ERC Consolidator Grant 2019

Democracy under Threat:
How Education can Save it (DEMED)

Principal Investigator: Professor Anja Neundorf
Host Institution: University of Glasgow
Project duration: June 2020-May 2025

For more information, please contact: anja.neundorf@glasgow.ac.uk

Project Summary

We are currently witnessing an unprecedented rise of authoritarian leaders, backed by popular support, who defy democracy. Challenging existing paradigms and an elite-focused literature, DEMED will take an individual-level perspective to study the causes of democratic backsliding and identify solutions to build more resilient democratic societies. Thereby, DEMED will have a transformative effect on the study of democracies and autocracies as well as the dynamics between the two.

DEMED is a ground-breaking project that transforms our knowledge about the process of democratisation and backsliding. Work packages (WP) are divided along four objectives: 1) Establish *causes* of democratic backsliding, focusing on the role of indoctrination; 2) Demonstrate the *effects* of indoctrination on democratic political cultures and democratic survival; 3) Identify *solutions* to prevent democratic recessions through innovative online civic education programmes; and 4) provide a new theoretical and empirically validated paradigm to lead to more stable democracies.

WP1 develops the first unifying theoretical framework of societal drivers predicting democratic (in)stability. Based on this theoretical and conceptual work, WP1 creates the first-ever global dataset on strategies of indoctrination by 180 countries from 1900 to today. WP2 uses cutting-edge methods to test for the first time how these educational drivers create democratic and authoritarian political cultures. This quantitative approach will be complemented with original qualitative data. Finally, WP3 uses pioneering online randomised experiments to test the impact of newly developed civic education interventions to promote democracy.

This is an ambitious research agenda, with theoretical and methodological innovations. DEMED revolutionises our understanding of the causes, effects and solutions of democratic backsliding. It presents risks, but with the potential for ground-breaking scientific and societal impact.

State of the art and objectives

Overview and motivation

Research puzzle and questions: Democracy is under threat around the globe. We see societies backsliding into authoritarianism in countries as diverse as Turkey, Hungary, India, Brazil and the USA. Unexpectedly, contemporary democratic recessions are characterised by bottom-up processes with authoritarian leaders taking power through popular elections rather than elite-driven coup d'états (Bermeo 2016). This development challenges the common perception that among ordinary citizens democracy is universally perceived as the best political system. Extensive research has clearly linked democracies to greater individual well-being (in economic, social, and political terms) than dictatorships. DEMED will approach this puzzle of why individuals in some circumstances prefer authoritarianism to democracy, answering two main research questions:

1. What is the origin of popular demand for democracy or autocracy?
2. What are the solutions to build more resilient democratic societies?

Primary ambition: The overarching ambition of DEMED is to introduce a new paradigm to study the process of democratisation and autocratisation. To achieve this goal, DEMED will provide new theory, innovative data and empirical research to understand and tackle causes of and solutions to democratic backsliding, creating a significant shift in the fields of comparative politics, public opinion, public policy and political development. More specifically, DEMED has four concrete objectives:

1. Establish a new theoretical framework of the causes of democratic (in)stability to provide new platforms to study democracy and to enable innovative public policy;
2. Create unique overtime, comparative measures of regime indoctrination and political culture by collecting original data using cutting-edge methodology to empirically validate this new theory;
3. Identify new ways to use the transformative power of social media to develop and distribute new online educational content to promote democracy through civic education;
4. Integrate objectives 1 to 3 to provide a new theoretical and empirically validated paradigm to lead to more stable democracies.

Focus of project: Ultimately DEMED focuses on the "success of democracy", either as the survival of existing democratic systems or the triumph of democracy over dictatorship leading to democratisation. It thereby follows the perspective of the seminal work by Diamond (2008: 294) who argued, "for democracy to endure, their leaders and *citizens* must internalise the spirit of democracy" (emphasis added). Going beyond the usual elite-focused literature on democracy, this project is centred on the role of citizens.

DEMED will establish what factors shape individuals' democratic norms and behaviour, which in turn can undermine (strengthen) democracies or manifest (overthrow) dictatorships. For example, democracy is under threat by widespread electoral support for anti-democratic candidates (Galston 2018; Svolik 2018) or by widespread citizens' non-democratic values, political distrust and apathy (Norris 1999; Stockemer et al. 2013). However, "democratic citizens are made, not born" (Galston 2001: 217); DEMED will demonstrate how education and political communication can create either democratic or authoritarian citizens and hence impact the political fate of a country.

State of the art

DEMED is an interdisciplinary project that relates to research in political science, sociology, economics, public policy, history, education, media studies, and psychology. More specifically, it contributes to several different strands of literature, which all centre around the study of democracy.

Democratisation: DEMED firstly speaks to the democratisation literature, which is vast and encompasses different theories ranging from structural, economic and international factors.[1] The classic theory of democratisation - modernisation theory - links economic progress to countries becoming (Lipset 1959; Jackman 1973; Bollen 1979) and remaining democratic (Przeworski & Limongi 1997; Pzeworski et al. 2000; Boix & Stokes 2002; Boix 2011). Modernisation theory mainly focuses on increased economic bargaining power of a new middle class and their threat to the elite. But the micro-attitudinal mechanisms of this theory have largely been ignored in this literature. DEMED will fill this gap.

The role of education and information: Some have argued that the micro-mechanism of modernisation is its

---

[1] This proposal does not discuss the entire literature on democratisation, but rather focuses on the most relevant theories related to this project: structural approaches. See Geddes (1999) and Teorell (2010) for an overview of causes of democratisation.

effect on the expansion of education and access to communication technologies, which leads to the emergence of autonomous citizens who demand greater agency in the political process. This in turn forces elites to allow democratisation (e.g. Inglehart 1977; Inglehart & Welzel 1995; Manzano 2017). Others challenge the idea that education has a direct impact on democratisation (Acemoglu et al. 2009). However the "black box of education" (Teorell 2010: 18) has not been unpacked and well tested because of the absence of comparative, over-time data.

DEMED will test whether political control of education and information by autocrats undermines the (long-term) development of democratic values and behaviours. By providing theoretical advancement and data on how political regimes control the expansion of education with the deliberate aim of shaping citizen values, DEMED will open this "black box of education" as driver of citizen-led political change.

Autocratisation: DEMED equally speaks to the literature on democratic backsliding, which has received renewed academic attention due to the autocratisation of countries with seemingly established democracies.[2] The literature on democratic breakdowns mostly takes a short-term perspective, focusing on elite responses (Linz 1978; Bermeo 2003) to political and economic crises (O'Donnell & Schmitter 1986), as seen in case studies on Turkey (Göztepe 2017), Peru (Bermeo 2003) and other Latin American countries (Loveman 1993; 22015). Others simply suggest that the younger a democracy is, the more likely it is to breakdown (Diamond 2008; Svolik 2008; Cornell et al. 2017).

Despite the mounting evidence that young democracies are more likely to breakdown, the underlying mechanisms are unclear.[3] DEMED argues that autocratisation is only possible if tolerated by the majority of citizens. As evidenced by recent cases, citizens elect and legitimise political leaders with authoritarian tendencies. These leaders then dismantle democracy without any consequential public protest. DEMED will demonstrate the lasting impact of authoritarian indoctrination (or lack of democratic indoctrination) on political culture and how this is linked to autocratisation.

Political culture: This leads us to the next literature to which DEMED relates. Research on democratic political culture highlights the importance of citizen norms and behaviours for the establishment and survival of democracy. Although the literatures on democratisation and autocratisation highlight elites and institutions, citizen support for the political system and its representatives makes democracy legitimate and stable (Almond & Verba 1963; Easton 1965, 1975; Lipset 1959; Booth & Seligson 2009; Diamond et al. 1987; Diamond 1999; Linz & Stepan 1996; Norris 2011; Rose et al. 1998; Welzel 2007). However, these ideas have not been tested sufficiently, as the existing empirical studies suffer from endogeneity and the mechanisms are not well specified (with the exception of a study by Claassen 2018).

Development of democratic values: However, to understand the causes of democratic backsliding and prevention, it is imperative to understand how people develop democratic values. DEMED will fill the gap in the literature, by providing a theoretical framework for understanding and measuring the formation of democratic (authoritarian) political cultures and linking political culture to the establishment and survival of democracy. Research has suggested that we simply need to live in a democracy (especially when we are young) to form and retain political beliefs and behaviour that characterise democratic political cultures and ensure their resilience (Fuchs-Schündeln & Schündeln 2015; Denemark et al. 2016). But not everyone is fortunate enough to grow-up or live in a democracy. Can people who have spent most of their life under autocracy develop these democratic values?

Authoritarian legacies: Figure 1 plots the proportion of autocratic countries for any given year in the last 100 years. The red dashed line illustrates the 50% mark. It is only since the early 2000s that democracies outnumber dictatorships. As only a third of today's world population was born in the new millennium, we can postulate that most people today acquired their understanding of politics and their role as citizens in an authoritarian context, as they still live or grew-up in a dictatorship.

