

# M7: Democratic Resilience

## How Democracies Survive

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*Seminars:* Tuesdays, 08:00 - 09:30

*Classroom:* Hörsaal 1 (H1), NIG, 2nd Floor, A0212

*Course Language:* English

### Course Aims

This course is a response to the current political moment. Antidemocratic actors are challenging liberal democracies from within and from abroad. For the first time in over two decades, the latest report of the *Varieties of Democracy* Institute counted fewer democracies than autocracies. How can we respond to this moment? What can we learn from the past? And what is the vision for the future of democracy?

By the end of the course, you should be able to recognize the warning signs of democratic backsliding, know about the latest literature on democratic resilience, and have thought about reforms with the potential to strengthen liberal democracies. Along the way, we will encounter more questions than answers—and in doing so, we will move at the cutting edge of an unfolding literature.

### Course Structure

In total, the course comprises of 14 sessions. Most of these are core sessions, in which we will cover new material based on the readings. In addition, we will have up to three special sessions where we will learn from guest speakers who are active in a policy area related to democratic resilience. The guest session will be towards the end of the course but the exact dates are pending. Please follow the course announcements for relevant updates.

Session	Content
1	Introduction and Motivation
2	Regime Types and Trajectories
3	Threats to Democracy
4	The Role of Parties and Elites
5	The Role of Civil Society and the People
6	Defending Electoral Integrity
7	Resisting Executive Overreach
8	The Role of the Judiciary
9	The Role of the Media
10	Militant Democracy
11	Designing Democratic Futures
*	[Guest Session 1]
*	[Guest Session 2]
*	[Guest Session 3]

## Readings

The literature on this topic is rapidly growing. Please understand the reading list below as preliminary. I will continue to update the readings list as new papers are published. I will announce these changes at least a week in advance via moodle—make sure to check your university email to receive the latest updates. There is no need to buy any texts for this seminar. All readings are available via the university portal *u:search* or you will find them otherwise on the web (especially preprints).

The readings will be the basis of our class discussions. I expect you to have completed all required readings (marked with \*) before the seminar each week. In some cases, I specify the sections that you should read in square brackets. The starred texts are listed in the order in which I recommend reading them; unstarred texts are in alphabetic order. You will get more out of the class if you also cover some of the recommended readings.

For each week, I list key questions. After having completed the reading and attended the seminar, you can test your learning progress with these questions.

### Week 1: Introduction and Motivation

We begin by discussing our motivation for studying this topic. After this, we cover the course structure, assignments, and policies. We then begin by discussing the meaning of the term democratic resilience as well as the first assigned reading. We end the class by watching a video on Timothy Snyder's book *On Tyranny* and consider how it relates to this class.

- *What is the difference between early and modern democracy?*
- *How would you situate the current political moment in the long history of democracy?*
- *What are the Snyder's twenty lessons from the twentieth century?*

\*Stasavage, D. (2020). *The Decline and Rise of Democracy*. Princeton University Press. [Preface and Chapter 1]

Snyder, T. (2016). *On Tyranny. Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. The Bodley Head. [You can also find the video summary [here](#).]

### Week 2: Regime Types and Trajectories

In this week, we will consider the main regime type classifications—with a focus on Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem). We will discuss different regime trajectories and what constitutes backsliding, frontsliding, and resilience.

- *What are the main measures of regime types?*
- *What are the different regime trajectories that the literature has identified?*
- *What is democratic resilience and how can it be measured?*

\*Nord, M., Angiolillo, F., Lundstedt, M., Wiebrecht, F., & Lindberg, S. I. (2025). When autocratization is reversed: episodes of U-Turns since 1900. *Democratization*, 1-24

\*Little, A. T., & Meng, A. (2024). What we do and do not know about democratic backsliding. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 57(2), 224-229.

