

Crise da Democracia

Comportamento Político e Opinião Pública

Informações de Contato

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📅 Segundas ou Quartas, de 14h às 18h

📍 FAFICH, 3025

Visão Geral e Objetivos

A ideia central deste curso é apresentar o debate contemporâneo sobre a crise da democracia à luz dos debates estabelecidos na área de comportamento político. Ao longo do semestre serão discutidos os principais fatores micro e macroestruturais que condicionam a sorte dos regimes democráticos. Nesse sentido, trataremos de temas como o avanço do populismo, transformações geracionais, polarização política, a noção de ressentimento e os vieses cognitivos; bem como do impacto de políticas públicas, mudanças na estrutura socioeconômica e da nova estrutura comunicacional na atual erosão democrática.

Metodologia de Ensino

A disciplina será pautada por aulas expositivas, leituras semanais e debates em classe. A leitura prévia dos textos indicados é obrigatória.

Avaliação

A avaliação da disciplina será baseada na participação das/os alunas/os em sala de aula e em um trabalho final. As datas de entrega dos trabalhos estão especificadas na seção **Cronograma das Aulas**. Os trabalhos finais poderão ser feitos em duplas.

As notas serão dispostas da seguinte maneira:

- Avaliação I: Participação - 20% da nota final.
- Avaliação II: Trabalho - 80% da nota final.

Cronograma das Aulas

** O cronograma pode ser modificado ao longo do curso.*

Aula 1 - Apresentação do Curso

- Recomendação de leituras, esclarecimentos sobre avaliação, apreciação dos interesses das/os alunas/os.

Aula 2 - Crise da Democracia e Opinião Pública

- Estoque de democracia, cultura política e a importância da opinião pública para a estabilidade de regimes democráticos.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- ALMOND, G.; VERBA, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes in Five Western Democracies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- BORBA, J.; CARDOSO, G. R. (2021). Legitimidade democrática e apoio político: inovações recentes no debate internacional. *Opinião Pública*, 27, 333-359.
- DRUCKMAN, J. (2024). How to study democratic backsliding. *Political Psychology*, v. 45, n. S1, p. 3–42.

Leituras Complementares:

- PUTNAM, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- PUTNAM, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- INGLEHART, R.; WELZEL, C. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: The human development sequence* (Vol. 333). Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- HOMOLA, J., PEREIRA, M., TAVITS, M. (2020). Legacies of the Third Reich: Concentration Camps and Out-Group Intolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 114(2), 573-590.
- RENY, T., NEWMAN, B. J. (2018). Protecting the right to discriminate: the second great migration and racial threat in the American West. *The American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 1104-1110.
- SIMPSON, A., SLATER, D.; WITTENBERG, J. (2018). "Dead but not gone: Contemporary legacies of communism, imperialism, and authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 419-439.
- NUNN, N., WANTCHEKON, L. (2011). The slave trade and the origins of mistrust in Africa. *American Economic Review*, 101(7), 3221-52.
- LEEUW, S. E. DE et al. (2021). Are would-be authoritarians right? Democratic support and citizens' left-right self-placement in former left- and right- authoritarian countries. *Democratization*, v. 28, n. 2, p. 414-433,
- MAZUMDER, S. (2018). The persistent effect of US civil rights protests on political attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(4), 922-935.

Aula 3 - O Apoio ao Regime Democrático no Mundo

- Apoio ao regime democrático e questões de mensuração.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- CLAASSEN, C. (2020). In the Mood for Democracy? Democratic Support as Thermostatic Opinion. *American Political Science Review*, v. 114, n. 1, p. 36-53.
- WUTTKE, A.; GAVRAS, K.; SCHOEN, H. (2020). Have Europeans Grown Tired of Democracy? New Evidence from Eighteen Consolidated Democracies, 1981-2018. *British Journal of Political Science*, p. 1-13.

- JONGE, C. (2016). Should Researchers Abandon Questions about “Democracy”? Evidence from Latin America. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, v. 80, n. 3, p. 694–716.