Figure 1: Proportion of autocratic regimes

Data: Varieties of Democracy (version 8)

Little is known about how and why this experience might affect democracy and the potential for backsliding today. People who experienced autocracies tend to become nostalgic for these regimes (Bernhard & Karakoc 2007; Neundorf

---
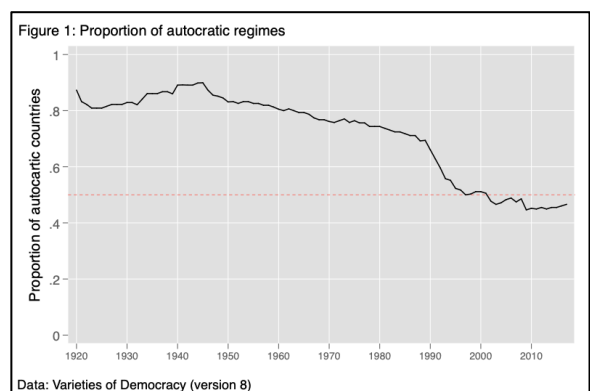
[2] For example, Levitsky & Ziblatt (2018) on the US; Rupnik (2018) on the Eastern European cases; see Waldner & Lust (2018) and Bermeo (2016) for general overviews)

[3] Some attribute this effect to weak institutionalisation (Waldner & Lust, 2018; Haggard & Kaufman 2016).

2010; Neundorf et al. 2017; Dinas & Northmore-Ball 2019). This persistence of authoritarian values and nostalgia may undermine the new democratic system. But we do not understand how nostalgia forms and its full implications for democratic stability. From this, two questions arise: Firstly, how can we "make democratic citizens", to use Galston's words (2001: 217)? And secondly, which factors undermine the development of democratic support? We will get to the first question in the next section but will start with the inverse of the second question: the development of support for authoritarian regimes.

Indoctrination: The central idea of modernisation theory, namely that access to education drives demand for democratisation, is at odds with contemporary cases of democratic backsliding as well as decades of research on totalitarianism. Lipset (1959) attributed authoritarian predispositions, especially among lower classes, to low education, poor civic participation, isolation and economic insecurity. This assumption is however doubtful because many of the contemporary cases of backsliding occur in highly educated societies, and authoritarianism thrives despite high education levels in Russia or Singapore (Hogan 2014). This discrepancy suggests that the character and content of education matters. Autocracies have and continue to actively use education and propaganda to indoctrinate their citizens to create support for the regime and foster an authoritarian political culture. Leading scholars of totalitarianism identify indoctrination through education as central to "authoritarian upbringing" (Friedrich & Brzezinski 1966).

Indoctrination and propaganda have been studied extensively both in autocratic and democratic contexts but the research is dispersed across area studies and historical literatures (such as Rodden 2005; Remington 1988; Brandenberger 2014), media persuasion literatures (DellaVigna & Getzkow 2009), and literatures on authoritarian information manipulation and censorship (Brady 2008; King et al 2013; Gehlbach & Sonin 2014; Tertytchnaya & Lankina. 2019). Here we conceptualise indoctrination as the inculcation of the citizen population with preferences, identities and behaviours that reflect the aims and values of the political regime (Backes & Kailitz 2015; Brandenberger 2014; Snook 2010). Indoctrination reflects the integration of a regime's guiding principles, such as freedom and human rights in a democracy or 'law and order' in an autocracy. In this sense, indoctrination can be used by autocracies as well as democracies, differentiated mainly by the content and the openness to be critical with the regime.

A recent influential study from economics demonstrates the positive effects of school textbook changes under the Chinese communist regime on young people's support for the regime and its ideology (Cantoni et al 2017). If the Chinese regime successfully moulds the hearts and minds of its future generations, we doubt that there will be popular demand for liberal democracy in China any time soon. DEMED will be the first study to conceptualise and measure democratic and authoritarian indoctrination on a global comparative scale, which will allow us to test the impact of education and propaganda on democratic (in)stability.

Political socialisation: DEMED assumes that exposure to authoritarian (or democratic) indoctrination through education and political communication early in life has a persistent effect on people's political values and identities. This assumption is based on political psychology and socialisation research, which demonstrates that basic values and identities are formed in early adulthood and remain relatively stable in later life (Krosnick & Alwin 1989; Sears & Valentino 1997; Sears & Funk 1999; Neundorf et al. 2013; Neundorf & Smets 2017). Thus citizens' formative experiences in non-democratic systems might impact their preferences after democratisation; determining whether lasting effects of authoritarian experiences, such as nostalgia, can be "unlearned" is key to the prevention of backsliding.

Civic education: This leads us to civic education as a tool to overcome authoritarian indoctrination and to instil democratic values. Civic education is designed to promote civic engagement, sensitise citizens to the importance of participation in political life and educate them regarding their rights and responsibilities. In a recent study, Mounk (2018: 245) describes civics education as "an essential bulwark against authoritarian temptations", which echoes ideas of George Washington (1797) who argued that the key to create "the future guardians of the liberties of the country (...) is the education of our youth in the science of government".[4]

The existing research on civic education clearly has led to the following insights: Firstly, it increases political information and citizens' political engagement. Civics training imparts basic political knowledge that helps citizens to identify and articulate their preferences (Finkel et al. 2000, 2011, 2012; Finkel 2014). Secondly, civic education training mobilises citizens to engage in politics during elections in participate in collective action (Finkel 2002, 2003, 2014). Also civic education can promote tolerance for minority groups, confidence in government institutions, and trust in fellow citizens (Finkel & Smith 2011; Nie et al. 1996).

Despite its importance, the number of hours an average school student spends on civic education has declined

---

[4] Civic education also plays a central role in democracy promotion efforts led by international and national organisations around the world. The USA alone spent between $30m and $50m a year on civic education between 1990 and 2005 (Azpuru et al. 2008).

steeply in many established democracies (Dudley & Gitelston 2003; Neundorf et al. 2016). If civic education is crucial in "making democratic citizens", reducing its importance in school curricula will put democracy at risk and might help to explain democratic backsliding in the USA and other advanced democracies. For example, research has revealed a decline in political knowledge and interest in these countries (Jennings 1996; Prior 2003, 2005). DEMED will be the first study to connect civic education to trends in democracy. The findings of this study will have direct policy implications by providing democratic government with concrete policy priorities for combating democratic backsliding.

Advancing the literature on civic education: DEMED will advance the literature on civic education in several ways. Firstly, no study has conducted a comparison between different countries to test the effectiveness of these democracy promotion programmes, which allows us to investigate contextual and historical legacy effects. DEMED will implement experiments on the effects of civic education in 20 different countries simultaneously. Secondly, existing studies have focused on single programmes only, but have not systematically compared the design of these programmes or determined which programmes are most effective in facilitating democratic learning among different social groups. DEMED will fill this gap.

Thirdly, DEMED will for the first time test the effectiveness of online civic education using social media to recruit participants and implement these programmes. Online educational interventions have an incredible potential to reach many more people at lower cost than the typical face-to-face workshops of classical democracy promotion. DEMED will build on the field of e-health, bringing this extensive research to the social sciences and the study of democracy.[5] Fourthly, DEMED will specifically design civic education programmes to overcome previous authoritarian indoctrination, which so far has been completely ignored in the practice and research on civic education and democracy promotion. However, democratic learning needs to overcome the possible authoritarian indoctrination that people endured (Neundorf et al. 2017).

The rise of social media: Lastly, DEMED relates to research on social media. The need for citizens to have skills in acquiring reliable information and retaining a critical approach to information sources has grown with the rise of social media. Today, political information is less centralised and more polarised than in the past (Swire et al. 2017; Barberá et al. 2015). The uncontrolled nature of social media has promoted the spread of fake news and electoral manipulation. Without the resilience of individuals to spot this, the rise of social media might have dire consequences for the health of democracy (Tucker et al. 2017).

Yet, the rise of social media can also have positive externalities. For example, social media played a crucial role in the Arab Spring (Hounshell 2011) and was hailed as "liberation technology" (Diamond 2010). However, little is known about how social media can be used for civic education. DEMED will incorporate the rise of social media and its effects on democracy in several innovative ways. Firstly, social media will be used to measure democratic and authoritarian values among its users. Secondly, DEMED will test the effectiveness of social media as a means of instilling democratic values.

Figure 2: Overview theory
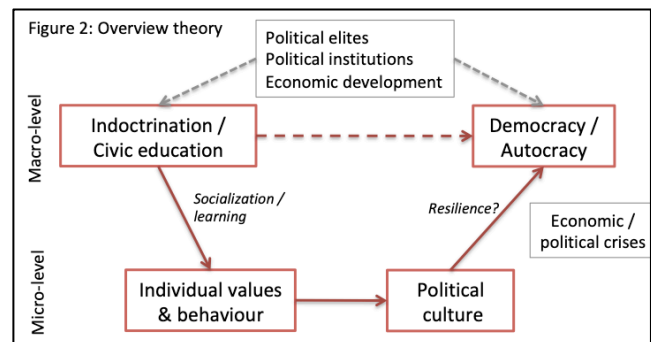
Summary: Theoretical expectation

Figure 2 summarises the postulated relationship between key concepts of DEMED. Ultimately, DEMED is interested in successful democratisation and democratic consolidation to prevent backsliding. The project thereby focuses on the importance of political culture - the democratic norms, support and behaviour of ordinary citizens. Importantly, DEMED investigates the impact of authoritarian indoctrination and civic education on the development of political culture, which is transmitted, though processes of political socialisation and learning. This model is explicitly top-down, as we assume that indoctrination and civic education to be led by the regime / elite to causally impact individuals' political norms and behaviour.

