This Research Compilation was issued on 12 July 2019. It contains the Main Bibliography on DEM-DEC (issued 24 June 2018) and all 11 monthly Global Research Updates issued to date.

In all, this compilation contains over 200 books, 500 articles, 30 book reviews, 40 policy items, and more.

www.democratic-decay.org
A Special Research Compilation
to Mark Our Anniversary

The global online platform Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) went live on 25 June 2018. It aims to assist researchers and policymakers focused on the deterioration of liberal democracy worldwide, and on re-thinking democracy. One of our main activities is to help analysts to stay abreast of the rapidly growing research and policy analysis in this area.

Since launch DEM-DEC has been used by thousands of democracy defenders and analysts worldwide, in over 130 states.

The platform has expanded over time, with recent additions including an expanded Experts Database and a special section devoted to the EU treaty process for addressing rule of law backsliding (curated by Prof. Laurent Pech and Dr Joelle Grogan).

To mark our anniversary, we have issued this Research Compilation bringing together the Main Bibliography on DEM-DEC (issued 24 June 2018) and all 11 monthly Global Research Updates issued to date. In all, this compilation contains over 200 books, 500 articles, 30 book reviews, 40 policy papers, and more. A treasure trove for anyone concerned with the state and future of democracy. We recommend the lo-fi method of using CTRL+F to find items in your area of interest.

Sincere thanks to Research Editors Kuan-Wei Chen and Anant Sangal who have provided assistance with the Updates since early 2019.

And finally, thank you to everyone – and that’s thousands of you! – for helping to make DEM-DEC what it is today, and for continuing to collaborate in this global project.

________________________

Dr Tom Gerald Daly
Director
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About DEM-DEC

Created by Dr Tom Gerald Daly and supported by a range of leading public law and policy organisations, Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) is an online resource aiming to provide useful information on the deterioration and re-thinking 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 and democratic renewal, 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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

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

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

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Two Research Editors provide valuable assistance in producing the monthly Global Research Update. Kuan-Wei Chen is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany. Anant Sangal is a student of B.A. LL.B. (Hons.) at the National Law University Delhi, India.

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

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Constitution Transformation Network (Melbourne Law School)
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‘Is Democracy Decaying Worldwide? And What Can We Do About It?’

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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
This Bibliography was completed on 24 June 2018 and is available in the Research section of Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC). It has been re-issued in a new format to mark DEM-DEC’s first anniversary.

Global Research Updates are issued each month, to add to this starting bibliography.

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Introduction

Rather than providing an extended introduction to this bibliography, it appears useful to highlight a number of key points and trends. The first is that there has been a veritable avalanche of new research in this area in the past three years, and it has increased year on year. The second is that a number of key countries are clear ‘hot spots’ for such research (i.e. Hungary, Poland, USA, Venezuela) while others are understudied, especially in English-language literature (e.g. Brazil). Third is that, outside policy reports, few works attempt a genuinely global perspective on the topic: although many analyses are based on exercises in comparative constitutional law, this is usually to serve extended analysis of 1-2 selected countries. Fourth, as far as the role of international organisations is concerned, the literature on the EU dwarfs that on any other international organisation, although a number of highly useful comparative works can be found.

Layout

Broadly following the approach adopted in Oxford Bibliographies, this bibliography is not divided by publication type (i.e. monographs, edited collections, articles, etc) but is organised thematically and geographically: see below.
A Themes

1. Framing the Research Field and Concepts
2. Background Reading: The Rises and Falls of Democracy
3. The Global Crisis of Democracy: Recent Research
4. Endurance, Resilience and Transformation
5. Constitutionalism, Democracy, Liberalism and Rule of Law
6. The 4 'Isms': Authoritarianism, Fascism, Populism, Totalitarianism
7. Hybrid Regimes and Modern Authoritarianism
8. Law as a Weapon: Hollowing Out Democracy
9. Law as a Shield: Defending Democracy

B World Regions

1. Europe & Middle East
2. North America
3. Latin America
4. Asia
5. Africa

C International organisations

1. General/comparative
2. European Union (EU)
3. Organisation of American States (OAS)
4. MERCOSUR
5. African Union (AU)
6. Commonwealth
A Themes

1 FRAMING THE RESEARCH FIELD AND CONCEPTS

DALY TG,


2 BACKGROUND READING: THE RISES AND FALLS OF DEMOCRACY


DIAMOND L, In Search of Democracy (Routledge, 2015).


LEVITSKY S & WAY LA, Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War (Cambridge University Press, 2010)


PICCONE T, Five Rising Democracies: And the Fate of the International Liberal Order (Brookings Institution Press, 2016).


SCHMITT C, Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty Schwab G edn (University of Chicago Press, 2010).


ZWEIG S


DIAMOND L & MORLINO L (eds), Assessing the Quality of Democracy (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

O’DONNELL G,


2 THE GLOBAL CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY: RECENT RESEARCH


COOLEY A,

DALY TG,


FREEDOM HOUSE

— 'Nations in Transit 2018: Confronting Illiberalism’ (Freedom House, 2018)


4 ENDURANCE, RESILIENCE AND TRANSFORMATION


5 CONSTITUTIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, LIBERALISM AND RULE OF LAW


6 THE 4 'ISMS': AUTHORITARIANISM, FASCISM, POPULISM, TOTALITARIANISM

Authoritarianism


Fascism


**Populism**


MUDDE C,


**Totalitarianism**


7 **HYBRID REGIMES AND MODERN AUTHORITARIANISM**


FRANTZ E & KENDALL-TAYLOR A,


LEVITSKY S Levitsky & WAY LA,

— Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War (Cambridge University Press, 2010).


8 LAW AS A WEAPON: HOLLOWING OUT DEMOCRACY

A. GOVERNING CONCEPTS

Abusive comparative law

SCHEPPELE KL,


Abusive constitutionalism


Autocratic legalism


Constitutional capture

MÜLLER J-W,


— 'Rising to the challenge of constitutional capture' Eurozine 21 March 2014

Constitutional retrogression


Populist constitutionalism


**Stealth authoritarianism**


**B. SUB-CONCEPTS**

*NOTE: A number of additional sub-concepts may be added shortly, e.g. abusive judicial review.*

**Abusive impeachment**


**Permanent states of emergency**


**Unconstitutional constitutional amendments**


ROZNAI Y,


— 'Constitutional Amendment and “Fundamendment”': A Response to Professor Richard Albert' , Yale Journal of International Law Forum (February 27, 2018).


9 LAW AS A SHIELD: DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

NOTE: Additions will be made to this section soon, including literature on the special counsel mechanism in the USA.

Civic education


Compulsory voting


Constitutional conventions


Courts


Militant democracy


**Political party bans**


KOGACIOĞLU D,


— ‘Dissolution of Political Parties by the Constitutional Court in Turkey Judicial Delimitation of the Political Domain’ (2003) 18(1) International Sociology 258.


**Rights innovations**


**Self-enforcing constitutions**

1 EUROPE & MIDDLE EAST

General/comparative


MUDDE C, On Extremism and Democracy in Europe (Routledge, 2016).


Croatia

Hungary


KOVÁCS K & TÓTH GA,

— ‘From an Imperfect Democracy to an Incomplete Autocracy’ in Nowy konstytucjonalizm. Rzady prawa, politycznosc i sfera publiczna (New Constitutionalism. Rule of Law, the Political and the Public Sphere) 2017.


TÓTH GA,


UITZ R,


Israel


I-CONnect symposium on ‘constitutional capture in Israel’


Poland


KONCEWICZ TT,


— ‘Living under the unconstitutional capture and hoping for the constitutional recapture’ Verfassungsblog 3 January 2017.
— ‘Constitutional Justice in Handcuffs? Gloves are off in the Polish Constitutional Conflict’ Verfassungsblog 3 September 2016.


PECH L & SCHEPPELE KL


SADURSKI W & STEINBEIS M, ‘What is Going on in Poland is an Attack against Democracy’ Verfassungblog 15 July 2016.


**Portugal**


**Romania**

*See the relevant chapters in* VON BOGDANDY A & SONNEVEND P (eds), Constitutional Crisis in the European Constitutional Area: Theory, Law and Politics in Hungary and Romania (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

**Slovakia**


**Turkey**


2 NORTH AMERICA


3 LATIN AMERICA

General/comparative


Brazil


DINERSTEIN AC, ‘Impeachment or ‘Soft Coup’?: The Revenge of the Right and the State of Democracy in Brazil and Latin America today’ DevLog@Bath Blog 19 May 2016.


ZAIDEN BENVINDO J,

Venezuela


SANCHEZ URRIBARRI R,
— ‘Venezuela - the Left Turning Further Left?’ in J Castañeda & MA Morales-Barba (eds), Leftovers: Tales of the Two Latin American Lefts (Routledge, 2008).

4 ASIA

General/comparative


CROISSANT A & BÜNTE M (eds), The Crisis of Democratic Governance in Southeast Asia (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

India and Sri Lanka

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Stifling Dissent: The Criminalization of Peaceful Expression in India (24 May 2016).


Japan


Philippines

GATMAYTAN D,


AFRICA


Kenya


South Africa


LOUW R, ‘Meddling with Constitutional Court Powers a Threat to All’, speech to the 2012 Rhodes University graduation, 22 April 2012.

PITHOUSE R, Writing the Decline: On the Struggle for South Africa’s Democracy (Jacana Media, 2016)

Tanzania

C International Organisations

1 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS (GENERAL/COMPARATIVE)


MCMAHON ER & BAKER, SH, Piecing a Democratic Quilt?: Regional Organizations and Universal Norms (Kumarian Press, 2006).


PEVEHOUSE JC, Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization (Cambridge University Press, 2005).


2 EUROPEAN UNION (EU)


COMMENTS EDITORIAL, ‘The rule of law in the Union, the rule of Union law and the rule of law by the Union: three interrelated problems’ (2016) 53 Common Market Law Review 597.


JAKAB A & KOCHENOV D (eds), The Enforcement of EU Law and Values Ensuring Member States’ Compliance (Oxford University Press, 2017).


KOCHENOV D & PECH L, ‘Upholding the rule of law in the EU: on the Commission’s ‘pre-article 7 procedure’ as a timid step in the right direction’. EUI working papers, RDCAS 2015/24.


PEERS S, ‘Protecting the rule of law in the EU: should it be the Commission’s task?’ EU Law Analysis 12 March 2014.


SCHULTE J (ed), The Other Democratic Deficit: A Toolbox for the EU to Safeguard Democracy in Member States (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), 2018).
SEDELMEIER U

— ‘Political safeguards against democratic backsliding in the EU: The limits of material sanctions and the scope of social pressure’ (2016) Journal of European Public Policy [Vol. and page number not yet available].


STEINBEIS M,


VON BOGDANDY A & IOANNIDIS M, ‘Systemic deficiency in the rule of law: what it is, what has been done, what can be done’ (2014) 51(1) Common Market Law Review 59.

3 Organisation of American States (OAS)


4 MERCOSUR


5 AFRICAN UNION (AU)


6 COMMONWEALTH


DEM-DEC
Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 6 August 2018, based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC).

Bibliography updates will be issued on the first Monday of each month. They should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC (finalised on 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) focuses on the global challenge of the incremental deterioration of democratic rule and is primarily pitched at public lawyers, i.e. those working on constitutional, international and transnational law.

The resource is aimed at providing key information in one place, to frame the research area, to address conceptual confusion, and to bring scholars together in a collaborative project to drive the field forward, in a context where a lot of scholars are talking in silos, or past one another, where the literature is rapidly expanding, and research events and projects are proliferating across the world.

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Introduction

The DEM-DEC Bibliography

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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.

First monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography will be issued on the first Monday of each month. This is the first monthly update provided and was issued on 6 August 2018, based on new publications and suggestions from users of DEM-DEC. All updates should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC.

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 academic journals worldwide, as well as information collated on leading public law blogs, including the weekly round-up ‘What’s New in Public Law’ on the I-CONnect Blog (blog of the International Journal of Constitutional Law), which is a DEM-DEC Partner. Blog posts, media articles and policy documents are not covered.

Period covered by this update

As this is a monthly update, the main items here are from July 2018. However, given that it is the first monthly update, a broader approach has been taken and key items dating from January-June 2018 have also been included.

Global Coverage

The Bibliography updates aim for global coverage. That said, it is clear that Europe and the USA are two central sites for the production of research on democratic decay. It should also be borne in mind that the Bibliography, at present, collates information exclusively in the English language.

Hyperlinks

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is provided for each item.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent me key information for this update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

Each monthly bibliography update will include 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. Six key themes emerging from this update are set out below.

1 Liberalism, Illiberalism and Populism

The meaning and contours of liberalism, illiberalism, and populism are addressed in a variety of new publications and suggested bibliography additions. Jacques Rupnik discusses the ‘crisis of liberalism’ in the new (July) issue of the Journal of Democracy; Péter Krekó and Zsolt Enyedi analyse Hungary as a ‘laboratory of illiberalism’ in the same issue; while Bojan Bugarič and Alenka Kuhelj map varieties of populism in Europe in the latest edition of the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law (April 2018). An edited collection from 2017 suggested for addition (Bien-Kaćała et al., Liberal Constitutionalism: Between Individual and Collective Interests) contains chapters on ‘illiberal constitutionalism’ in Hungary and Poland, and ‘controlled’ referenda in Poland. Another suggested addition is Mark Tushnet’s Florida Law Review article from 2017, ‘The Possibility of Illiberal Constitutionalism?’, arguing that such a system is conceptually possible but may be quite difficult to sustain over time. Finally, the 2017 edition of the ICONnect-Clough Centre Global Review of Constitutional Law (issued in July 2018) focuses on the ‘state of liberal democracy’ in 61 jurisdictions worldwide.

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

2 Courts as democratic safeguards

Courts are a clear focus, not only as a safeguard against democratic decay, but also as a driver of such decay. Regarding courts as a democratic safeguard, Lasse Schuldt in a special edition of the German Law Journal on the subject (July 2018), analyses the converging (but still divergent) standards applied by the German Constitutional Court and the European Court of Human Rights regarding the application of political party interests, while Gelijn Molier and Bastiaan Rijpkema provide a case-note on the German Court’s most recent decision on party bans in the European Constitutional Law Review (June 2018). Armin von Bogdandy and co-authors in a Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law & International Law Research Paper (June 2018) look ahead to two key forthcoming decisions of the Court of Justice of the European Union regarding the validity of controversial laws in Poland concerning the judiciary and judicial independence. In the US context, Charlie Stewart in the Michigan Law Review (June 2018) discusses state court litigation as the ‘new front’ in the war against partisan gerrymandering. The Supreme Court and State courts in the US are also the focus of debate in an Online Symposium on the NYU Law Review (April 2018) on ‘Courts Under Pressure: Protecting Rule of Law in the Age of Trump’ – which also includes a comparative perspective on courts as bulwarks against ‘democratic erosion’ by Aziz Huq.
3 Courts as victims and drivers of democratic decay

Courts also feature as victims and drivers of democratic decay. In a Cardozo Legal Studies Research Paper No. 548 (July 2018), Matthew Seligman addresses ‘court packing’ in the US, arguing that reform of the judicial appointments process has never been more needed. Regarding courts as a driver of democratic decay, Emilio Peluso Neder Meyer, in the same July edition of the German Law Journal as Schuldt (see Note 2, above), discusses how judges and courts are ‘destabilizing constitutionalism’ in Brazil; while Wojciech Sadurski in the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law (June 2018) describes how the Polish Constitutional Tribunal has transformed from an activist Court, to a ‘paralysed Tribunal’, and finally to an ‘enabler’ of the anti-democratic Law and Justice government.

4 Elections

Elections are (unsurprisingly) a clear focus across the research presented in this update, from a variety of angles. The issue of lying in electoral campaigns is the focus of one section of the Oklahoma Law Review Symposium (July 2018) on ‘Falsehoods, Fake News, and the First Amendment’. The issue also arises in the context of partisan gerrymandering, and more obliquely in the banning of political parties (see the discussion under ‘Courts as democratic safeguards’, Note 2 above).

5 Technology and Democracy (including fake news, social media, and cybersecurity)

A variety of authors address the challenge technology poses to democratic governance. The latest (July 2018) edition of the SUR – International Journal on Human Rights is devoted to ‘The SUR File on Internet and Democracy’, including articles by Cass Sunstein asking whether social media is good or bad for democracy, and Márcio Moretto Ribeiro and Pablo Ortellado defining fake news, and analysing how to address it. The Oklahoma Law Review Symposium on ‘Falsehoods, Fake News, and the First Amendment’ (July 2018) addresses the issue from a variety of perspectives, including how old frameworks can govern new realities, degrees of ‘fakeness’, and even whether the President can be sued for First Amendment violations.

The latest edition of the UC Hastings Law Journal (June 2018) is based on the Symposium ‘Cybersecurity, Fake News & Policy: Dis- and Mis-Information’, with a keynote address by Justine Isola, and other articles including David Howard asking ‘Can Democracy Withstand the Cyber Age?’, while Tessa Jolls and Michele Johnsen argue that media literacy is a ‘foundational skill’ for citizens given a dramatically altered media landscape. Finally, in his foreword to the latest edition of the European Journal of International Law (May 2018), Eyal Benvenisti asks what role the law of global governance can play in upholding democracy in the face of the challenges posed by new technologies.

6 Economic considerations

We see a strong focus on economics (and inequality in particular) as an explanatory factor for democratic decay, in suggested additions to the bibliography and new publications. Inequality is a dominant focus in a June Symposium of the Indiana Law Journal on ‘The Future of the U.S. Constitution’. More specifically, we also see the discussion of economic tools to address democratic decay: see Wojciech Sadowski in the Common Market Law Review (July 2018) on protecting the rule of law in the EU through investment treaty arbitration.
Two recent books (from 2017) and one working paper (from 2016), suggested by DEM-DEC users for addition, are also key. Ginesh Sitaraman (regarding the USA) argues that the US constitutional system is predicated on sufficient economic equality and that growing inequality is provoking a constitutional crisis. Conversely, Frank Mols and Jolanda Jetten in their book *The Wealth Paradox*, and Ronald Inglehart (and Pippa Norris in a 2016 working paper, also added, which forms the basis of their forthcoming book) argue against the tendency to place the focus exclusively on economic factors. Sitaraman’s book was also the focus of a *Boston University Law Review* online symposium in May 2018.
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

Note: Hyperlinks are not available for a small number of items below

Books

KURLANTZICK J, Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government (Yale University Press, 2014).


Edited Collections


Articles


**Working Papers**


**Policy Reports**

July 2018: New Publications

**German Law Journal: Vol. 19, No.4 (July 2018)**

**Collection: ‘The Rule of Law, Constitutionalism and the Judiciary’**


**Journal of Democracy: Articles from Issue 29(3) (July 2018)**

**Note:** These articles are freely available for download online until 15 August 2018


**Symposium: ‘Falsehoods, Fake News, and the First Amendment’**

Panel 1: Falsehoods and the First Amendment


Panel 2: Election Lies


Panel 3: The Brave New World of Free Speech


SUR - International Journal on Human Rights: Issue 27 (July 2018)

The following are selected articles from this issue on ‘The SUR File on Internet and Democracy’


Notre Dame University Law Review: Issue 93(4) (July 2018)


January-June 2018: Selected Publications


**Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: Online Articles (June 2018)**


**Indiana Law Journal: Vol. 93, Issue 1 (June 2018)**

**Symposium: The Future of the U.S. Constitution**

The following are selected articles from this symposium


Boston University Law Review: Current Online Symposium (May 2018)

Online Symposium: ‘Ganesh Sitaraman’s The Crisis of the Middle-Class Constitution’


European Journal of International Law: Vol. 28 No.1 (May 2018)


Special Issue on the Crisis of Constitutional Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe


Additional article in the same issue, concerning the United Nations


NYU Law Review: Volume 93 Online Symposium (April 2018)

Online Symposium: ‘Courts Under Pressure: Protecting Rule of Law in the Age of Trump’

Symposium Introduction


Articles


FONTANA D, ‘How Do People Think About the Supreme Court when They Care?’ (2018) 93(1) NYU Law Review Online 50.

Responses


Global Constitutionalism: Volume 7(1) (March 2018)

Forthcoming Research

Books

GINSBURG T & HUQ A, How to Save a Constitutional Democracy (University of Chicago Press, 2018; due for publication on 18 October 2018).

GRABER M, LEVINSON S & TUSHNET M (eds), Constitutional Democracy in Crisis? (Oxford University Press, 2018; due for publication on 23 August 2018).


Journal Special Issue


Article


Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC)

Global Research Update

September 2018

This Update was issued on 3 September 2018. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC).

Bibliography updates will be issued on the first Monday of each month. They should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC (finalised on 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) focuses on the global challenge of the incremental deterioration of democratic rule and is primarily pitched at public lawyers, i.e. those working on constitutional, international and transnational law.