- \*Holloway, J., & Manwaring, R. (2023). How well does ‘resilience’ apply to democracy? A systematic review. *Contemporary Politics*, 29(1), 68-92.
- Weitzel, Daniel, Gerring, John, Pemstein, Daniel, and Skaaning, Svend-Erik. 2023. “Measuring Backsliding with Observables: Observable-to-Subjective Score Mapping (OSM).” *PS: Political Science & Politics*
- Boese, V. A., Edgell, A. B., Hellmeier, S., Maerz, S. F., & Lindberg, S. I. (2023). How democracies prevail: democratic resilience as a two-stage process. In *Resilience of Democracy* (pp. 17-39). Routledge.
- Wunsch, N., & Blanchard, P. (2023). Patterns of democratic backsliding in third-wave democracies: a sequence analysis perspective. *Democratization*, 30(2), 278-301
- Nord, M., Altman, D., Angiolillo, F., Fernandes, T., God, A. G., & Lindberg, S. I. (2025). Democracy Report 2025: 25 Years of Autocratization–Democracy Trumped. *University of Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute*
- Bianchi, M., Cheeseman, N., & Cyr, J. (2025). The Myth of Democratic Resilience. *Journal of Democracy*, 36(3), 33-46.

### Week 3: Threats to Democracy

In this week, we will briefly cover the drivers and process of democratic backsliding. Our focus will be on the impact of polarization and norm erosion. These are just two of many—internal as well as external—factors leading to backsliding.

- *Why is polarization so dangerous for democracy?*
- *Does rising support for extreme parties primarily reflect shifts in attitudes or shifts in norms?*
- *How has the threat to democracy changed over time?*

\*Bermeo, N. (2016). On democratic backsliding. *Journal of democracy*, 27(1), 5-19.

\*Valentim, V. (2024). *The normalization of the radical right: A norms theory of political supply and demand*. Oxford University Press.

\*Svolik, M. W. (2019). Polarization versus democracy. *Journal of democracy*, 30(3), 20-32.

Eroglu, M. H., Finkel, S. E., Neundorff, A., Öztürk, A., & Ramírez, E. G. R. (2025). Choosing democracy over party? How civic education can mitigate the anti-democratic effects of partisan polarization. *British Journal of Political Science*, 55, e65.

Gidron, N., Margalit, Y., Sheffer, L., & Yakir, I. (2025). Why masses support democratic backsliding. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Wunsch, N., Jacob, M. S., & Derksen, L. (2025). The demand side of democratic backsliding: How divergent understandings of democracy shape political choice. *British Journal of Political Science*, 55.

### Week 4: The Role of Parties and Elites

Political elites play a vital role in determining the democratic trajectory of a country. This holds both historically as well as in the present. We will especially focus on the behaviour of centre-right parties.

- *What strategies are there for elites reacting to anti-democratic challengers?*
- *How can mainstream parties react to far-right challenger parties?*

- *How can opposition parties react to backsliding incumbent?*

- \*Capoccia, G. (2005). *Defending democracy: Reactions to extremism in interwar Europe*. JHU Press. [Chapter 1 (pp.3-6); Chapter 3: "The Defense."]
- \*Laebens, M. G., and Ślarzyński, M. (2025). Opposing Backsliding Through Policy Competition: The Case of Poland's Civic Platform (2015–2023). *Comparative Political Studies*.
- \*Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart, Jack Bailey, Daniel Devine, Zachary Dickson, Sara Hobolt, Will Jennings, Robert Johns, and Katharina Lawall. (2025). Accommodating the Radical Right: The Electoral Costs for Social Democratic Parties. OSF Preprint. [Link](#).
- Grumbach, J. M. (2023). Laboratories of democratic backsliding. *American Political Science Review*, 117(3), 967-984.
- Rovny, J. (2023). Antidote to backsliding: Ethnic politics and democratic resilience. *American Political Science Review*, 117(4), 1410-1428.
- Ziblatt, D. (2017). *Conservative parties and the birth of democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

### **Week 5: The Role of Civil Society and the People**

Civil society actors can both uphold democracy and bring about its downfall, so can the people when they take to the streets. In this week, we will focus on the role of social movements and everyday people.