We expect that the stronger the democratic norms in the population, the better citizens will "resist the allure of authoritarianism" (Bermeo 2003:17), particularly in times of economic and political crises. DEMED acknowledges the importance of political elites and institutions as well as economic development, as alternative explanations of democracy. These factors impact the willingness and capacity of regimes to indoctrinate its

---

[5] Online interventions have been implemented successfully in health. Extensive research has demonstrated the positive effects of online-administered educational programmes on diverse health behaviour and outcomes ranging from physical activity, healthy eating, to mental health (for overviews of the field of e-health, se systematic reviews by Norman et al. 2009; Murray et al. 2016).

population. Further, as Figure 2 shows, we expect no direct effect of the other domestic factors on political culture. These would go through indoctrination/civic education, as regime-led tools.

Research Objectives

This project's overarching goal is to understand the causes of democratic backsliding and present solutions through building more resilient democratic political cultures. DEMED will provide a new paradigm for studying democratisation and democratic backsliding that takes an individual-level perspective. Understanding the causes of democratisation - or conversely autocratisation - will improve the design of civic education today and in the future. DEMED has four concrete research objectives.

1. Causes of democratisation and backsliding: Firstly, the project will establish the individual-level causes of successful or failed democratisation. As outlined above, DEMED will focus on an understudied factor: the effect of past and present political indoctrination on democracy today. Thereby, the focus will be in particular on the legacy of dictatorship, which has been widely ignored in the democratisation literature, which directly links to the PI's established and on-going (ESRC-funded) work on authoritarian nostalgia. In order to achieve this objective, DEMED will develop a new unifying theoretical framework of regime indoctrination strategies and tools to create democratic versus authoritarian values. Further, the project will break new ground in developing and collecting new comprehensive comparative historical data that allows us to measure these tools across the world and over time.

2. Effects of indoctrination on democracy: Secondly, once we have established our theoretical framework and collected data on tools of authoritarian and democratic indoctrination, we need to ascertain whether indoctrination has the expected effect on democratic and authoritarian values, which underpin the development of democracy or its erosion. This has never been tested, as the theory and data is currently missing that allows us to link regime strategies of indoctrination and mass manipulation of democratic versus authoritarian values to the observed political beliefs and behaviour of citizens. DEMED is the first project that allows us to test the causes of authoritarian nostalgia and explore the exact nature these persisting authoritarian values. DEMED will test the effect of indoctrination - in the form of education and political communication - on political culture and democracy by introducing three innovative measures using cutting edge advanced statistical methodology as well as qualitative original data.

3. Solutions to build resilient democracies: Thirdly, DEMED will identify education-based solutions of preventing democratic recessions, in both new and old democracies. Our goal therefore is to establish how to most successfully teach democracy to ordinary citizens to build and sustain more resilient democratic political cultures. As argued above, in most countries these learning processes importantly need to overcome the authoritarian indoctrination that people experienced during dictatorships. We will study how citizens who have been socialised in authoritarian regimes learn democracy. The results of our research will help facilitate successful democratic consolidation.

More specifically, DEMED will test the effectiveness of newly designed online educational programmes of democracy, utilising the enormous positive potential of the internet to reach many more people at lower costs than the usual face-to-face educational programmes. This innovative approach to civic education will be integrated with social media platforms and could revolutionise how we view the potential of these new forms of communication to affect the political world.

4. Bringing it all together: Existing research has failed to achieve these objectives, because an overall theoretical framework that connects citizens' democratic values to democratic backsliding is missing. Better understanding how democracies (and autocracies) create lasting support among their citizens for democratic (and authoritarian) values, will shed light on the bottom-up democratic backsliding which we are currently witnessing. The few studies that exist in this field focus on a small set of countries, thus not allowing for the broader generalisation of these findings. The failure for this research to produce broader findings is mainly due to a lack of comparative data. Furthermore, the research on the promotion of democracy largely ignores how past experiences shape transitioning, consolidating or established democracies. This leads to a failure to provide successful solutions to prevent and stop democratic backsliding.

Methodology

DEMED is structured around the three research objectives - causes, effects, and solutions - which each form one work package (WP). A fourth WP is dedicated to the academic and non-academic dissemination of the research. As illustrated in Figure 1 of Form B1, each WP is connected and the work will be conducted over a 5-year period. Emerging findings will be shared and incorporated into subsequent stages of all WP and discussed in monthly team symposia.

Work Package 1 (WP1) "Causes of Democratic Backsliding"

Firstly, DEMED will establish the drivers of democratic and authoritarian political culture, which we assume affect the rise or fall of democracy. The project thereby will make important theoretical advances to the existing literature as well as create new global historical data on regime indoctrination.

WP1.1 - A new theoretical framework: As the first step of WP1, the project will create a ground-breaking unified theoretical framework of micro-level drivers of citizens' support for political regimes that underpin both democratic and autocratic (in)stability. This new theoretical framework will identify and synthesise into a single framework all the tools and strategies political regimes have used since 1900 to the present to build popular support among their citizens. Emphasis will be placed on conceptualising the tools, particularly authoritarian indoctrination, which are most likely to have persistent effects on citizens' political preferences and thus lead to phenomena such as authoritarian nostalgia and democratic backsliding.

To achieve WP1.1, DEMED will join several strands of the literature ranging from classic authoritarianism and democratisation to cross-disciplinary research on civic education and media studies. Through a systematic review we will create a globally and historically applicable conceptualisation of regime-led indoctrination, including the two sub-components propaganda and education, and identify the relevant institutional mechanisms, which will allow us to develop indicators that measure the capacity and intent to indoctrinate. Working with two emerging scholars in this field (Dr Northmore-Ball and Dr Tertytchnaya), we plan to produce a journal article on this new theoretical framework (**DELIVERABLE 1 - D1**).

WP1.2 - A new global historical dataset: Based on the theory (D1), we will develop comparative measures of the two key components of authoritarian indoctrination, education and political communication, which we expect to be at the heart of impacting the formation of citizens' democratic and authoritarian values. DEMED will create the first-ever global dataset that contains information on autocratic and democratic indoctrination, covering 180 countries from 1900 to today. The expectation thereby is that any type of political regime may choose to use tools of indoctrination to shape political culture (Snook 2010).

This comprehensive new dataset will allow us to study the long-term bottom-up causes of democratisation and democratic backsliding. To date, global comparative data relating to education and political communication is very limited.[6] For example, current global measures on education are limited to average years of education, enrolment rates, literacy, and inequality in education access. No comparative data exists on the capacity and intent of regimes to use education for indoctrination purposes. DEMED will collect comprehensive data on regime control of education, e.g. the content and delivery.

Data format & sources: The format of this new data will follow the standard macro datasets by presenting numerous variables by country-year. The newly created data will be collected through a mix of expert coding and factual information. Wherever possible we will rely on official and archival data, for example about the education systems and policies, such as the centralisation of education, curriculum and content development. The collection of factual data will be supervised by the PI and compiled by the project postdoc. However, other dimensions of indoctrination are not directly measurable through official sources. In these cases we will develop proxy measures that can be collected using experts who, for example, will evaluate the level of indoctrination in school textbooks or politicisation of the hiring and firing of teachers. Expert coding requires in-depth case knowledge and evaluative judgment (Marquardt & Pemstein 2019).

WP1.2.1 - Creating an expert survey: As the first step, DEMED will hold a workshop to refine the conceptualisation and identify the best indicators to measure these regime tools, and to finalise the case selection for the initial pilot study. The focus of this workshop will be the creation of interval level scales that are globally applicable regardless of regime type, level of economic development, and cultural differences. Leading scholars in this field, such as Professors Svolik (Yale), Geddes (UCLA), Bermeo (Princeton), Lust (Gothenburg),

---

[6] Although some data on media bias and government censorship has been collected (Coppedge et al. 2018) and will be incorporated into WP1.2.

and Diamond (Stanford), have already committed their support to this project and indicated their willingness to participate in the workshop. Dr Northmore-Ball (Queen Mary, London) and Dr Tertytchnaya (UCL) will further support the drafting of the expert survey.

W1.2.2 - Pilot study: The questionnaire of the expert survey will be piloted on eight country cases that represent the different established regime types (Geddes et al. 2014), the full spectrum of economic development, as well as all cultural distinctive regions of the world providing variability both across cases and within cases. These cases are selected from the pool of well-researched countries so as to allow for validation and cross-referencing of expert evaluations with other sources. The provisional proposed cases developed in consultation with regional and topic experts include: China, Russia, Mexico, Brazil, Syria, Thailand, Spain, and Turkey. The results of the pilot study will be used to inform the development of the final version of the global expert survey (**MILESTONE 1 - M1**).

WP1.2.3 - A global expert survey: The last phase of WP1.2 will be to deploy the expert survey globally. To achieve the highest possible quality of expert coding, DEMED will collaborate with and draw from the expertise of the influential Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute at the University of Gothenburg. V-Dem has successfully transformed academic and policy-relevant work on democracy since introducing a new dataset on democratic institutions. Since its inception in 2014, the V-Dem Institute has developed, tested and standardised a world-leading, sophisticated data collection, curation, and aggregation method that DEMED will capitalise on. V-Dem data has been downloaded over 70,000 times from 167 countries demonstrating the strong demand for this kind of expert-coded data. This broad audience is likely to welcome the extension proposed in WP1 with data on indoctrination, which was clearly expressed by leading scholars in this field in four research initiation workshops (Gothenburg 2017, Nottingham 2018, Boston 2018; Austin 2019).

Building on the V-Dem Institute's established research infrastructure and world-leading methodology, they provide the following to DEMED: (i) historical data extending back to 1900, (ii) multiple, independent coders for each (nonfactual) question (per country), (iii) inter-coder reliability tests, incorporated into a Bayesian measurement model, (iv) confidence bounds for all point estimates associated with non-factual questions, (v) transparent aggregation procedures, (vi) all data freely available for download and online analysis, including original coder-level judgments (Coppedge et al. 2017; Pemstein and Marquardt 2017).