The resource is aimed at providing key information in one place, to frame the research area, to address conceptual confusion, and to bring scholars together in a collaborative project to drive the field forward, in a context where a lot of scholars are talking in silos, or past one another, where the literature is rapidly expanding, and research events and projects are proliferating across the world.

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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 I-CONnect blog and tweets @DemocracyTalk.

Partners

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

Constitution Transformation Network (Melbourne Law School)
Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies (CCCS)
Constitutionally Speaking (blog – South Africa)
Democracy Reporting International (DRI)
Democratic Erosion: A Cross-University Collaboration
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)
Verfassungsblog
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   Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Article (13 August 2018) 15
      – article on memory and democratic backsliding in Poland since 2015
   Harvard International Law Journal: Vol. 59 No.2 (1 August 2018) 15
      – article on the “unmaking” of international agreements under Trump
   Human Rights Quarterly: Vol. 40, No.3 (August 2018) 15
      – review of book on human rights and radical social transformation
   International Journal of Constitutional Law 15
      – article on regressive constitutional amendments in African States
      – review of book on the EU in crisis

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   Comparative Political Studies (May and July 2018) 17
      – including Mudde & Kaltwasser on a new research agenda regarding populism
   Journal of Comparative Politics: Vol. 50, No.4 (July 2018) 17
      – review essay on what made the third wave of democratisation possible
   Democratic Theory Journal: Vol. 5, Issue 1 (June 2018) 17
      – a range of articles on truth, democratic participation, propaganda in liberal democracies, and the Cold War origins of the “crisis of democracy”
   Journal of Human Rights Practice: Vol. 10, Issue 1 (February 2018) 17
      – article on why corruption matters in human rights
   Democratization: Volume 25 No. 7 (Winter 2017-Spring 2018) 18
      – articles include Hungary as an “externally constrained hybrid regime”, radicalization of the AKP in Turkey, and the “stalled” transition in South Africa

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Have Your Say!

Send suggestions and information on new publications for the October monthly update by filling out the form at [www.democratic-decay.org](http://www.democratic-decay.org) or e-mailing democraticdecay@gmail.com

and don’t forget to subscribe to the Mailing List for updates

Sign up using the Subscribe box on the homepage

Or e-mail democraticdecay@gmail.com
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.

Second monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography will be issued on the first Monday of each month. This is the second monthly update provided and was issued on 3 September 2018, based on new publications and suggestions from users of DEM-DEC. All updates should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC.

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 academic journals worldwide, as well as information collated on leading public law blogs, including the weekly round-up ‘What’s New in Public Law’ on the I-CONnect Blog (blog of the International Journal of Constitutional Law), which is a DEM-DEC Partner. Blog posts, media articles and policy documents are not covered.

Period covered by this update

As this is a monthly update, the main items here are from August 2018. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users are broadly from earlier in 2018 and late 2017. In addition, a number of items from recent months, which were not covered in the August Update, have been included in this update.

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

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is generally provided for each item.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent me key information for this update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

Each monthly bibliography update will include 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 emerge from this update.

1  Global Takes on Democratic Decay

‘Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?’, a new edited collection produced by Mark Graber, Sandy Levinson and Mark Tushnet (published 23 August 2018 and discussed by Graber in a recent Verfassungsblog post), examines whether liberal democracy is under threat, and the nature of the threats it faces. With almost 40 chapters, the collection has a broad thematic and geographic range. The introduction and Part I present broad theoretical, conceptual, and historical analysis. Part II addresses specific countries and regions, ranging from long-established democracies (e.g. USA, France), to younger democracies (e.g. Hungary, South Africa), to entire world regions (e.g. Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa). Parts III and IV focus on selected themes, including religion, populism, the climate crisis, and the crumbling of European democracy. It is a highly useful collection, which also sets the scene for potential future collections (for instance, states such as Japan and Brazil, sub-regions such as Scandinavia, and themes such as religion deserve additional attention). ‘Democracy Under Threat’ – an edited collection from 2017 produced by Surendra Munshi, and suggested for addition to this Update by a DEM-DEC user – provides a similarly expansive take on global threats to democracy from the perspective of sociologists, political scientists, and policymakers. The two collections can be read as companion pieces, and in their considered, evidence-based approach, present useful correctives to the more sensationalist takes on the subject (see e.g. a recent book on the ‘suicide of the West’ (April 2018) by Jonah Goldberg.

2  What ‘Counts’ as Democratic Decay?

The above collections raise a key question: whether what is under discussion relates to one broad phenomenon, or various related phenomena. Looking to the collection on ‘Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?’ above, for instance, can the constitutional crisis in the UK occasioned by Brexit be set beside the sophisticated dismantling of democratic rule in Hungary, or the shift to strongman rule in Turkey? Can the diffuse threats to democratic rule in the USA – of which President Trump is but one symptom – be analogised to the executive-led assault on democracy in Poland? It is also useful to consider where the bounds of ‘democratic decay’ lie: should it be restricted solely to countries that have reached, and maintained, an appreciable and measurable level of democratic progress for a significant period of time, or should we take the more capacious approach of including any rollback of democratic freedoms in a given state? Is it always easy to draw a dividing line between a failed (or faltering) democratisation process and a decay of a functioning democracy? The DEM-DEC Bibliography tends toward a focus on states that have been considered ‘consolidated’ democracies, but also seeks to be
inclusive. For instance, among the additions suggested by DEM-DEC users include a conference paper by Abdurrachman Satrio on ‘constitutional retrogression’ in Indonesia, and a special issue of the Comparative Politics journal (April 2018) on the nature of governance in contemporary Russia and how democracy in Russia was eroded in that state. These additions raise a central question, as to

3 Understanding Democratic Resilience

Two central preoccupations in the emerging ‘democratic decay’ research field are, first, the attempt to identify and anatomise threats to democratic governance and, second, the fact that key sentinels designed to operate as bulwarks against such threats (e.g. courts) have either provided little safeguard, or have even been co-opted as part of the project to dismantle democracy. Somewhat less attention has been paid to how, precisely, a democratic system can effectively protect itself. A number of items in this Update address this question squarely. In their chapter on Canada in the collection ‘Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?’, Richard Albert and Michael Pal examine this question under the rubric ‘democratic resilience’. More specifically, Mihaela Şerban in the forthcoming issue of Communist and Post-Communist Studies (September 2018) focuses on legal mobilisation and ‘adversarial legalism’ to push back against illiberalism in Central and Eastern Europe; while in a recent issue of Comparative Politics (July 2018), Laura Gamboa addresses strategies against democratic erosion in Venezuela and Colombia, highlighting how the opposition in each state took different approaches to threats from problematic presidents. Finally, Cass Sunstein’s 2017 citizen’s guide to impeachment, suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, underlines the need to marry expert knowledge and citizen education and engagement in the pushback against threats to democratic rule.

4 Taking Greater Care in Using Populism as a Concept

In a highly important article in Comparative Political Studies (published on 26 July 2018), Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser address the fact that scholars are increasingly employing the concept of populism to explain recent events such as the election of President Trump and the UK’s vote to leave the EU. They identify two shortcomings in the contemporary use of populism as a concept: first, that new populism scholars often fail to draw on, and build on existing populism scholarship; and second, that established comparative populism scholars tend to stay within the confines of their research field and do not attempt to link their work to other academic fields. The article is a must read for any scholar working on democratic decay, given the prevalence of the concept, and the laxity in how it is employed. As the authors state:

it is crucial that scholars work with clear definitions of populism and delimit the boundaries of the phenomenon. Instead of developing ad hoc concepts, which treat the specificities of national or regional manifestations of populism as generalizable, they should incorporate some of the lessons that the existing scholarship offers us.

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

5 Populism and Feminism

Rob Kroes in a recent issue of Society (February 2018) – suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user – focuses on the links between populism and feminism, with particular reference to the US context and the defeat of Hilary Clinton by Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election. For Kroes, it is not
helpful to see populism and feminism as mutually exclusive categories, highlighting the historical experience of what might be termed ‘good populism’ in the USA (‘good populism’ is discussed in the DEM-DEC Concept Index, ‘Populism’ entry). Kroes’ piece also serves as a useful focal piece for considering the link between feminism and ‘negative’ (or authoritarian) populism; as evidenced in, for instance, attempts to roll back reproductive rights in Poland, or the recent all-male raft of 21 judicial appointments in Italy (see a recent IACL-AIDC Blog post on the subject).

6 The Public Preference for Democracy

A number of items in this Update address public faith in democratic rule—one of the central concerns in the growing literature on democratic decay. For instance, Frank Furedi’s 2017 book on ‘Populism and the European Culture Wars’—suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user—captures a strong strain of thought in arguing that “the current outburst of anti-populist anxiety is symptomatic of a loss of faith in democracy and in the ability of the demos to assume the role of responsible citizens.” Other items present differing additional perspectives: Natalia Wenzell Letsa and Martha Wilfahrt in Comparative Politics (January 2018), on the basis of public opinion data from tens of thousands of respondents in authoritarian regimes worldwide make the case that all categories of respondent—rich and poor alike—tend to prefer democracy to autocratic rule. A separate article by Yichen Guan in Democratization (March 2018) analyses how popular demands for democracy exist under a ‘resilient authoritarian’ system such as China that produces economic development. However, Tom Ulbricht in Comparative Political Studies (May 2018) argues that the ambiguity of the term ‘democracy’ complicates assessment of public support for democracy and that popular support for representative democracy has tended to be overstated.
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

Note 1: Hyperlinks are not available for a small number of items below

Note 2: A number of book chapters suggested for addition to this Update have not been included as the edited collections in which they appear are already contained in the main DEM-DEC Bibliography

i.e. D Kochenov & Carlos Closa (eds), Reinforcing the Rule of Law Oversight in the European Union (Cambridge University Press, 2016) and

Books

**CHEESEMAN N & KLASS B**, How to Rig an Election (Yale University Press, 2018).


**POWERAKER J & TREVIZO D (eds)**, Democracy and Its Discontents in Latin America (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2016).


**FUREDI F**, Populism and the European Culture Wars: The Conflict of Values between Hungary and the EU (Routledge, 2017).


Book Chapters


Journal Special Issues

COMPARATIVE POLITICS, Volume 50, Number 3 (April 2018): Special Issue: Wither Russia? Twenty-Five Years After the Collapse of Communism – containing 10 articles on the nature of governance in contemporary Russia and how democracy in Russia was eroded in that state.


Articles


Book Reviews


Working Papers


EPPERLY B, WITKO C, STRICKLER R & WHITE P, Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: The Evolution of Voter Suppression and Lynching in the U.S. South (March 1, 2016). (under review; available on SSRN)
**Conference Papers**


**Policy Reports & Guidelines**


**Additional Materials**

**Comparative Politics Newsletter**

The Comparative Politics Newsletter is produced by the American Political Science Association’s (APSA) Comparative Politics Section. The Newsletter publishes symposia on various substantive and methodological issues, highlights new data sets of broad appeal, and generally informs the community about field-specific developments

See e.g. **Volume 26, Issue 2 (Fall 2016)**, which includes:

I. Symposium: Populism in a Comparative Perspective

II. Special Topic: Populism in the United States

III. Special Topic: Populism and Brexit

**Bibliographies on the Extreme Right in Western Europe**

Kai Arzheimer, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Mainz, has produced a number of useful bibliographies on the extreme right in Western Europe. They can all be accessed through the above link.
August 2018: New Publications

Note: Some items listed below have not yet been published formally, but have been included here as the texts have been made available during August


**Communist and Post-Communist Studies: Special Issue on Courts and the Rule of Law in Central and Eastern Europe**

The following are listed on the Communist and Post-Communist Studies website as articles in press that are accepted, peer reviewed articles but not yet assigned to volumes/issues. However, they will feature in the September issue of Communist and Post-Communist Studies, which will be a special issue on courts and the rule of law in Central and Eastern Europe. They are included here, rather than in the ‘Fortcoming Research’ section, because they were made available online in August and late July.


**Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Article (13 August 2018)**

BUCHOLC M, ‘Commemorative Lawmaking: Memory Frames of the Democratic Backsliding in Poland After 2015’

**Harvard International Law Journal 443: Vol. 59 No.2 (1 August 2018)**


**Human Rights Quarterly: Vol. 40, No.3 (August 2018)**


**International Journal of Constitutional Law**


Constitutional Democracy in Crisis?

Edited by
MARK A. GRABER
SANFORD LEVINSON
MARK TUSHNET

Available now from Oxford University Press

$39.95 / £25.99

The essays in this book explore whether constitutional democracies around the world are in crisis or whether the apparent weakening of many constitutional democracies is simply part of the normal ebb and flow that has been ongoing since the post-war rise of constitutional democracy. Part I is devoted to background material on the nature of constitutional crises; Part II focuses on the state of constitutional democracy in specific regimes or regions; Part III examines the influence on constitutional democracy of such global forces as climate change, religious fundamentalism, terrorism, economic inequality, globalization, immigration, populism, and racism/ethnocentrism; Part IV offers the editors' thoughts on the contemporary state of constitutional democracy. The essays diagnose the causes of the present afflictions of constitutional democracies in particular regimes, regions, and across the globe, believing at this stage diagnosis is of central importance—as Abraham Lincoln said in his “House Divided Speech,” “If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.”
Selected Earlier Publications

Note: The following are additional items that were not included in the August Update but which are of clear relevance to democratic decay

Journal of Comparative Politics: Vol. 50, Issue 4 (July 2018)

Comparative Political Studies: May and July 2018

Democratic Theory Journal: Vol. 5, Issue 1 (June 2018)

Journal of Human Rights Practice: Vol. 10, Issue 1 (February 2018)
**Articles**


BARTMAN JM, ‘Murder in Mexico: are journalists victims of general violence or targeted political violence?’ (2018) 25(7) Democratization 1093.


**Book reviews**


Forthcoming Research

Books
GINSBURG T & HUQ A, How to Save a Constitutional Democracy (University of Chicago Press, 2018; due for publication on 18 October 2018).

Book Chapters

Journal Special Issues

Articles
DEM-DEC
Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC)

Global Research Update

October 2018

This Update was issued on 1 October 2018. 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 on the first Monday of each month. They should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC (finalised 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, Experts Database, Events Database, Links, and Concept Index.

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.

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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.

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Partners

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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)
Verfassungsblog

Want to be a Partner?
E-mail Dr Tom Daly at democraticdecay@gmail.com
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   - Hague Journal on the Rule of Law 13
     - articles on ‘new’ authoritarianism: theoretical analysis and Poland case-study 13
   - Journal of Common Market Studies 13
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   - Edited Collection: Challenges of Democracy in the 21st Century: Concepts, Methods, Causality and the Quality of Democracy 16
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     - a range of articles on media access to presidential campaigns, presidential obstruction of justice, and free speech in an age of protest 16
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   - Democratization journal 17
     - articles and book reviews on democratic decay in Hungary and Poland, and recovery of democracy in South Africa 17

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Have Your Say!

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

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Introduction

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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.

Third monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography will be issued on the first Monday of each month. This is the third monthly update provided and was issued on 1 October 2018, based on new publications and suggestions from users of DEM-DEC. All updates should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC.

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 academic journals worldwide, as well as information collated on leading public law blogs, including the weekly round-up ‘What’s New in Public Law’ on the I-CONnect Blog (blog of the International Journal of Constitutional Law), which is a DEM-DEC Partner. 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 September 2018. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users are mainly from earlier in 2018 and late 2017. In addition, a number of items from recent months, which were not covered in the September Update, have been included in this update.

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

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is generally provided for each item.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent key 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 Democratic Decay as an Increasingly Central Focus of US Scholarship

Various items in this Update, and the last two Updates, emphasise that democratic decay is increasingly becoming a central preoccupation of US scholarship (albeit under a variety of rubrics). A landmark book, Aziz Huq and Tom Ginsburg’s ‘How to Save a Constitutional Democracy’ will be published on 5 October, examining the possible threats to US constitutional democracy on the basis of wide-ranging comparative analysis: see an author interview here. Many other items in this Update confirm this preoccupation, including September 2018 articles in the Cardozo Law Review’s online De Novo publication on Brett Kavanaugh and the judicial confirmation process. Additions suggested by DEM-DEC users for this Update include a special collection in the Pepperdine Law Review (March 2018) on the US Supreme Court strongly focused on how the Court can be depoliticised. Gerrymandering and race is the focus of a special issue of the William & Mary Law Review (April 2018).

2 Sweden: A Lesson in Avoiding Alarmism?

Since the last Bibliography Update was issued on Monday 3 September, much-anticipated general elections were held in Sweden. With the far-right Sweden Democrats rising in the polls, commentary became increasingly fevered in the week before the vote that the SD would become the second-biggest or even biggest party in parliament. As it happens, the party made gains, achieving 17.6% of the vote. However, this fell far short of many predictions and parties that took a strong anti-SD stance, such as the Centre Party, performed strongly. Two additions in this Update can be read together. A research paper by Ernesto Dal Bó et al., published at the end of August, analyses the rise of the ‘radical right’ in Sweden on the basis of a broad range of data. A much earlier article from 2002 by Jens Rydgren – suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user – predicted the possible rise of authoritarian populist forces in Sweden, showing that – as elsewhere – contemporary developments have deep roots.

3 The Impact of Populism on International Law

The rise of authoritarian populism is having an impact on international law, most clearly in the EU setting, as an article in the latest issue of the Journal of Common Market Studies discusses. Addressing the US context, a new addition to the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section is Harold Koh’s book on the ‘battle’ between the Trump administration and international law. He argues that international law is proving relatively resilient, by examining various fields: including immigration and refugee law, human rights, climate change, denuclearization, trade diplomacy, and relations with North Korea, Russia and
Ukraine. Two other items in this Update take a broader tack. Ingrid Wuerth’s *Texas Law Review* article (December 2017) on international law in a “post-human rights world” discusses the end of an era of human rights expansion – partly due to the resurgence of authoritarianism – and argues that this is not necessarily a bad thing. Eric Posner in an *Arizona State Law Journal* article (September 2017) – an addition suggested by a DEM-DEC user – argues that the “populist backlash” poses the most acute threat to liberal international legal institutions since the Cold War, and that the public trust in technocratic rule by elite actors, on which international law is dependent, has been called into question by a series of international crises. This picks up the central themes of Tom Nichols’ book on the role of experts in democratic governance, discussed below.

4 The Role of Experts in Liberal Democratic Governance

The role of experts in liberal democratic governance is a theme running – explicitly or implicitly – through much of the literature on democratic decay, whether one is discussing courts and judges, technocratic governance within and beyond the state, or the need for an informed and adequately functioning media. In an April 2017 book suggested for addition for this Update by a DEM-DEC user, Tom Nichols analyses the ‘Death of Expertise’ and mounts a strong defence of the need for expert knowledge in democratic societies. Tying the rise of anti-expertise sentiment and anti-intellectualism to the openness of the internet, the emergence of a customer satisfaction model in higher education, and the degeneration of the news industry into a “24-hour entertainment machine”, Nichols argues that when ordinary citizens believe that no one knows more than anyone else, democratic institutions are in danger of succumbing either to populism or technocracy-or a combination of both.

5 The Intensifying Focus on ‘New’ Authoritarianism

The urgent need to better understand the nature of new forms of hybrid authoritarianism has been seized with renewed vigour by constitutional law and political science scholars. Two articles in the *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* (September 2018) address authoritarianism in different ways. The constitutional theorist Gábor Attila Tóth discusses how the “false justification” of new hybrid types of authoritarian rule can be identified through constitutional markers, which permits constitutional democracy to be distinguished from authoritarianism. The comparative politics scholar Radoslaw Markowski focuses on the dismantling of liberal democracy in Poland since the victory of the Law and Justice Party in the 2015 elections, and what drove the Law and Justice success in the first place.

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

6 Revisiting Key Texts: Judith Shklar on the ‘Liberalism of Fear’

A useful list of key texts on liberalism, published by The Economist on 29th August, reminds us that gaining better understanding of democratic decay requires not just engaging with new research, but also revisiting older texts to mine them for every insight they offer. A particular text that warrants renewed focus is Judith Shklar’s 1989 book chapter on ‘The Liberalism of Fear’, in which she argues for an understanding of democratic government as a necessary shield for individuals, especially those with little power, from the abuses of the state —such as the armed forces and the police. Her ‘liberalism of fear’ rests on two pillars: freedom from cruelty and the division of powers.

(Note: For more discussion of concepts, see the Concept Index on DEM-DEC).
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

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

Books


BAKKE E & PETERS I (eds), 20 Years Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Transitions, State Break-up and Democratic Politics in Central Europe and Germany (BWV Verlag, 2011)

Book Chapters


Journal Special Issues


Special Issue on Gerrymandering

CAIN BE, TAM CHO WK, LIU YY & ZHANG ER, 'A Reasonable Bias Approach to Gerrymandering: Using Automated Plan Generation to Evaluation Redistricting Proposals'.