Leituras Complementares:

- MAGALHÃES, P. C. (2017). Regime support. In *The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion* (pp. 416-428). Routledge.
- FUKS, M., CASALECCHI, G., GONÇALVES, F. (2016). Qualificando a adesão à democracia: quão democráticos são os democratas brasileiros? *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, 199-219.
- HU, Y.; TAI, Y.; SOLT, F. (2024). Revisiting the evidence on thermostatic response to democratic change: degrees of democratic support or researcher degrees of freedom? *Political Science Research and Methods*, p. 1–7.
- SCHEDLER, A.; SARFIELD, R. (2007). Democrats with adjectives: Linking direct and indirect measures of democratic support. *European Journal of Political Research*, v. 46, n. 5, p. 637–659.
- VALGARÐSSON, V. O.; DEVINE, D. (2022). What Satisfaction with Democracy? A Global Analysis of “Satisfaction with Democracy” Measures. *Political Research Quarterly*, v. 75, n. 3, p. 576–590.

Aula 4 - O Peso do Populismo

- Definição de populismo, retórica populista e perspectiva ideacional.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- Hawkins K., et al. (eds) (2019). *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- KALTWASSER, C.; HAUWAERT, S. (2020). The populist citizen: Empirical evidence from Europe and Latin America. *European Political Science Review*, v. 12, n. 1, p. 1–18.
- SILVA, B. C.; FUKS, M.; TAMAKI, E. (2022). So thin it's almost invisible: Populist attitudes and voting behavior in Brazil. *Electoral Studies*, v. 75.

Leituras Complementares:

- KÖNIG, P. (2022). Support for a populist form of democratic politics or political discontent? How conceptions of democracy relate to support for the AfD. *Electoral Studies*, v. 78.
- SILVA, B.; NEUNER, F.; WRATIL, C. (2022). Populism and Candidate Support in the US: The Effects of “Thin” and “Host” Ideology. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, p. 1–10.
- SCHIMPE, C.; WUTTKE, A.; SCHOEN, H. (2023). Neither a Trait nor Wildly Fluctuating: On the Stability of Populist Attitudes and its Implications for Empirical Research. *British Journal of Political Science*, p. 1–14.
- FERRARI, D. (2024). The effect of combining a populist rhetoric into right-wing positions on candidates’ electoral support. *Electoral Studies*, v. 89.
- SORACE, M. (2023). Does populist voting rise where representative democracy is systemically failing? *Electoral Studies*, v. 85.
- DAI, Y.; KUSTOV, A. (2023). The (in)effectiveness of populist rhetoric: a conjoint experiment of campaign messaging. *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Aula 5 - Reação Cultural e Mudanças Geracionais

- Termos interativos entre variáveis diversas (discreta x discreta; discreta x contínua; contínua x contínua).

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- NORRIS, P.; INGLEHART, R. (2019). *Cultural backlash: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism*. Cambridge University Press.
- SCHÄFER, A. (2022). Cultural backlash? How (not) to explain the rise of authoritarian populism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 1977-1993.
- MAIA, L. DE A.; CHIU, A.; DESPOSATO, S. (2023). No Evidence of Backlash: LGBT Rights in Latin America. *The Journal of Politics*, v. 85, n. 1, p. 49–63.

Leituras Complementares:

- Hartman, A. (2019). *A war for the soul of America: A history of the culture wars*. University of Chicago Press.

Aula 6 - O Impacto da Polarização

- Polarização ideológica *versus* polarização afetiva.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- GRAHAM, M. H.; SVOLIK, M. W. Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States. *American Political Science Review*, v. 114, n. 2, p. 392–409, 2020.
- FOSSATI, D.; MUHTADI, B.; WARBURTON, E (2021). Why democrats abandon democracy: Evidence from four survey experiments. *Party Politics*.
- ORTELLADO, P., RIBEIRO, M.; ZEINE, L. (2022). Existe polarização política no Brasil? Análise das evidências em duas séries de pesquisas de opinião. *Opinião Pública*, 28, 62-91.
- Levendusky, Matthew. Druckman, James N.; Klar, Samala; Krupnikov, Yanna; Ryan, John Barry. How Affective Polarization Shapes Americans' Political Beliefs: A Study of Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, p. 1-12. Cambridge University Press. 2020.