The current infrastructure of expert recruitment will be invaluable for expanding the expert pool to 1,080 new experts (6 per country, for 180 countries) to cover new topic areas such as education. The V-Dem Country Experts generally hold a PhD and are usually residents or citizens of the country they are coding. Expert Coders receive a small compensation for their work. V-Dem has deployed rigorous protocols to ensure a high quality when identifying and recruiting Country Experts. DEMED will further have access to the custom designed V-Dem data collection infrastructure. This includes a broad set of IT tools and databases, a website with online surveys for the Country Expert coding and a tool for their management. The data collection for around 25-30 additional indoctrination-related questions for 180 countries covering 1900-2020 will be covered through this grant (**MILESTONE 2 - M2**).

Output: The data created in M2 will be used to develop a new empirical regime typology that focuses on the relationship between regimes and citizens specifically in terms of regime intent and capacity to shape citizen preferences in a way that can lead to persistent democratic (or authoritarian) values. This new regime typology will motivate crucial theoretical re-pivoting towards a focus on the bottom-up long-term societal processes that determine democratic and autocratic (in)stability. This regime typology will be presented as a journal article (**DELIVERABLE 2 - D2**). In a second article we will further test empirically the postulated macro connection of our theoretical framework (depicted in Figure 2) to connect regime indoctrination (new typology developed in D2) with macro measures of democracy using the V-Dem data (**DELIVERABLE 3 - D3**). Finally once the data collection and cleaning is complete, the newly collected data will be published online for free use by the scholarly community and practitioners (**DEVLIVERABLE 4 - D4**).

Work Package 2 (WP2) "Effects on political cultures"

Secondly, to establish the link between democratic (authoritarian) tools of indoctrination and the lasting support among ordinary citizens, DEMED will be the first project to create unique overtime comparative measures of political culture relying on different forms of data. DEMED will conduct a mixed method research design to combine qualitative data collection with cutting-edge quantitative approaches.

WP2.1 - Measuring political culture using cross-national surveys: In a first step, we plan to test our new theoretical framework (D1), using a newly established and innovative methodology by team member Dr Claassen (Glasgow) for measuring authoritarian and democratic values. The measures are based on all available

public opinion surveys from around the world and across time, which include questions tapping respondents' principled support for authoritarianism and/or democracy. However, these data are fractured across time and space, with gaps in coverage for almost all countries. To address this fragmentation, we will use the dynamic Bayesian latent trait measurement model developed and validated by Claassen (2019). This model permits the measurement of a "smooth" country-year panel of political culture that uses all available survey data, covering 120 countries, from 1988 to today. Based on these data and the regime indoctrination data (D4) it is possible to estimate appropriate fixed and random effects modelling, in which the PI is an expert, to answer the question of whether regime indoctrination affects the level of democratic/authoritarian values. The results of these models will be published as a journal article (**DELIVERABLE 5 - D5**).

WP2.2 - Measuring political culture using social media data: To validate and complement the measures of WP2.1, we will further create innovative measures of political culture using social media content. Available on social media for analysis are the thoughts and colloquially expressed opinions of billions of people. This project leverages an existing database of five billion tweets, collected by team member Dr Wilson (Brandeis) since 2012. This dataset represents the full text, location and other meta-data for some five billion tweets, worldwide. This data represents an extraordinarily rich sample of the political discourse throughout the developing and developed world. In order to take advantage of that richness, Dr Wilson has developed cutting edge statistical text analysis to measure democratic values.[7]

To create a global dataset of political culture based on this rich data, human coders who are natively fluent in a variety of languages are required. The top 17 languages represented in the data would encompass over 90% of the tweets in our database, and most countries in the world.[8] The training data would be constructed by generating random samples of 10,000 tweets from each language in question, with two natively fluent coders of that language coding all of them (34 coders required in total). The duplication of effort is in order to ensure reliability through inter-coder comparison of coding. Based on this effort, we will get country-year estimates of political culture for 162 countries, covering the years 2012 to 2021 (**MILESTONE 3 - M3**). As in WP2.1, we will use the data generated in D4 to predict these Twitter-based estimates of democratic values as the dependent variables to answer the question whether and how indoctrination affects the political culture of a country. Based on these data, we will prepare at least one journal article (**DELIVERABLE 6 - D6**). Further, the country-year estimates will be made available to other users (**DELIVERABLE 7 - D7**).

WP2.3 - Measuring political culture using qualitative focus groups: Despite their incredible scope and novelty, the quantitative research of WP2.1 and WP2.2 are limited in providing an in-depth picture of how indoctrination affects individuals' political values and identities. Anti-democratic sentiments could stem from a misunderstanding of what democracy is and how it works, or it could represent a deeper rejection of democratic principles. We hence complement the quantitative approach with a qualitative comparative study of two former (or current) dictatorships.

Case selection: Following the most similar system research design, the countries included will provide a systematic comparison between one pair of cases, which are very similar in most characteristics, but vary in the level of indoctrination - the key independent variable of this project (Geddes 1990). An indicative selection of cases is based on existing case studies focusing mainly on the education system: One possible pair would be to compare Poland and Hungary, two former Communist countries. We expect the indoctrination in the former to have been weaker than in the latter due to the special role of the Catholic Church in Poland, which provided an alternative education and ideology (Buchowski 1994; Mazgaj 2010; Mueller and Neundorf 2012). In contrast, in Hungary, the educational system was designed with the aim to create a new Communist man (Murray 1960; Glenn 1995; Mincu 2009). Based on this we would expect that authoritarian values should be more entrenched among Hungarians than among Poles.

Other pairs are possible using the same case selection criteria. Possible cases, which have been explored: Greece and its state-controlled authoritarian school system (high indoctrination; see Anastasakis 1992; Petrakis 2011; Kornetis 2013) and Spain, which passed responsibility of school education to the Catholic Church (low indoctrination; see Domke 2011; Pinto 2004). Other possible pairs of non-European countries include: Tanzania (high indoctrination; see Blommaert 2014) and Kenya (low indoctrination; see Nasong 2016; Nyangena 2003) or Indonesia (high indoctrination; see Hughes-Freeland 2007; Cribb 2010) and Philippines (low

---

[7] The model consists of a two-stage ensemble classifier: an affinity model followed by a deep neural net. The former approach operates at the word-frequency level, while the latter approaches text from a sentence structure perspective. The two halves of the model are both trained on a set of tweets classified by native speaking human coders, while the neural net is also trained on a large extant set of texts in the language in question (typically the entire corpus of that language on Wikipedia).

[8] Eight of the languages are European in origin (English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Russian, Italian, Dutch, German) and nine non-European (Arabic, Turkish, Indonesian, Filipino, Thai, Malay, Korean, Japanese, Chinese).

indoctrination; see Turner1990). The final case selection will be based on the data of D4, which will provide systematic historical data on political indoctrination across the globe.

Focus groups: In each of the two selected countries, we will conduct ten focus groups (FGs) with different segments of society (age, economic hardship, rural/urban). Each FG will include about eight participants. For example, we will vary the age of the participants to reflect different generations (to be adapted to each case and period of indoctrination), those who grew up during the height of the dictatorships and those who grew-up afterwards. Based on economic indicators, we will also divide participants into winners and losers of the transition from autocracy to democracy, which we know to affect political values and behaviour (Clarke et al. 1993; Lewis-Beck 1988; & Rose & Mishler 1996; Neundorf 2010).

The focus groups will be administered in collaboration with local companies. Once the case selection is determined, we will reach out to our international network of political scientists and the project consultant, Aaron Abbarno from Democracy International, to recruit experienced and high-quality local companies to conduct the FGs (incl. participant recruitment, moderation of discussion, and transcription into local language). We will further use a reputable translation company to translate the FG discussion transcripts into English for further analysis.

The Moderator's Guide of the FGs will focus on topics such as memory of the old regime, transitional justice, expectations and knowledge of democracy. The insights of the WP2.3 will be included in a book manuscript on authoritarian nostalgia, which the PI and Prof Lindstaedt (Essex) are preparing (**DELIVERABLE 8 - D8**). Further, the results of the FGs will feed into the quantitative analysis of WP3.3, in terms of questionnaire design.

> *Work Package 3 (WP3) "Solutions to build resilient democracies"*

Thirdly, DEMED will identify education-based solutions to combating democratic backsliding. Here we will focus on the question of whether and how newly designed online and in-the-field civic education programmes successfully instil democratic norms and values in the population, which makes new and old democracies resilient to future backsliding. Research on the impact of civic education that stimulate democracy is still very limited and has so far ignored the authoritarian past (and indoctrination) of these societies.

WP3.1 - Systematic review: As a first step of WP3, we will conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of all the evidence that has been generated on the effectiveness of civic education programmes across space and time. These programmes are often very diverse in their design, content and target population. Different organisations develop and deliver interventions and educational programmes without considering the evidence-base and current best practice.

Systematic reviews are mostly used in medicine and behavioural social sciences to synthesise evidence in order to establish effectiveness of interventions (e.g. Bauer et al. 2016). Under the supervision of the PI and Prof Finkel (Pittsburgh), a world leading expert on civic education, one project Postdoc (based in Glasgow) and one RA (based in Pittsburgh) will collect, systemise and analyse published and unpublished experimental and quasi-experimental studies evaluating political education programmes and their effect on democratic citizenship across the globe. The research team will further conduct a meta-analysis of the effects of these programmes. We will contract a leading expert on systematic reviews to provide training for the research team on how to conduct such a review and analysis. The results will be published as a journal article (**DELIVERABLE 9 - D9**) and inform the development of the online civic education content (WP3.2).