- *What strategies can contribute to protest success?*
- *What is the role of civil society in democratic resilience?*
- *What is the role of civil society in democratic backsliding?*

- \*McClennen, S., Popovic, S., and Wright, J. (2023). How to Sharpen a Nonviolent Movement. *Journal of Democracy*.
- \*Jakli, L., Greskovits, B., and Wittenberg, J. (2025). Asymmetric Mass Mobilization and the Vulnerability of Democracy in Hungary. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- \*Ellinas, A., and Lamprianou, I. (2024). Movement versus Party: The Electoral Effects of Anti-Far Right Protests in Greece. *American Political Science Review*.
- Panchulidze, E., and Youngs, R. (2025). The Source of Georgia's Democratic Resilience. *Journal of Democracy*.
- Rakner, L. (2021). Don't Touch My Constitution! Civil Society Resistance to Democratic Backsliding in Africa's Pluralist Regimes. *Global Policy*.
- Meléndez, C., and Kaltwasser, C. R. (2023). Negative partisanship towards the populist radical right and democratic resilience in Western Europe. In *Democratization*.
- Havel, V. (1978). *The Power of the Powerless*.
- Voelkel, J G., et al. (2024). Megastudy testing 25 treatments to reduce antidemocratic attitudes and partisan animosity. *Science*.
- Koenig, B., and Mendelberg, T. (2025). The Symbolic Politics of Status in the MAGA Movement. *Perspectives on Politics*.
- Halevy, L., and Buřtíková, L. (2025). Confessional illiberalism in Europe. *Politics and Governance*.

### **Week 6: Defending Electoral Integrity**

In representative democracy, elections are the keystone element. Yet their integrity can be threatened, from abroad and from within. How can we safeguard electoral rights? What is the role of losers' consent?

- *What are the challenges to electoral integrity?*
- *What measures can democracies take to safeguard elections?*
- *What can be done to ensure trust in the electoral process?*

\*Grimmer, Justin, et al (2025). "The Power of Vague Conspiracy Theories: Why Expansive Voter Fraud Theories Spread, Are Difficult to Refute, and Create Cycles of Distrust." Unpublished manuscript.

\*Partheymüller, J., Müller, W. C., Rabitsch, A., Lidauer, M., & Grohma, P. (2022). "Participation in the administration of elections and perceptions of electoral integrity." *Electoral Studies*.

\*Fjällhed, A., Pamment, J., & Bay, S. (2021). A Swedish perspective on foreign election interference. In *Defending Democracies: Combating Foreign Election Interference in a Digital Age* (pp. 139-161). Oxford University Press.

James, T. S., & Garnett, H. A. (2025). Electoral integrity resilience: protecting elections during global risks, crises, and emergencies. *Democratization*, 1-28.

Lieberman, R. C., and Schlozman, D. (2024). Democratic Backsliding and Ethnic Politics: The Republican Party in the United States. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Eggers, A. C., Garro, H., and Grimmer, J. (2021). No evidence for systematic voter fraud: A guide to statistical claims about the 2020 election. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(45).

Grimmer, J., Holliday, D., Lelkes, Y., and Westwood, S. (2023). Who are the election skeptics? Evidence from the 2022 midterm elections. *OSF Preprints*, 4, 1-51.

Highton, B. (2017). Voter identification laws and turnout in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science*.

McGhee, E., Rosenblum, N. L., & Levi, M. (2020). Partisan gerrymandering and political science. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23, 1–.

James, T. S., & Clark, A. (2020). Electoral integrity, voter fraud and voter ID in polling stations: lessons from English local elections. *Policy Studies*, 41(2–3).

Grimmer, J., Hersh, E., Meredith, M., Mummolo, J., & Nall, C. (2018). Obstacles to estimating voter ID laws' effect on turnout. *Journal of Politics*, 80(3).

Ohlin, J. D., & Hollis, D. B. (2021). *Defending democracies: Combating foreign election interference in a digital age*. Oxford University Press.

## **Week 7: Resisting Executive Overreach**

Antidemocratic forces often seek to concentrate power in the executive. This erodes the checks and balances that are vital for a functioning democracy. What institutional choices facilitate or hinder an executive power grab? What can parliament do?

