

February
2019

Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) Bibliography Update February 2019

This Update was issued on 6 February 2019. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) at www.democratic-decay.org.

Bibliography updates are issued in the first week of each month. They should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC (issued 24 June 2018).

www.democratic-decay.org

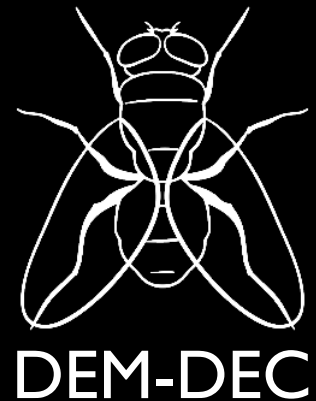
About DEM-DEC

Created by Dr Tom Gerald Daly (Melbourne Law School) and supported by a range of leading public law and policy organisations, the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) is an online resource aiming to provide useful information on the deterioration of democratic rule worldwide through a mixture of curated, collaborative, and user-generated content including a Bibliography, Concept Index, Experts Database, Events Database, Teaching Materials, and Links.

DEM-DEC's core purpose is to bring scholars and policymakers together in a collaborative project to pool expertise on democratic decay, in a context where many experts are talking in silos, or past one another, where the literature is rapidly expanding, and events and projects are proliferating across the world.

www.democratic-decay.org

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Dr Tom Gerald Daly

Tom is an academic and consultant in the area of democracy-building, public law, and human rights.

He is Associate Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law (ECCL), MLS Fellow at Melbourne Law School, and Co-Convenor of the Constitution Transformation Network (Melbourne Law School). As a consultant he has worked on European Union, Council of Europe, African Union, International IDEA and Irish government projects.

His current book project concerns the role of public law in countering 'democratic decay' worldwide. He has written on democratic decay as a columnist for the ICONnect blog and tweets @DemocracyTalk.

Forthcoming academic publications include an article on 'Democratic Decay: Conceptualising an Emerging Research Field' (Hague Journal on the Rule of Law). Policy publications include a chapter on 'Democratic Decay in 2016' in International IDEA's *Annual Review of Constitution-Building* for 2016.

DEM-DEC has a New Editor!

Since the end of January 2019, Kuan-Wei Chen, a doctoral researcher in law at the University of Munich, will be assisting with production of the monthly Research Update. Delighted to have you on board, Kuan-Wei!

Kuan-Wei Chen is a doctoral student at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany, and an LL.M. in Public Law at National Taiwan University (2016), with experience in a transnational law firm and the Judicial Yuan (Constitutional Court) in Taiwan. Her research interests include constitutional law, international human rights law, and democracy. Her current research focuses on the challenges of democracy in the digital era and related human rights protection issues.



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Simply fill out the form at

www.democratic-decay.org/get-involved/

Positions are exclusively on a volunteer basis at present

Partners

DEM-DEC enjoys the support of a range of partners, which are leading organisations in public law, governance, and policy worldwide:

Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies (CCCS)

Centro de Estudos sobre Justiça de Transição (Study Center on Transitional Justice (SCTJ), Brazil)

Constitution Transformation Network (Melbourne Law School)

Constitutionally Speaking (blog – South Africa)

Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

Democratic Erosion: A Cross-University Collaboration (USA)

Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law

ICON-S-Israel

International Association of Constitutional Law (IACL) Blog

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-CONnect) Blog

School of Transnational Governance (European University Institute)

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

Verfassungsblog



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Have Your Say!

Send suggestions and information on new publications for the next monthly update by filling out the form at www.democratic-decay.org or e-mailing democraticdecay@gmail.com



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Introduction

The DEM-DEC Bibliography

The DEM-DEC Bibliography is provided on the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) at www.democratic-decay.org, which was launched on 25 June 2018 and which aims to provide useful information to academics and policymakers concerned with the creeping deterioration of democratic rule worldwide.

The [main Bibliography](#) (finalised on 24 June 2018) presents a global range of research on democratic decay. It has a strong focus on research by public lawyers – spanning constitutional, international and transnational law – but also includes key research from political science, as well as policy texts.

Seventh monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography are issued in the first week of each month. This is the seventh monthly update provided and was issued on Wednesday 6 February 2019. All updates should be read in conjunction with the main DEM-DEC bibliography.

Comprehensiveness

It is impossible to be comprehensive given the broad scope of the subject. However, the updates here have been collated from suggestions by scholars worldwide, a broad search of publisher websites and academic journals worldwide, as well as information collated on leading blogs. Blog posts, media articles, and (with some exceptions) policy documents are not covered.

Period covered by this update

As this is a monthly update, the main items here are from January 2019. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material. In addition, the 'Forthcoming Research' section provides a rapidly growing list of future publications.

Global Coverage

The Bibliography updates aim for global coverage. However, it should be borne in mind that the Bibliography, at present, collates information exclusively in the English language.

Hyperlinks

Every effort is made to provide hyperlinks to access each text listed, or at least information on the text. Please remain mindful that some links may be broken over time.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent key information for this update. A particular thanks to DEM-DEC's new Editor, Kuan-Wei Chen, who provided highly valuable assistance in compiling information for this Update.

Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

Each monthly Bibliography Update includes a section identifying themes from the Update. The aim is simply to provide ‘added value’ by helping users to navigate the Update, and to provide some limited commentary, especially on very recent research. Although it is impossible to capture every dimension of the issues covered in this Update, six key themes can be picked out.

1 Polarisation as a Key Threat to Democracy

A new special issue of the [*ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*](#) (January 2019) is devoted to polarisation as a key threat to democracy. The issue, edited by Jennifer McCoy and Murat Somer, covers polarisation in a range of states, including long-established democracies (e.g. USA), younger democracies formerly considered to be consolidated (e.g. Poland, Hungary), unconsolidated democracies facing reversal or stalling of a long democratisation process (e.g. South Africa, Philippines) or nascent process (e.g. Bangladesh), and finally, states that we might consider to be at the ‘hard’ authoritarianism end of the spectrum (e.g. Venezuela, Thailand, Zimbabwe). The editors’ conclusions to this thought-provoking collection are highly insightful:

We find that the emergence of pernicious polarization (when a society is split into mutually distrustful “Us vs. Them” camps) is not attributable to any specific underlying social or political cleavage nor any particular institutional make-up. Instead, pernicious polarization arises when political entrepreneurs pursue their political objectives by using polarizing strategies, such as mobilizing voters with divisive, demonizing discourse and exploiting existing grievances, and opposing political elites then reciprocate with similarly polarizing tactics or fail to develop effective nonpolarizing responses.