FOLEY EB, ‘The Gerrymander and the Constitution: Two Avenues of Analysis and the Quest for a Durable Precedent’.

GREEN R, ‘Redistricting Transparency’.

HASEN RL, ‘Race or Party, Race as Party, or Party All the Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases’.

KARLAN PS, ‘Reapportionment, Nonapportionment, and Recovering Lost History of One Person, One Vote’.

KATZ ED, ‘Section 2 After Section 5: Voting Rights and the Race to the Bottom’.


MORLEY MT, ‘Prophylactic Redistricting? Congress’s Section 5 Power and the New Equal Protection Right to Vote’.

STEPHANOPoulos NO, ‘The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering’.

TOKALI DP, ‘Gerrymandering and Association’.

TOLSON F, ‘Election Law "Federalism" and the Limits of the Antidiscrimination Framework’.


**Symposium: The Supreme Court: Politics and Reform**

This issue was published as a special issue in Volume 45, after issue 2. As published, It does not have a numerical designation.

McCONNELL MW, ‘What Are The Judiciary’s Politics?’.


BRYANT AC & BREEDON K, ‘How the Prohibition on "Under-Ruling" Distorts the Judicial Function (and What To Do About It)’.

BARTRUM I, NYMAN K & OTTO P, ‘Justice As Fair Division’.

SEGALL EJ, ‘Eight Justices Are Enough: A Proposal To Improve The United States Supreme Court’.

JOHNSTONE A, ‘Hearing the States’.

**Articles**


Working Papers


Policy Reports & Guidelines


**Additional Resources**

**THE ECONOMIST**, ‘The literature of liberalism’ 29 August 2018.
September 2018: New Publications

Note: Some items listed below were published at the very end of August 2018

**Monograph:** MEARSHEIMER JJ, The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities (Yale University Press, published on 25 September 2018).

**Monograph:** FUKUYAMA F, Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, published on 11 September 2018).


**Research Paper:** BÓ ED, FINAN F, FOLKE O, PERSSON T & RICKNE J, 'Economic Losers and Political Winners: Sweden’s Radical Right' (August 2018; URL indicates this version of the text is from 2 September 2018).

**Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Articles (September 2018)**

**Journal of Common Market Studies (September 2018)**

Special Issue: The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union in 2017

**Human Rights Law Review: Vol. 18, No.3 (September 2018)**
Cardozo Law Review De Novo (Online): September 2018


Santa Clara Law Review: Vol. 58 No. 2 (September 2018)


Lewis & Clark Law Review: Vol. 22 No. 2 (August 2018)


Special Issue: The Supreme Court and American Politics


DEM-DEC Recommended Read

“This is an important book—probably the most impressive marshaling of comparative literatures I have seen on this crucial set of issues. Using a wide range of examples, Ginsburg and Huq show how healthy democracies can mutate into autocratic or oligarchic systems, and they offer an incisive account of how this might happen in the United States. A cautionary tale told with case studies from around the world, this is a sobering analysis of our trying times.”

—Jack M. Balkin, Yale Law School

“This book makes a huge contribution to our understanding of how democracies erode and what institutional reforms would make it harder for authoritarian populists to entrench their power. It should be required reading for anybody who seeks to bolster the stability of embattled democracies around the world.”

—Yascha Mounk, Harvard University

Available now from University of Chicago Press

Cloth $35.00 / E-book $35.00

Selected Earlier Publications

Note: The following are additional items that were not included in the September Update but which are of clear relevance to democratic decay


Seton Hall Law Review: Vol. 48 No. 4 (August 2018)

Michigan Law Review Online: Volume 117 (August 2018)


Cardozo Law Review De Novo (Online): July 2018
Stasis: Vol. 6 No. 1 (July 2018)


Harvard Law Journal: Vol. 131 (June 2018)


George Washington Law Review: Vol. 86 No. 1 and No. 2 (January and March 2018)


Texas Law Review: Vol. 96 Nos. 2 & 3 (December 2017-February 2018)


North Carolina Law Review: Vol. 96 No. 4 (May 2018)


UC Hastings Law Journal: Vol. 69 Issue 6 (May 2018)


Democratization: Vol. 25, No. 8 (Summer 2018)


Forthcoming Research

Books

GINSBURG T & HUQ A, How to Save a Constitutional Democracy (University of Chicago Press, 2018; due for publication on 5 October 2018).

KOH HH, The Trump Administration and International Law (Oxford University Press, due for publication 15 October 2018).


Book Chapters


Journal Special Issues


Articles


DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 5 November 2018. 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 on the first Monday 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, Experts Database, Events Database, Links, and Concept Index.

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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

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 I-CONnect blog and tweets @DemocracyTalk.

Partners

DEM-DEC enjoys the support of a range of partners, which are leading organisations in public law 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)
Verfassungsblog

Want to be a Partner?
E-mail Dr Tom Daly at democraticdecay@gmail.com
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   - Monograph: How to Save a Constitutional Democracy  
   - Monograph: The Trump Administration and International Law  
   - Monograph: Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America  
   - Journal of Democracy: October issue
      - articles on ‘Democracy's Near Misses’, ‘Democratic Weakness and Survival’, instability of competitive authoritarianism, and more  
   - Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (Journal of Political Studies): First Online Articles
      - articles on states of emergency, and democratic decay in the Philippines  
   - New York University Law Review
      - Symposium: The Presidential Nominations Process  
   - Saint Louis University Law Journal
   - University of California Law Review
      - Symposium issue on ‘The Safeguards of our Constitutional Republic’  
      - articles on racial gerrymandering in the USA, a ‘constitutional role morality’ for presidents and Congress members, “one person, one vote”, racial exclusion in the USA, and the missing theory of representation in Citizens United  
   - European Constitutional Law Review, Journal of European Integration
      - articles on unintentional ‘rescue’ of Polish judges by Portuguese judges, and trans-national diffusion mechanisms in development of far-right parties  
   - Democratization (Latest Articles)
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### Comprehensiveness

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### Period covered by this update

As this is a monthly update, the main items here are from October 2018. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material. In addition, sections on populism and the radical right in this update include material from a longer time period.

### 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

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is generally provided for each item.

### Acknowledgments

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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  The Ever-Expanding Literature on Populism

The literature on populism is rapidly expanding. In this update alone we have Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin’s book on ‘National Populism and the Revolt against Liberal Democracy’ published in October, and three books suggested by DEM-DEC users: the Routledge Handbook on Global Populism and an edited collection on ‘The Ideational Approach to Populism’ published in September; and Benjamin Moffit’s 2016 book on populism’s global rise. There are two articles on populism in the latest (October) issue of the University of California Law Review: Stephen Gardbaum and Richard Pildes on ‘Populism and Institutional Design’ in selecting the executive; and David Fontana on ‘Unbundling Populism’, arguing that the anti-establishment part of populism can be empirically and logically decoupled from its authoritarian and xenophobic dimensions. In addition, a special section of this Update on p.17 lists key readings on populism. Finally, in the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section the upcoming edition of the Democratic Theory journal contains a special section devoted to populism in, with three articles – one being by Benjamin Moffitt (author of the 2016 book mentioned above).

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

2  Populism and the Radical Right: What’s the Difference?

The tendency toward the use of populism as a catch-all term can obscure the clear differences between it and other terms. The election of Jair Bolsonaro as president of Brazil on 28 October has led to discussion of whether he is a populist leader, radical right leader, or even an outright fascist. The scholar Cas Mudde, for instance, has argued on Twitter that Bolsonaro should not be described as a populist but as ‘far right’ or ‘populist radical right’. To aid understanding of the difference, this Update contains not only the readings on populism (p.17) mentioned above, but also lists – and compares – two leading bibliographies on the radical right on p.19. Understanding the difference is essential to understand other items in this Update, including van Hauwaert’s new article on far right parties in Europe; and Nancy Maclean’s book on the radical right’s ‘stealth plan’ to take over US democracy.

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

3  Reimagining Democracy

A central theme running throughout discussion of democratic decay concerns voters’ wishes for disruption of the status quo – whether this relates to the way democracy works in an institutional
sense, how elections do not lead to responsive government (as argued by the book ‘Democracy for Realists’ suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user), calls for a greater voice for the majority, prevailing economic models or otherwise. This wish for disruption underlies, at least partly, the election of anti-democratic leaders promising change and to ‘fix the system’, and the ongoing reshaping of party systems worldwide. In a perceptive article in the University of California Law Review (October 2018) K. Sabeel Rahman asks not only how democracy has been degraded worldwide, but also “what kinds of new institutional and organizational forms do we need to realize democratic aspirations in the twenty-first century”. Others take an even more radical approach: for instance, an edited collection published in July 2018, suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, revisits the “forgotten ideal” of ‘council democracy’ as a possible basis for a new democratic socialist politics.

4 Democracy in the Digital Age

As well as being reimagined, democracy is being reshaped by real-world phenomena. In particular, the impact of the Digital Age on democratic governance is the subject of a range of items in this Update: Emily Berman in the Boston University Law Review (October 2018) warns of the implications of AI “machine learning” for the rule of law; the European Commission’s new report addresses ‘Election Interference in the Digital Age’; and Dipankar Sinha’s ‘The Information Game in Democracy’ (March 2018), suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user) examines the democratic implications and impact of information capitalism, new technology, virtual networks, cyberspace and media.

5 Toward a ‘Constitutional Role Morality’ for the Political Branches

In the Georgetown Law Journal (October 2018) Neil Siegel argues that, having long elaborated frameworks of ‘role morality’ for judges and adjudication, US scholarship should now develop for presidents and members of Congress “a role morality that imposes normative limits on the exercise of official discretion over and above strictly legal limits.” Siegel suggests such a ‘constitutional role morality’ would require elected officials to secure the American conception of democracy as collective self-governance and create a reasonably well-functioning federal government; and substantive components, including “a commitment to consult the political opposition before taking important actions and a rebuttable presumption in favor of moderation and compromise.” Siegel’s argument resonates strongly with existing analyses of democratic decay in a wide variety of states, which point up the ways in which bad faith exercise of power can be used to attack or degrade the democratic system. It also resonates with other items in this Update – not least the special collection on states of emergency in the Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (Journal of Political Studies)(October 2018), which highlights how all too often emergency instruments and measures can be misused by those in power.

6 The Rule of Law and Constitutionalism: New Analysis

The entire phenomenon of democratic decay has required renewed and intensified focus on what we mean by, and value about, the rule of law and constitutionalism (as two separate but related concepts). Three items in this Update are helpful to push our understanding forward: the Saint Louis University Law Journal symposium issue on Paul Gowder’s 2016 book ‘The Rule of Law in the Real World’; Gowder’s book itself, which is listed on p.9; and Nick Barber’s ‘The Principles of Constitutionalism’ published in July 2018 (suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user).

(Note: For more discussion of concepts, see the Concept Index on DEM-DEC).
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

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

Monographs


SHEKHOVTSOV A, Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir (Routledge, July 2017).


SNYDER T, The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America (Random House, April 2018).

SUNSTEIN CR, #Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media (Princeton University Press, April 2018).

Edited Collections


GUTSCHE JR. RE (ed), The Trump Presidency, Journalism, and Democracy (Routledge, January 2018).
GÓRA M, HOLST C & WARAT M (eds), Expertisation and Democracy in Europe (Routledge, November 2017).

HAWKINS KA, CARLIN RE, LITTVAY L & ROVIRA KALTWASSER (eds), The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis (Routledge, September 2018).


**Book Chapters**


**Articles**


Working Papers


Policy Reports & Guidelines


Additional Resources

A range of additional resources have been added to the Links section on DEM-DEC, including:

- Populism Observer on Populism (POP) blog
- Democracy for the Desperate (mini web series)
- Survival Guide to Authoritarianism (video series - Liberties)
October 2018: New Publications

Note: Some items below were published at the very end of September 2018


Journal of Democracy: Vol. 29 No. 4 (October 2018)

Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft (Journal of Political Studies): First Online Articles (October 2018)
BALZ H, ‘Head of State of Exception: Federal German chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the supralegal crisis management during the 1970s’ (9 October 2018).

BERTOLINI E, ‘Democracy and the state of exception: The Italian experience’ (4 October 2018).


FÖRSTER A, ‘The expansion of executive force in the War on Terror and its impact on domestic and international norms’ (30 October 2018).

GATMAYTAN D, ‘Duterte, judicial deference, and democratic decay in the Philippines’ (4 October 2018).


GÖZTEPE E, ‘The permanency of the state of emergency in Turkey: The rise of a constituent power or only a new quality of the state?’ (29 October 2018).

HELLER J, ‘Democracy and state of exception in light of the dialectic between demos and population’ (22 October 2018).


New York University Law Review: Vol. 93, No. 4 (October 2018)

Symposium: The Presidential Nominations Process


Symposium on Paul Gowder, The Rule of Law in the Real World


Symposium Issue on ‘The Safeguards of our Constitutional Republic’


Georgetown Law Journal: Vol. 107 (October 2018)


Michigan Law Review Online: Volume 117


Journal of European Integration: Latest Articles (September-October 2018)

VAN HAUWAERT, Riding the wave of success: the role of trans-national diffusion mechanisms in the development of far right parties (2018) Journal of European Integration (Published online 22 September 2018).

Democratization: Latest Articles (October 2018)


Society: Online First Articles (October 2018)

"A key question about our times is whether Donald Trump will succeed in dismantling the rules based international order that has guaranteed peace and prosperity since 1945. To this question, one of America's finest international lawyers answers with a surprising, heartening and engaging No. The guardrails of the rule of law, both national and international, will hold."

— Michael Ignatieff, President, Central European University

"In this searingly clear analysis of the Trump Administration's challenge to international law ... Harold Hongju Koh makes the compelling, reassuring claim that the vast density and depth and inherent drag of existing international order can act as an effective countervailing force against even the most irresponsible of international actors - that 'the law' as an organic totality is more powerful than particular rules."

— Philip Allott, Professor Emeritus of International Public Law, Cambridge University and Fellow, Trinity College Cambridge

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Readings on Populism

A Fever of Activity on Twitter

There has been a lot of activity on Twitter in the past month, with scholars of populism sharing and collecting key works on this growing (and often misunderstood phenomenon). The list below is derived from a picture tweeted on 28 October (see the photo overleaf; unfortunately, the source of the tweet cannot be found).

Selected list of populism books

On 28 October the following list of books on populism was tweeted:

- **PANIZZA F**, Populism and the Mirror of Democracy (Verso, 2005).
- **ALBERTAZZI D & MCDONNELL D (eds)**, Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- **MÉNY Y & SUREL Y (eds)**, Democracies and the Populist Challenge (Springer, 2011).
- **MUDDE C (ed)**, The Populist Radical Right: A Reader (Routledge, 2017)
  - already included in the DEM-DEC Main Bibliography.
  - already included in the DEM-DEC Main Bibliography.
Selected list of populism books
The Radical Right: Key Resources

2 Major Resources

The September Bibliography Update listed (p.13), among items suggested by DEM-DEC users, ‘Bibliographies on the Extreme Right in Western Europe’, compiled by Kai Arzheimer, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Mainz.

The Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR) has also produced a major bibliography on the radical right, which may be approached as a companion resource to the Arzheimer bibliographies.

The two bibliographies are briefly compared and contrasted below for the benefit of DEM-DEC users.

Kai Arzheimer Bibliographies

Available at: http://www.kai-arzheimer.com/extreme-right-western-europe-bibliography

Compiled by: Kai Arzheimer, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Mainz.

Languages: English and German

Geographic scope: Western Europe

Temporal scope: 60 years (earliest work in the bibliography appears to date from 1958)

Size: 20,000 words

Additional comments: Contains useful information such as DOI of each item.

Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right – Full Bibliography

Available at: http://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/bibliography/bibliography-2018/

Compiled by: Scholars at Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right

Language: English exclusively

Geographic scope: Global

Temporal scope: 2018 exclusively, but will be expanded over time to include previous years

Size: 40,000 words

Additional comments: Useful table of contents, and contains useful additional material, including:

- film reviews
- other bibliographies
- databases
- maps, charts and infographics
- videos and podcasts
Forthcoming Research

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

Books


Book Chapters


Journal Special Issues

Journal Special Sections

Democratic Theory - Forthcoming Issue: Volume 5, Issue 2, Winter 2018

The forthcoming issue of Democratic Theory contains an editorial and special section on populism

Editorial


Articles

Special Section I: On Populism

MOFFITT B, ‘The Populism/Anti-Populism Divide in Western Europe’.

Articles


DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 3 December 2018. 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 on the first Monday 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, Experts Database, Events Database, Links, and Concept Index.

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 I-CONnect blog and tweets @DemocracyTalk.

Partners

DEM-DEC enjoys the support of a range of partners, which are leading organisations in public law 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

and don’t forget to subscribe to the Mailing List for updates

Sign up using the Subscribe box on the homepage

Or e-mail democraticdecay@gmail.com
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.

Fifth monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography will be issued on the first Monday of each month. This is the fifth monthly update provided and was issued on 3 December 2018, based on new publications and suggestions from DEM-DEC user. 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 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 November 2018. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material. In addition, sections on populism and the radical right in this update include material from a longer time period.

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

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is generally provided for each item.

Format Change

From this update, authors’ full names will be listed, to further the aim of fostering a global community.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent key 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 The Many Varieties of Populism: Left, Right, Nationalist, Anti-Pluralist

Every Bibliography Update addresses a dimension of populism as a concept. This is aimed at highlighting the multiple meanings of the term and to encourage greater specificity in its usage. Four items are of interest in this Update. Cathrine Thorleifsson’s new book, on ‘Nationalist Responses to the Crises in Europe’ (November 2018) combines analysis of the discourses of key populist radical right parties – the UK Independence Party, Fidesz and Jobbik in Hungary, and the Norwegian Progress Party – with analysis of the fears and concerns of these parties’ supporters. Based on fieldwork in England, Hungary and Norway, Thorleifsson explores the material conditions, historical events and social contexts that shape distinct forms of xenophobia and intolerance toward migrants and minorities, to develop broader conclusions about the drivers and character of populist nationalism and the way in which these differ across national contexts. In Democratization (November 2018) Duncan McDonnell and Luis Cabrera analyse the right-wing populism of the ruling BJP Party in India. Elsewhere, on 6 November Dr Niklas tweeted a list of short texts (see p.18), which highlight that left-wing populism spans democracy-threatening Chavismo in Venezuela and non-threatening movements such as Podemos in Spain – the latter not bearing the hallmark of anti-pluralism (analysed by Galston in his March 2018 book). There are crucial distinctions to draw between different varieties of populism.

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

2 Academic Freedom

In a month that saw the Central European University (CEU) in Hungary come ever closer to being hounded out of Budapest by the sitting Fidesz government under Prime Minister Orbán, it seems important to highlight analysis of academic freedom in this Update. Daniel Stockemer and Mikyoung Kim, in a recent (May 2018) article, suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, provide comparative analysis of academic freedom in Turkey, Hungary, and Japan. They not only highlight that academics are often the first target of governments seeking to constrain free speech and freedom information, but also discuss the many ways academic freedom can be attacked: discrediting individual non-conforming scholars; attacking universities as elitist or corrupt; forcing scholars to teach a prescribed ideology or vision of the state; firing them; or in extreme scenarios, imprisoning and torturing them. Their conclusion ends with a lapidary statement: “We should ... be vocal in our writings and media interventions of any infringement of academic freedom that we know of regardless of whether it happens at our own university or a university 10,000 miles away.” Stockemer and Kim draw on data
collected by DEM-DEC’s new partner, V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy): see their latest dataset here. A link to the Scholars at Risk Network has also been added to DEM-DEC. Take a look.

3 Gender and Democratic Decay

Two books suggested for addition by DEM-DEC users concern the gender dimensions of democratic decay. The most recent, an edited collection on ‘Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe’ (March 2018), contains useful chapters on Poland and Hungary in particular. A 2016 collection edited by Michaela Kottig, Renate Bitzan and Andrea Petö addresses the role of women, and the identity and organisation of female extremists, in far right politics in Europe. Gender is a cross-cutting dimension: it is notable that the attacks on the CEU in Hungary, discussed under ‘Academic Freedom’ above, have also been accompanied by removal of gender studies programmes from Hungarian university curriculums. New items in the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section also promise to address gender from different angles, including Amy Erica Smith’s forthcoming book on ‘Religion and Brazilian Democracy’, which analyses how religious politics pushes Brazilian politics rightward. Finally, on a broader note, it is clear that female experts on democratic decay too often get overlooked: you can find lists of female experts on Women Also Know Stuff. Scholars such as Cas Mudde (@CasMudde) also regularly tweet useful lists of female experts.