Leituras Complementares:

- ABRAMOWITZ, A. (2010). *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy*. Yale University Press. Capítulos 1, 2, 3.
- GROSSMAN, G. et al. The Majoritarian Threat to Liberal Democracy. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, v. 9, n. 1, p. 36–45, 2022.
- MASON, Lilliana. (2018). *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. [Capítulos 1, 2 e 3].
- FUKS, M.; MARQUES, P. H. (2022). Polarização e contexto: medindo e explicando a polarização política no Brasil. *Opinião Pública*, 28(3), 560-593.
- SVOLIK, M. W. (2019). Polarization versus democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(3), 20–32

Aula 7 - A Noção de Ressentimento

- Identidade racial e de gênero, ameaça ao *status* social e ressentimento.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- Jardina, A. (2019). *White identity politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- ANDUIZA, E.; RICO, G. (2024). Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- LAYTON, M., SMITH, A., MOSELEY, M.; COHEN, M (2021). Demographic polarization and the rise of the far-right: Brazil's 2018 presidential election. *Research & Politics*, 8(1).

Leituras Complementares:

- KIM, S. S.; ZILINSKY, J. (2024). Division does not imply predictability: demographics continue to reveal little about voting and partisanship. *Political Behavior*, v. 46, n. 1, p. 67–87.
- BORWEIN, S.; LUCAS, J. (2023). Asymmetries in urban, suburban, and rural place-based resentment. *Political Geography*, v. 105.
- FERRARI, D. (2021). Perceptions, Resentment, Economic Distress, and Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Europe. *Politics and Governance*, v. 9, n. 3, p. 274–287.
- ENDERS, A. (2021). A Matter of Principle? On the Relationship Between Racial Resentment and Ideology. *Political Behavior*, v. 43, n. 2, p. 561–584.
- MUTZ, D. (2018). Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, v. 115, n. 19, p. E4330–E4339.
- ROVNY, J. (2023). Antidote to Backsliding: Ethnic Politics and Democratic Resilience. *American Political Science Review*, p. 1–19.

Aula 8 - Políticas de Austeridade

- A reação popular às políticas de austeridade econômica.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- BROWN, W. (2019). In the ruins of neoliberalism: The rise of antidemocratic politics in the West. Columbia University Press.
- BANSACK, K.; BECHTEL, M.; MARGALIT, Y. (2021). Why Austerity? The Mass Politics of a Contested Policy. *American Political Science Review*, v. 115, n. 2, p. 486–505.
- HÜBSCHER, E.; SATTLER, T.; WAGNER, M. (2023). Does Austerity Cause Polarization? *British Journal of Political Science*, p. 1–19.

Leituras Complementares:

- MATTEI, C. E. (2022). The Capital Order, How Economists Invented Austerity and Paved the Way to Fascism.
- BREMER, B.; BÜRGISSER, R. (2022). Public opinion on welfare state recalibration in times of austerity: evidence from survey experiments. *Political Science Research and Methods*, p. 1–19.

Aula 9 - Transformações na Estrutura Socioeconômica

- Globalização, dualização da economia, o aumento da desigualdade e o apoio à extrema-direita.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- WALTER, S. (2021). The backlash against globalization. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24, 421-442.
- HÄUSERMANN, S. (2020). Dualization and Electoral Realignment. *Political Science Research and Methods*, v. 8, n. 2, p. 380–385.
- HAN, S.; CHANG, E. (2016). Economic inequality, winner-loser gap, and satisfaction with democracy. *Electoral Studies*, 44, 85-97.

Leituras Complementares:

- BAKER, A.; VELASCO-GUACHALLA, V. (2018). Is the Informal Sector Politically Different? (Null) Answers from Latin America. *World Development*, v. 102, p. 170–182.
- BAKER, A.; DORR, D. (2022). Labor Informality and the Vote in Latin America: A Meta-analysis. *Latin American Politics and Society*, v. 64, n. 2, p. 21–44.
- BAKER, A. (2023). The Microfoundations of Latin America’s Social Policy Coalitions: The Insider/Outsider Labor Divide and Attitudes toward Different Welfare Programs in Mexico. *World Politics*, v. 75, n. 1, p. 99–144.
- BOLET, D. (2021). Drinking Alone: Local Socio-Cultural Degradation and Radical Right Support - The Case of British Pub Closures. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- GUNDERSON, J. (2021). When Does Income Inequality Cause Polarization? *British Journal of Political Science*, p. 1–18 .
- HADDON, E. (2019). How Class Shapes Critical Resentment Toward Inequality: The Competing Forces of Stratification and Politics. *International Journal of Sociology*, v. 49, n. 4, p. 241–263.
- SCHEIRING, G. et al. (2024). The Populist Backlash Against Globalization: A Meta-Analysis of the Causal Evidence. *British Journal of Political Science*, p. 1–25.