2 The Authoritarian Elite

A notable theme from this month’s update – and a reversal of last month’s discussion of elite perceptions of the public and electorate (Theme 4, January Update) – is picked up by a number of pieces in this Update, characterising entrenched elites as themselves authoritarian in nature. A [recent book by Salvatore Babones \(October 2018\)](#), suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, argues that when expert opinion becomes the sole point of view that is politically acceptable, it generates a new form of authoritarianism – the liberal authoritarianism of the expert class – and no longer contributes to the health of democracy. Many would agree, of course, that the excessive power of technocratic elites is not good for democratic governance. As I wrote in an [ICONnect Blog column](#) back in September 2017:

[I] is crucial to fully acknowledge that the current global crisis of democracy is not merely a bump in the road or short-lived aberration. Even in the best-case scenario that democracy turns out to be resilient in most states and we see a sharp public swing away from the false promises of illiberal populists, nativists, and neo-fascists, we cannot approach this as a ‘course correction’

or a ‘return to normal’. There is no going back to the *status quo ante*. Repeat: there is no going back. Why does this bear repeating? Because there is a real danger that, if the worst of this global anti-democratic storm passes, we will just click back into our old habits, to business as usual, as though the crisis were nothing more than a bad dream.

...

Public lawyers ... bear a portion of responsibility for constructing the dominant narrative that vaunted legal and technical solutions to crucial governance and social questions while slowly allowing the messy, raucous voice of democracy to be stifled, contained, and circumvented, until it rebelled. We cannot go back to normal because our ‘normal’ was in so many ways an illusion. It was built, not on lies, but on profound misconceptions and no small degree of élitism and arrogance. The liberal consensus handed us greater power and influence, but we have been (or should have been) humbled by recent events and need to take this lesson in humility as a time to reflect, to re-think our assumptions. To learn the lessons of the recent past. To renew our approach. To replace “we fear the people” with at least “we listen to the people”.

However, it is also all too easy to descend into caricatures, with the “elites” (often lumped together and treated as a single entity, despite clear differences between political, economic, and cultural elites) presented as venal and unresponsive, and the wider public as some repository of the ‘real’ truth or common wisdom. As Catherine Fieschi argues in a [forthcoming book on ‘Populocracy’](#) (June 2019), the notion of popular ‘authenticity’ is easily misused. She argues, in particular, that the new dynamics of social media – “the fantasy of radical transparency, the demand for immediacy, the rejection of expert truth and facts, and the imperative of continuous involvement”—have been channelled by authoritarian populist political forces to their electoral advantage by presenting themselves, too, as more authentic than the rest of the political class.

3 ‘Digital Unfreedom’

Resonating with Fieschi’s argument above, and discussions of the impact of technology on democratic governance in previous Updates (see Theme 5-August 2018, Theme 4-November 2018, Theme 5-January 2019), five items in this Update again address the negative impact not only of technology, but of those who control society-shaping platforms. A new book by [Shoshana Zuboff coins the term “surveillance capitalism”](#) to capture a new phase of economic history involving private companies and governments tracking individuals’ every action, with the goal of controlling and predicting behaviour, and rendering the individual a data commodity – slaves to digital technology rather than its masters, with serious repercussions for democracy and freedom. In the latest edition of the [Journal of Democracy \(January 2019\)](#), four pieces, by Larry Diamond, Ronald Deibert, Steven Feldstein and Xiao Qiang discuss ‘digital unfreedom’ in a variety of guises: the advent of ‘postmodern totalitarianism’; social media; the threats posed by artificial intelligence (AI); and the increasingly sophisticated use of technology as a tool of control in authoritarian societies. All five pieces raise serious questions, not only about the actors developing these technologies but also about the public’s complicity in their development. For instance, linking with Zuboff’s argument, Ronald Deibert offers three “painful truths”: (i) that social-media business is built on personal-data surveillance; (ii) that we have consented to this, albeit not entirely wittingly (in the sense that social media are designed to be addictive); and (iii) that the same algorithms underlying social media propel authoritarian practices that “aim to sow confusion, ignorance, prejudice, and chaos, thereby facilitating manipulation and undermining accountability.”

4 The New Social Classes: Neo-Aristocracy and Precariat

Picking up yet again on the themes of polarisation and the place of elites (including the rise and entrenchment of elites) are four items focused on economics. In her presidential address to the American Political Science Association (APSA), published online in the journal *Perspectives on Politics* (January 2019), [Kathleen Thelen discusses the plight of the 'precariat'](#) in the USA from a comparative perspective, urging that analysis of democracy must include substantive notions of a just society and cannot simply be confined to discussion of individual-level or constitutional questions, but also macrostructures of the US political economy generating this precarity (the video can be viewed [here](#)). Taking a more polemical tack, in a [forthcoming book \(October 2019\)](#) Michael Lind argues that the real challenge facing democracy is an “overclass” that has “rigged the game in its own favor”. He characterises globalisation as simply a strategy used by “the powerful managerial elite—including the people who run our governments, businesses, and the media—to undermine the working class” through damaging trade and immigration measures, amongst others. In the [Boston College Law Review \(January 2019\)](#) Eric Kades analyses the rise of dynastic wealth in the USA in the twenty-first century and ends with a warning: “We are at risk of entering a vicious cycle, in which an ever-wealthier elite use their fortunes to enact laws consolidating and extending their socioeconomic hegemony.” Beyond the USA, a [recent book on Brazil by the sociologist Ruy Braga](#) (June 2018), suggested by a DEM-DEC user, takes aim at the model of development followed in Brazil from a Marxist perspective, arguing that it has guaranteed the development of a precariat.