4 Exclusion: Minorities, Immigrants, and Political Outsiders

Another clear dimension of exclusion and marginalisation – and of attack by anti-democrats – covered by multiple items in this Update concerns minorities and immigrants. As well as Thorleifsson’s new book on national populism in Europe, discussed above, in the latest issue of the UC Davis Law Review (November 2018) Jennifer Chacón discusses citizenship and belonging, casting light on the ways that immigrant communities may be conceptualizing and reconfiguring collective understandings of citizenship in today’s USA, following a long tradition of minorities rethinking citizenship in a more inclusive direction. A useful companion piece is Johanna Kalb and Didi Kuo’s article in the Michigan Law Review Online (listed in the November Update) on ‘The Enduring Challenge of Racial Exclusion’, which questions whether, viewed from the exclusion of ethnic minorities, US democracy was ever as healthy as was claimed. The issue of the marginalised is also addressed by Bertrall Ross, among others, in the Columbia Law Review’s symposium on equality and free speech (November 2018). Ross discusses how the latest challenge to gerrymandering before the Supreme Court (in Gill v. Whitford) has failed, laying the blame on how the Court’s case-law has turned the First Amendment from a protection for political outsiders to one for political insiders.

5 The Incompetent Citizen?

A range of materials in this Update address the very competence of citizens to participate in the democratic system. The political psychology scholar Shawn Rosenberg has a range of research that skewers the very idea of the rational citizen. His 2017 article ‘Unfit for Democracy?’, for instance, argues that political thinking “is mostly preconscious, automatic, and recall driven. Consequently, it is vulnerable to contextual cueing, preexisting biases, and biological and genetic predispositions.” Ilya Somin also tackles this competence issue, in his 2016 book suggested for addition by DEM-DEC users. Somin’s work on ‘political ignorance’ in the US context has raised serious questions for democratic theory and the proponents of deliberative democracy, and his view that ‘a major increase in political
knowledge is unlikely in the foreseeable future’ appears right. That said, in many cases such ignorance is at least partly the result of long-term government policies impoverishing civic education (see a short discussion here). Claudia Chwalisz in her 2017 book argues that adding informed citizen voices to public decision-making leads to more effective policies. Moreover, if we think of the attacks against the CEU in Hungary, and the wider development of grassroots democracy defence movements across Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. the ‘Konstytucja’ (‘Constitution’) movement in Poland; see here), it seems that another side of the story is the capacity of the citizen to lead and demand constitutional government.

6 Judges as Democracy Defenders and Authoritarian Assistants

The August Bibliography Update included ‘Courts as safeguards’ a specific theme. Many items in thus Update return to this theme but with a greater focus on the judge as individual, as opposed to depersonalised analysis of the role of courts as institutions. The role of the judge comes to the fore in the Chief Judge of the State of New York Hon. Janet Difiore’s Brennan Lecture, published in the New York University Law Review (November 2018). She expresses alarm at the ongoing attacks against individual judges and the rule of law more widely and warns against complacency:

[W]e cannot be complacent. The vibrancy, vitality, and viability of the rule of law can never be taken for granted. We find ourselves living in a historical moment … when the rule of law is threatened on many fronts, including by unjust and irresponsible attacks on the independence of our judges and law enforcement institutions. (…) Never in our lifetimes have so many long-cherished norms, once considered universal, been treated so dismissively or abandoned altogether by political leaders, leaving many of us who have devoted our professional lives to the law as judges, law professors, and members of the bar feeling deeply uneasy about the future of our democracy. As Ron Chernow, the biographer of Alexander Hamilton, observed: “democracy can be corrupted, not by big, blaring events, but by a slow, insidious, almost imperceptible process, like carbon monoxide seeping in under the door.”

Every one of us must be vigilant in protecting our cherished democracy. Each one of us has an obligation to defend our democratic institutions against these attacks.

It is also important to remember that judges can hasten democratic decay, sometimes unintentionally. The role of courts as sometimes active agents of democratic deterioration is strongly suggested by the Columbia Law Review Symposium on equality and the first amendment, with many pieces taking the Supreme Court to task for distorting the right to free speech and, thereby, the democratic system as a whole. Concerning more intentionally authoritarian adjudication, Hans Petter Graver has addressed the position of the judge in detail. His 2015 book on ‘Judges Against Justice’ considers three questions: What happen when states become oppressive and the judiciary contributes to the oppression? How can we, from a legal point of view, evaluate the actions of judges who contribute to oppression? And, thirdly, how can we understand their participation from a moral point of view and support their inclination to resist? Brannon Denning in the William & Mary Law Review (published in late October) argues that one tactic is for lower court judges to read problematic Supreme Court judgments narrowly. The argument, to some extent, mirrors analysis of the Polish context by Tomasz Konciewicz (in the DEM-DEC Main Bibliography) suggesting lower courts may operate to limit the damage done by the ‘captured’ Constitutional Tribunal.
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

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

Monographs

Mark CHOU, Democracy Against Itself: Sustaining an Unsustainable Idea (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).


Mark CHOU, Greek Tragedy and Contemporary Democracy (Bloomsbury, 2012).


Hans Petter GRAVER, Judges Against Justice: On Judges When the Rule of Law is Under Attack (Springer 2015).


Edited Collections


Michaela KÖTTIG, Renate BITZAN, Andrea PETŐ (eds), Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Special Journal Collections

**Marlene LARUELLE (ed), Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies (December 2016): ‘The transformations of Far Right and Far Left in Europe’**

André FREIRE & Kats KIVISTIK, ‘Regime transition, value conflicts and the left-right divide at the mass level: The Baltic States and Southern Europe compared’ (2016) 49(4) Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies 293.


**Articles**


Venelin GANEV, “‘Neo-Liberalism is Fascism and Should be Banned’: Bulgarian Populism as Left-Wing Radicalism’ (2017) 76 S1 Slavic Review S9.


Working Papers


Conference Papers


Policy Reports & Guidelines


Additional Resources

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

In late November 2018 DEM-DEC concluded a partnership agreement with Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem). Based at the V-Dem Institute in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, V-Dem is a global team of 50 social scientists, 170 Country Coordinators (CCs) and 3,000 Country Experts (CEs). V-Dem is a new approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy, providing a multidimensional and disaggregated dataset that reflects the complexity of the concept of democracy as a system of rule that goes beyond the simple presence of elections.

The V-Dem website is a treasure trove of information, including datasets, Democracy Reports, Country Reports, working papers, and V-Dem users’ working papers.

New Resources in the DEM-DEC Links Section

A range of additional resources have been added to the Links section on DEM-DEC, including:

- C-Rex – and Centre for Research on Extremism, University of Oslo
- Centre on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), Stanford University
- EU Scream: The Podcast on Europe and Its Political Extremes
- Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right
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
November 2018:
New Publications

Note: Some items below were published at the very end of October 2018


**Democratization Journal: Latest Articles (November 2018)**

Duncan McDONNELL & Luis CABRERA, ‘The right-wing populism of India’s Bharatiya Janata Party (and why comparativists should care)’ (Published online: 29 Nov 2018).

Frank HENDRIKS, ‘Democratic innovation beyond deliberative reflection: the plebiscitary rebound and the advent of action-oriented democracy’ (Published online: 22 Nov 2018).

José Antonio HERNÁNDEZ COMPANY, ‘Parallel authoritarian powers: an explanation of Mexico’s authoritarian regime breakdown’ (Published online: 20 Nov 2018).

Lennart BRUNKERT, Stefan KRUSE & Christian WELZEL, ‘A tale of culture-bound regime evolution: the centennial democratic trend and its recent reversal’ (Published online: 14 Nov 2018).

**Political Studies: First Online Articles (November 2018)**


**Columbia Law Review: Vol. 118, No. 7 (November 2018)**

Symposium: Equality and the First Amendment


Responses


New York University Law Review: Vol. 93, No. 5 (November 2018)


Harold Hongju KOH, ‘Presidential Power to Terminate International Agreements’.
"A cool-headed analysis of the rise of national populism in the West.”
— Jason Cowley, The Times

"[Provides] copious evidence that rightwing populism has been a long time in the making. They organise this evidence into four Ds: distrust in elites, destruction of national culture, deprivation in the economic sphere and dealignment in political identification and voting behaviour. Their review of postwar political and economic history is informative and often compelling, providing clarity around a number of key debates within political science and political theory for the uninitiated. The EU is presented, not unreasonably, as a fundamentally elitist and undemocratic project, while neoliberal globalisation ... is explored as a basis of rising resentment, not so much due to its material effects as its psychological ones. Rising inequality and immigration produce a feeling of relative deprivation, that one is getting unfairly overtaken by others. “
— William Davies, The Guardian

Available now from Penguin books

Hardback £9.99 / Also available as E-book

On 6 November Dr Niklas Bolin (Lecturer at the Department of Social Sciences, Mittuniversetet (Mid Sweden University)) tweeted a list of short texts on left-wing populism, compiled on the basis of seeking recommendations from populism scholars on Twitter. See the photo below. These readings are useful in achieving a more nuanced understanding of left-wing populism as a concept, which encompass democracy-threatening Chavismo in Venezuela and non-threatening movements such as Podemos in Spain.

**Short Texts on Left-wing Populism**

On 6 November Dr Niklas Bolin (Lecturer at the Department of Social Sciences, Mittuniversetet (Mid Sweden University)) tweeted a list of short texts on left-wing populism, compiled on the basis of seeking recommendations from populism scholars on Twitter. See the photo below. These readings are useful in achieving a more nuanced understanding of left-wing populism as a concept, which encompass democracy-threatening Chavismo in Venezuela and non-threatening movements such as Podemos in Spain.
Forthcoming Research

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

Books

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).


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


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


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


Book Chapters

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, 2018).


Journal Special Issues

Journal Special Sections
Democratic Theory - Forthcoming Issue: Volume 5, Issue 2, Winter 2018
The forthcoming issue of Democratic Theory contains an editorial and special section on populism

Editorial
Jean-Paul GAGNON, Emily BEUSOLEIL, Kyong-Min SON, Cleve ARGUELLES, and Callum N JOHNSTON, ‘What is populism? Who is the populist? A state of the field review (2008-2018)’.

Articles
Special Section I: On Populism
Benjamin MOFFITT, ‘The Populism/Anti-Populism Divide in Western Europe’.

Articles
DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 14 January 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 on the first Monday of each month. They should be read in conjunction with the main bibliography on DEM-DEC (issued 24 June 2018).

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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](http://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.

Sixth monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography will be issued on the first Monday of each month. This is the sixth monthly update provided and was issued (exceptionally on the second Monday of the month) on 14 January 2019, based on new publications and suggestions from DEM-DEC user. 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 December 2018. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material.

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

For full collections of articles, the hyperlink to the collection is provided rather than individual hyperlinks for each article. Where a small number of articles from a particular journal are provided, a specific hyperlink is often provided for each item.

Format Change

From this update, authors’ full names will be listed, to further the aim of fostering a global community.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to all who have suggested additions and sent key 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  Is Global Democratic Decay Stalling?

The 2018 Democracy Index Report from the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) was issued in early January 2019 and its authors suggest that the global “retreat of democracy” ended in 2018 – or, at least, stalled. An explainer carried in The Economist on 8th January summarises the report as follows:

The index rates 167 countries by 60 indicators across five broad categories: electoral process and pluralism, the functioning of government, political participation, democratic political culture and civil liberties. It is stricter than most similar indices: it concludes that just 4.5% of the world’s people live in a “full democracy”. However, the overall global score remained stable in 2018 for the first time in three years. Just 42 countries experienced a decline, compared with 89 in 2017. Encouragingly, 48 improved.

The explainer’s emphasis on its ‘strictness’ clearly seeks to place it apart from other leading indices produced by Freedom House and POLITY, and it is true that its metrics are somewhat broader. However, it is also important to highlight that indices such as V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy) also produce global democracy assessments based on highly sophisticated analytical frameworks. My advice? First, follow the old adage of “one swallow does not make a summer” – one positive report is good, but it seems important to wait and see if a consensus and similar pattern starts to develop across multiple leading indices. Second, the fine-grained story from the grassroots remains quite grim. While the EIU’s report sounds a welcome note of hope, it should not lead us into complacency.

(Note: Links to a range of democracy indices, and a wealth of other resources, can be found in the Links section on DEM-DEC).

2  The Central Importance of Political Parties

A clear theme from this month’s update is the central importance of political parties to democratic governance. To political scientists and other social scientists this will seem too obvious to state, but in constitutional law in particular theory and practice has yet to fully grapple with the status of political parties as constitutional entities whose activity directly shapes and impacts on the systemic health of the democratic order as a whole. A range of new publications provide food for thought: In an article published in the Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies (December 2018), John Ishiyama, Christopher Pace and Brandon Stewart argue that Russian threats appear to have had little effect on political parties’ manifestoes in Europe (especially regarding security). In an article published in early January 2019 in Comparative Politics, Raúl Madrid, analysing Chile and Uruguay, argues that the
development of a functioning democratic system in electoral authoritarian regimes is often spurred by elite opposition parties, who promote suffrage expansion in order to weaken ruling parties’ hold over elections and to improve their own electoral prospects. This highlights the importance of opposition parties to the endurance and vitality of democratic rule.

Two journal articles from 2017, suggested by DEM-DEC users, are also highly relevant. In one, Ron Inglehart and Pippa Norris ask: (1) “What motivates people to support Populist Authoritarian movements?” And (2) “Why is the populist authoritarian vote so much higher now than it was several decades ago in high-income countries? They conclude that declining “existential security” is the answer, which covers not just economic insecurity but broader cultural backlash. In the second, focused on Poland, Kate Korycki argues that Polish political parties have weak “programmatic identities” (in terms of clear policy platforms) and analyses how the party in power (the Law and Justice (PiS) party) crafted a successful political identity based on a turn to the past and a narrative of state capture by communists. This, she argues, “polarized the field, casting political opponents as essential enemies, and casting the narrators as [the] country’s saviors.”

3 Direct Democracy, Deliberation, and Representation

A central tension emerging in the literature concerns how best to address the deterioration of democracy: is enhancing direct democracy and/or deliberative processes the answer, or a return to greater focus on representative actors? Or can they be combined? One book from October 2018, suggested by a DEM-DEC user (Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself), opts for returning to representation, arguing that the decades-long trend toward devolving power directly to the public – through mechanisms including primaries and local caucuses to select party candidates, ballot initiatives and referenda – has rendered both governments and political parties less able to address constituents’ long-term interests, and less effective overall, thereby eroding trust in the political process. They argue that political systems must be restructured to restore power to political parties, as the core institution of representative democracy, to win back electorates’ trust.

The question for essayists in the collection Politics with the People: Building a Directly Representative Democracy (September 2018), suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, is how to develop a ‘directly representative democracy’. This, the editors propose, can be a new way of connecting citizens and elected officials to improve representative government, with congressional representatives meeting groups of their constituents “via online, deliberative town hall meetings to discuss some of the most important and controversial issues of the day.” They argue that this can empower citizens and move past “the broken system of interest group politics and partisan bloodsport” (which might include the partisan gerrymandering discussed by Mikayla Foster in the latest (December) edition of the Boston University Law Review). An interesting companion piece, suggested by a DEM-DEC user, is a conference paper from April 2018, whose authors argue that how we perceive solutions depends on what we believe to be the fundamental problems, which they suggest as: “(i) disconnections between citizens and their elected representatives; (ii) disconnections between multiple publics of in the public sphere; and iii) disconnections between democratic will and policy action.

4 Elite Perceptions of the Electorate

Further complicating the discussion above are two recent articles, which further highlight the tension between representation and other forms of democratic participation. In the latest issue of the UC
Davis Law Review (December 2018), Christopher Elmendorf and Abby Wood argue that perceptions of the electorate among political elites – i.e. candidates, legislators, party officials, and campaign advisers – tend to be distorted; in particular, by assuming they are more conservative than they really are. They argue that reducing elite ignorance could have immediate benefits including reduced political polarisation in the short-term, but possible longer-term risks including more intense gerrymandering and microtargeted campaigns. In the Fall 2018 edition of the Houston Law Review, Elizabeth Reese picks up a similar theme, arguing that critics of current campaign finance rules in the USA, who see money in politics as distorting the democratic system, seem to overlook the question of voter autonomy and “risk becoming surreptitiously elitist without sufficient confrontation with certain paternalistic assumptions about voter preferences and behavior.”

5 Can Democracy Endure in an Era of Misinformation?

Further expanding on the themes above, in a new short monograph published in December 2018, Democracy and Truth: A Short History, Sophia Rosenfeld asks whether constitutional government worthy of a self-governing people can be maintained in an age of widespread misinformation and polarisation. Rosenfeld interrogates, from a historical perspective, “a longstanding and largely unspoken tension at the heart of democracy between the supposed wisdom of the crowd and the need for information to be vetted and evaluated by a learned elite made up of trusted experts.” For Rosenfeld, what we are currently witnessing is the unravelling of the functional relationship between these competing aspects of democratic culture, and the end of earlier assumptions that technological advances such as the Internet would enhance democratic discourse by empowering citizens and disrupting “outdated hierarchies of epistemic authority”. This book is useful not only in anatomising the rise and nature of ‘post-truth’ democratic discourse, but also in Rosenfeld’s attempt to offer proposals for defending the very idea of truth against the many forces that undermine it.

6 Is Hungary a Distinct Regime Type?

The questions above bring us back to mulling over why authoritarian populist forces have been gaining ground worldwide, discussed by authors such as Ron Inglehart, Pippa Norris, Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes (see the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section) in this Update. Of course, one dimension of authoritarian populism is the claim that a strong leader can understand the will of the ‘true’ people, which means he or she can do away with many of the mediating institutions of a democratic order and enjoy a more dyadic relationship with the public. In an article from September 2018, suggested by a DEM-DEC user, András Körössényi makes the case for viewing Hungary as a distinct regime type – a ‘plebiscitary leader democracy’ (PLD) formed through the impact of authoritarian populist discourse and other trends of contemporary politics on the political regime (e.g. de-alignment, growing electoral volatility, citizens’ disengagement, personalization of politics and policy, legitimacy problems, the decline of party membership and partisanship, and the “mediatization” of politics).

(Note: For more discussion of concepts and regime types, see the Concept Index on DEM-DEC).
Additions Suggested by DEM-DEC Users

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

**Monographs**

- Yochai BENKLER, Robert FARIS and Hal ROBERTS, *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics* (Oxford University Press, August 2018) *(Note: open-access book. Link is to the full text)*.
- Frances McCALL ROSENBLUTH and Ian SHAPIR, *Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself* (Yale University Press, October 2018).
**Book Chapters**


**Edited Collections**

Michael A. NEBLO, Kevin M. ESTERLING and David M.J. LAZER (eds), Politics with the People: Building a Directly Representative Democracy (Cambridge University Press, published September 2018).

**Special Journal Collections**


Note: This is not technically a special collection, but all articles relate to the US electoral system


**Articles**


Book Reviews


Research Papers


Conference Papers


Additional Resources

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

On 5 December 2018 DEM-DEC concluded a partnership agreement and Memorandum of Understanding with Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem). Based at the V-Dem Institute in the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, V-Dem is a global team of 50 social scientists, 170 Country Coordinators (CCs) and 3,000 Country Experts (CEs). V-Dem is a new approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy, providing a multidimensional and disaggregated dataset that reflects the complexity of the concept of democracy as a system of rule that goes beyond the simple presence of elections.

The V-Dem website is a treasure trove of information, including datasets, Democracy Reports, Country Reports, working papers, and V-Dem users’ working papers.

New Resources in the DEM-DEC Links Section

A range of additional resources have been added to the Links section on DEM-DEC, including:

- Research project: ‘Defending Democracy: Civil and Military Responses to Weaponized Information’, Princeton University (USA)
• **Research project: Political Concepts in the World – Rule of law and constitutionalism**, University of Aberdeen (Scotland, UK)

• **Research project: Political Concepts in the World – Sovereignty and the state**, University of Aberdeen (Scotland, UK)

• **Research project: Populist rebellion against modernity in 21st-century Eastern Europe: neo-traditionalism and neo-feudalism’ (POPREBEL)**, Horizon 2020 (EU) - 6 universities from Central and Eastern Europe

• **Defending Democracy Together** (an advocacy organisation formed by conservatives and Republicans “standing up for the rule of law, for free trade, and for more welcoming legal immigration policies”)
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
December 2018: New Publications

Note: Some items below were published at the end of November 2018 or early January 2019


Democratic Theory: Volume 5, Issue 2, Winter (December 2018)

Special section on populism

Editorial


Articles

Special Section I: On Populism

Benjamin MOFFITT, ‘The Populism/Anti-Populism Divide in Western Europe’ (2018) 5(2) Democratic Theory 1..


Perspectives on Politics: Volume 16, Issue 4 (December 2018)

Articles


Review Symposium


Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies: Recent Articles (December 2018)

John ISHIYAMA, Christopher PACE and Brandon STEWART, ‘Foreign threat and political party change: Russia and changes in party manifestos’ (December 2018).

Comparative Politics: Volume 51, Number 2 (January 2019)


Constitutional Review: Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2018)


Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Articles (December 2018)

Oliver MADER, ‘Enforcement of EU Values as a Political Endeavour: Constitutional Pluralism and Value Homogeneity in Times of Persistent Challenges to the Rule of Law’ (published online 5 December 2018).