Aula 10 - Mudanças na Estrutura Comunicacional

- Mídias sociais, câmaras de eco, algoritmos e filtros bolha.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- SUNSTEIN, C. (2018). *#Republic: Divided democracy in the age of social media*. Princeton university press.
- BARBERÁ, P., JOST, J. T., NAGLER, J., TUCKER, J. A.; BONNEAU, R. (2015). Tweeting from left to right: Is online political communication more than an echo chamber?. *Psychological science*, 26(10), 1531-1542.
- PERSILY, N., TUCKER, J.; Tucker, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Social media and democracy: The state of the field, prospects for reform*.

Leituras Complementares:

- BARBERÁ, P. (2015). Birds of the same feather tweet together: Bayesian ideal point estimation using Twitter data. *Political analysis*, 23(1), 76-91.
- TUCKER, J., et al. (2018). Social media, political polarization, and political disinformation: A review of the scientific literature. *Political polarization, and political disinformation: a review of the scientific literature*.

Aula 11 - Psicologia Política e o Processamento de Informações

- Viés atitudinal/cognitivo, raciocínio motivado e *backfire effects*.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- GUAY, B.; JOHNSTON, C. (2020). Ideological asymmetries and the determinants of politically motivated reasoning. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1-60.
- WOOD, T.; PORTER, E. (2019). The elusive backfire effect: Mass attitudes' steadfast factual adherence. *Political Behavior*, 41, 135-163.
- KRISHNARAJAN, S. (2022). Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior. *American Political Science Review*, p. 1–23.

Leituras Complementares:

- BOLSEN, T.; PALM, R. (2019). Motivated reasoning and political decision making. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- JERIT, J.; BARABAS, J. (2012). "Partisan perceptual bias and the information environment." *The Journal of Politics* 74.3: 672-684.
- PETERSON, E. (2017). The role of the information environment in partisan voting. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(4), 1191-1204.
- DITO, P, *et al.* (2018). At least bias is bipartisan: a Meta-Analytic Comparison of Partisan Bias in Liberals and Conservatives. *Association for Psychological Science. Perspectives on Psychological Science*, p. 1-19.
- PENNYCOOK, G.; RAND, D. (2019). Lazy, not biased: Susceptibility to partisan fake news is better explained by lack of reasoning than by motivated reasoning. *Cognition*, 188, 39-50.

- BULLOCK, J., *et al.* (2015). Partisan Bias in Factual Beliefs about Politics. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 10, 519-578.
- Lelkes, Y. ; Westwood, S. (2017). The limits of partisan prejudice. *The Journal of Politics* 79.2: 485-501.
- GAINES, J., *et al.* (2007). Same facts, different interpretations: Partisan motivation and opinion on Iraq. *The Journal of Politics* 69.4: 957-974.
- Peterson, E., e Iyengar, S. (2021). Partisan Gaps in Political Information and Information-Seeking Behavior: Motivated Reasoning or Cheerleading?. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(1), 133-147.
- Hochschild, J.; Einstein, K. (2015). Do facts matter? Information and misinformation in American politics. *Political Science Quarterly*, 130(4), 585-624.

Aula 12 - O Bolsonarismo no Brasil

- O Bolsonarismo na opinião pública: ideologia, conversão e voto.

Leituras Obrigatórias:

- FUKS, M.; MARQUES, P. (2020). Contexto e voto: o impacto da reorganização da direita sobre a consistência ideológica do voto nas eleições de 2018. *Opinião Pública*, 26(3), 401-430.
- RENNÓ, L. (2020). The Bolsonaro Voter: Issue Positions and Vote Choice in the 2018 Brazilian Presidential Elections. *Latin American Politics and Society*, v. 62, n. 4, p. 1-23.
- MOREIRA, T.; RENNÓ, L. (2024, no prelo). Conservadores Convertidos: O 'efeito Bolsonaro' em 2018. *Opinião Pública*.

Leituras Complementares:

- RUSSO, G., PIMENTEL, J.; AVELINO, G. (2022). O crescimento da direita eo voto em Bolsonaro: causalidade reversa?. *Opinião Pública*, 28(3), 594-614.

Aula 13 - Discussão dos Trabalhos Finais

- Apresentação e debate das ideias sobre os trabalhos de final de curso.