WP3.2 - Developing new online civic education content: To date, civic education is done predominately in traditional forms of face-to-face workshops and events. However, as research on e-health has shown, social media is a promising new avenue to implement educational programmes online at much lower costs and to reach many more people (Barak & Grohol 2011; Korda & Itani 2013). Online civic education is only in its infancy and no systematic test of its effectiveness has been conducted. DEMED will fill this gap.

Content: In order to test the effectiveness of online civic education to strengthen democratic values and behaviour, we have identified three dimensions of the content and design of the interventions that we want to focus on: 1) *message* (loss aversion vs. gain vs. self-efficacy), 2) *format* (active vs. passive; long vs. short), and 3) *locus* (national versus general). Our aim is to test these interventions in a cross-national setting with up to 20 countries, which only allows for general content to be tested for comparability between countries.

WP3.2.1: Case study for content development: Before moving to the third dimension of our interventions – locus – we want to ensure to maximise the effectives of the messages and format by focusing on one country only, for which we will develop multiple types of interventions, which will be based on specific local content. For this case study, we will use Turkey, pending an extensive risk assessment. Turkey is a particularly interesting case, as it constitutes an example of disrupted democratisation. Throughout the past 60 years, Turkey

saw several (successful or attempted) military coups d'états, with the last one disrupting the country in 2016, which saw an unprecedented democratic backsliding. We hence expect that some levels of democratic support and knowledge exists in Turkey, but that there are also considerable levels of support for authoritarianism, especially military rule, evident by high levels of support for President Erdogan who has been overseen the erosion of democratic and liberal institutions in recent years.

Message: Firstly, we will explore the most successful educational messages based on established psychological theories of learning and decision making. We have so far identified two theories, which we would like to test: 1) we will design messages reflecting prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky 1979; Tversky & Kahneman 1991), whereas we will compare treatments based on loss aversion (e.g. reminding people of the authoritarian alternative to democracy) versus gain (outlining the individual gains of living in a democratic system). 2) we will design educational messages based on self-efficacy social cognitive theory (Bandura 1977), which is intended to increase political knowledge. This in turn is believed to increase political engagement, as participants feel enhanced efficacy, or mastery of the specific skills necessary for political participation. When designing these messages, we will further vary the level of emotions, which is assumed to increase the mobilisation effect of these interventions (Marcus 2000). In sum, we will develop multiple online programmes, which will be designed to reflect the different theories mentioned above: 1) loss aversion, 2) gain, and 3) self-efficacy. We will further vary the level of emotions for these. The final selection of messages and theory is subject to an extended literature review and preliminary findings.

Format: Further, research on civic education suggests that positive effects attributable to civic education are contingent upon the pedagogical nature and frequency of exposure to civic education activities (Finkel 2014). DEMED will establish whether the same is true for online civic education, as the existing research is only based on offline content. We will test this by designing three different levels of "format intensity". We thereby distinguish between active and passive content, which either does (active) or does not (passive) allow for interaction between participants or with an instructor. Further, we distinguish between short and long formats, whereas the short format would be one online activity (e.g. one 5min video; interactive game), while the long format consists of a series of online activities to mimic the intensity of offline workshops. The effectiveness of format will only be tested in Turkey, as part of the strategy to optimise these online interventions.

Given the two dimensions – message and format – our experimental protocol will consist of a 4 x 4 design where 12 experimental arms will be treatment and the remaining 4 arms will be placebo groups. This experimental design will be based on online civic education programmes in Turkey. Table 1 illustrates the combinations of content design, which will be tested (**MILESTONE 4 - M4**).

In order to test the effectiveness of these various messages, we will further develop a placebo intervention, e.g. information on animal conservation, to address potential Hawthorne effects. We expect that these placebo material will not impact democratic and authoritarian values as well as political engagement.

Table 1: Intervention arms in Turkey (WP3.2.1)

	Emotional			Non-emotional
Format:	Active	Passive		Passive
	Long	Long	Short	Short
Message:				
Loss aversion	T1	T2	T3	T4
Gain	T5	T6	T7	T8
Self-efficacy	T9	T10	T11	T12
Placebo	P1	P2	P3	P4

WP3.2.2: Cross-national content development: Once we have established the most effective way to design the online civic education interventions in a local context (T1 to T12), we will design general content, which can be implemented in up to 20 different countries, which allows us to test whether these kinds of interventions are more effective in some contexts compared to other cases. For this however, we need to develop interventions, which are comparable across different countries, overcoming challenges related to, for example, cultural differences. The final case selection will be based on the data of D4.

Further, we will test whether the content needs to be tailored to each specific country to reflect national, historical peculiarities or whether there are general messages, which do not necessarily speak directly to a context. General content and messages would have the advantage that they could be used across many different cases, while local contexts require educational interventions to be generated for every country separately.

As illustrated in Table 2, the cross-national design will be simpler, as most countries will have only one treatment and one placebo group. However, to establish the comparative strength of general versus country-specific content (locus), we will design country-specific courses in a sub-set of the 20 countries (about three cases to be selected later).

Table 2: Intervention arms cross-national design (WP3.2.2)

	Locus	
	General (N=20)	Country-specific (N=3)
Civic course	T1	T2
Placebo	P1	P2

Production of content: To produce the content of the online civic programmes (e.g. videos and animations), DEMED will incorporate the invaluable expertise of Prof Finkel (Pittsburgh) as well as the practical experience and local knowledge of Aaron Abbarno (Democracy International) who will consult the project. In the first phase of WP3.2.1, the content and format of the intervention to be implemented in Turkey will be discussed in a two-day workshop (to be held in Istanbul), inviting leading experts on Turkey as well as local practitioners who work in the field of civic education. We will further sub-contract a local company to design the online content using a mix of animations, existing video content and voice overs. All content will be trialled in pre-testing to ensure that the intended content is achieved.

For the general content production (WP3.2.2), we will work with the Digital Media Lab of Middlesex University London, which provides award-winning expertise on animations and film editing. The key challenge for the development of the general content is to achieve comparability across 20 different countries. To ensure the success, we will work closely with country experts from the countries included in this study. A workshop meeting, held in Glasgow, will bring these country and subject experts (Finkel and Abbarno) together with the creative team from Middlesex. The content of this general intervention will be translated from English into Hungarian, Polish, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, Arabic, Indonesian, Filipino, and Malay to allow the distribution of the content in numerous countries. (**MILESTONE 5 – M5**)

WP3.2.3: Additional local case studies: Once we have chosen three countries as a sub-set from the 20 cross-national cases, for which additional local content will be designed, we will again seek local country expertise and hire a local production company. Potential cases are: Nigeria, Indonesia, and Tunisia.

WP3.3 - Online experiment: It is important to assess the effectiveness of these programmes in creating more knowledgeable and engaged democratic citizens. Randomised control trials (RCTs) are the gold standard of causal inference and will be implemented in WP3.3. The study will be conducted as follows: 1) Participants are recruited online through Facebook and Instagram; 2) baseline survey (wave 1) is conducted via Qualtrics, a powerful online survey platform; 3) participants of the baseline survey are randomly selected into the one to 12 intervention arms (depending on country) or a control group; and 4) post-treatment surveys will be conducted via Qualtrics shortly after (wave 2) participating in the programme and 2-3 months later (wave 3) to test for long-term effects. The protocol and expected results of this experiment will be registered beforehand.

Participant recruitment through social media: DEMED will implement the online experiment on Facebook and Instagram, which have become a significant part of daily life for nearly 1.5 billion people worldwide. "While many researchers have explored Facebook's influence on individuals and societies, its potential as a powerful research tool has been largely overlooked" (Kosinski et al. 2016: 543). Using social media to disseminate civic education content and recruit participants into our study allows us to overcome the overreliance on samples that are typically relatively small and WEIRD - Western, educated, industrialised, rich and democratic (Henrich et al. 2010). Given the focus of DEMED on (post-)authoritarian countries to combat the effect of authoritarian indoctrination, it is essential to find a wider population of participants.

To recruit study participants, we will use Facebook advertising, whereas successful recruitment - Facebook user participates in baseline survey - is auctioned off. Research has shown that the cost per participant can be as low as USD1.51 (Batterham 2014).[9] Not only did Facebook ads outperform traditional methods such as postal surveys (Batterham 2014; Johnson et al. 2014), but they were also more cost efficient than Google advertising, online newsletters, and emails (Carlini et al. 2014).

To increase take-up to the study as well as general implementation of the study, DEMED will work with a social media expert to provide advise on how to best design the Facebook ads used to recruit participants. In a

---

[9] In our own pilot study, conducted in Tunisia in 2019, cost per participant was as low as $1.00.

pilot study, DEMED will trial several ways to maximise the take-up to participate in the study. The results of the pilot study to increase take-up in the study will be published as a methodological paper to contribute to the growing field of social media based social science studies (**DELIVERABLE 10 - D10**).

Participation incentives: Recruitment to participate in the study will be incentivised in two ways. Firstly, the original recruitment to participate will be feedback-based on a political knowledge test (which is already part of the data collection of the baseline survey). Kosinski et al. (2016: 550) demonstrated that "providing feedback on the scores or performance is one of the most efficient ways of compensating participants for their time and effort". Based on this task and feedback, participants will then be invited to the online questionnaire of the baseline survey. Secondly, to ensure that participants remain with the lengthy study, which includes several questionnaires and potentially a multi-week online course on civic education, we will use financial incentives to win prizes such as shopping, mobile or streaming vouchers (Doody et al. 2003).