- *What institutional choices facilitate or hinder an executive power grab?*
- *What are the perils of emergency provisions?*
- *What role can parliaments play?*

- \*Laebens, M. G., & Lührmann, A. (2021). What halts democratic erosion? The changing role of accountability. *Democratization*, 28(5), 908–928.
- \*Lee, J. S., & Lee, D. J. (2025). 2024 South Korean martial law crisis: lessons for democratic resilience. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 79(2), 313–320.
- \*Linz, J. J. (1990). The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of democracy*, 1(1), 51-69.
- Chaisty, P., & Power, T. (2023). Does power always flow to the executive? Interbranch oscillations in legislative authority, 1976–2014. *Government and Opposition*, 58(1), 61–83.
- Värttö, M. (2024). Parliamentary oversight of emergency measures and policies: A safeguard of democracy during a crisis? *European Policy Analysis*, 10(1), 84–100.
- Johnson, B. J. (2020). Executives in crisis: An examination of formal and informal emergency powers. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law*, 42, 341.
- Ingham, S. (2025). Institutional forbearance as a mechanism of democratic stability. *American Political Science Review*, 1–13.
- Navarro, J., & Raunio, T. (2025). Not so weak after all: Institutional and partisan sources of parliamentary resilience in France and Finland during COVID. *French Politics*, 23(1), 3–23.
- Han, S. (2025). Martial law, democratic erosion, and democratic resilience in South Korea. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*.
- Scharps, A. and Glässel, C. (2019). Why Underachievers Dominate Secret Police Organizations: Evidence from Autocratic Argentina. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Laebens, M. G. (2023). Beyond democratic backsliding: executive aggrandizement and its outcomes. The Varieties of Democracy Institute.

## Week 8: The Role of the Judiciary

The judiciary is tasked with upholding the constitution and the law. What options does it have to slow down or withstand antidemocratic pressures? We will also do a comparative case study of Brazil and the United States.

- *What is autocratic legalism?*
- *What are the effects of judicial independence on backsliding?*
- *What can the judiciary contribute to democratic resilience?*

- \*Gibler, D. M., & Randazzo, K. A. (2011). Testing the effects of independent judiciaries on the likelihood of democratic backsliding. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- \*Garcia-Holgado, B. (2025). Overruling the Executive: Judicial Strategies to Resist Democratic Erosion. *Journal of Law and Courts*, 13(1), 274-303.
- \*Matthes, C. Y. (2022). Judges as activists: How Polish judges mobilise to defend the rule of law. *East European Politics*.
- Gardbaum, S. (2024). Courts and democratic backsliding: A comparative perspective on the United States. *Law & Policy*, 46(4), 349-357.
- Laebens, M. G., & Lührmann, A. (2023). What halts democratic erosion? The changing role of accountability. In *Resilience of Democracy* (pp. 40-60). Routledge.
- Aydin-Cakir, A., and Akarçay, E. İ. (2025). When do governments attack the judiciary? The explanatory power of political corruption. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 82, 106248.
- Wolkenstein, F. (2025). Remedying the Anti-Liberal Capture of Constitutional Courts. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*. [Policy Brief]

- Haggard, S., & Tiede, L. (2025). Judicial backsliding: A guide to collapsing the separation of powers. *Democratization*, 32(2), 513–537.
- Sadurski, W. (2019). *Poland's constitutional breakdown*. Oxford University Press.
- Bakiner, O. (2016). Judges discover politics: Sources of judges' off-bench mobilization in Turkey. *Journal of Law and Courts*, 4(1), 131–157.
- Hendley, K. (2022). Legal dualism as a framework for analyzing the role of law under authoritarianism. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 18(1), 211–226.
- Scheppele, K. L. (2018). Autocratic legalism. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 85(2), 545–584.

## Week 9: The Role of the Media

The media is often described as the fourth pillar of democracy. In times of easily generated AI content, disinformation abounds. Rising autocrats will attempt to control the media narrative. How can media outlets withstand the economic and legal pressures?

- *How can media outlets withstand the economic and legal pressures?*
- *Where does misinformation come from, and how can it be addressed?*
- *What models are there for supporting news media?*

\*Ventura, T., Majumdar, R., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. (2023). Misinformation Beyond Traditional Feeds: Evidence from a WhatsApp Deactivation Experiment in Brazil. *The Journal of Politics*.

\*Neff, T., and Pickard, V. (2024). Funding democracy: Public media and democratic health in 33 countries. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 29(3), 601-627.