5 The Meaning of Populism (Again!) and Populist Tactics

Parsing the meaning of populism has become a virtually unavoidable mainstay of the DEM-DEC Research Updates since they began in August 2018 (see Theme 1-August 2018, Theme 5-September 2018, Theme 3-October 2018, Themes 1&2-November 2018, Theme 1-December 2018). In this Update, [a recent special section of the journal *Thesis Eleven*](#) (December 2018) is devoted to ‘populism(s)’. In their introduction, Alonso Casanueva Baptista and Raul Sanchez Urribarri emphasise how widely used – and widely misused – the concept has become and seek conceptual clarity not only by engaging in general definitional work and case-studies, but also by exploring the concept’s rich historical roots, previous traditions of thought, and reflecting deeply on the potential ramifications and challenges posed by populism. The introduction, and the four articles, focused on conceptual framing and Latin American case-studies, reward a close read. Elsewhere, a [recent V-Dem Policy Brief](#) discusses ‘populism and autocratization’, helpfully outlining three key paths by which populists achieve electoral success in the political-party system: (i) ‘populist adaptation’, where significant institutionalisation of established parties requires populists to mould their policies to public preferences to gain electoral advantage; (ii) ‘populist targeting’, where an emerging party rhetorically targets discrete segments of the electorate with weaker ties to existing parties in a less established political-party system; and (iii) ‘populist capture’, where the only option for populist forces is to assume control of an existing party.

6 Is Fascism a Relevant Concept?

Looking at the range of suggested additions focused on fascism (p.11) it seems that it retains a certain allure as a governing concept for some analysts. I welcome your views on this!

(Note: For more discussion of concepts, see the [Concept Index](#) on DEM-DEC).

Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

Note 1: Where possible, hyperlinks are provided directly to the text

**Note 2: A number of suggested additions in this Update are found in the
'Forthcoming Research' section on p.22**

Monographs

[Salvatore BABONES](#), The New Authoritarianism: Trump, Populism, and the Tyranny of Experts (Wiley, October 2018).

[Peter BAOFU](#), The Rise of Authoritarian Liberal Democracy (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

[Ruy BRAGA](#), The Politics of the Precariat: From Populism to Lulista Hegemony (BRILL, June 2018).

[Catherine FIESCHI](#), Fascism, Populism and the French Fifth Republic: In the Shadow of Democracy (Manchester University Press, 2004).

[Richard GRIFFITHS](#), Fascism (A&C Black, 2005).

[Lincoln A. MITCHELL](#), The Democracy Promotion Paradox (Brookings Institution Press, 2016).

[Ivo MOSLEY](#), Democracy, Fascism and the New World Order (Imprint Academic, 2003).

[Sabrina P. RAMET](#), The Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe Since 1989 (Penn State Press, 2010).

[Joan Ramon RESINA](#), Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy (Rodopi, 2000).

[Stein RINGEN](#), What democracy is for: On freedom and moral government (Princeton University Press, 2007).

[Jason STANLEY](#), How Fascism Works: The Politics of Us and Them (Random House Publishing Group, September 2018).

[Richard WOLIN](#), The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism: from Nietzsche to Postmodernism (Princeton University Press, 2004).

Book Chapters

[Tímea DRINÓCZI & Ágoston MOHAY](#), 'Has the migration crisis challenged the concept of the protection of the human rights of migrants? The case of Ilias and Ahmed v. Hungary' in Elżbieta Kuźelewska,

Amy Weatherburn & Dariusz Kloza (eds), *Irregular migrations as a challenge for democracy* (Intersentia, 2018).

[Tímea DRINÓCZI & Agnieszka BIEŃ-KACAŁA](#), 'Illiberal constitutionalism in Hungary and Poland: The case of judicialization of politics' in Agnieszka Bień-Kacała, Lóránt Csink, Tomasz Milej & Maciej Serowaniec (eds), *Liberal constitutionalism - between individual and collective interests* (Wydział Prawa i Administracji/Faculty of Law and Administration Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu/Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Toruń 2017).

Special Journal Collections

[Maryland Law Review: Volume 77, Issue 1 \(2017\)](#)

Symposium (on the crisis of constitutional democracy)

Note: The articles by Balkin and Mordechay & Roznai are already listed in the Main Bibliography on DEM-DEC

Mark A. GRABER, 'The Collapse of the New Deal Conceptual Universe: The Schmooze Project' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 108.

Jack M. BALKIN, 'Constitutional Crisis and Constitutional Rot' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 147.

Stephen M. GRIFFIN, 'Trump, Trust, and the Future of the Constitutional Order' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 161.

Richard ALBERT, 'How a Court Becomes Supreme: Defending the Constitution from Unconstitutional Amendments' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 181.

Yasmin DAWOOD, 'The Fragility of Constitutional Democracy' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 192.

Leslie F. GOLDSTEIN, 'An Unacknowledged Constitutional Crisis: *United States v. Shipp II*' (1909) (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 200.

David S. LAW, 'Alternatives to Liberal Constitutional Democracy' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 223.

Nadiv MORDECHAY & Yaniv ROZNAI, 'A Jewish and (Declining) Democratic State? Constitutional Retrogression in Israel' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review*

Maxwell L. STEARNS, 'Reflections on the Aftermath of Election 2016' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 244.

ERIC LOMAZOFF, 'Why Donald Trump Is Not Andrew Jackson (and Why That Matters for American Constitutional Democracy)' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 271.

Stuart CHINN, 'Threats to Democratic Stability: Comparing the Elections of 2016 and 1860' (2017) 77(1) *Maryland Law Review* 291.

[University of Colorado Law Review: Volume 87, Issue 4 \(July 2016\)](#)

Symposium Issue (on presidential powers)

Harold H. BRUFF, 'The President's Faithful Execution Duty' (2016) 87(4) University of Colorado Law Review 1107.

Henry L. CHAMBERS, JR., 'Presidential Constitutional Interpretation, Signing Statements, Executive Power, and *Zivotofsky*' (2016) 87(4) University of Colorado Law Review 1183.

Peter M. SHANE, 'The Presidential Statutory Stretch and the Rule of Law' (2016) 87(4) University of Colorado Law Review 1231.

Articles

[Sahar F. AZIZ](#), 'The Authoritarianization of U.S. Counterterrorism' (2018) 75(3) Washington and Lee Law Review 1573.