Questionnaire: To assess the impact of the newly created online civic education content, pre-(wave 1) and post-intervention surveys (waves 2 and 3) need to be collected. As the entire study is implemented online, the survey data is also collected online using Qualtrics, for which the University of Glasgow has a network licence. Qualtrics will be used to collect confidential contact details (email addresses) of the study participants to enable re-contacting them for wave 2 and wave 3.

The questionnaire will be kept as short as possible (see Kosinski et al. 2016) and only focus on key outcome variables such as: (1) citizens' political knowledge, (2) 'civic competence,' (i.e. political interest and self-efficacy), (3) support for democratic norms and institutions, (4) authoritarian values and nostalgia, and (5) and political engagement, e.g. voluntarism, participation in elections. The baseline survey will additionally include questions on key demographic variables (age, gender, education, socio-economic status, religion, urban/rural residence). The questionnaire will be piloted and then translated to allow its application in 20 countries (**MILE-STONE 6 – M6**).

Case selection: We will determine the optimal participant number by accounting for several technical factors: sample size, statistical power, the minimal detectable effect size, and intervention strength and "dosage". Dr Rascon (Middlesex), a developmental economist by training, will be the trial statistician of WP3.3/3.4 and will be in charge of estimating the optimal sample size. Preliminary estimates suggest that we need 1,000 participants per treatment arm and control group. Based on these calculations, we expect to include about 70,000 participants from 20 countries in our study.

The online design of WP3.3 allows us to run this experiment in several countries. The general content (intervention arms 1 to 3) will be translated from English into nine languages, which allows us to test the same content in 20 countries, which provide a wide range of historical democracies and autocracies and varying levels of indoctrination: Hungary, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Turkey, Tunisia, Lebanon, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, UK, and USA.[10] The list of countries will be finalised based on the data collected as part of WP1 (D4).

WP3.4 - Testing intervention strength: Online interventions as proposed in WP3.3 are still new and their effect unknown. In order to provide the most effective policy-advice, it is necessary to compare the strength of the impact of online civic education programmes to that of more traditional offline programmes. In WP3.4 we will compare the effect size for the local context prepared for Turkey in an online and offline setting. We will create a sample of urban participants, resident in Istanbul, recruited through Facebook and Instagram as in WP3.3. After the baseline survey, participants will be randomly allocated to three intervention treatments: 1) Online + passive format; 2) online + active format; and 3) in-the-field experiment + active format 4) placebo (online). The content tested will be based on the material developed for Turkey (see overview of Table 1), selecting the message, which yields the strongest results in the pre-testing. Participants will either watch this intervention online (treatment 1 and 2) or be invited to a public screening, which will include a discussion afterwards. After the intervention, all participants will be invited to an online post-treatment survey. Final number of participants is subject to power calculations based on the first set of experiments, but we estimate that we need about 500 participants per treatment and placebo group.

For design of WP3.4, Dr Rascon (Middlesex) will led the design and implementation protocol according to potential contamination among experimental arms, effect sizes and target subgroup analysis (i.e., simple vs clustered randomisation, number of stratified groups).

WP3.5 - Output: The results of WP3.3/3.4 will be presented in a series of journal articles, focusing on different aspects of the experiments: content, format, distinguishing between different target groups (e.g. older vs. young

---

[10] All countries have more than 40% of the population that is active on social media (mainly Facebook), which should allow us to also reach more marginal or hard-to-reach populations. Using weights we will ensure the representativeness of the study.

or educated vs. uneducated participants), as well as comparison between countries and intervention delivery (WP3.4) (**DELIVERABLES 11-15**). Furthermore, we will make the anonymised data of the experiment available for replication and re-use (**DELIVERABLE 16 - D16**).

Pilot study Tunisia: Throughout 2019, the PI, Prof Finkel and Dr Rascon xconducted a pilot study of WP3.2/3.3 in Tunisia in collaboration with Democracy International. The US State Department funded the pilot study. We conducted a series of RCTs to test the effectiveness of newly created online civic education interventions designed to increase political knowledge and engagement in the upcoming 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections. The results of this one country pilot study will feed into WP3, as it provides experience in content design (WP3.2), online recruitment (WP3.3), and study design (WP3.4).

Work Package 4 (WP4): "Evidence synthesis and dissemination"

Fourthly, WP4 will incorporate the findings of Work Packages 1-3 into a theory of democratic backsliding and connect its causes, effects and solutions by co-producing a best-practice "Democratisation through Education Manual (DTEM)" (**DELIVERABLE 17 - D17**) with our partners that will outline the most effective online civic education programmes to foster a democratic political culture to prevent democratic backsliding, in both new and old democracies. The policy-relevant results of DEMED will be disseminated in a 2-day workshop, hosted by Democracy International in Washington, DC. In total we expect 30-40 leading academic and non-academic experts in the field of civic education to attend the workshop. The goal of the workshop is to discuss the consequences of the research and their implications for practical work in this field. We will spend the last few months of the project to further disseminate the research and DTEM, e.g. by capacity building workshops hosted by other governmental and non-governmental organisations.

The work will be disseminated in a series of academic as well as major policy-relevant outputs. This uses innovative methods of synthesising findings across different types of newly created datasets, qualitative observations, and experimental findings (Harden & Thomas 2010). This iterative process will also build capacity among the non-academic partners for the more complex synthesis of findings. This work will be led by the research team, who will analyse key findings from each work package, focusing on triangulation and complementarity across the evidence types. Such an approach will advance calls for increased relevance of social science to policy (Bastow et al. 2014), and will ensure timeliness and impact of the project.

Project Output: Policy engagement and academic impact

Overall, DEMED will produce 12 journal articles, one book chapter, three new publicly available datasets, and one policy manual. The new framework, innovative data, methodological advances and educational tools developed through DEMED will impact different beneficiaries. Firstly, the output of the project will benefit the wider social science scholarly community. The new theoretical framework will challenge the scholarly literature in comparative politics and democratisation, which we expect will lead to numerous follow-up studies to test different parts of the framework. Secondly, the newly created and freely available global dataset of institutional and societal autocratisation will unleash a new generation of work on the social bases of authoritarian rule and democratic backsliding. The data will allow global analyses as well as more in-depth country studies. Leading international scholars have already expressed a strong demand for such data in four research initiation workshops (Gothenburg 2017, Nottingham 2018, Boston 2018; Austin 2019).

Thirdly, the new qualitative findings will complement quantitative works on authoritarian nostalgia, which have so far failed to explain the exact nature of these values due to the use of overly crude measures, scarce theorisation and conceptualisation. Fourthly, the experimental multi-country study of civic education will have an impact on the field of civic education and public opinion by providing new methodological approaches. We expect that this will revive the study of civic education in new and old democracies as an important tool to combat democratic backsliding. Furthermore, our project will help policymakers improve their understanding of authoritarian persistence and democratic recessions, which will have a powerful impact on the development of national and international civic education policies. Lastly, this research will impact citizens who live in regimes where democracy is supported or rescued from the risk of backsliding.

There are no intellectual property issues, as all output will be made publicly available.

Ethics

Ethical considerations are especially salient in the context of a substantive research focus on political attitudes and behaviour in post-conflict societies; a methodological focus on expert coding, experiments and qualitative interviews; and a respondent population of potentially vulnerable groups, e.g. young people and women. Taking this context into account, the project will be conducted in full compliance with the EU GDPR, and the University of Glasgow Research Code of Conduct and will follow the ethics procedures applied by the School of Social and Political Sciences. Accordingly, the project will undergo full ethical review by the School's Research Ethics Committee before any research will commence. The application includes a detailed outline of ethical consideration and planned safeguarding, especially of personal data in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 further provides the consent form for the online surveys of WP3.3/3.4. An Ethics Advisor (paid on a per diem basis) will be consulted on a regular basis to advise on any issues related to ethics. The Ethics Advisor will further produce four period reports.

Management and Risks

Project team: The project will be conducted by an international team of experts and is led by the PI, Prof Anja Neundorf (Glasgow) who has completed the research on the ESRC-funded project "Legacy of Authoritarian Regimes", in which she led an international research team. Her expertise is the quantitative analysis of public opinion and the study of political engagement, especially among young people. DEMED will directly build on her published and on-going work. The PI was further the co-director and co-founder of the Nottingham Interdisciplinary Centre for Economic and Political Research (NICEP). In this role, she has gained extensive experience to lead and coordinate research teams and organise major initiatives. The PI will coordinate the project at all stages, leading conceptualisation, overseeing data collection and data analysis, fieldwork, publications and policy engagement.

The work will further be supported and executed by two project postdocs who will support all parts of the project. Specifically, the postdocs will help with the coding of factual-level information of indoctrination and development of the expert survey (WP1.2), the systematic review (WP3.1) as well as the content of the online civic education interventions (WP3.2). The financial and organisational management of the grant will be undertaken on a day-to-day basis by DEMED's project assistant – who will be hired part-time by the Host Institution – in close consultation with the PI. This management will be overseen by the professional finance team within the College of Social Science and will be carried out in accordance with the regulations and processes strictly defined by the University of Glasgow. There are no costs claimed to the ERC for this finance team

Further, for the success of this ambitious project DEMED will draw on the expertise of several established and emerging scholars, external experts and research collaborators. The Gantt-Chart below provides the time-line of the different work packages and when we expect the various deliverables and milestones.