\*Elshehawy, A., Gavras, K., Marinov, N., Nanni, F., and Schoen, H. (2022). Illiberal communication and election intervention during the refugee crisis in Germany. *Perspectives on politics*, 20(3), 860-878.

Lee, F. L. (2025). Politically driven intentional news avoidance under democratic backsliding. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 30(4), 1001-1019.

Ladd, J. (2012). *Why Americans Hate the Media and How it Matters*. Princeton University Press. [Chapter 8]

Cella, L., Cinar, I., Stokes, S., and Uribe, A. (2025). Building tolerance for backsliding by trash-talking democracy: Theory and evidence from Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Orwell, G. (1946). *Politics and the English Language*.

Peißker, A., Cowburn, M., and Klinger, U. (2025). Disinformation Resilience in Backsliding Democracies: Media Trust, Civil Society, and Institutional Capture. *Weizenbaum Journal of the Digital Society*, 5(2).

## Week 10: Militant Democracy

How tolerant can a democracy be of its enemies? In this week, we will discuss the challenges of party bans and restrictions of political rights. We will discuss contemporary and historical examples from Germany.

- *Are party bans an effective instrument?*
- *What is militant democracy?*
- *What are alternatives to standard militant democracy tools?*

- \*Bateman, D. A. (2025). Democracy-reinforcing hardball: Can breaking democratic norms preserve democratic values?. *Comparative Political Studies*
- \*Mares, I. (2023). Defending Parliament Responses of Mainstream Parties to Parliamentary Erosion. *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Capoccia, G. (2013). Militant democracy: The institutional bases of democratic self-preservation. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 9(1), 207-226.
- Hillion, C., Pavone, T., & Scherz, A. (2025). Democratic Frontsliding in the European Union: The Problem of Autocratic Enclaves and the Case for Restorative Disobedience.
- Le Corre Juratic, M., Wagner, M., and Bischof, D. (2025). Democratic Hypocrisy: Unequal Tolerance for Protest in Germany. *OSF Preprint*. [Preprint Link](#).
- Frederiksen, K., Willer, R., and Petersen, M.B. (2025). The Way Back After Backsliding: Public Opinion and the Restoration of Democracy. [Preprint Link](#).

## Week 11: Designing Democratic Futures

Instead of always taking a defensive position, this week is dedicated to exploring democratic innovations. Can reforms of existing institutions revitalize democracies and, thus, contribute to democratic resilience?

- *What are citizen assemblies and other deliberative formats?*
- *How can direct and deliberative instruments be combined?*
- *To what extent are democratic innovations scalable?*

- \*Dryzek, J. S., Bächtiger, A., Chambers, S., Cohen, J., Druckman, J. N., Felicetti, A., Fishkin, J. S., Farrell, D. M., Fung, A., Gutmann, A., Landemore, H., Mansbridge, J., Marien, S., Neblo, M. A., Niemeyer, S., Setälä, M., Slothuus, R., Suiter, J., Thompson, D., & Warren, M. E. (2019). The crisis of democracy and the science of deliberation. *Science*, 363(6432), 1144–1146.
- \*Wagenaar, C. C. (2020). Lessons from International Multi-Option Referendum Experiences. *The Political Quarterly*, 91(1), 192–202.
- Fishkin, J., Bolotnyy, V., Lerner, J., Siu, A., & Bradburn, N. (2024). Can deliberation have lasting effects? *American Political Science Review*, 118(4), 2000–2020.
- Wappenhans, T., Clemm, B., Hartmann, F., & Klüver, H. "The Impact of Citizens' Assemblies on Democratic Resilience: Evidence from a Field Experiment." [Preprint Link](#).
- Landemore, H. (2020). *Open Democracy*. Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1)
- Cutler, F., Johnston, R., Carty, K., Blais, A., & Fournier, P. (2008). "Deliberation, Information, and Trust: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly as an Agenda Setter." In *Designing deliberative democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly*, 166–91.
- Werner, H., & Marien, S. (2022). Process vs. outcome? How to evaluate the effects of participatory processes on legitimacy perceptions. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 429–436.
- Wolkenstein, F. (2024). Should traditional representative institutions be Abolished? A critical comment on Hélene Landemore's open democracy. *Res Publica*, 30(1), 161–170.
- Carothers, T., & Hartnett, B. (2024). Misunderstanding democratic backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, 35(3), 24–37.
- Germann, M., Marien, S., & Muradova, L. (2024). Scaling up? Unpacking the effect of deliberative mini-publics on legitimacy perceptions. *Political Studies*, 72(2), 677–700.
- Wegschaidt, K. (2024). The Effect of Simultaneous Proposals: The Case of Immigrant Enfranchisement. *Comparative Political Studies*.

