pp. 71-88.

Thomas B. Edsall, "Why Trump Still Has Millions of Americans in His Grip," *New York Times*, May 5, 2021.

Thomas Kurer, "The Declining Middle: Occupational Change, Social Status, and the Populist Far Right," *Comparative Political Studies* 50, 10/11 (2020), pp. 1798-1835 (focus on pp. 1798-1808, 1825-1826).

Mitchell Orenstein, "Poland's Presidential Election: It's the Economy, Stupid," Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 27, 2020.

Diana C. Mutz, "Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115, 19 (2018), pp. E4330-E4439.

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: *The Silent Revolution in Reverse*," *Perspectives on Politics* 15, 2 (June 2017), pp. 443-454.

Christian Welzel, "Why the Future is Democratic," *Journal of Democracy* 32, 2 (April 2021), pp. 132-144.

Week 5 (February 17): Psychology, Perception, and Misperception

John T. Jost and Orsolya Hunyady, "Mass Psychology in the Age of Trump," *Democracy* 48 (Spring 2018).

Wallace B. Mendelson, "Support of Trump through the Lens of Narrative Psychology," *Psychology Today*, November 17, 2020.

Bobby Azarian, "A Complete Psychological Analysis of Trump's Support," *Psychology Today*, December 27, 2018.

Dan McAdams, "The Appeal of the Primal Leader: Human Evolution and Donald J. Trump," *Evolutionary Studies in Imaginative Culture* 1, 2 (Fall 2017), pp. 1-13.

Jacob Bogage, "Whom Are You Voting for? This Guy Can Read Your Mind," *Washington Post*, June 23, 2016.

Michael H. Pasek, Lee-Or Ankori-Karlinsky, Alex Levy-Vene, and Samantha L. Moore-Berg, "Biased Metaperceptions about Out-Partisans' Support for Democratic Principles May Erode Democratic Norms," *PsyArXiv Preprints*, September 19, 2021, pp. 1-13 (focus on pp. 2, 3, and 9).

David E. Broockman and Christopher Skovron, "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion Among Elites," *American Political Science Review* 112, 3 (August 2018), pp. 542-563 (focus on pp. 542-545, 559-561).

Danny Hayes and Jennifer L. Lawless, "There's Much Less Gender Bias in Politics Than You Think," *The Washington Post*, May 24, 2016.

Week 6 (February 17): Political Parties, Leadership, and Failures of Representation

Anna Grzymała-Busse, "Introduction to the Symposium on Global Populisms and the European Experience," *Polity* 51, 4 (October 2019), pp. 631-640.

Anna Grzymała-Busse, "How Populists Rule: The Consequences for Democratic Governance," *Polity* 51, 4 (October 2019), pp. 707-717.

Kenneth M. Roberts, "Bipolar Disorders: Varieties of Capitalism and Populist Out-Flanking on the Left and the Right," *Polity* 51, 4 (October 2019), pp. 641-653.

Milada Anna Vachudova, "From Competition to Polarization in Central Europe: How Populists Change Party Systems and the European Union," *Polity* 51, 4 (October 2019), pp. 689-706.

Sheri Berman, "Populism Is a Symptom Rather than a Cause: Democratic Disconnect, the Decline of the Center-Left, and the Rise of Populism in Western Europe," *Polity* 51, 4 (October 2019), pp. 654-667.

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, "Fateful Alliances," ch. 1 in *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018), pp. 12-32.

#### Week 7 (March 3): Transnational Forces

Mitchell Orenstein, *The Lands in Between: Russia vs. the West and the New Politics of Hybrid War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019) (entire).

Glenn Tiffert, "The Authoritarian Assault on Knowledge," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 4 (October 2020), pp. 29-43.

Philip Zelikow, Eric Edelman, Kristofer Harrison, and Celeste Ward Gventer, "The Rise of Strategic Corruption: How States Weaponize Graft," *Foreign Affairs* 99, 4 (July-August 2020).

#### Week 8 (March 10): A Case Study

Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: The New Press, 2016) (entire).

#### **First preliminary essay**

### **PART III: NATIONALISM, BELONGING, AND DEMOCRACY**

#### Week 9 (March 17): National Identity

Cory J. Clark, Brittany S. Liu, Bo M. Winegard, and Peter H. Ditto, "Tribalism is Human Nature," *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 28, 6 (2019), pp. 587-592.

Jonathan Haidt, "The Ethics of Globalism, Nationalism, and Patriotism," *Minding Nature* 9, 3 (Fall 2016).

Gina Gustavsson and Ludvig Stendahl, "National Identity, a Blessing or a Curse? The Divergent Links from National Attachment, Pride, and Chauvinism and Political Trust," *European Political Science Review* 12 (May 2020), pp. 449-469 (focus on pp. 449-454, 464-465).