Society: Volume 55, Issue 6 (December 2018)

Columbia Law Review Online: Volume 118 (December 2018)


New York University Law Review: Volume 93, Number 6 (December 2018)


California Law Review: Volume 106, No. 6 (December 2018)


Boston University Law Review: Volume 98, Number 6 (December 2018)


Mikayla FOSTER, ‘“Gobbledygook” or Unconstitutional Redistricting?: Floterial Districts and Partisan Gerrymandering’ (2018) 98(6) Boston University Law 1607.


UC Davis Law Review: Volume 52, No.2 (December 2018)


Fordham Law Review: Vol. 87, No.3 (December 2018)

Alabama Law Review: Volume 70, Issue 1 (December 2018)

Houston Law Review: Vol. 56, Issue 1 (Fall 2018)


"A valuable historical guide to current debates about elitism and populism, Democracy and Truth poses the hardest of questions: can we maintain a constitutional government worthy of a free people in an age of widespread misinformation and fanaticism?"

— David Bromwich, Yale University

"An essential guide to finding the roots of our current predicament ... provokes thought rather than simply assigning blame and consequently succeeds in the most important task of all: helping us navigate toward a revival of democracy at the very moment when it seems most under threat."

— Lynn Hunt, author of History: Why it Matters

“If you are a citizen concerned and not a little confused about the frantic assault on objective truth in today’s United States, Sophia Rosenfeld’s learned but extremely accessible book is a must-read.”

— Michael Tomasky, author of Left for Dead: The Life, Death, and Possible Resurrection of Progressive Politics in America

Available now from University of Pennsylvania Press

Hardback £16.99 / Also available as E-book

As the phenomenon of democratic decay has spread worldwide, it has been observed by many that female experts are often overlooked. It is also evident that there is a gender imbalance in the expert lists provided in the Experts Database on DEM-DEC. Every effort has been made, and continues to be made, to ensure that female experts are not overlooked in the collation of material on DEM-DEC. If you are a female expert on democratic decay, or know of an expert who is not currently included on DEM-DEC, simply e-mail democraticdecay@gmail.com.

A useful complementary resource to the DEM-DEC Experts Database is Women Also Know Stuff

https://womenalsoknowstuff.com/
Forthcoming Research

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

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*

Yesim ARAT & Sevket 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).

Renske DOORENSPLEET, Rethinking the Value of Democracy: A Comparative Perspective (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication XXX 2019).


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


Amy Erica SMITH, Religion and Brazilian Democracy: Mobilizing the People of God (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in July 2019).
Alen TOPLIŠEK, Liberal Democracy in Crisis: Rethinking Resistance under Neoliberal Governmentality (Palgrave Macmillan, due for publication 16 October 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).

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 in April 2019).


Book Chapters

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).


Journal Special Issues


Articles


DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC)

Global Research 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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

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.
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.

Want to Join the DEM-DEC Team?

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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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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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.

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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


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


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


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


Book Chapters

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

Tímea DRINÓCZI & Agnieszka BIEŃ-KACAŁA, ‘Illegitimate constitutionalism in Hungary and Poland: The case of judicialization of politics’ in Agnieszka Bień-Kacała, Lóránt Csík, 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**


**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**


**Symposium Issue (on presidential powers)**


**Articles**


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


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


V-Dem Working Papers


Print Media

Amichai MAGEN, ‘We Cannot Take Liberal Democracy For Granted’ Standpoint (December/January 2016/17).
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 Urrribarri (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.
January 2019:
New Publications

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


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

**Special Issue: Polarizing Polities: A Global Threat to Democracy**

Special Editors: Jennifer McCoy and Murat Somer


I. Democratic Collapse and Return of Old Elites


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.


III. Democratic Careening and Gridlock


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


Conclusions


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


Democratization: Volume 26, Issue 1, 2 (January 2019)

Book Reviews


Articles


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


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)

Populism(s): Introduction


Populism(s): Articles


Lunch with Bauman (special section)


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


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


"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*

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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 & Sevket 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).


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


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).


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).


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


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


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).


Edited Collections

Stephen ASHE, Joel BUSHER, 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).


**Book Chapters**


**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).


**Journal Special Issues**


**Articles**


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


Key Journal

Perspectives on Politics journal.

Media Cooperation Project

DemocraCE Project - Media cooperation project for Central and Eastern Europe (Visegrad Insight).
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
DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 7 March 2019. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) at www.democratic-decay.org.

Global research 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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

Director

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), Fellow at Melbourne Law School, and Co-Convenor of the Constitution Transformation Network. As a consultant he has worked on EU, 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.

Recent 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.
Since the end of January 2019, Kuan-Wei Chen, a doctoral researcher in law at the University of Munich, has provided excellent assistance with production of the monthly Research Update.

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.

Want to Join the DEM-DEC Team?

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 démocratic-decay.org](http://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.

Eighth monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography are issued in the first week of each month. This is the eighth monthly update provided and was issued on Monday 4 March 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 February 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 Research Editor, Kuan-Wei Chen, who continues to provide highly valuable assistance in compiling information for this Update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

In each monthly Update DEM-DEC Director Dr Tom Gerald Daly selects key themes. 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 Elections, Elections, Elections

A number of pieces in this Update make for essential reading as candidates begin to declare themselves for the 2020 US presidential race, states such as India and Poland face crucial general elections (in April/May and by November, respectively), and we brace ourselves for the upcoming European Parliament elections in May 2019 – with President Macron’s 5 March open-letter appeal to Europe’s citizens highlighting the high stakes: Barrie Sander’s ground-breaking analysis setting out a typology of different cyber election meddling techniques and examining three paradigms of international law that can frame State responses to cyber influence operations; Duncan McDonnell and Luis Cabrera’s discussion of the ‘right-wing populism’ of India’s governing BJP Party; and a special issue on radical-right populist politics in Eastern Europe edited by Ov Cristian Norocel and Gabriella Szabó concentrating on ‘soft’ factors, including the role of media, radicalization of public discourse, and the communication repertoires of radical-right forces across the region.

(Note: Check out Barrie Sanders’ cutting-edge Course Syllabus, ‘Digital Threats to Democracy’ in the DEM-DEC Teaching Section).

2 Is Democratic Decay an Emerging Research Field?

Self-promotion alert: On 19 February the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law – which has become a leading global forum for analysis of the deterioration of democracy – published a new article of mine, on ‘Democratic Decay: Conceptualising an Emerging Research Field’. The article maps democratic decay as a quasi-research field that spans multiple academic disciplines and fields. It was written as a useful explainer for scholars and policy actors, as well as a stock-taking exercise for experts in the field aimed at prompting reflection on ensuring that research remains practically useful to those who need to understand democratic decay. An accessible summary of the article was published by Democratic Audit UK on 4 March 2019 as ‘Democratic Decay: The Threat with a Thousand Names’.

(Note: The article develops the work and analysis contained in the Concept Index on DEM-DEC).

3 Or is Democratic Decay Just a ‘Cottage Industry’?

A policy piece caught my eye in early February. In a column for The American Interest (highlighted in the ever-useful NED Democracy Digest) the analyst Josef Joffe – speaking to a book he published in
2014 on The Myth of America’s Decline — offers that bemoaning the “collapse” or “end” of the Liberal International Order (his words) has grown into a ‘cottage industry’ of pundits and professors. Joffe argues that the threat is quite overblown, suggesting that today’s nationalism is less dangerous as it is insular rather than imperial; authoritarianism has long been a feature of China, Russia and the Arab world; Turkey was never really a ‘solid democracy’; that the number of democracies worldwide, if counted according to the minimal criterion of genuinely contested elections, has grown to 122 states, “the largest number of all time”; and that “nowhere has an established democracy collapsed, not even in Poland or Hungary”. He goes, on but you get the picture.

What struck me about this piece is that it encapsulates a certain type of critique I have been hearing for years. It is both right and utterly wrong at the same time. It is right because everything Joffe says is true, as regards the states he name-checks, the rise of a form of ‘panic literature’ that claims the end of democracy and liberalism (as well as the West and Europe), and the undeniable fact that in academia certain ‘hot topics’ invariably attract bandwagon-jumpers. And yet, his analysis misses four vital points: (i) the overall research and policy consensus is that slower, subtler undermining of democratic rule has superceded coups d’etat and outright breakdown as would-be autocrats’ preferred method of consolidating power (discussed below); (ii) analysis of the trajectory of democratic governance, both in individual states and globally, is even more important than static analysis; (iii) defining democracy by minimal criteria is neither sufficient nor rigorous; and (iv) looking at traditional indicators for democratic health can lead to the assertion that there is no problem.

Harking back to historical examples, as Joffe does, tends to elide the patterns of democratic decay today. While alarmism is certainly to be avoided, complacency is also unwarranted: Joffe’s analysis chimes with thinkers like Steven Pinker whose contrarian ‘Polyanna’ analysis is ultimately based on caricaturing democracy, threats to democracy, and those raising the alarm. For instance, Pinker has been strongly criticised for claiming, in his 2018 book Enlightenment Now!, that two-thirds of the world’s population now lives in “free or relatively free societies” based on a data source “that gives Hungary and Poland perfect scores and counts Russia as more democratic than not.”

4 Diagnosing Decay: Detective Work v Data-Crunching

Today’s threats to democracy tend to manifest in a far more incremental, subtle and diffuse manner — but their cumulative effect can be to severely degrade the democratic system (as Wojciech Sadurski noted in the DEM-DEC Launch Podcast, and Kim Scheppele is a master of explaining). It is simply not enough to point to crude criteria and dismiss accounts of serious democratic decay in a wide variety of states worldwide. Partly, the visibility problem for this challenge is that understanding the reality of today’s threats requires marshalling a wide array of evidence, a lot of which can seem the preserve of legal-technical elites and extreme policy wonks. This is now the bread-and-butter of today’s democracy defenders — at least, those dealing with the subtler forms of democratic decay and erosion (not the most brazen attacks on democratic rule, which still occur). A number of pieces in this Update are relevant to this observation: one finds references to judicial independence hidden in the European Commission’s latest country reports from European Commission reports; and a policy brief by Marcin Matczak sifting the evidence for Poland’s democratic crisis.

This does not mean we will find democratic decay because we expect to find democratic decay — confirmation bias is to be avoided at all costs. And highly data-driven analysis is important: in a new article, Anna Lührmann and Staffan Lindberg (research leaders at V-Dem, DEM-DEC’s newest partner) confirm that a ‘third wave of autocratization’ is here and tends to affect democracies with “gradual setbacks under a legal façade”. However, on a wide-ranging survey of data, they suggest that it
involves relatively mild declines and that the global share of democratic countries remains close to its all-time high. They conclude that: “As it was premature to announce the “end of history” in 1992, it is premature to proclaim the “end of democracy” now.” The tension arises in that highly qualitative, close, fine-grained of various states often suggests a somewhat darker picture. As I offered in an ICONnect column (written in Poland in July 2017) on ‘diagnosing democratic decay’,

[A]ny diagnostic technique must be as clear, rigorous and objective as possible, while still making room for educated guesswork and subjective assessment based on the overall picture. While we cannot attempt to be prophets or psychics, neither should that mean that we give up or take refuge in platitudes (“it’s complicated and context-specific”!). We cannot tell where a democratic system will be in ten years’ time, or even two years’ time. We often cannot tell whether, at the outset at least, reforms are aimed at a ‘bad faith’ hollowing out of democratic rule, or a ‘good faith’ rebalancing or transformation of the system. What we can do is find better ways of amassing our evidence, analysing it, and building our repository of ‘past patients’ when looking for similar patterns. Diagnostic techniques for degenerative diseases may prove an interesting model to emulate.

5 Is More Citizen Participation Really the Answer?

February brought the establishment of the world’s first permanent Citizen Council, by the Parliament of the German-speaking community in Belgium. With citizens’ assemblies increasingly touted as an antidote to democratic decay, a number of pieces in this Update are key reading. In a new book, Too Dumb For Democracy, David Moscrop makes the case that making good decisions is not impossible for individuals but that “the psychological and political odds are sometimes stacked against us”. The US authors of a 2002 book on Stealth Democracy – suggested for addition by DEM-DEC user – offer that most individuals do not actually want to have great involvement in government: “Peoples’ wish for the political system is that decision makers be … non-self-interested, not that they be responsive and accountable to the people’s largely nonexistent policy preferences or, even worse, that the people be obligated to participate directly in decision making.” In the latest issue of Democratization, Frank Hendriks discusses ‘democratic innovation’, arguing that we need “a practice and theory of democratic innovation reflecting the reality of democratic hybridization”, encompassing (quasi-)referenda, collaborative governance through coordinated action, and pragmatic activism. At the risk of making a terrible play on the notion of citizen participation, the jury’s still out on this issue(!).

6 Returning to the work of C.B. MacPherson on Liberal Democracy

While there are a raft of books on liberalism to be published in 2019 (see e.g. the new addition to the ‘Forthcoming Books’ section; a sweeping history of liberalism by James Traub), it remains important to rediscover thinkers from the past who have much to offer contemporary reflections on liberalism. Many thanks to Zoran Oklopcic for recommending, on Twitter (27 February), the overlooked but highly thought-provoking work on liberal democracy by the influential Canadian political scientist C.B. MacPherson (1911–1987). Two key books are listed overleaf. Zoran in his tweet describes MacPherson’s critique of liberal democracy as

A gentlemanly, constructive critique, but ultimately far more subversive than most recent attempts to (re-)weaponize Schmitt, Marx, Laclau or whoever against liberal constitutionalism. (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.25

Monographs


Book Chapters

Edited Collections

Ivor CHIPKIN, Mark SWILLING, Haroon BHORAT, Mzukisi QOBO, Sikhulekile DUMA & Lumkile MONDI (eds), Shadow State: The Politics of State Capture (NYU Press, 2018).

Josef HIEN & Christian JOERGES (eds), Responses of European Economic Cultures to Europe’s Crisis Politics: The Example of German-Italian Discrepancies (European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2018).


Maurice ADAMS, Anne MEUWESE, Ernst HIRSCH BALLIN (eds), Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: Bridging Idealism and Realism (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Articles


* NB: This article introduces a new database on political parties, Party Facts – see p.29.


Book Reviews


Working Papers


**Policy Papers**


**Print Media**

*Note: Print media articles are generally not covered in this Update. However, we follow a policy of occasionally including pieces suggested to us by users, especially if they come from outlets such as Foreign Affairs, which provide more in-depth analysis.*

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
February 2019: New Publications

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

Monograph: David MOSCROP, Too Dumb for Democracy?: Why We Make Bad Political Decisions and How We Can Make Better Ones (Goose Lane Editions, published 5 March 2019).

Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Articles (February 2019)

Chinese Journal of International Law (February 2019)

Democratization: Online First articles (February and March 2019)
Articles
Anna Lührmann & Staffan I. Lindberg, ‘A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it?’ (published online 1 March 2019).

Book Review
Agnes Batory, ‘Nordic nationalism and right-wing populist politics: imperial relationships and national sentiments, by Eirikur Bergmann’ (published online 20 Feb 2019).

Democratization: Volume 26, Issue 3 (February 2019)
Articles


Book Reviews


Problems of Post-Communism: Volume 66, Issue 1 (February 2019)

Special Issue: ‘Mapping the Discursive Opportunities for Radical-Right Populist Politics across Eastern Europe’

Introduction


Articles


Alena KluKavSKá & Matej Hruška, ‘We Talk about the “Others” and You Listen Closely: The Extreme Right Communication on Social Media’ (2019) 66(1) Problems of Post-Communism 59.


Perspectives on Politics: Volume 17, Issue 1 (March 2019)

Article


Book Reviews


Virginia Law Review: Volume 105 online (February 2019)


* Forthcoming (in a shorter version) in András Sajó & Renáta Uitz (eds), From Criticism to Scorn: How the Recalibration of Human Rights Diminishes Liberty and What to Do About It?.


These reports:

- Contain brief but useful new information regarding judicial independence, especially the Hungary report
- The Hungary Report confirms that the Commission is looking into infringement action against Hungary and appears to be waiting for a pending Opinion from the Venice Commission before it acts.


Position Papers from Rule of Law Roundtable at the Parliament of the Netherlands (14 February 2019)

* Note: The link above is to simple details of the event. A specific link is provided to each paper.

* Note: The Amnesty document is a Word document that must be downloaded directly from the link provided

László MARÁCZ, ‘Position paper prepared for the public roundtable discussion on the rule of law in Poland and Hungary in the Standing Committee on European Affairs of the Netherlands House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer)’.

Israel BUTLER, ‘Brief overview and analysis of tools available to the EU to protect pluralist democracy, the rule of law and fundamental rights’.

Geerst CORSTENS, Criticism of the Judiciary: The Virtue of Moderation.


HELSINKI FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ‘The rule of law crisis in Poland’.


Miklós SZÁNTHÓ, Director of the Center for Fundamental Rights in Budapest, ‘Note on the Legislation Governing Administrative Courts’.
Bad decisions down to a science.
D'oh-mocracy at its finest.

Brexit. Trump. Ford Nation. In this timely book, David Moscrop asks why we make irrational political decisions and whether our stone-age brains can process democracy in the information age.

In an era overshadowed by income inequality, environmental catastrophes, terrorism at home and abroad, and the decline of democracy, Moscrop argues that the political decision-making process has never been more important. In fact, our survival may depend on it.

Drawing on both political science and psychology, Moscrop examines how our brains, our environment, the media, and institutions influence decision-making. Making good decisions is not impossible, Moscrop argues, but the psychological and political odds are sometimes stacked against us.

Available now from Goose Lane Editions

Paperback $22.95 / Also available as E-book

Cas Mudde’s Recommended Reads on Far Right & Populism
By Female Scholars

Note 1: In this reading list, the Dutch political scientist Cas Mudde recommends 10 books on the contemporary far right and populism written and edited by women scholars.

Note 2: This post originally appeared on the LSE Review of Books and is reproduced with the kind permission of the Editor, Dr Rosemary Deller, and Prof. Mudde. If you would like to add to this list, please add your recommendations in the comments below the post itself.

In this reading list, the Dutch political scientist Cas Mudde recommends 10 books on the contemporary far right and populism written and edited by women scholars. If you would like to add to this list, please add your recommendations in the comments below.

This reading list is part of a theme week published in the run-up to International Women’s Day 2019 (#IWD2019) to showcase and celebrate women’s scholarship across the social sciences and humanities. You can explore more of the week’s content here.

Reading List: 10 Recommended Reads on the Contemporary Far Right and Populism

Women scholars have written groundbreaking studies on both far right and populist politics. Today, women authors are quite well represented in the study of the far right, both in Europe and North America. But, somewhat surprisingly, particularly given that those such as Margaret Canovan, Chantal Mouffe and Nadia Urbinati are among its founders, women scholars are less visible within the growing field of populism studies. These ten books are just a selection of the wealth of female scholarship on the contemporary far right and populism.
Books on the Far Right


US sociologist Kathleen Blee is a pioneer in the study of the far right in general, and the role of women within the US far right in particular. Her work is defined by remarkable access to far right activists as well as exceptional reflection on the challenges of doing research in this particular field. Inside Organized Racism is one of her classic works, and a must read for anyone interested in the still understudied topic of gender and the far right as well as in doing fieldwork on the far right.


The British-Swiss political scientist Elisabeth Carter wrote one of the most important books on radical right parties in Western Europe of the early 2000s, which unfortunately has received too little attention. One of the first to empirically study the supply-side of radical right party politics, Carter provides an exceptionally comprehensive analysis of their party ideologies and tests the importance of their organisation, leadership, party competition and their institutional environment on the basis of cross-national comparisons. This book remains essential reading for scholars of radical right/populist party politics.


The Italian political sociologists Manuela Caiani and Donatella della Porta, together with the German political scientist and methodologist Claudius Wagemann, are among the first scholars to systematically apply a social movement approach to understanding the far right. Their comparative study analyses discourses, ideologies, online networking and violence, providing a much-missed non-party perspective to the party-dominated European literature. It is also one of the few studies to integrate the US into a comparative framework.


In this original book, US historian Kathleen Belew argues that key activists within the modern US far right were profoundly influenced by (their experiences in) the Vietnam War. It was Vietnam veterans like Louis R. Beam Jr who popularised the notion of ‘leaderless resistance’ within the far right, which inspired many of the most infamous far right terrorists, from Robert Jay Matthews (The Order) to Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City bombing). Belew also shows how the defeatist mood in the US led to a push for ‘remasculinisation’, expressed through the paramilitarisation of US culture in general, and the various far-right subcultures in particular.

US sociologist Cynthia Miller-Idriss has always approached (far right) nationalism from original angles, focusing specifically on the role of education and educators. The Extreme Gone Mainstream tackles the most important issue related to the far right today, its mainstreaming, from a cultural perspective. Applying a range of original research methods, Miller-Idriss documents how the commercialisation of far right fashion attracts (disenfranchised) youths and aids the mainstreaming of far right ideas and symbols. Read the LSE RB review here.