[Fernando Casal BÉRTOA](#), 'Political parties or party systems? Assessing the 'myth' of institutionalisation and democracy' (2017) 40(2) West European Politics 402.

[Cassandra BURKE ROBERTSON](#), 'Judicial Impartiality in a Partisan Era' (2018) 70(4) Florida Law Review 739.

[Clay CALVERT](#), 'Fake News, Free Speech, & the Third-Person Effect: I'm No Fool, But Others Are' (2017) 7 Wake Forest Law Review Online 12.

[D.A. CANTEUB](#), 'Tyranny and Administrative Law' (2017) 59(1) Arizona Law Review 49.

[Tímea DRINÓCZI](#), 'The identity of the constitution and constitutional identity. Opening up a discourse between the Global South and Global North' (2018) 21 Iuris Dictio 63-80.

Tímea DRINÓCZI, 'Hungarian Constitutional Court: The Limits of EU Law in the Hungarian Legal System' (2017) 1 Vienna Journal on International Constitutional Law 139.

Tímea DRINÓCZI, 'Constitutional Politics in Contemporary Hungary' (2016) 1 Vienna Journal on International Constitutional Law 63.

[Constance DUNCOMBE & Tim DUNNE](#), 'After Liberal World Order' (2018) 94(1) International Affairs 25.

[Richard L. HASEN](#), 'Racial Gerrymandering's Questionable Revival' (2016) 67(2) Alabama Law Review 365.

[Annie C. HUNDLEY](#), Comment: 'Fake News and the First Amendment: How False Political Speech Kills the Marketplace of Ideas' (2017) 92(2) Tulane Law Review 497.

[Samuel ISSACHAROFF](#), 'Voting Rights at 50' (2016) 67(2) Alabama Law Review 387.

[Pamela S. KARLAN](#), 'The Alabama Foundations of the Law of Democracy' (2016) 67(2) Alabama Law Review 415.

[Michael LAVIGNE](#), 'Swing State Rulings on Restrictive Voting Laws Highlight the Need for Comprehensive Electoral Reform' (2014) 85(2) University of Colorado Law Review 505.

[James L. NOLES JR.](#), 'Democracy in Alabama: Alexis de Tocqueville's Visit to Alabama in 1832' (2013) 64(3) Alabama Law Review 697.

[Vesco PASKALEV](#), 'Bulgarian Constitutionalism: Challenges, Reform, Resistance and... Frustration' (2016) 22(2) European Public Law 203.

[Abbey STEMLER](#), 'Platform Advocacy and the Threat to Deliberative Democracy' (2018) 78(1) Maryland Law Review 105.

[Phillip S. SWALLOW](#), 'Explaining the Rise of Populism in Poland: The Post-Communist Transition as a Critical Juncture and Origin of Political Decay in Poland' (2018) 10(7) Inquiries 1.

V-Dem Working Papers

[Darin SELF & Allen Hicken](#), Why Populism? How Parties Shape the Electoral Fortune of Populists. V-Dem Working Paper No. 76. University of Gothenburg, September 2018.

[Anna LÜHRMANN & Staffan I. LINDBERG](#), Keeping the Democratic Façade: Contemporary Autocratization as a Game of Deception. University of Gothenburg, Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper No. 75. August 2018.

Print Media

[Amichai MAGEN](#), 'We Cannot Take Liberal Democracy For Granted' Standpoint (December/January 2016/17).

DEM-DEC Launch Podcast

Panel Discussion to Launch DEM-DEC

‘Is Democracy Decaying Worldwide? And What Can We Do About It?’

Having gone live on 25 June 2018, the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) was formally launched at the University of Melbourne on Monday 22 October with a panel discussion. The panel was specifically designed to be open to the public and to be suitable for broadcast. Panellists were asked to avoid all academic jargon in their contributions and to strive for clarity.

The panel started with a global overview from DEM-DEC Creator Dr Tom Gerald Daly of the deterioration of democracy worldwide, in states such as Hungary, the USA and Brazil. This was followed by discussion of democratic decay in Poland, Venezuela and India with leading experts: Prof. Wojciech Sadurski (University of Sydney), Dr Raul Sanchez Urribarri (Latrobe University), and Dr Tarunabh Khaitan (universities of Oxford and Melbourne). The panel concluded with discussion of the robustness of, and challenges facing, Australian democracy, with Prof. Cheryl Saunders (University of Melbourne), followed by Q&A with the audience. DEM-DEC was formally launched by Prof. Pip Nicholson, Dean of Melbourne Law School, following the panel.

Podcast

On 27 and 28 November 2018 the launch panel discussion was broadcast as an hour-long programme on Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Radio National’s flagship current affairs programme ‘Big Ideas’. It is now available as a podcast.

Click CTRL and this symbol
to access the panel podcast



January 2019: New Publications

Note: A small number of items below were published in December 2018 or early February 2019

Monograph: Richard YOUNGS, Civic Activism Unleashed: New Hope or False Dawn for Democracy? (Oxford University Press, 31 January 2019).

Monograph: Shoshana ZUBOFF, The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power (Profile Books, 31 January 2019).

The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Vol. 681, Issue 1 (January 2019)

Special Issue: Polarizing Politics: A Global Threat to Democracy

Special Editors: Jennifer McCoy and Murat Somer

Murat SOMER & Jennifer McCOY, Introduction: 'Transformations through Polarizations and Global Threats to Democracy' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 8.

I. Democratic Collapse and Return of Old Elites

Prajak KONGKIRATI, 'From Illiberal Democracy to Military Authoritarianism: Intra-Elite Struggle and Mass-Based Conflict in Deeply Polarized Thailand' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 24.

II. Democratic Erosion under New Elites

Murat SOMER, 'Turkey: The Slippery Slope from Reformist to Revolutionary Polarization and Democratic Breakdown' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 42.

María Pilar GARCÍA-GUADILLA and Ana MALLÉN, 'Polarization, Participatory Democracy, and Democratic Erosion in Venezuela's Twenty-First Century Socialism' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 62.

Federico VEGETTI, 'The Political Nature of Ideological Polarization: The Case of Hungary' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 78.