		YEAR 1		YEAR 2			YEAR 3			YEAR 4			YEAR 5		
Gantt Chart: Work schedule for 60 months M: Millstones D: Deliverables *Project: 4-months period*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Work Package 1: "Causes of Democratic Backsliding"															
Theoretical framework (WP1.1)		D1													
Questionnaire design (workshop) (WP1.2.1); pilot (WP1.2.2)			M1												
Collection and coding of expert survey and factual data (WP1.2.3)					M2										
Data cleaning, analysis and publication (WP1.2)															
Publication of papers; publication of data									D2	D3	D4				
Work Package 2: "Effects on political cultures"															
Measuring political culture using Twitter (WP2.2)					M3										
Data analysis of WP2.1 and WP2.2															
Publication of papers and data								D5		D6	D7				
Preparation, run and analysis focus groups (WP2.3)									D8						
Work Package 3: "Solutions to build resilient democracies"															
Systematic review and meta analysis (WP3.1)			D9												
Design (incl. workshop) and RCTs of interventions in Turkey (WP3.2.1/WP3.3)				M4											
Design of cross-national interventions (incl. workshop) (WP3.2.2)							M5								
Design of additional local case studies (incl. workshop) (WP3.2.3)															
Questionnaire design, pilot of participant recruitment (WP3.3)						M6	D10								
Data collection of cross-national intervention (WP3.3)															
Data collection and intervention (WP3.4)															
Data cleaning, analysis and preparation of papers (WP3.3/3.4)													D11-D16		
Work Package 4 "Evidence synthesis and dissemination"															
Co-production & presentation of "DTEM"													D17		
Talks & workshops to academics and practitioners															
Organisation of project															
Team meetings															

The project is based on the following structure: The PI, two project postdocs, and administrator lead and execute the day-to-day work of the project. The research is supported by the expertise of nine additional team members as well as a series of country and topic experts who contribute to specific parts of the project. To ensure the academic and policy success of the project, the international project team will meet three times during the project and hold monthly online meetings to discuss the progress of the different work packages and to allow cross-pollination of research questions and findings. Further, to ensure the success of DEMED, three workshops organised to prepare the work of WP1 (measuring regime indoctrination), WP3 (developing online civic education programmes) and WP4 (policy dissemination) will bring in additional leading academic and non-academic experts to advise on specific elements of the project.

Risk management: To successfully mitigate risks, DEMED brings together a team of subject experts and project partners who know the topics and specific countries, which will be studied in detail, very well. Furthermore, DEMED has assembled experienced experts of the diverse methodologies that are uniquely combined here: expert coding, Bayesian latent measurement modelling, text analysis, focus groups, online experiments and evidence synthesis. This will ensure the professional implementation of our research plans. We will also only work with experienced professional local partners (e.g. to conduct the focus groups) with excellent references for similar international or local research projects.

The online experiments of WP3.3/3.4 are exposed to some risk in case Facebook dramatically changes its access and advertising policies. However, this is not expected and if anything the type of experiments we are planning should be of interest for Facebook itself. We have already established links to their Election Integrity Research Unit and will work closely with them in case of access policy changes. Further, there is some risk that some authoritarian governments in which we will run the online experiments of WP3.3 will try to shut down the online civic education programmes. We will meditate this risk by implementing the intervention within the Facebook platform. It is much more difficult for states to censor content on Facebook or to block such a widely used website. Moreover, Dr Wilson is an IT specialist and will be responsible for managing the risk of the intervention being shut-down on the web.

There is some risk involved with the case selection of Turkey (WP3.2.1). Before any research will commence a full risk assessment will be conducted of the safety of all relevant participants and contractors to be exposed to potential regime repression. If it is deemed unsafe to conduct the research in Turkey, we will explore other options for case studies, e.g. Tunisia, Indonesia, Nigeria or Hungary, where we already have local contacts as well.

Resources

A. Costs for Host Institution: University of Glasgow

Personnel costs
The PI, Professor Anja Neundorf, will be hosted by the University of Glasgow. She will dedicate 60% of her total working time to the project. The salary cost will be claimed to the ERC.
The team hosted by the HI is composed of two full-time postdocs. The tasks of the first postdoc will be to support the work of WP1: 1) collection and coding of factual data on indoctrination and propaganda; 2) building a database of country and subject experts; 3) data cleaning and analysis; 4) preparation of focus groups; 5) administration of the website. The second postdoc will support the work of WP3: 1) conducting a systematic review of civic education studies; 2) supporting production of experimental interventions; 3) programming survey in Qualtrics; 4) data cleaning and analysis.
The project will also benefit from a part-time project assistant that will help the PI with the personnel timesheets, finances, event and travel organisation.

Travel and Subsistence
PI travel: PI will travel twice to Gothenburg for five days, twice for three days to London and twice for five days to Pittsburgh to work with her collaborators. The PI will further travel to Istanbul to attend a workshop meeting to create experimental interventions (WP3.2) and in a separate trip to Turkey to oversee the implementation of the fieldwork of online-in-the field experiment (WP3.4). The PI will also travel to Washington, DC, three European and one non-European cities for dissemination of the research to non-academic stakeholders.

Postdoc travel: Postdoc 1 will travel once to Gothenburg for five days to work with the V-Dem Institute. Postdoc 2 will travel to three countries to oversee the development of the content with local experimental interventions. S/he will further travel to Istanbul to attend a workshop meeting to create experimental interventions and will travel to Washington, DC to attend a workshop hosted by Democracy International.

External experts: The project will organise three meetings to which external experts in specific fields will be invited to provide valuable feedback to the theoretical foundations and research design of the project. The first meeting, held in Glasgow, will be organised to discuss the expert survey of WP1 and include experts on indoctrination, authoritarian propaganda and education. The second meeting, held in Istanbul, will discuss the country-specific design of the online interventions of WP3.2 and will include local experts of Turkish politics, education and the tendered contractor to create the online material. The third meeting will be held in Glasgow will discuss the general design of the online interventions of WP3.2 and will include academic and non-academic experts on civic education, democracy promotion and the tendered contractor to create the online material. A final dissemination workshop will be hosted by Democracy International in Washington, DC and will include academics and practitioners. To ensure the participation of these experts in these meetings, the project will pay for their travel expenses. Additionally, one expert will provide training on systemic reviews and will travel to Glasgow.

Conferences: The PI and the postdocs will attend in total 9 US (American Political Science Association Annual Conference) & 8 European-based conferences (European Political Science Association Annual Conference) over the period of the project.

Publications costs

Publish at least twelve journal articles under open access, gold standard; print DTEM; publish in Impact Magazine.

Other Goods and Services

All costs listed here will be tendered to a contractor on the basis of article 10 of the Grant Agreement.

Translations: As the research will be conducted in different languages, we will work with a translation service, which will be contracted to a contractor. Translations are needed for the translation of Tweets (WP2.2), translation of focus group transcripts (WP2.3) and translation of intervention content (WP3.2).

Training: An expert will be recruited to train the research team (PI, postdoc, Finkel, RA) on the specific method of systematic review.

Ethic Advisor: Ordinary contract for services for an ethic adviser in order to deliver the required reports on ethics as requested by the ERC.

Technical and social media expertise: Ordinary contract for social media expertise and technical assistance will be tendered to contractor.

Country experts: The expertise of country experts will be included in the pilot study for WP1. They will be asked to respond to a questionnaire and provide feedback. They will be compensated for their time. We will further include three country-specific experts for each of the four countries (incl. Turkey), included as specific case studies in WP3.2. These experts will be invited to attend specific meetings and provide proposals and feedback on the development of the online civic education interventions.

Focus groups (FGs): Ten FGs in two countries each, to be carried out by local contractor. The total price includes participant recruitment, arrangement of meeting logistics, discussion moderation and transcription of the discussion.

Design civic content (Local): Ordinary contract for services the design of localised content in four countries will be created by local contractor. This will be a contract.

Design civic content (General): The design and production of the general content, which will also be translated into nine different languages, will be conducted by a contractor.

Recruitment online experiments: DEMED will recruit participants through Facebook ads, which is external contractor service. To increase and incentivise participation in the study we will additionally shopping vouchers, which will be distributed to participants by a lottery. All these participation fees are in line with normal of the practices of the HI.

Online-in-the field experiment: We will work with a local contractor in Turkey to organise the offline screening of the documentary (civic education intervention) and lead the post-screening discussion groups. We expect

to hold the event 10 times with 50 participants at each screening. The costs include staff costs, venue hire and refreshments for participants.

Meeting Catering: In total three project team meetings will be held (in Glasgow; about 10 participants per meeting), three meetings, which will also include external experts (two in Glasgow, one in Istanbul; about 15-20 participants at each meeting) and one larger dissemination workshop held in Washington, DC (about 30-40 participants). No daily subsidiaries will be paid during the meetings and workshop. As is customary at these meetings, lunch and dinner will be provided during the meeting.

Website: Project website for the dissemination of the project results and data.

Other costs: Audit fee; conference registration fees.

<u>Third parties</u>

All third parties will contribute to the project with conformity of article 11 of the Grant Agreement and will conduct the work at the premise of the third party.

Queen Mary, London will put Dr Northmore-Ball at the disposal of the HI. She will be doing the following tasks: provide expertise on authoritarian education, help drafting the expert survey, help identify country and subject experts and help with analysis of data and writing of papers. She will further attend three project meetings in Glasgow as one US conference during the project for which travel will be covered.