Books on Populism


The British political philosopher Margaret Canovan, who sadly died last year, is without doubt thé doyen of contemporary populism studies. Her seminal book Populism (1981) might no longer be as useful as it used to be, but it has profoundly influenced most of the leading populism scholars today. Although her last book, The People, is technically not on populism, it discusses three interpretations of ‘the people’, which are crucial to understanding the different types of populism we see today.


Focusing primarily on the Front National in France, with comparative reference to Italy and beyond, US sociologist Mabel Berezin was one of the first academics to position the rise of (right-wing) populism in the broader neoliberal context of post-Maastricht Europe. The book’s emphasis on the importance of culture and security ties in perfectly with the more recent reactions to Jihadi terrorism and the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe.


The Italian political theorist Nadia Urbinati is one of the longest-serving scholars of populism, even if her work has not had the widespread reception it deserves. In Democracy Disfigured, she focuses on three contemporary challenges to liberal democracy: ‘epistemic’ (i.e. technocracy), populism and plebiscitarianism. Broader in scope and not easily accessible to non-academic audiences, it offers a sophisticated analysis of populism in its wider democratic context.


Austrian discourse analyst Ruth Wodak has written many texts on both the far right and populism over the past decades. The Politics of Fear is her masterwork, in which she analyses and explains how right-wing populist parties use fear in their political discourses. Drawing in particular on the Austrian
Freedom Party (FPÖ), from her native Austria, Wodak provides a template for future studies of populist discourses.


Together with her late husband, Ernesto Laclau, the Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe counts as one of the most vocal defenders of left-wing populism. Her latest book is more a pamphlet in defense of social democratic politics, which she, somewhat unfortunately, refers to as ‘left populism’. What it lacks in intellectual depth and originality, this short book compensates for with authentic passion. Moreover, For a Left Populism is a perfect introduction into, and summary of, Mouffe’s distinctive but influential theoretical framework on democracy and populism. Read the LSE RB review here.

Note: This reading list gives the views of the author, and not the position of the LSE Review of Books blog, or of the London School of Economics.


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*

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

Yeşim ARAT & Sevket 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).


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


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).

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).


Michael LIND, The New Class War: Saving Democracy from the Elite Hardcover (Penguin, due for publication 15 October 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; listed as due for publication 28 February 2019 but no details as yet).


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).


Edited Collections

Stephen ASHE, Joel BUSHER, 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).
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).


**Book Chapters**


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).


**Journal Special Issues**


* Two special issues of the German Law Journal are also due for publication in April 2019. Details coming soon.


András JAKAB & Howard SCHWEBER, Special Edition of Constitutional Studies: ‘The Role of Constitutional Design in Preventing or Contributing to Constitutional Decline’.
Articles


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 Database on Political Parties

Party Facts: A database of political parties worldwide on

New Research Project

DEMOS: Democratic Efficiency and the Varieties of Populism in Europe

Based on the assumption that populism is symptomatic of a disconnect between how democratic polities operate and how citizens perceive their own aspirations, needs and identities within the political system, DEMOS explores the practical value of ‘democratic efficacy’ as the condition of political engagement needed to address the challenge of populism. The concept combines attitudinal features (political efficacy), political skills, knowledge, and democratic opportunity structures.

New Webinar Series

RECONNECT Webinar Series on issues related to democratic decay and rule of law backsliding

Information Sources on Venezuela

Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights Blog

Blog hosted by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). A a unique resource for journalists, policymakers, scholars, activists and others who want to understand Venezuelan politics.

Caracas Chronicles: Making Venezuela Make Sense

Independent news and analysis organization devoted to one of those missions that’s easier-said-thando: making Venezuela make sense.
Party Facts Database

Description

The Party Facts project is a gateway to empirical data about political parties and a modern online platform about parties and their history as recorded in social science datasets. It makes use of social media technologies to create a collaborative data infrastructure following an approach to collect data successfully applied by the Encyclopedia of Life (EOL).

Political scientists have accumulated a large amount of data on political parties. This information is included in mass surveys, data handbooks and various datasets on election results, voting records, party characteristics and party positions. With this information we can trace the dynamics of party competition across countries and time. However, the many existing datasets with crucial information about political parties are difficult to link and there is the need for a platform that helps to combine existing sources.

With Party Facts we want to establish an infrastructure that supports political scientists in linking parties across datasets. Our work is based on the experience we gained in recording and linking party information in the Manifesto project and the ParlGov project with initial data for Party Facts derived from these two projects. In the Party Facts project we link main datasets of political science and provide a platform for other scientists to add party information and additional datasets.

Further extensions may include an online (expert) survey page for each party, user specific linking options between parties and a modern data interface (REST API).

Credits

Holger Döring — University of Bremen
Sven Regel — WZB Berlin Social Science Center
DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 11 April 2019. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) resource.

Global Research 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
We’ve had a Name Change

The Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC)

has become

Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC)

This is to highlight that our mission is focused both on anatomising the threats facing liberal democracy worldwide and on finding solutions – immediate, medium-term and long-term.

The aim of democracy defenders cannot be solely to understand authoritarian advances and seek to roll them back. We must also pursue how the practice and structures of democracy can be rethought and reimagined to render democratic governance more responsive and resilient.
About DEM-DEC

Created by Dr Tom Gerald Daly (Melbourne Law School) and supported by a range of leading public law and policy organisations, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

Director
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), Fellow at Melbourne Law School, and Co-Convenor of the Constitution Transformation Network. As a consultant he has worked on EU, 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.

Recent 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.
Two Research Editors provide valuable assistance in producing the monthly Global Research Update.

Kuan-Wei Chen is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany.

Anant Sangal is a student of B.A. LL.B. (Hons.) at the National Law University Delhi, India.

Want to Join the DEM-DEC Team?

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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**International Journal of Constitutional Law (ICON)**
- article on contemporary party-political threats to democratic rule 16

**Democratization: Latest Articles**
- articles and book reviews on democracy promotion in the EU, support for democracy in Latin America, the effect of constitutional design on democracy, among others 16

**Perspectives on Politics**
- a collection of articles on the Trump presidency, on drivers for President Trump's election, assessing whether democratic decline has taken place, and voter suppression, among others 17

**The International Journal of Press/Politics**
- articles and book reviews on populist communication and the media 17

**Global Constitutionalism, Society, Foreign Policy,**
- on unconstitutional constitutional amendments, semi-liberalism in Israel, deliberation and the crisis of democracy, and the evolution of strongmen 18

**Journal of Common Market Studies, Hague Journal on the Rule of Lsw, West European Politics**
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Send suggestions and information on new publications for the next monthly update by filling out the form at [www.democratic-decay.org](http://www.democratic-decay.org) or e-mailing democraticdecay@gmail.com

Have Your Say!

and don’t forget to subscribe
to the Mailing List for updates

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Introduction

The DEM-DEC Bibliography

The DEM-DEC Bibliography is provided on Democratic Decay & Renewal (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.

Ninth monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography are issued in the first week of each month. This is the eighth monthly update provided and was issued on Thursday 11 April 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 March 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 Global Research Updates aim for global coverage. However, it should be borne in mind that the Bibliography and Updates, at present, collate 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 Research Editors, Kuan-Wei Chen and Anant Sangal, who have provided highly valuable assistance in compiling information for this Update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

In each monthly Update DEM-DEC Director Dr Tom Gerald Daly selects key themes. 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. There is a notable bias towards the USA in this month’s themes, partly reflecting Tom’s recent 2-week trip to the US.

1 Political Parties versus Democracy

An increasingly central question in the global conversation concerning democratic decay is the threat posed by political parties to liberal democracy. In a forthcoming article just accepted for publication in the *International Journal of Constitutional Law* (ICON) (and [uploaded to SSRN on 11 April](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3438330)) Brian Christopher Jones and I provide a global analysis of the many ways in which contemporary political parties degrade democratic rule in both indirect and direct ways, and seek to spur discussion of possible remedies. Titled ‘Parties versus democracy: Addressing today’s political-party threats to democratic rule’, the abstract is as follows:

The growing threat to liberal democracy worldwide is, in many ways, a political-party threat. Recent years have witnessed the rise of a range of authoritarian populist, illiberal, far-right, nativist, and extremist parties. Some have entered government in countries including Hungary, Poland, Austria and Italy. Germany’s Alternativ für Deutschland (AfD) is now the main parliamentary opposition. Beyond Europe we see democratic structures threatened or incrementally dismantled through the subversion of an established democratic party by an outsider (e.g., Donald Trump in the U.S., or Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines) or ascendance of the extremist wing of a right-wing party (e.g., India’s Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)). Parties and party leaders occupying an ill-defined space on the political spectrum – a form of “far-right lite” – today generally present a much greater threat to democratic governance than overtly anti-democratic fringe outfits, such as the National Democratic Party (NPD) of Germany. The ambiguity of such parties, their growing size, their entry into government, the subversion of “good” democratic parties by a “bad” leadership, and the rise of the “shadow party’ and intensifying external control mean that contemporary political-party threats seriously frustrate the possibility of remedial action afforded by existing public law and policy mechanisms. They also require us to reflect anew on crafting novel remedies and to revisit our deep assumptions about parties as creatures of central constitutional importance.

2 5 Years of Democratic Decay in India

In recent years a variety of scholars and democracy analysts have raised concerns about the impact of the BJP government under Prime Minister Mahendra Modi, who came to power in 2014. In a new paper just uploaded to SSRN, [Tarunabh Khaitan](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3438333) provides a highly incisive account of the past 5 years in India, analysing the many ways in which the Modi government has sought to diminish accountability...
mechanisms (including the opposition) and pursued an elision of the boundary between the ruling BJP party and the state. Khaitan sets out an analytic framework for the accountability mechanisms put in place by liberal democratic constitutions to provide a check on the executive, to make a crucial distinction between government actions that may be viewed as ideologically suspect but permissible and actions that strike at the heart of liberal democratic constitutionalism. Khaitan concludes that incremental moves toward enhancing executive control mean that ‘[t]he direction of travel is unmistakably towards a ‘guided’ or ‘managed’ democracy which will structurally ensure the political dominance of the ruling party.’ It is a must read, and links with items from previous Global Research Updates (e.g. Duncan McDonnell and Luis Cabrera on the right-wing populism of the BJP-March 2019 Update). A highly contrasting view is provided by Ruchir Sharma in his new book Democracy on the Road: based on two decades of following elections and speaking to individuals from every part of Indian society, Sharma concludes that while democracy may be retreating globally, it is very much alive in India. With the general election looming (April-May 2019), thus debate is of crucial importance.

3 A Rounded Reflection on the Trump Presidency

The US has evidently been a central preoccupation for democratic decay scholars, especially since the election of President Trump in 2016 (see e.g. from earlier Global Research Updates: Theme 4-February 2019; Themes 4 and 6-December 2018; Theme 5-November 2018; and Theme 1-October 2018).

A rich collection in the journal Perspectives on Politics (March 2019, but which also includes articles published earlier) provides a rounded analysis of the Trump presidency to date, including analysis of the impact of economic conditions and racial attitudes in President Trump’s electoral victory in 2016; and continuing evolution of voter suppression in the USA. One piece, drawing on extensive survey data to assess whether ‘bright lines’ have been transgressed as regards democratic backsliding, offers that ‘public and expert perceptions often differ on the importance of specific democratic principles. In addition, though our experts perceive substantial democratic erosion, particularly in areas related to checks and balances, polarization between Trump supporters and opponents undermines any social consensus recognizing these violations.’ Another, by Robert Kaufman and Stephan Haggard, perceives ‘striking parallels’ between the USA and states such as Venezuela, Turkey and Hungary as regards democratic dysfunction, polarization, the nature of authoritarian appeals to the electorate, and the processes through which authoritarian leaders have sought to exploit elected office. A historical piece, placing the Trump presidency in a wider context, suggests the democratic order is under threat due to the interactive effects of debilitated institutions, exclusionary identity politics, and norm-breaking.

Elsewhere, in the Democratization journal (April 2019), Kenneth Bunker provides an insightful review of Pippa Norris and Ron Inglehart’s new book, Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism, describing it as ‘a foundational piece in the burgeoning field of studies related to the revival of authoritarianism and the rise of populism in the twenty-first century.’ Bunker finds particular value in the authors’ analysis and charting of a changing social and political landscape, with the left-right cleavage replaced by pluralist-populist and liberal-authoritarian continuums, although he expresses doubt as to whether the framework is applicable outside of the US, UK and EU.

4 Computing Polarisation

In a working paper uploaded to SSRN in March, David Pozen, Eric Talley and Julian Nyarko adopt an innovative approach to analysing polarisation through a range of machine-learning and text-analysis
techniques. Analysing a data set of all remarks made in the US Congress between 1873 and 2016, as well as a collection of more recent newspaper editorials, the authors’ findings suggest that constitutional discourse has grown increasingly polarised over the past four decades and that polarisation has intensified faster in constitutional discourse than in non-constitutional discourse. Further, they suggest that conservative-leaning speakers have driven this trend, and that contemporary conservative legislators have crafted a notably ‘coherent constitutional vocabulary’, which allows them to ‘own’ terms associated with the Constitution’s original meaning but also terms associated with textual provisions such as the First Amendment.

5 Constitutional Design and Democratic Performance

Constitutional design has become a growing preoccupation in the global discussion concerning democratic decay. Three items in this Update warrant attention. In the latest edition of the *Democratization* journal (April 2019), Anna Fruhstorfer, focusing on presidential and semi-presidential systems in Europe, offers that while directly-elected presidents tend to be more powerful and foster a consistent constitutional design (as regards resonance between de jure and de facto power), ‘inconsistent designs’ focused on counterbalancing presidential legitimacy and de jure power perform significantly better as regards democratic development. In an earlier article from 2014, suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, Yasmin Dawood develops a typology of ‘democratic dysfunction’ that distinguishes among constitutional, political, institutional, and civic dysfunction to assess the relative merits and demerits of presidential and parliamentary systems. Dawood’s ‘optimal constraint theory of governance’ provides a useful framework for assessing trade-offs between mechanisms that constrain governmental action and mechanisms that empower government or relieve constraints via “anti-deadlock” mechanisms. Finally, this is the theme of a forthcoming special issue of the journal *Constitutional Studies*, edited by András Jakab and Howard Schwaeber, on ‘The Role of Constitutional Design in Preventing or Contributing to Constitutional Decline’. Contributors include DEM-DEC Director Tom Daly, Tom Ginsburg, Cassie Emmons, Aziz Huq, David Kosař, and Rainer Grote.

6 Poverty and Participation

I was initially unsure whether the 2018 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to the United States of America, suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, was sufficiently relevant. However, it is striking that the Special Rapporteur Philip Alston dedicates an entire section to how extreme poverty undermines democratic participation in the US. As well as ‘overt disenfranchisement’ of felons and ex-felons, he points to ‘covert disenfranchisement and remarks that it unsurprising that the US has one of the lowest turnout rates in elections among developed countries:

Then there is covert disenfranchisement, which includes the dramatic gerrymandering of electoral districts to privilege particular groups of voters, the imposition of artificial and unnecessary voter identification requirements, the blatant manipulation of polling station locations, the relocation of Departments of Motor Vehicles’ offices to make it more difficult for certain groups to obtain identification, and the general ramping up of obstacles to voting, especially for those without resources. The net result is that people living in poverty, minorities and other disfavoured groups are being systematically deprived of their right to vote.
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 ‘New Publications’ and ‘Forthcoming Research’ sections on p.16 and p.21

Monographs


André BÉTEILLE, Democracy and Its Institutions (Oxford University Press, 2017).


Book Chapters


Edited Collections

Sanford LEVINSON, Joel PARKER & Paul WOODRUFF (eds), Loyalty: NOMOS LIV (NYU Press, 2013).

* The NOMOS series, a yearbook produced by the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, has been added to the Links section on DEM-DEC


Articles

Carolina PLESCIA & Jakob-Moritz EBERL, ‘“Not my government!” The role of norms and populist attitudes on voter preferences for government formation after the election’ Party Politics (first published 5 February 2019).

Policy Papers & Reports

Florence GAUB & Nicu POPESCU (eds), After the EU Global Strategy - Building Resilience (May 2017).
Print Media & Blog Posts

* Note: Print media articles and blog posts are generally not covered in this Update. However, we follow a policy of occasionally including pieces suggested to us by users, especially if they come from outlets which provide more in-depth analysis.

Hal Brands BLOOMBERG, ‘NATO's next war is against global tyranny’ The Eagle 3 April 2019.


Panel Discussion to Launch DEM-DEC

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

Having gone live on 25 June 2018, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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.
March 2019: New Publications

Note: A number of items were published in late February or early April 2019


Monograph: Jennifer M. MILLER, Cold War Democracy: The United States and Japan (Harvard University Press, published 1 April 2019).


International Journal of Constitutional Law (Forthcoming)
Tom Gerald DALY and Brian Christopher JONES, ‘Parties versus democracy: Addressing today’s political-party threats to democratic rule’ (available on SSRN; posted 11 April 2019).

Democratization: Latest Articles (April 2019)

Articles
Sonja GRIMM, ‘Democracy promotion in EU enlargement negotiations: more interaction, less hierarchy’ (published online 5 April 2019).

Luis A. CARNACHO, ‘Understanding support for democracy in new and old democracies in the Americas: the role of democratic experience’ (published online 2 April 2019).
Robert CSEHI, ‘Neither episodic, nor destined to failure? The endurance of Hungarian populism after 2010’ (published online 25 March 2019).

Anna FRUHSTORFER, ‘Consistency in constitutional design and its effect on democracy’ (published online 1 April 2019).

**Book Reviews**

Kenneth BUNKER, ‘Cultural backlash: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism, by Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart’ (published online 2 April 2019).


**Perspectives on Politics: First View Articles (March 2019)**

* Note: A number of the items in the collection below were published in October 2018 but are included here as they have not been included in any previous Update


John M. CAREY, Gretchen HELMKE, Brendan NYHAN, Mitchell SANDERS & Susan STOKES, ‘Searching for Bright Lines in the Trump Presidency’ (published online: 8 March 2019).


**Articles**


**Book Reviews**


**Global Constitutionalism: Volume 8, Issue 1 (March 2019)**


**Society: Vol. 353, Issue 6432 (March 2019)**


**Foreign Policy (March 2019)**

Erica FRANTZ, ‘The Evolution of the Strongman: Why authoritarians have grown more liberal as democracies have grown more authoritarian’ 11 March 2019.


James DAWSON & Seán HANLEY, ‘Foreground Liberalism, Background Nationalism: A Discursive-institutionalist Account of EU Leverage and ‘Democratic Backsliding’ in East Central Europe’ (first published 15 March 2019).

Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Articles (March 2019)

Bogdan IANCU, ‘Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi?: The Venice Commission as Norm Entrepreneur’ (published online 13 March 2019).

Lisa LOUWERSE & Eva KASSOTI, ‘Revisiting the European Commission’s Approach Towards the Rule of Law in Enlargement’ (published online 6 March 2019).

West European Politics: Latest Articles (March 2019)

Nicole SCICLUNA & Stefan AUER, ‘From the rule of law to the rule of rules: technocracy and the crisis of EU governance’ (published online 22 March 2019).


"An indispensable look at the disheartening illiberal assault on democracy. Sadurski illuminates how Poland, once the great success story of the post-1989 new world order, has been brought to the brink of authoritarianism."
— Samuel Issacharoff, NYU Law

"A magnificent achievement! Sadurski's close reading of the Polish case sheds light on many theoretical and empirical debates in the growing literature on democratic backsliding."
— Tom Ginsburg, author (with Aziz Huq) of How to Save a Constitutional Democracy

“Sadurski rises above the specificity of the case to offer general reflection, substantial analysis, and a series of important lessons we can learn from the collapse of a constitutional democracy.”
— Kim Scheppele, Princeton University

Pre-order from Oxford University Press
Paperback $39.95 / Also available as E-book

Poland’s Constitutional Breakdown. Oxford University Press 2019. 9780198840503
Forthcoming Research

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

Note 2: New additions to this section 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*

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

Yeşim ARAT & Sevket PAMUK, Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in September 2019).

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


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


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).


NEW Dannagal GOLTHWAITE YOUNG, Irony and Outrage: The Polarized Landscape of Rage, Fear, and Laughter in the United States Hardcover (due for publication 2 December 2019).

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).


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

**NEW** Duncan McDonnell & Annika Werner, International Populism: The Radical Right in the European Parliament (Hurst, due for publication August 2019).

**NEW** Fathali M. MOGHADDAM, Threat to Democracy: The Appeal of Authoritarianism in an Age of Uncertainty (American Psychological Association, due for publication 28 May 2019).