Hubert TWORZECKI, 'Poland: A Case of Top-Down Polarization' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 97.

III. Democratic Careening and Gridlock

Aries A. ARUGAY & Dan SLATER, 'Polarization Without Poles: Machiavellian Conflicts and the Philippines' Lost Decade of Democracy, 2000–2010' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 122.

Alan ABRAMOWITZ & Jennifer McCOY, 'United States: Racial Resentment, Negative Partisanship, and Polarization in Trump's America' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 137.

Ioannis ANDREADIS & Yannis STAVRAKAKIS, 'Dynamics of Polarization in the Greek Case' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 157.

Tahmina RAHMAN, 'Party System Institutionalization and Pernicious Polarization in Bangladesh' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 173.

IV. The Illusory Promise of Democratic Reform: Success and Failure

Roger SOUTHALL, 'Polarization in South Africa: Toward Democratic Deepening or Democratic Decay?' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 194.

Adrienne LeBAS & Ngonidzashe MUNEMO, 'Elite Conflict, Compromise, and Enduring Authoritarianism: Polarization in Zimbabwe, 1980–2008' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 209.

Conclusions

Nancy BERMEO, 'Reflections: Can American Democracy Still Be Saved?' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 228.

Jennifer McCOY & Murat SOMER, 'Toward a Theory of Pernicious Polarization and How It Harms Democracies: Comparative Evidence and Possible Remedies' (2019) 681(1) ANNALS, AAPSS 234.

Journal of Democracy: Volume 30, Number 1 (January 2019)

Marc F. PLATTNER, 'Illiberal Democracy and the Struggle on the Right' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 5.

Larry DIAMOND, 'The Road to Digital Unfreedom: The Threat of Postmodern Totalitarianism' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 20.

Ronald J. DEIBERT, 'The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Three Painful Truths About Social Media' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 25.

Steven FELDSTEIN, 'The Road to Digital Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Repression' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 40.

Xiao QIANG, 'The Road to Digital Unfreedom: President Xi's Surveillance State' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 53.

Wendy HUNTER, Timothy J. POWER, 'Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 68.

Scott MAINWARING, Fernando BIZZARRO, 'The Fates of Third-Wave Democracies' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 99.

Roberto D'ALIMONTE, 'How the Populists Won in Italy' (2019)30(1) Journal of Democracy 114.

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Book Reviews

Jeffrey HAYNES, 'The people vs. democracy. Why our freedom is in danger and how to save it, by Yascha Mounk' (2019)26(1) Democratization 161.

Tomás DODDS, 'Young people, citizenship and political participation: combating civic deficit? by Mark Chou, Jean-Paul Gagnon, Catherine Hartung, and Lesley J. Pruitt' (2019)26(2) Democratization 343.

Jeffrey HAYNES, 'How democracy ends, by David Runciman' (2019)26(2) Democratization 334.

Siddharth TRIPATHI, 'Reforming democracy: institutional engineering in Western Europe, by Camille Bedock' (2019)26(2) Democratization 350.

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Balázs MAJTÉNYI, Ákos KOPPER, Pál SUSÁNSZKY, 'Constitutional othering, ambiguity and subjective risks of mobilization in Hungary: examples from the migration crisis' (2019)26(2) Democratization 173.

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Robert A. HUBER, Book Review: 'Absorbing the Blow: Populist Parties and Their Impact on Parties and Party Systems, edited by S. B. Wolinetz and A. Zaslove (London / New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018, ISBN 9781785521492); vi+340pp., £70.00 hb.' (2019) 57(1) Journal of Common Market Studies 178.

Perspectives on Politics: First View Articles (not yet assigned)

Kathleen THELEN, Presidential Address: 'The American Precariat: U.S. Capitalism in Comparative Perspective' (Published online 16 January 2019) pp. 1-23.

Society (January 2019)

John H. S. ÅBERG, 'Is There a State Crisis in Sweden?', Symposium: Order and Disorder Around the World (Online First Articles, published online January 2019).

Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs: (December 2018)

Amichai MAGEN, 'After Merkel: Can Germany Rescue Europe and Itself?' Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs (published online 21 December 2018).

Thesis Eleven: Volume 149 Issue 1, December 2018 (14 December 2018)

Populism(s): Introduction

Alonso CASANUEVA BAPTISTA & Raul A. SANCHEZ URRIBARRI, 'Why 'populism(s)''? (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 3.

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Filipe CARREIRA DA SILVA & Mónica BRITO VIEIRA, 'Populism and the politics of redemption' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 10.

María Pía LARA, 'A conceptual analysis of the term 'populism'' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 31.

Gustavo MORALES, 'Comparative analysis of the emerging projects in Latin America after the crisis of the neoliberal modernity project in the early 21st century' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 48.

Margarita LÓPEZ MAYA, 'Populism, 21st-century socialism and corruption in Venezuela' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 67.

Lunch with Bauman (special section)

Peter BEILHARZ, Introduction: 'Lunch with Bauman: Four papers thinking on and with Zygmunt Bauman' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 84.

Aleksandra KANIA, 'Living with Zygmunt Bauman, before and after' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 86.

Zygmunt BAUMAN & Aleksandra KANIA, 'That West meant to be declining' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 91.

Peter BEILHARZ, 'The decline of the West?' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 100.

Keith TESTER, 'On repetition in the work of Zygmunt Bauman' (2018) 149(1) Thesis Eleven 104.

Boston College Law Review: Volume 60, Issue 1 (January 2019)

Eric KADES, 'Of Piketty and Perpetuities: Dynastic Wealth in the Twenty-First Century (and Beyond)' (2019) 60(1) Boston College Law Review 145.

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Michael S. KANG, 'The Problem of Irresponsible Party Government' (2019) 119(1) Columbia Law Review 1 (published 30 January 2019).

Policy Report: Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2019: Democracy in Retreat (Freedom House, February 2019).

*** Note: This report was issued as this Update was being finalised. It will be analysed in the next Update (March 2019).**

Policy Report: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and Policy Solutions, Hungarian Politics in 2018 (Innovariant Printing Ltd, 2019).

Policy Report: Human Rights Watch, World Report 2019.