Julian Erhardt, Steffan Wamsler, and Markus Freitag, "National Identity between Democracy and Autocracy: A Comparative Analysis of 24 Countries," *European Political Science Review* 13, 1 (February 2021), pp. 59-76 (focus on pp. 59-64, 70-72).

Amanda Lea Robinson, "Nationalism and Ethnic-Based Trust: Evidence from an African Border Region," *Comparative Political Studies* 49, 14 (2016), pp. 1819-1854 (focus on pp. 1819-1833, 1841-1844).

### Week 10 (March 31): Nationalism and Ethnonationalism

Constitution of India (1949), preamble and part III, sections 12-30.

Shashi Tharoor, *The Battle of Belonging: On Nationalism, Patriotism, and What It Means to Be Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph, 2020), prologue and chs. 1-4, 8-9, 12-13 and 15.

Donald Trump, "Address to the Nation on Immigration," January 8, 2019 (recommend watching video of speech: <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/08/trump-immigration-speech-full-text-1088710>).

Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom," January 19, 1989 (recommend watching video of speech: <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/remarks-presentation-ceremony-presidential-medal-freedom-5>).

### Week 11 (April 7): National Unity and Disunity

Tharoor, *The Battle of Belonging*, chs. 16-19, 22-23, 28, 30-31, 33.

Prerna Singh, "In India, Protestors Are Singing the National Anthem and Waving the Flag. Here's Why That Matters," *The Washington Post*, January 20, 2020.

Rana Ayyub, "In India, Calls for Muslim Genocide Grow Louder. Modi's Silence Is an Endorsement," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2021.

Frederick Douglass, "Composite Nation" (speech delivered in the Parker Fraternity Course, Boston 1867).

George Packer, "How America Fractured into Four Parts," *The Atlantic*, July-August 2021.

M. Steven Fish, "Trump, Russia, and the Democrats' Golden Opportunity," *The American Interest*, July 24, 2019.

## PART IV: RHETORIC, COMMUNICATION, AND MESSAGING

### Week 12 (April 14): Communicating with Voters

Douglas Schrock, Benjamin Dowd-Arrow, Kristen Erichsen, Haley Gentile, and Pierce Dignam, "The Emotional Politics of Making America Great Again: Trump's Working Class Appeals," *Journal of Working-Class Studies* 2, 1 (June 2017), pp. 5-22.

Jesse H. Rhodes and Kaylee T. Johnson, "Welcoming Their Hatred: Class Populism in Democratic Rhetoric in American Presidential Campaigns, 1932-2012," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 47, 1 (March 2014), pp. 92-121.

Ezra Klein, "David Shor Is Telling Democrats What They Don't Want to Hear," *The New York Times*, October 8, 2021.

Joanna Weiss, "What the Lincoln Project Ad Makers Get about Voters (and What Dems Don't)," *Politico*, July 6, 2020.

Simon Dumenco, "The Lincoln Project's Rick Wilson on the Ads that Actually Worked"; "The Lincoln Project Co-Founder on Killing Ads that Don't Work—and Why Steve Bannon 'Must Be Destroyed'"; and "Lincoln Project Co-Founder on What Happens Next—and the Continuing Marketing Battle against Trumpism," *AdAge*, December 9, 11 and 14, 2020.

Alexander Coppock, Donald P. Green, and Ethan Porter, "How Political Parties Can Win Converts," *Politico*, June 4, 2021.

Drew Westen, "How to Win an Election," *Psychology Today*, April 29, 2020.

### Week 13 (April 21): Disinformation and the War on Reality

Peter Pomerantsev, *This Is Not Propaganda: Adventures in the War against Reality* (New York: Public Affairs, 2019) (entire).

### Second preliminary essay

## PART V: DEMOCRACY'S FUTURE

### Week 14 (April 28): The Way Forward

Ghia Nodia, "Democracy's Inevitable Elites," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 1 (January 2020), pp. 75-87.

Jarosław Kuisz and Karolina Wigura, "Reclaiming the Politics of Emotion," *Journal of Democracy* 31, 2 (April 2020), pp. 41-53.

Tharoor, *The Battle of Belonging*, chs. 37-38.

M. Steven Fish, Neil A. Abrams, and Laila M. Aghaie, "Make Liberalism Great Again," *Slate*, July 3, 2020.

Loveday Morris, "Hungary's Opposition Parties Unite to Challenge Far-Right Leader Orban," *The Washington Post*, October 17, 2021.

Zephyr Teachout, "Monopoly versus Democracy: How to End a Gilded Age," *Foreign Affairs* 100, 1 (January-February 2021).

Jill Lepore, "A New Americanism: Why a Nation Needs a National Story," *Foreign Affairs* 98, 2 (March-April 2019).

Alex Pareene, "Give War a Chance," *The New Republic*, June 20, 2019.