Joe MULHALL, David LAWRENCE, Simon MURDOCH & Patrik HERMANSson, The Alt-Right International (Routledge, forthcoming; due for publication 30 March 2019 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).


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

**Merijn Oudenaampsen**, The Dutch New Right: Culture Wars in the Netherlands (Routledge, forthcoming due for publication 28 February 2019 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).


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

**NEW** Ece TEMELKURAN, How to Lose a Country: The 7 Steps from Democracy to Dictatorship (HarperCollins, due for publication 28 May 2019).

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


**Edited Collections**

Stephen ASHE, Joel BUSHER, 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).

**Yoichi Funabashi & G. John Ikenberry (eds)**, The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order (publisher TBA, due for publication 29 October 2019).
NEW  Stéphanie HENNETTE, Thomas PIKETTY, Guillaume SACRISTE & Antoine VAUCHEZ, How to Democratize Europe trans Paul Dermine, Marc LePain & Patrick Camiller (Harvard University Press, due for publication 8 August 2019).

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


Book Chapters


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).


Journal Special Issues


* Two special issues of the German Law Journal are also due for publication in April 2019. Details coming soon.


András JAKAB & Howard SCHWEBER, Special Edition of Constitutional Studies: ‘The Role of Constitutional Design in Preventing or Contributing to Constitutional Decline’.
Articles


New Resources in DEM-DEC Links

Note: Think something could be added to the DEM-DEC Links section? E-mail the information to democraticdecay@gmail.com

New resources added to the Links section on DEM-DEC since the last Research Update include:

New Research Project

Constitutional populism: friend or foe of constitutional democracy?
CONPOP aims to explain and evaluate a new type of regime sweeping the globe – ‘constitutional populism’ as newly influential and pervasive in the domestic and geopolitical conduct of a variety of countries. Partly funded by the Australian Research Council (ARC), research will run from 2019 to 2021.

New Bibliography

Nordic Right-Wing Populism Bibliography
This new bibliography, recently issued by the Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo contains a range of material. Send an email to Anders Ravik Jupskås (a.r.jupskas@c-rex.uio.no) if you know of any relevant publication that is not already on the list.

Podcast

Philosophy 24/7
Philosophy 24/7 provides concise interviews with leading philosophers about pressing moral, political and social questions. Recent podcasts include:

- Democracy: How can we save democracy?
- Intellectual Arrogance: Are we becoming incapable of respecting other people’s opinions?

Journal

NOMOS: Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy
The NOMOS series is produced by the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy since 1958. Each yearbook is devoted to a single theme, often boiled down to one word, e.g. Authority, Loyalty, Compromise. It is a real treasure trove for deeper thinking on democracy and democratic decay.
Featured Link

Constitutional Populism
Friend or Foe of Constitutional Democracy?

Chief Investigators
Adam Czarnota, Martin Krygier, Wojciech Sadurski

Description
Our project aims to explain and evaluate a new type of regime sweeping the globe – where what we call ‘constitutional populism’ is newly influential and pervasive in the domestic and geopolitical conduct of a variety of countries.

Constitutional populists play by new rules – that they are still making up. From where we sit this means that politicians, policy-makers, and concerned citizens need to understand them.

Click CTRL + this symbol to access the website
DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 17 May 2019. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) resource,

Global Research 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
We’ve had a Name Change

The Democratic Decay Resource (DEM-DEC) has become Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC)

This is to highlight that our mission is focused both on anatomising the threats facing liberal democracy worldwide and on finding solutions – immediate, medium-term and long-term.

The aim of democracy defenders cannot be solely to understand authoritarian advances and seek to roll them back. We must also pursue how the practice and structures of democracy can be rethought and reimagined to render democratic governance more responsive and resilient.
About DEM-DEC

Created by Dr Tom Gerald Daly (Melbourne Law School) and supported by a range of leading public law and policy organisations, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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
democraticdecay@gmail.com

Director
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), Fellow at Melbourne Law School, and Co-Convenor of the Constitution Transformation Network. As a consultant he has worked on EU, 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.

Recent 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.
Research Editors
Kuan-Wei Chen & Anant Sangal

Two Research Editors provide valuable assistance in producing the monthly Global Research Update.

Kuan-Wei Chen is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany.

Anant Sangal is a student of B.A. LL.B. (Hons.) at the National Law University Delhi, India.

Want to Join the DEM-DEC Team?

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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**Monographs and Edited Collection:**
- Revolutionary Constitutions: Charismatic Leadership and the Rule of Law
- Poland’s Constitutional Breakdown: Freefall 2015-2018
- The Socialist Manifesto: The Case for Radical Politics in an Era of Extreme Inequality
- Edited Collection: Transnational Extreme Right Networks

**German Law Journal: 20th Anniversary Double Issue on Populism**
- articles on theories/varieties of populism/populist constitutionalism, political parties, regional rights organs, constitutional stability in Japan, among others

**Hague Journal on the Rule of Law**
- Special Issue: ‘Rule of Law Decay’

**East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures**
- Special Section: ‘Poland’s Wars of Symbols’

**European Constitutional Law Review**
- articles on the perils of dialogue as a democratic defence, and the illiberal use of constitutional courts in Europe

**Journal of Democracy**
- articles on populists in power, Freedom House Survey for 2018, and nationalism, democracy and memory laws, book review of The People v. Tech, and documents on democracy

**Comparative Politics, Columbia Law Review Online, Hastings Law Journal**
- articles on clientelism in Hungarian elections, constitutional hardball, responsible party government, unconstitutional constitutional amendments

**Academic working papers**
- on presidential illegality in constitutional amendment, Article 7 TEU, ‘tactical’ separation of powers, and a defence of the Electoral College

**Policy papers and reports**
- on Sweden Democrats voters, regulation of social media, Europeans’ voting behaviour, democratic decay and disinformation in the digital age in the Philippines, and disinformation in the EU

**IACL-AIDC Blog Symposium on the Crisis in Venezuela**

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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

and don’t forget to subscribe to the Mailing List for updates

Sign up using the Subscribe box on the homepage

Or e-mail democraticdecay@gmail.com
Introduction

The DEM-DEC Bibliography

The DEM-DEC Bibliography is provided on Democratic Decay & Renewal (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.

Tenth monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography are generally issued each month. This is the tenth monthly update provided and was issued on Friday 17 May 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 April and early May 2019. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material. In addition, the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section provides a growing list of future publications.

Global Coverage

The Global Research Updates aim for global coverage. However, it should be borne in mind that the Bibliography and Updates, at present, collate 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 Research Editors, Kuan-Wei Chen and Anant Sangal, who have provided highly valuable assistance in compiling information for this Update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

In each monthly Update DEM-DEC Director Dr Tom Gerald Daly selects key themes. 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 Two Landmark books from Leading Scholars

This Global Research Update has been delayed a little to wait for the publication of two landmark books by leading scholars on constitutionalism and democracy, from Europe and the USA respectively – Wojciech Sadurski (Poland’s Constitutional Breakdown) and Bruce Ackerman (Revolutionary Constitutions: Charismatic Leadership and the Rule of Law). The books are very different: Sadurski’s is a single case-study expressly seeking to anatomise the dismantling of liberal democratic institutions in Poland since the Law and Justice Party (PiS) entered government in October 2015, but with clear resonance for European and global democracy-watchers. It was also not quite planned, but a diversion from another book Sadurski was already writing (see an author interview here). Ackerman’s is the first of a three-volume series on the ‘Rise of World Constitutionalism’ and, while highly relevant for anyone interested in democratic decay, analyses key questions (e.g. the roots of Poland’s democratic malaise, as well as constitutionalism in South Africa and France, among others) more obliquely. Keep an eye out for a review of Ackerman’s book by Tomasz Koncewicz. I will be reviewing Sadurski’s book in the European Constitutional Law Review and discussing it at a book panel (Panel #182), alongside leading and emerging scholars, at the International Society of Public Law (ICON-S) annual conference in Chile.

2 A Critical Mass of Scholarship on Democratic Threats in Poland

Sadurski’s book represents the capstone of a critical mass of scholarship on threats to liberal democracy in Poland, across multiple disciplines, which has rapidly expanded during the past year. Building on a range of research on Poland in the main DEM-DEC Bibliography and other Updates to date, in this Update alone we have, in the Hague Journal on the Rule of Law special issue on ‘Rule of Law Decay’ (April 2019): an article from Sadurski himself, on the transformation of the Constitutional Tribunal from independent organ to ‘governmental enabler; Radoslaw Markowski on authoritarian clientelism since 2015; and Marta Bucholc on memory laws and democratic backsliding – which resonates with the special section on ‘Poland’s Wars of Symbols’ in the journal East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures (May 2019). Pablo Castillo-Ortiz includes Poland as one of three case-studies in his article on illiberal abuse of constitutional courts in the European Constitutional Law Review (published online on 8 May 2019), while Renata Uitz’s guest editorial in the same edition, and Dimitry Kochenov’s forthcoming article in the Polish Yearbook of International Law (recently posted on SSRN) discuss action against Poland at the EU level,. Forthcoming research includes two articles by Tímea Drinóczl & Agnieszka Bień-Kacala on Hungary and Poland (see p.24 of this Update).
3 Reappraisal and Reform of Law and Politics in the USA

Perhaps the largest – and most rapidly growing – body of scholarship prompted by concerns regarding threats to liberal democracy, or at least perceptions that democratic practice is changing, is in the USA. Three items in this Update point to the intellectual energy in this area. In the Columbia Law Review Online (April-May 2019), Jed Handelsman Shugerman sets out an interesting argument against (mis)using the term ‘constitutional hardball’ – intended to denote legitimate, if aggressive, constitutional political moves. But the label “hardball” – to encompass “illegitimate, fundamentally undemocratic tactics”. Also in the CLR Online (May 2019) Tabatha Abu El-Haj continues a developing conversation with Michael Kang on the appropriate approach to reform of the US political system, agreeing with Kang that there can be no return to a lost era of old-style machine politics and mass membership, but arguing that the response cannot be a policy focus on responsible party behaviour but a broader reform agenda that seeks to marry the inclusiveness of the past and the different means of association of the present. Finally, a forthcoming Pepperdine Law Review article by John Yoo sets out a defence of the Electoral College, cautioning against an overreaction to the College’s failure to filter out a candidate such as Trump in 2016, and offering that a system of direct election could present a higher risk of danger of tyranny by the majority. Finally, in a thought-provoking forthcoming article in the Drake Law Review, Richard Albert examines whether constitutional reformers in the USA may end up pursuing unconventional methods to overcome the barriers standing in the way of any constitutional amendment.

4 Understanding Voters Better

As discussed in the March Update, 2019 is a critical year in terms of elections, with voters going to the polls in major elections in the EU, India, and Poland, among others. A number of items in this Update are useful to help us better understand voter behaviour. A new policy report by the Institute for Future Studies examines those voting for the far-right (or at least ‘far-right-lite’) Sweden Democrats (now well-established as Sweden’s third-largest party), asking “Who are they, where do they come from, and where are they headed?”. The authors, Kirsti Jylhä, Jens Rydgren, and Pontus Strimling, observe that SD voters come from both the right and the left, primarily share a critical view of immigration, but beyond this it is not entirely clear what they have in common. Another new policy paper by the Bertelsmann Foundation (Stiftung), suggests that many voters are voting against the centre-ground parties rather than strongly in favour of challenger parties. An article by Philipp Dreyer and Johann Bauer in the West European Politics journal (January 2019), suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user, indicates (on the basis of cross-country data from 1977-2016) that political parties respond to greater voter polarisation by adopting more extreme positions, but that this effect declines as voters’ propensity to abstain decreases (which is a flipside to recent findings by Jennifer McCoy and Murat Somer (See Theme 1-February Update), suggesting that polarisation largely results from the activity of ‘political entrepreneurs’).

5 Democratic Decay (and Breakdown) Outside the West

Various items in this Update remind us that democratic decay is also a concern outside the West (however we may define ‘the West’). In the German Law Journal’s first issue on populism for its twentieth anniversary, Satoshi Yokodaido analyses ‘constitutional stability’ in Japan, arguing that it is not due to popular endorsement of the 1947 Constitution, but in constitutional pathologies that leave the Constitution open to fundamental reinterpretation by political actors. It is notable that a
forthcoming collection edited by Yoichi Funabashi and G. John Ikenberry (due out in October 2019) suggests that the absence of “virulent strains of populism” in Japan may soon change due to deterioration of stabilising forces through a rapidly aging population, widening intergenerational inequality, and high levels of public debt. Elsewhere, two policy documents on disinformation and democracy – in the Philippines and the EU – underscore that democracies of all hues are facing some similar challenges. Aziz Huq, in a forthcoming article, examines four judgments in which the Constitutional Court of South Africa has addressed state capture under President Zuma as a threat to “constitutional democracy.” Finally, an IACL-AIDC Blog Symposium on the (constitutional) crisis in Venezuela provides not useful information on the nature of the crisis, but also highlights the need for expert analysis (from a variety of political and disciplinary perspectives) in a sea of superficial, tendentious, and misleading commentary.

6 The ‘C’ Word: Interesting Trends in Comparative Analysis

In one of my ICONnect Blog columns on democratic decay, published in March 2017 (‘The “C word”: Democratic Decay and the New Frontiers of Comparative Law’), I offered that:

democratic decay is pushing us from a long-held view of comparative constitutional analysis as a choice to a new reality where it is becoming a necessity. Decay, by presenting a novel and multifaceted challenge for democratic governance in specific states, requires scholars, policymakers, and institutions such as courts to look outside their own systems for guidance.

Of course, the importance of comparative constitutional analysis (incorporating both comparative law and comparative political studies) is evident throughout the burgeoning literature on democratic decay: analysis of Poland almost inevitably draws comparative lessons from Hungary, for instance, while US scholarship had drawn on examples from not only liberal democratic states (e.g. Poland) but also hybrid regimes (e.g. Turkey) and authoritarian states (e.g. Egypt).

Perhaps one of the most interesting trends is a growing comparison between states that are not ordinarily paired, such as Venezuela and Turkey: in particular, a recently-minted doctor, Orçun Selçuk, has just completed a political science doctoral thesis on ‘Populism and Leader Polarization in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Turkey’, which broadly examines the relationship between populism and polarization. (Congratulations Orçun!) Although it must be understood on its own merits, the Turkish experience offers many lessons. Those wishing to read more deeply about the Turkish experience will also be happy to hear that Ertug Tombus is working on a manuscript, titled Life-Cycle of a Populist: Populism and Its Trajectory in Turkey. Having recently heard Ertug speak at Princeton in March, I am sure that it will be an important work. By the end of this month a work aimed at a popular audience, by Ece Temelkuran, will be published: How to Lose a Country: The 7 Steps from Democracy to Dictatorship (see a good review here). Yeşim Arat and Şevket Pamuk also have a book due out in September 2019, Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism.
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 ‘New Publications’ and ‘Forthcoming Research’ sections on p.15 and p.23

Monographs


Edited Collections


César RODRÍGUEZ-GARAVITO & Krizna GOMEZ (eds), Rising to the Populist Challenge: A New Playbook for Human Rights Activists (Dejusticia, April 2018). *Full book available at the link
Articles


Anna-Sophie HEINZE, ‘Strategies of mainstream parties towards their right-wing populist challengers: Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland in comparison’ (2018) 41(2) West European Politics 287.


Bill PARK, ‘Populism and Islamism in Turkey’ (2018) 19(2) Turkish Studies 169.


Book Reviews

Lisa DISCH, ‘Reclaiming populism’ Contemporary Political Theory: First Online Articles (published online 14 February 2019).
Panel Discussion to Launch DEM-DEC

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

Having gone live on 25 June 2018, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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
April 2019: New Publications

Note: A number of items were published in early May 2019

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


Edited Collection: Graham MACKLIN and Fabian VIRCHOW (eds), Transnational Extreme Right Networks (Routledge, published 1 May 2019).


*This is the first issue of a double-issue 20th anniversary symposium on populism


German Law Journal: Volume 20, Issue 3 (April 2019)

* This is the second issue of a double-issue 20th anniversary symposium on populism


Special Issue: Rule of law decay

* Many of these pieces have been listed in previous Global Research Updates as first online articles

Editorial


Articles


**East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures: Volume 33 Issue 2 (May 2019)**

**Special Section: Poland’s Wars of Symbols**

**Guest Editors: Simon Lewis and Magdalena Waligórska**


* Note the articles below were published online on 8 May 2019


* Note: A number of items from this issue are not listed below, e.g. because they deal exclusively with authoritarian states

Articles

Book Reviews
(A review of The People vs. Tech: How the Internet Is Killing Democracy (and How We Save It) by Jamie Bartlett.)

Documents on Democracy
Excerpts from: a speech by Armenian Prime Minister Nikol Pashinian; a letter by Bernard-Henri Lévy, Milan Kundera, Salman Rushdie, Elfriede Jelinek, and Orhan Pamuk; tributes to Lyudmila Alexeyeva; and the Parliamentary Call for Global Democratic Renewal.

Comparative Politics, Volume 51, Number 3 (April 2019)

Columbia Law Review Online: Volume 119, Nos. 3 and 4 (April and May 2019)


Policy Study: Bertelsmann Stiftung, Rejection of parties shapes the voting decisions of Europeans (26 April 2019).

Policy Paper: Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Southeast and East Asia, Democratic Decay and Disinformation in the Digital Age (author: John NERY, 26 April 2019).

IACL-AIDC Blog Symposium on Venezuela: 29 April-22 May 2019

* DEM-DEC Global Research Updates generally do not include Blog posts, for a variety of reasons, such as capacity, keeping the Updates to a manageable size, and the existence of software to aggregate posts from multiple blogs. However, this Blog Symposium, on the IACL-AIDC Blog, is worthy of inclusion. Curated by Guest Editor Raul Sánchez-Urribarri, it gathers cutting-edge analysis of the crisis in Venezuela from a variety of perspectives. (In the interests of full disclosure, DEM-DEC Director Tom Daly is also Co-Editor of the IACL-AIDC Blog).
"Bruce Ackerman’s Revolutionary Constitutions is a triumph. It enables the reader to appreciate the many complex factors that contribute to the legitimacy of constitutions and the creation of constitutionalism in a country. In doing so, Ackerman seamlessly navigates events, movements, and a range of charismatic constitutional personalities. He deftly discusses Nehru, Mandela, Ben-Gurion, and de Gaulle, amongst others, and their roles in the making or breaking of constitutional revolutions.

— Menaka Guruswamy, Advocate, Supreme Court of India

"After changing how we think about the U.S. Constitution, Bruce Ackerman is doing the same for the rest of the world. This volume is a remarkable start for what is certain to become one of the most ambitious endeavors in constitutional scholarship: to understand the different beginnings of constitutionalism in the world.”

— Miguel Poiares Maduro, European University Institute
Poland’s Constitutional Breakdown

Oxford Comparative Constitutionalism

Wojciech Sadurski

- The first book-length treatment of the Polish case worldwide
- A valuable addition to scholarship on populism, illiberal democracy, and anti-constitutional actions
- Provides the first detailed account of Poland’s constitutional breakdown

Since 2015, Poland’s populist Law and Justice Party (PiS) has been dismantling the major checks and balances of the Polish state and subordinating the courts, the civil service, and the media to the will of the executive. Political rights have been radically restricted, and the Party has captured the entire state apparatus. The speed and depth of these antidemocratic movements took many observers by surprise: until now, Poland was widely regarded as an example of a successful transitional democracy.

Poland’s anti-constitutional breakdown poses three questions that this book sets out to answer:

What, exactly, has happened since 2015?
Why did it happen?
And what are the prospects for a return to liberal democracy?

Wojciech Sadurski is Challis Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Sydney and Professor at the University of Warsaw Centre for Europe.

Order online at www.oup.com/academic with promotion code ALAUTHC4 to save 30%!
Forthcoming Research

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

Note 2: New additions to this section are now clearly marked

Books

Bruce ACKERMAN, The Rise of World Constitutionalism, Volumes Two and Three * Note: the first volume in this three-volume series was published on 13 May 2019

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

Yeşim ARAT & Sevket PAMUK, Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in September 2019).

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


Catherine DE VRIES & Sarah HOBOLT, The Rise of Challenger Parties * Note: manuscript under preparation; no publication date - announced on Twitter 12 May 2019.

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


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).


Dannagal GOLDTHWAITE YOUNG, Irony and Outrage: The Polarized Landscape of Rage, Fear, and Laughter in the United States Hardcover (due for publication 2 December 2019).

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).


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


NEW Benjamin MOFFITT, Key Concepts in Political Theory (Polity, forthcoming, 2020 * No online information yet: announced on Twitter).


Joe MULHALL, David LAWRENCE, Simon MURDOCH & Patrik HERMANSSON, The Alt-Right International (Routledge, forthcoming; due for publication 30 March 2019 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).


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 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).

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

Ece TEMELKURAN, How to Lose a Country: The 7 Steps from Democracy to Dictatorship (HarperCollins, due for publication 28 May 2019).