V-Dem Policy Brief: Lena GÜNTHER & Anna LÜHRMANN, Populism and Autocratization. University of Gothenburg, Varieties of Democracy Institute: V-Dem Policy Brief, No. 19, December 2018.

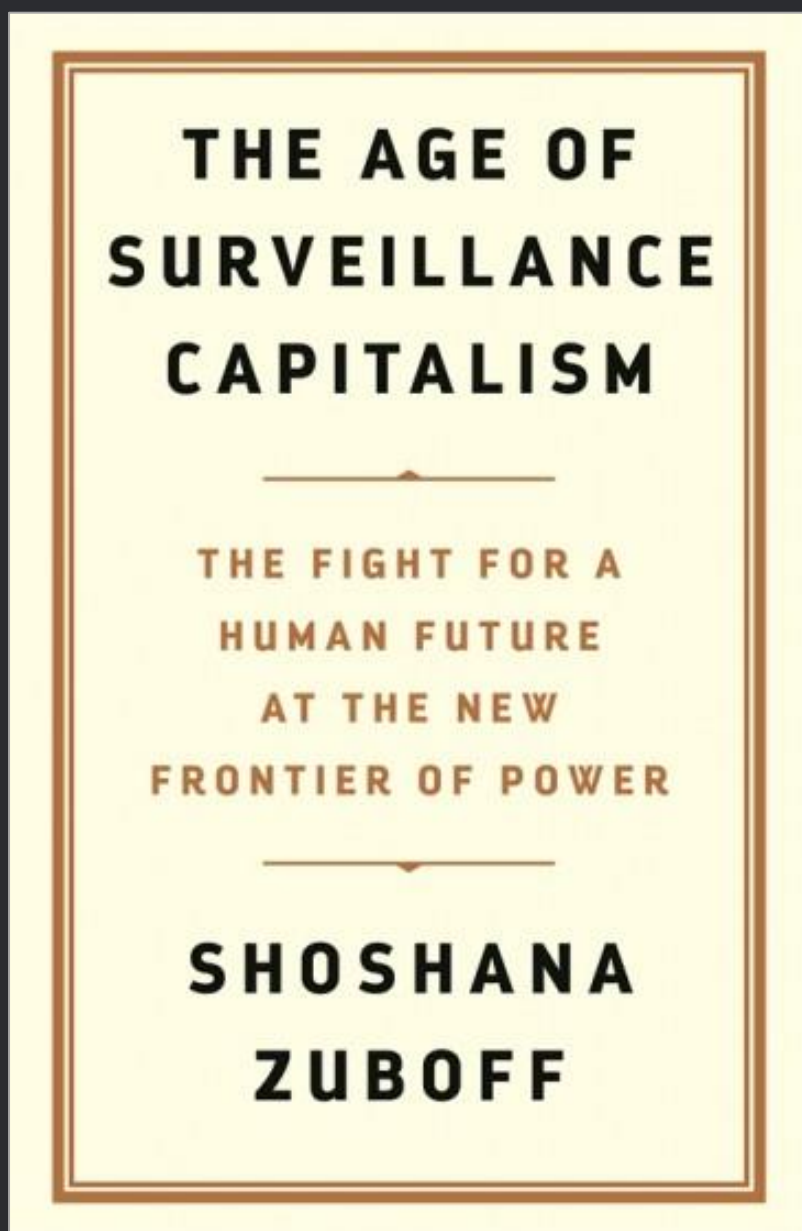
Survey: Transparency International, Tackling the Crisis of Democracy, Promoting Rule of Law and Fighting Corruption (29 January 2019).

Working Paper: Tarunabh KHAITAN, 'Executive Aggrandizement in Established Democracies: A Crisis of Liberal Democratic Constitutionalism' (International Journal of Constitutional Law, 2019 forthcoming) (posted on SSRN 16 December 2018).

Working Paper: Samuel MOYN, 'Human Rights and Majority Politics: On Felix Frankfurter's Democratic Theory' (Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, forthcoming) (posted on SSRN 20 January 2019).

Working Paper: Sergio VERDUGO, 'How Can Judges Challenge Incumbent Dictators and Get Away with It?' (2019) (posted on SSRN 31 January 2019).

DEM-DEC Recommended Read



" Zuboff's fierce indictment of the big internet firms goes beyond the usual condemnations of privacy violations and monopolistic practices. To her, such criticisms are sideshows, distractions that blind us to a graver danger: By reengineering the economy and society to their own benefit, Google and Facebook are perverting capitalism in a way that undermines personal freedom and corrodes democracy.

— **Nicholas Carr**, *Los Angeles Review of Books*

"[E]veryone needs to read this book as act of digital self-defense."

— **Naomi Klein**, *author of No Logo*

"A chilling exposé of the business model that underpins the digital world ... a striking and illuminating book. A fellow reader remarked to me that it reminded him of Thomas Piketty's magnum opus, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, in that it opens one's eyes to things we ought to have noticed, but hadn't."

— **John Naughton**, *The Observer*

Available now from Profile Books

Hardback £25 / Also available as E-book £20

The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power.
Profile Books 2019. 9781781256848. <https://bit.ly/2Bfvj3i>

Forthcoming Research

Note 1: Where possible, hyperlinks are provided to information on the text

Note 2: New additions to this section, since the previous Update, are now clearly marked

Books

[Bruce ACKERMAN](#), *The Rise of World Constitutionalism, Volume One: Revolutionary Constitutions: Charismatic Leadership and the Rule of Law* (Harvard University Press, due for publication 13 May 2019). * **Note: this is the first volume in a three-volume series**

NEW [Carol ANDERSON](#), *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression Is Destroying Our Democracy* (Bloomsbury Publishing, due for publication 17 September 2019).

[Yeşim ARAT & Şevket PAMUK](#), *Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in September 2019).

[Chip BERLET](#), *Trumping Democracy in the United States: From Ronald Reagan to Alt-Right* (Routledge, forthcoming; due for publication 1 February 2019).

[Julian BERNAUER & Adrian VATTER](#), *Power Diffusion and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in August 2019).

[David F J CAMPBELL](#), *Global Quality of Democracy as Innovation Enabler: Measuring Democracy for Success* (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 22 November 2019).