OECD. (2021). Evaluation guidelines for representative deliberative processes (OECD Publishing).  
<https://doi.org/10.1787/10ccbfc-b-en>

OECD. (2021). Eight ways to institutionalise deliberative democracy. OECD Publishing.  
<https://doi.org/10.1787/4fcf1da5-en>

## Assignments and Grades

There are two short assignments and one longer group assignment. Each assignment is designed to help you develop a different skill. Further details will follow closer to the submission dates. To pass the course, you must additionally fulfill the minimum requirements listed on *u:space*.

Participation	25%	Throughout the term
Proposal	10%	Due on 28 November
Group project	30%	Due on 19 December
Reflection	5%	Due on 23 January
Term paper	30%	Due on 15 February

Your **participation grade** consists both of your in-class participation and the regular reading quizzes. Most of the reading quizzes are held online via moodle. Their purpose is to ensure that you keep up with the texts. In week 2, we will have an ungraded practice reading quiz. Twice during the term, there will be an unannounced in-class quiz. You are not allowed to use AI for the reading quizzes.

For your **group project**, you are asked to get creative in a small group. Your task is to report on topics relevant to democratic resilience in creative ways. You can make a video, record a podcast episode, design a walking tour, etc. Please email me your idea in advance and I will let you know if I have any comments or concerns. As part of the group project, you will be asked to hand in a statement of intent of up to 500 words that lays out what you had in mind. In addition, you are asked to submit a statement on the contribution of every group member. This is to ensure a fair distribution of tasks. Groups will be formed in Session 3, when I will also provide further details on this assignment.

For the **reflection**, visit a place or space that symbolizes democratic resilience to you. Take a picture of it and write between 200-300 words about your choice. Reflect on your own role in relation to democratic resilience. You can share your submission with the class in our last session.

For the **term paper**, between 4000 and 5000 words long, you are asked to propose either a resilience-building initiative or reform. You must choose a suitable case, describe the vulnerabilities in academic terms, describe your proposed project/reform, provide an evidence-based justification for that choice, and discuss criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of your idea if implemented. Prior to submitting your term paper, you will be asked to submit a **short proposal**. More details to follow.

## AI Policy

You are expected to complete the main tasks yourself. You are allowed to use AI to help you check the accuracy of your writing, assist you in identifying relevant texts, and other limited uses. Do not outsource your thinking, reading, or idea-generation to the AI. For each assignment submission, I

will ask you to indicate whether and how you used AI. For the term paper, I will randomly select (with the help of moodle) some students for a detailed conversation.

How much you will gain from this course is ultimately in your hands. Learning happens through friction. The little frustration we encounter when something is difficult is crucial for our intellectual development. Allow yourself to have this experience.

### **Finding a Good Research Question**

If you are struggling with coming up with your own research question, please consult the texts below. They all lead you through the process of moving from a broad topic of interest toward a specific question. Remember that a good research question is one that sincerely interests you, one that is answerable within the scope of the assignment, and one that is neither too broad nor too narrow.

- Booth, Wayne C, Gregory G. Colomb, Joseph M. Williams, Joseph Bizup, and William T. FitzGerald. 2016. *The Craft of Research*. University of Chicago Press, 4th edition. Chapters 3 [From Topic to Questions] & 4 [From Question to a Problem]. [Link to the reading](#).
- Lynch, Julia. 2024. "Choosing a Research Question." In Jennifer Cyr and Sara Wallace Goodman (Eds). *Doing Good Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press. [Link to the reading](#).
- McCauley, Adam, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2020. "From Questions and Puzzles to Research Projects." In Luigi Curini and Rob Franzese (Eds). *The SAGE Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science and International Relations*. SAGE. [Link to the reading](#).