NEW Ertug TOMBUS, Life-Cycle of a Populist: Populism and Its Trajectory in Turkey (book manuscript under preparation * No online information yet: announced on Twitter).

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


Edited Collections

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

Stéphanie HENNETTE, Thomas PIKETTY, Guillaume SACRISTE & Antoine VAUCHEZ, How to Democratize Europe trans Paul Dermine, Marc LePain & Patrick Camiller (Harvard University Press, due for publication 8 August 2019).


Book Chapters


Journal Special Issues


András JAKAB & Howard SCHWEBER, Special Edition of Constitutional Studies: ‘The Role of Constitutional Design in Preventing or Contributing to Constitutional Decline’.

Articles


New Resources in DEM-DEC Links

Note: Think something could be added to the DEM-DEC Links section? E-mail the information to democraticdecay@gmail.com

New resources added to the Links section on DEM-DEC since the last Research Update include the following resources on Europe:

**New Joint Initiative**

**re:constitution – Exchange and Analysis on Democracy and Rule of Law in Europe**
Joint initiative by Democracy Reporting International (DRI) and Forum Transregionale Studien (FTS) to improve European exchanges on constitutional law and values that leads from common words to shared, concrete, concepts. re:constitution has three main components: Fellowships (FTS); Seminars (FTS); and Analysis (DRI).

**Political Movement**

**DiEM25: Democracy in Europe Movement 2025**
A pan-European political movement launched in 2015 by former Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis and Croatian philosopher Srećko Horvat.

**Journal**

**West European Politics**
Covers politics, government and public policy in Western Europe, embracing major political developments, including the EU, and coverage of all national elections in Western Europe. There are ordinarily two special issues per volume.
Featured Link

re: constitution

Exchange and Analysis on Democracy and Rule of Law in Europe

Joint initiative by Democracy Reporting International (DRI) and Forum Transregionale Studien (FTS) to improve European exchanges on constitutional law and values that leads from common words to shared, concrete, concepts.

To turn this idea into reality, re:constitution has three main components:

- re:constitution Fellowships (FTS)
- re:constitution Seminars (FTS)
- re:constitution Analysis (DRI)
DEM-DEC

Bringing Democracy Defenders Together
This Update was issued on 29 June 2019. It is based on new publications and suggestions from users of the Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) resource,

Global Research 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
It’s our Anniversary!

Democratic Decay & Renewal (DEM-DEC) Was Launched One Year Ago!

DEM-DEC was launched on 25 June 2018 to assist researchers and policymakers focused on the global deterioration of liberal democracy, and on re-thinking democracy.

Since launch DEM-DEC has been used by thousands of democracy defenders and analysts worldwide, in over 130 states. The platform has recently expanded, with recent additions including a special section devoted to the EU treaty process for addressing rule of law backsliding (curated by Prof. Laurent Pech and Dr Joelle Grogan).
About DEM-DEC

Created by Dr Tom Gerald Daly (Melbourne Law School) and supported by a range of leading public law and policy organisations, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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 and democratic renewal, 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 démocra tic-decay.org
democraticdecay@gmail.com

Director
Dr Tom Gerald Daly

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

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

His current book project concerns the role of public law in countering ‘democratic decay’ worldwide. Recent 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.

He has written on democratic decay as a columnist for the ICONnect blog and tweets @DemocracyTalk.
Research Editors
Kuan-Wei Chen & Anant Sangal

Two Research Editors provide valuable assistance in producing the monthly Global Research Update.

Kuan-Wei Chen is a doctoral researcher at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany.

Anant Sangal is a student of B.A. LL.B. (Hons.) at the National Law University Delhi, India.

Want to Join the DEM-DEC Team?

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 Estudios 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
Going to ICON-S in Santiago?

DEM-DEC will be an exhibitor in the main hall

For the annual conference of the International Society of Public Law

DEM-DEC Director Tom Daly will also be on 4 panels:

#24: 'Corruption's Corrupting of Liberal Democracy'
#83: 'Courts Against or in Favour of Democratic Decay?'
#125: 'The State of Constitutional Democracy: Directions'
#182: Panel on Wojciech Sadurski’s new book, Poland’s Constitutional Breakdown (OUP, 2019)

Free materials

Oxford University Press has put together a collection of articles and commentary on this year’s ICON-S conference theme

'Public Law in Times of Change?'

Free until 31 August 2019

https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/page/773
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   - **Democratization**  
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     - articles on democratic backsliding, judicial independence in the EU, resistance to populism and backsliding, rule of law, crisis of democracy  
   - **European Sociological Review, Information, Communication & Society, Political Studies, Review of International Studies**  
     - articles on economic drivers of support for populist parties, extreme-right communication in Italy and France, opposition and populism in Netherlands, populism and international relations, review of book on digital economy  
   - **Harvard, Iowa, Texas, UCLA, U Penn law reviews, Journal of Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Democratic Theory**  
     - articles on democratic threats in the USA, judiciary, social media, populism in Bolivia and Ecuador, satisfaction with democracy in the USA  
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5. Forthcoming Research  
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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

and don’t forget to subscribe to the Mailing List for updates

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Introduction

The DEM-DEC Bibliography

The DEM-DEC Bibliography is provided on Democratic Decay & Renewal (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.

Eleventh monthly update since DEM-DEC was launched

Updates to the Bibliography are issued every month. This is the eleventh monthly update provided and was issued on Friday 29 June 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 late May-late June 2019. Items suggested by DEM-DEC users include earlier material. In addition, the ‘Forthcoming Research’ section provides a growing list of future publications.

Global Coverage

The Global Research Updates aim for global coverage. However, it should be borne in mind that the Bibliography and Updates, at present, collate 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 Research Editors, Kuan-Wei Chen and Anant Sangal, who have provided highly valuable assistance in compiling information for this Update.
Key Themes from this Update

Identifying Themes

In each monthly Update DEM-DEC Director Dr Tom Gerald Daly selects key themes. 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 Taking Stock on DEM-DEC’s First Year Anniversary

DEM-DEC’s first anniversary provides a useful moment to pause and take stock. In early 2018 the initial inspiration for DEM-DEC was the clear need for a hub to gather the rapidly growing literature and events focused on the deterioration of liberal democracy worldwide – whether through the subtle machinations of errant governments, rising illiberal political forces, or wider decay of the democratic system. After a breakneck development phase, by the time DEM-DEC was launched in June 2018 the sheer range of activity worldwide made the public value of such a hub even more evident.

This proliferation of research shows no sign of slowing down, and the DEM-DEC team now faces the continual challenge of providing a useful round-up of research each month while avoiding the temptation to be comprehensive and becoming part of the problem by adding to information overload. Every part of DEM-DEC, including the Global Research Update, rests on careful curation, in an ongoing relationship with our users and leading global experts.

Our name change to Democratic Decay & Renewal in April 2019 means the focus of DEM-DEC has expanded to include items on re-thinking how we conceive of, and practice, liberal democratic rule. We see this as the necessary corollary of meditating on the causes and patterns of democratic decay, and it provides a focus on hope and action rather than fatalism and powerlessness. Thank you to everyone – and that’s thousands of you! – for helping to make DEM-DEC what it is today, and for continuing to collaborate in this global project.

2 Taking Stock on the Global Crisis of Democracy

Three new books focus on the current global challenges facing liberal democracy, examining the appeal of authoritarianism, whether militant democracy remains a viable model for securing democracy, and the wider transformation of the West in past half-century. In The Appeal of Authoritarianism in an Age of Uncertainty, the social psychologist Fathali Moghaddam examines the stages of political development on a spectrum from absolute dictatorship to the ideal of operating democracy. Discussing everything from how we conceive of freedom, to the dictator-follower nexus, to the enduring threats including social media and politics as show business, it is a worthwhile tour through the complexities of our relationships to governance and belonging and the tensions between global unification and a retreat to tribal identity. It is also a useful companion piece to the new collection on militant democracy, edited by Anthoula Malkopoulou and Alexander Kirshner, which brings together an international group of political scientists, legal scholars and philosophers to discuss
the urgent (though longstanding) question of how democracies can adopt defensive postures to combat anti-democratic extremism, and whether this can be justified. Painting on a broader canvass again, Simon Reid-Henry examines the remaking of the West since the Cold War, arguing that the ‘Empire of Democracy’ built in the decades after 1971 as a reaction to the crisis of democracy as the postwar ‘golden age’ waned, is itself ending. As the blurb puts it: “The era we have all been living through is closing out, democracy is turning on its axis once again.”

3 Authoritarian Constitutionalism
A new collection on authoritarian constitutionalism, edited by Helena Alviar García and Günter Frankenburg, is a welcome systematic analysis of the contours of this prismatic concept, and how it focuses our minds on the meaning of both authoritarianism and constitutionalism. The editors emphasise the need to analyse authoritarian constitutionalism as an important phenomenon in its own right, not merely as a deviant of liberal constitutionalism. With a broad global scope including states such as France, Japan, Venezuela, South Africa, Syria and the US, the collection also features probing conceptual and comparative analysis. A particularly interesting focus across multiple chapters is on enclaves and dimensions of authoritarianism within liberal democracies (see chapters by Helena Alviar García, Duncan Kennedy, and Norman Spaulding). As Peer Zumbansen puts it in his review, the collection poses a challenging question:

What if the liberal belief in a Constitution as safeguard and backbone of a democratic, inclusive and egalitarian society turned out to be wrong? The contributors ... provide challenging evidence of the myriad ways in which constitutional texts and practices can and in fact do facilitate, endorse and empower authoritarianism.

Following similar lines of thought as the above, in the Annual Review of Political Science (May 2019) Christopher Parker and Christopher Towler argue that micro- and macro-level authoritarianism have much in common, drawing lines from the historic authoritarian enclaves in the Jim Crow South to what they view as contemporary authoritarianism at the micro-level, which they see as ultimately driving racism – and how the communities targeted resist it. The

4 The ‘Marketplace of Ideas’ and Institutional Resilience in Today’s USA
Similarly tying the past to the present, Michael Scudder, in his keynote opening the recent Symposium issue of the Notre Dame Law Review on ‘Contemporary Free Speech: The Marketplace of Ideas a Century Later’ (made accessible online this month), observes that “many aspects of the way we think, communicate, and interact have one foot still touching yesterday and another trying to find balance today.” The collection, revisiting Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes’s dissent in Abrams v. United States (1919) in which he argued for a ‘free trade in ideas’, underscores how much the free speech landscape has changed (including privacy and digital audiences) but how the stakes of curtailing free speech remain (or allowing it to be diminished) remain as high as ever. Elsewhere, articles in the Harvard and UCLA law reviews address the frayed legitimacy of the Supreme Court and the federal judiciary more widely, while two articles in the Iowa Law Review and Texas Law Review make good companion pieces, examining the US’s susceptibility to dictatorial takeover and the challenge of restoring rule-of-law norms. Both focus on the role of institutions: the former on the courts and Congress; the latter on a broader suite of “foundational institutions” encompassing the federal judiciary, Executive Branch (including law enforcement) officials, Congress, the press, states and cities, advocacy and professional organizations, and the legal academy and universities.
5 Focusing on Latin American Experiences

This week I head to Santiago, Chile, for the annual conference of the International Society of Public Law (ICON-S). The conference has, like last year, a strong focus on the challenges facing democracy (not least the panels I will be on - #24, #83, #125 and #183). Two items in this Update point to the importance of research on democracy in Latin American states. Employing cognitive dissonance theory, Bruno Castanho Silva examines what happens to anti-establishment populist supporters once their candidate wins a national election. Silva argues that survey data from Bolivia and Ecuador collected when presidents Evo Morales and Rafael Correa were elected confirm that populist supporters dissociate the federal government from other political institutions once a populist is elected president, and that this dissociation can last for a few years, an insight that has important wider application. Elsewhere, Samuel Handlin’s 2017 book State Crisis in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America – suggested for addition by a DEM-DEC user – is key reading for anyone seeking to understand the state of democracy from Chile to Venezuela today.

6 Deliberation to Restore Faith in Democracy

Finally, a variety of pieces centre on the potential for democratic deliberation to restore faith in democracy. In Democratic Theory (June 2019) – and linking with this Update’s meta-theme of taking stock – André Bächtiger (interviewed by Selen Ercan) draws on his extensive research on deliberative practice within and beyond parliaments to reflect on the development of the field of deliberative democracy over the past 20 years, not only as a growing branch of democratic theory that suggests understanding and assessing democracy in terms of the quality of communication between citizens and politicians, and among citizens, but also the potential for practicing deliberation in times of increasing populist power. Two other items – suggested by DEM-DEC users – are of note: in a 2018 article Shelley Boulianne, based on a study of a 6-day deliberative exercise, suggests that questions remain as to whether enhanced opportunities for citizen engagement in governance can improve low levels of political trust and efficacy in Western democracies. Finally, in an article from April 2019, Saskia Goldberg, Dominik Wyss and André Bächtiger suggest “a sort of a ‘populist’ impulse where disenchantment conduces to calls for a stronger voice of the ‘people’ and participatory governance models, irrespective of their concrete design.” With deliberative mechanisms (especially citizens’ assemblies) the current darling of constitutional lawyers, this is clearly an area that requires intense cross-disciplinary discussion and engagement.
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 ‘New Publications’ and ‘Forthcoming Research’ sections on p.17 and p.25

**Monographs**


**Edited Collections**


**Book Chapters**

Articles


Saskia GOLDBERG, Dominik WYSS & André BÄCHTIGER, ‘Deliberating or Thinking (Twice) About Democratic Preferences: What German Citizens Want from Democracy’ Political Studies (published online: 26 April 2019).


Special Journal Collections

German Politics and Society: Volume 34, Issue 4 (December 2016)

Special Issue: Plurals of Pegida: New Right Populism and the Rhetoric of the Refugee Crisis

Guest Editors: Patricia Anne Simpson and Helga Druxes


Beverly WEBER, “‘We Must Talk about Cologne’: Race, Gender, and Reconfigurations of “Europe”’ (2018) 34(4) German Politics and Society 68.


Working Papers


Policy Papers

Georgian Institute of Politics, Polarization: what do we know about it and what can we do to combat it? GIP Policy Memo. April 2019 / Issue #30. Author: Fernando Casal Bértua.
Panel Discussion to Launch DEM-DEC

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

Having gone live on 25 June 2018, Democratic Decay & Renewal (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
May-June 2019: New Publications

Note: The majority of items were published in late May-late June 2019


Annual Review of Political Science: Vol. 22 (May 2019)


Democratization: Online First (May 2019)

Articles


Book reviews

Albertus SCHOEMAN, ‘How dictatorships work: power, personalization, and collapse, by Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz’ (published online: 16 May 2019).


Valesca LIMA, ‘Political institutions and democracy in Portugal: assessing the impact of the Eurocrisis, by Antonio Costa Pinto and Conceição Pequito Teixeira’ (published online: 13 May 2019).

Matthijs BOGAARDS, ‘Rethinking the value of democracy: a comparative perspective, by Renske Doorenspleet’ (published online: 9 May 2019).


* This issue was published in print in April 2019 but published online in June 2019.


Articles


Note


Global Constitutionalism: Volume 8, Issue 2 (July 2019)


Ronald CAR, ‘A reply to Sujit Choudhry’s ‘Resisting democratic backsliding’: Weimar legacy and self-enforcing constitutions in post-WWII left-wing constitutional theory’ 391 (published online: 13 June 2019).

Hague Journal on the Rule of Law: First Online Articles (June 2019)


European Sociological Review: First Online (May 2019)

Article


Book review


Political Studies: Volume 67, Issue 2 (May 2019)


Review of International Studies: First View Articles (June 2019)

Sandra DESTRADI & Johannes PLAGEMANN, ‘Populism and International Relations: (Un)predictability, personalisation, and the reinforcement of existing trends in world politics’ (published online: 18 June 2019).


Texas Law Review: Vol. 97 (June 2019)


UCLA Law Review: Vol. 67 (June 2019)

University of Pennsylvania Law Review Online: Vol. 168 (June 2019)


Journal of Politics: First Online Articles (June 2019)

Bruno CASTANHO SILVA, ‘He’s Not One of Them!’ Antiestablishment Supporters of Populist Governments in Bolivia and Ecuador’ (published online: 20 June 2019).

Kevin MUNGER, book review essay: Social Media, Political Science, and Democracy (published online: 3 June 2019). *This essay reviews three books:*


Perspectives on Politics: Volume 17, Issue 2 (June 2019)


Democratic Theory: Volume 6, No.1 (June 2019)

Interview


“The terms “authoritarian constitutionalism” may appear contradictory; but as this rich and far-reaching collection of essays demonstrates it is a widespread phenomenon which must be taken seriously at a time when democracy is under threat worldwide. This superb collection serves variously as an introduction to the topic, a penetrating theoretical and jurisprudential analysis, ... and a global examination of the varying forms of authoritarian constitutionalism.”

— Tony Anghie, Advocate, National University of Singapore and University of Utah

" What if the liberal belief in a Constitution as safeguard and backbone of a democratic, inclusive and egalitarian society turned out to be wrong? The contributors ... provide challenging evidence of the myriad ways in which constitutional texts and practices can and in fact do facilitate, endorse and empower authoritarianism.”

— Peer Zumbansen, King’s College London, UK and Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, Canada

Available from Edward Elgar Publishing

Hardcover £81.00 / Also available as E-book

"""Speech Police is an essential primer for understanding the toughest global governance problem of our digital age. The future of human rights and democracy depends on whether the exercise of government and private power across globally networked digital platforms can be constrained and held accountable."

— Rebecca MacKinnon, author, Consent of the Networked: The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom

"""Speech Police doesn’t merely surface the key questions surrounding platform governance and content moderation with flair and brevity – it also introduces us to the varied people and institutions asking and answering them."

— Jonathan Zittrain, George Bemis Professor of International Law, Professor of Computer Science, and Co-Founder, Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society, Harvard University

Available from Columbia Global Reports

Paperback $15.99 / Also available as E-book

Forthcoming Research

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

Note 2: New additions to this section are now clearly marked

Books

Bruce ACKERMAN, The Rise of World Constitutionalism, Volumes Two and Three * Note: the first volume in this three-volume series was published on 13 May 2019


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

Yeşim ARAT & Sevket PAMUK, Turkey Between Democracy and Authoritarianism (Cambridge University Press, due for publication in September 2019).

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


Catherine DE VRIES & Sarah HOBOLT, The Rise of Challenger Parties * Note: manuscript under preparation; no publication date - announced on Twitter 12 May 2019.


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).


Dannagal GOLDTHWAITE YOUNG, Irony and Outrage: The Polarized Landscape of Rage, Fear, and Laughter in the United States Hardcover (due for publication 2 December 2019).

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).


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


Benjamin MOFFITT, Key Concepts in Political Theory (Polity, forthcoming, 2020 * No online information yet: announced on Twitter).


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 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).

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

Ertug TOMBUS, Life-Cycle of a Populist: Populism and Its Trajectory in Turkey (book manuscript under preparation * No online information yet: announced on Twitter).

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


Edited Collections

NEW Daniele ALBERTAZZI & Davide VAMPA, Actions & Reactions: Populism & New Patterns of Political Competition in Western Europe (Routledge, due for publication in 2020 * No concrete date yet; announced on Twitter 23 June 2019).

Stephen ASHE, Joel BUSHER, Graham MACKLIN and Aaron WINTER (eds), Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method and Practice (Routledge, due for publication 1 June 2019 * Unable to verify whether this book was published on schedule).

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


Yoichi FUNABASHI & G. John IKENBERRY (eds), The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order (publisher TBA, due for publication 29 October 2019).
Stéphanie HENNETTE, Thomas PIKETTY, Guillaume SACRISTE & Antoine VAUCHEZ, How to Democratize Europe trans Paul Dermine, Marc LePain & Patrick Camiller (Harvard University Press, due for publication 8 August 2019).


NEW Daniel NILSSON DEHANAS & Marat SHTERIN, Religion and the Rise of Populism (Routledge, due for publication 6 August 2019).


**Book Chapters**


**Journal Special Issues**


András JAKAB & Howard SCHWEBER, Special Edition of Constitutional Studies: ‘The Role of Constitutional Design in Preventing or Contributing to Constitutional Decline’.

**Articles**


New Resources in DEM-DEC Links

Note: Think something could be added to the DEM-DEC Links section? E-mail the information to democraticdecay@gmail.com

New resources added to the Links section on DEM-DEC since the last Research Update include the following resources on Europe:

Parties Database

WHO Governs: Party Systems and Governments Observatory

Ever wondered who governs the countries of Europe? Like to know who governed more than a century ago? Not sure about which ministers came from which parties? Interested in how stable European party systems have been? Here with just one click you will be able to find data on government formation and party system institutionalization in all 48 European democracies, from the Second French Republic, through wars and crises, through the births and deaths of countries, all the way up to the present moment.
DEM-DEC
Bringing Democracy Defenders Together