[Renske DOORENSPLEET](#), *Rethinking the Value of Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 2019 (precise date TBA)).

[Yiftah ELAZAR & Geneviève ROUSSELIÈRE](#), *Republicanism and the Future of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in August 2019).

NEW [Catherine FIESCHI](#), *Populocracy: The Tyranny of Authenticity and the Rise of Populism* (Columbia University Press, due for publication June 2019).

NEW [George FRIEDMAN](#), *The Storm Before the Calm: America's Discord, the Coming Crisis of the 2020s, and the Triumph Beyond* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, due for publication 10 September 2019).

[Dipayan GHOSH](#), *Digital Democracy: A New Social Contract for Our Technological Future* (publisher TBA, due for publication 5 November 2019).

NEW [Ioannis N. GRIGORIADIS](#), *Democratic Transition and the Rise of Populist Majoritarianism: Constitutional Reform in Greece and Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 7 November 2019).

Sean INGHAM, *Rule by Multiple Majorities: A New Theory of Popular Control (Part of Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions)* (due for publication in January 2019).

NEW Ignas KALPOKAS, *A Political Theory of Post-Truth* (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 11 September 2019).

Ivan KRASTEV I & Stephen HOLMES, *The Light that Failed* (Penguin, forthcoming 2019).

NEW Michael LIND, *The New Class War: Saving Democracy from the Elite Hardcover* (Penguin, due for publication 15 October 2019).

Joe MULHALL, David LAWRENCE, Simon MURDOCH & Patrik HERMANSSON, *The Alt-Right International* (Routledge, forthcoming; due for publication 30 March 2019).

NEW John NICHOLS, *The Danger of American Fascism: Henry Wallace, Donald Trump, and the Democratic Party's Road Not Taken* (Penguin Random House Canada, due for publication 17 September 2019).

Frances E. NOLAN & Nolan McCARTY, *Can America Govern Itself?* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in August 2019).

Pippa NORRIS & Ron INGLEHART, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit and the Rise of Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in March 2019).

Dana OTT, *Small is Democratic: An Examination of State Size and Democratic Development (Comparative Studies of Democratization)*; due for publication 12 October 2020).

Merijn OUDENAMPSEN, *The Dutch New Right: Culture Wars in the Netherlands* (Routledge, forthcoming; due for publication 28 February 2019).

Wojciech SADURSKI, *Poland's Constitutional Breakdown: Freefall 2015-2018* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming, early 2019).

Amy Erica SMITH, *Religion and Brazilian Democracy: Mobilizing the People of God* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication July 2019).

Alen TOPLIŠEK, *Liberal Democracy in Crisis: Rethinking Resistance under Neoliberal Governmentality* (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 16 October 2019).

Kurt WEYLAND & Raúl L. MADRID (eds), *When Democracy Trumps Populism: European and Latin American Lessons for the United States* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication Jan. 2019).

Edited Collections

Stephen ASHE, Joel BUSER, Graham MACKLIN and Aaron WINTER (eds), *Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method and Practice* (Routledge, due for publication 1 June 2019).

Francesca BIGNAMI (ed), *EU Law in Populist Times* (Cambridge University Press (forthcoming, publication date TBC).

NEW Yoichi FUNABASHI & G. John IKENBERRY (eds), *The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order* (publisher TBA, due for publication 29 October 2019).

Graham MACKLIN and Fabian VIRCHOW (eds), *Transnational Extreme Right Networks* (Routledge, due for publication 1 May 2019).

[Eugene D. MAZO & Timothy K. KUHNER \(eds\)](#), *Democracy by the People: Reforming Campaign Finance in America* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication April 2019).

[Stephen SKINNER \(ed\)](#), *Ideology and Criminal Law: Fascist, National Socialist and Authoritarian Regimes* (Hart Publishing, due for publication 25 July 2019).

Book Chapters

NEW Tímea DRINÓCZI, 'Legislation in Hungary' In Helen Xanthaki & Ulrich Karpen (eds), *Legislation in Europe – A Country to Country Guide* (Hart Publishing, forthcoming, 2019).

[Bertil Emrah ODER](#), 'Populism and the Turkish Constitutional Court: From a Game Broker to a Strategic Compromiser' in M Javonovic & V Besiveric (eds), *New Politics of Decisionism* (Eleven, forthcoming, 2019).

Shawn ROSENBERG, 'Democracy Devouring Itself: The Rise of the Incompetent Citizen and the Appeal of Right Wing Populism' in D Hur & JM Sabucedo (eds), *Psychology of Political and Everyday Extremisms* (forthcoming, 2019).

Kim SCHEPPELE & R. Daniel KELEMEN, 'Defending Democracy in EU Member States: Beyond Article 7 TEU' in Francesca Bignami (ed), *The EU at a Crossroads: From Technocracy to High Politics?* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Kim SCHEPPELE, 'Autocracy Under Cover' in T Ginsburg, T Halliday & G Shaffer (eds), *Constitution-Making as Transnational Legal Practice* (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in August 2019).

[Kim SCHEPPELE](#), 'The Legal Complex and Lawyers-in-Chief' in R Greenspan, J Simon & H Aviram (eds), *The Legal Process and the Promise of Justice* (Cambridge University Press, June 2019).

Journal Special Issues

David KOSAŘ (ed), special issue of the *German Law Journal* on 'The Rise and Fall of Judicial Self-Government in Europe' (forthcoming, 2019).

Gila STOPLER and Iddo PORAT (eds), special issue of *Law and Ethics of Human Rights* on 'Democratic Backsliding and Human Rights' (forthcoming, 2020).

Articles

[Ryan CALO & Madeline LAMO](#), 'Regulating Bot Speech' 66 *UCLA Law Review* (forthcoming, 2019).

NEW Tímea DRINÓCZI & Agnieszka BIEŃ-KACAŁA, 'Constitutions and Constitutionalism Captured: Shaping Illiberal Democracies in Hungary and Poland', *German Law Journal* (forthcoming, summer 2019).

NEW Tímea DRINÓCZI & Agnieszka BIEŃ-KACAŁA, 'Extra-legal Particularities and Illiberal Constitutionalism - The Case of Hungary and Poland', *Hungarian Journal of Legal Studies* (forthcoming, 2019).

[Sarah C. HAAN](#), 'The Post-Truth First Amendment' 94 *Indiana Law Journal* (forthcoming, 2019).

Tamar HOSTOVSKY BRANDES, 'International Law in Domestic Courts in an Era of Populism', International Journal of Constitutional Law (forthcoming, 2019).

Luke Dimitrios SPIEKER, 'From Moral Values to Legal Obligations – On How to Activate the Union's Common Values in the EU Rule of Law Crisis', German Law Journal (forthcoming, 2019).

New Resources in DEM-DEC Links

Note: From this Update onward, new resources listed in the DEM-DEC Links section will be highlighted here

New resources added to the [Links](#) section on DEM-DEC since the last Research Update include:

New Podcast

[How to Fix Democracy](#) (Humanity in Action)

New Journal

[Nuovi Autoritarismi e Democrazie: Diritto, Istituzioni, Società](#) (New Authoritarian Regimes and Democracies: Law, Institutions, Society), publishes in several languages including English).

Research Projects

[New Project: 'Direct Democracy and Populism in Europe'](#), Centre for Democracy Studies (ZDA), University of Zurich (the link is to a job advert; the only information currently available in English).

[CONSTRESS - Constitutionalism under Stress](#), is a genuinely interdisciplinary endeavor, bringing together political scientists, political philosophers, sociologists and lawyers. It includes jointly taught seminars and workshops, open to MA- and PhD-students from different disciplines at Princeton and Humboldt University.

Book Series

[Palgrave Macmillan Book Series](#): The Theories, Concepts and Practices of Democracy.

Key Journal

[Perspectives on Politics journal](#).

Media Cooperation Project

[DemocraCE Project](#) - Media cooperation project for Central and Eastern Europe (Visegrad Insight).

Featured Link

DemocraCE

Media cooperation project between the best national outlets in the region



The #DemocraCE project is a platform for bringing together those who have influence in their communities, so that they can share their knowledge with others across Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

Eventually, we would like these relationships to springboard larger pro-democratic initiatives, which will stimulate and hopefully increase the quality of public debate in post-communist Europe and address the growing resentments dominating the region as a whole.

Over the past few years, every country of CEE has seen the influence of disinformation campaigns which have negatively affected their governments, their democratic institutions and greatly weakened the bedrock of civil society. What **#DemocraCE** aims to accomplish is to offer articles, interviews and analysis which will hopefully combat the false narratives, often originating from Russia or other regional powers, which are disrupting and disinforming the public at large.

Our chosen course for **#DemocraCE** is to have knowledgeable authors write pieces for the general public published in their native language. At the same time, these articles and interviews will be published on the **Visegrad/Insight** website in English so as to reach the broadest of possible audiences.

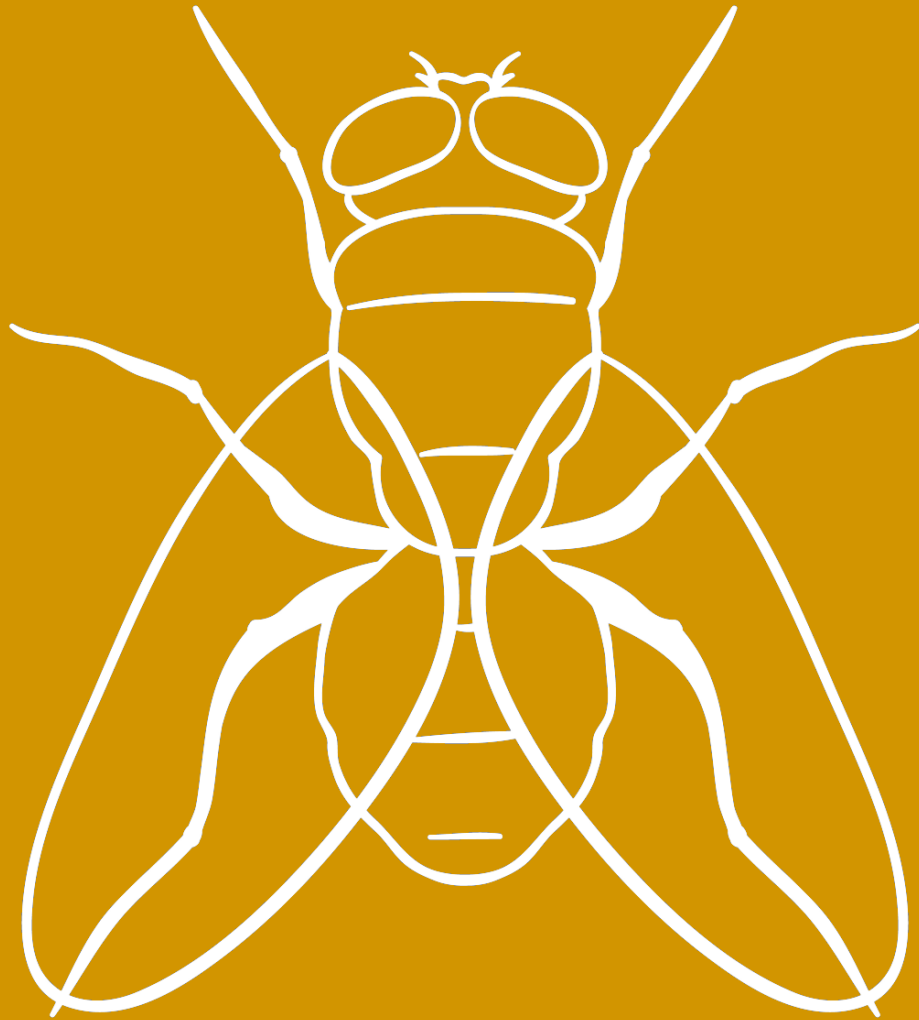
Like our many colleagues across the region, we know that the most important component of a healthy democracy is a well-informed public, and we hope **#DemocraCE** will be part of the remedy that will help ease the problems stemming from disinformation.

#DemocraCE is realized with the help of sponsors such as the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

[Authors and Articles](#)



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