University College London will put Dr Tertytchnaya at the disposal of the HI. She will be doing the following tasks: provide expertise on authoritarian propaganda, help drafting the expert survey, help identify country and subject experts and help with analysis of data and writing of papers. She will further attend three project meetings in Glasgow during the project for which travel will be covered.

Brandeis University will put Dr Wilson at the disposal of the HI. He will be doing the following tasks: create unique measures of democratic values based on the text analysis of and extensive database of Tweets, which he has collected. To process this data additional processing space will be provided by the third party. He will also help with analysis of data and writing of papers. He will further attend two project meetings in Glasgow as well as one European conference during the project for which travel will be covered

University of Pittsburgh will put Prof Finkel and a research assistant at the disposal of the HI. He will be doing the following tasks: provide expertise on programme evaluation of democracy aid and design of civic education programmes. He will also oversee the work of a research assistant who will be one of several coders of a systematic review and help with analysis of data. He will further attend three project meetings in Glasgow, one in Istanbul and one in Washington, DC for which travel will be covered. Finkel and the RA will attend a 2-day training workshop (in Glasgow) on systemic reviews.

University of Middlesex will put Dr Rascon at the disposal of the HI. She will be doing the following tasks: lend expertise on online and in-the-field experiments. She is further the trial statistician of the project and will be responsible to conduct power analysis and pre-register the experimental designs. She will further assist the data analysis and writing of papers. She will further attend three project meetings in Glasgow, one in Istanbul and one in Washington, DC for which travel will be covered.

Democracy International will put Dr Abbaron at the disposal of the HI. He will be doing the following tasks: consultant on the project to bring in the practitioner's experience of civic education and democracy promotion. This implies proposing and reviewing content for the online and in-the-filed experiments. He will also help to co-develop the "Democratisation through Education Manual (DTEM)", an important milestone of the project. He will further attend three project meetings in Glasgow and one in Istanbul during the project for which travel will be covered.

B. Costs for Additional Beneficiaries: University of Gothenburg

<u>Personnel Costs</u>

The Institute of Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) at the University of Gothenburg will put Dr Luhrmann as a senior staff at the disposal of project. In addition, one measurement model expert, one postdoc, one administrator and one IT specialist will also dedicate time to the project. Together the team will be responsible for programming of the online questionnaire, building the expert database, inviting and managing the experts, process payment of experts, data cleaning, and estimation of measurement model.

Travel

Dr Luhrmann and one other members of the Gothenburg team will attend three project meetings in Glasgow during the project for which travel will be covered.

Other goods and services

IT-infrastructure: The V-Dem Institute will provide the computational infrastructure to conduct an expert survey. For this processing capacity and security measures are required.

Expert fees: As is custom for this kind of data collection, experts are compensated for their time by receiving a one-off payment.

References

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., Robinson, J.A. and P. Yared. 2009. *"Reevaluating the modernization hypothesis."* *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 56(8): 1043-1058.

Anastasakis, O.E. 1992. *Authoritarianism in 20th century Greece: Ideology and education under the dictatorships of 1936 and 1967*. Doctoral dissertation, University of London, London School of Economics.

Azpuru, D., Finkel, SE., Pérez-Liñán, A. and MA. Seligson. 2008. "What has the United States been doing?" *Journal of Democracy*, 19(2): 150-159.

Backes, U. and S. Kailitz (eds.). 2015. *Ideocracies in Comparison: Legitimation–Cooptation–Repression*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bandura. A. 1977. "Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change." *Psychological Review*, 84, 191-215.

Barak, A. and J.M. Grohol. 2011. "Current and Future Trends in Internet-Supported Mental Health Interventions". *Journal of Technology in Human Services*, 29(3): 155-196.

Barberá, P., Jost, J., Nagler, J., Tucker, J. and R. Bonneau. 2015. "Tweeting from Left to Right: Is Online Political Communication More Than an Echo Chamber?" *Psychological Science*, 26(10): 1531-1542.

Batterham, P. J. 2014. "Recruitment of mental health survey participants using Internet advertising: Content, characteristics and cost effectiveness." *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research*. 23(2), 184-191.

Bauer et al. 2016. "Can War Foster Cooperation?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 30(3): 249-274.

Bermeo, N. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*. . Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Bermeo, N. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1): 5-19.

Bernhard, M. and E. Karakoç. 2007. "Civil Society and the Legacies of Dictatorship." *World Politics*, 59: 539-567.

Blommaert, J. 2014. *State ideology and language in Tanzania*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Boix, C. 2011. "Democracy, development, and the international system." *American Political Science Review,* 105(4): 809–28.

Boix, C. and S. Stokes. 2002. "Endogenous democratization." *World Politics* 55(4): 515–49.

Bollen K. 1979. "Political democracy and the timing of development." *American Sociological Review*, 44(4): 572-87.

Booth, JA. and MA. Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brady, AM. 2008*. Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Brandenberger, D. 2014. *Propaganda state in crisis: Soviet ideology, indoctrination, and terror under Stalin, 1927-1941*. Yale University Press.

Buchowski, M. 1994. "From anti-communist to post-communist ethos: the case of Poland." *Social Anthropology*, *2*(2): 133-148.

Cantoni, D., Chen, Y., Yang, D., Yuchtman, N. and Y. J. Zhang. 2017. "Curriculum and Ideology." *Journal of Political Economy*, 125(2): 338-392.

Carlini, B. H., Safioti, L., Rue, T. C., and L. Miles. 2014. "Using Internet to Recruit Immigrants with Language and Culture Barriers for Tobacco and Alcohol Use Screening: A Study Among Brazilians." *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 17(2): 553-560.

Claassen, C. 2019. "Estimating smooth country-year panels of public opinion," *Political Analysis*, 27(1): 1-20.

Claassen, C. 2018. "Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive?" [Working paper] Available from: chrisclaassen.com. [Accessed: February 2, 2019].

Clarke, H.D., Dutt, N., and A. Kornberg. 1993. "The Political Economy of Attitudes toward Polity and Society in Western European Democracies." *Journal of Politics,* 55 (4): 998–1021.

Coppedge, M., et al. 2018. 'V-Dem Codebook v8.' *Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project*. Available from: https://www.v-dem.net [Accessed: February 4, 2019]

Coppedge, M. et al. 2017. "V-Dem Methodology v7." V-Dem Project. Available from: https://www.v-dem.net

Cornell, A., Møller J. and S. Skaaning. 2017. "The Real Lessons of the Interwar Years." *Journal of Democracy,* 28(3): 14-28.

Cribb, R., 2010. "The incredible shrinking Pancasila: nationalist propaganda and the missing ideological legacy of Suharto," In: Reuter, T. (ed.), *The return to constitutional democracy in Indonesia*, Victoria, Australia: Monash University Publishing, pp. 65-76.

DellaVigna, S. and M. Gentzkow. 2010. "Persuasion: Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Economics*, 2 (1), 643–669.

Denemark, D., Mattes, R., and RG. Niemi. 2016. *Growing up democratic: Does it make a difference?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc.

Diamond, L. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond L. 2008. *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*. New York: Henry Holt.

Diamond, L. 2010. "Liberation Technology." *Journal of Democracy*, 21(3): 69-83.

Dinas, E. and K. Northmore-Ball. 2019. "Ideological Shadows of Authoritarianism: Left-Right Self-identification in New Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Domke, J., 2011. *Education, Fascism, and the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain*. Dissertation. Loyola University Chicago.

Doody, M. et al. 2003. "Randomized trial of financial incentives and delivery methods for improving response to a mailed questionnaire." *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 157(7): 643–651.

Dudley, R.L. and AR. Gitelson. 2003. "Civic education, civic engagement, and youth civic development." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 36(2), pp.263-267.

Easton, D. 1965. *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: Wiley.

Easton, D. 1975. "A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support." *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4): 435–457.

Finkel, SE. 2002. "Civic education and the mobilization of political participation in developing democracies." *Journal of Politics,* 64(04): 994–1020.

Finkel, SE. 2003. "Can democracy be taught?" *Journal of Democracy,* 14(4): 137–151.

Finkel, SE, and AE. Smith. 2011. "Civic education, political discussion, and the social transmission of democratic knowledge and values in a new democracy: Kenya 2002." *American Journal of Political Science,* 55(2): 417–435.

Finkel, SE, Sabatini CA, and GC. Bevis. 2000. "Civic education, civil society, and political mistrust in a developing democracy: the case of the Dominican Republic." *World Development,* 28(11): 1851–1874.

Finkel, SE, Horowitz J, and RT. Rojo-Mendoza. 2012. "Civic education and democratic backsliding in the wake of Kenya's post-2007 election violence." *Journal of Politics*, 74(1): 52–65.

Friedrich, C.J. and ZK. Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian dictatorship*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Fuchs-Schündeln, N. and M. Schündeln. 2015. "On the endogeneity of political preferences: Evidence from individual experience with democracy." *Science*, 347(6226): 1145-1148.

Galston, WA. 2001. "Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education." *Annual Reviews of Political Science,* 4(1): 217– 34.

Galston, WA. 2018. "The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*, 29(2): 5-19.

Geddes, B. 1990. "How the cases you choose affect the answers you get: selection bias in comparative politics", *Political Analysis,* 2(1), pp. 131-150.

Geddes, B. 1999. "What Do We know About Democratization after Twenty Years*?" Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1): 115-144.

Geddes, B., Wright, J. and E. Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(2): 313–331.

Gehlbach, S., and K. Sonin. 2014. "Government control of the media." *Journal of Public Economics*, 118:163-171.

Glenn, C.L. 1995. *Educational freedom in Eastern Europe*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

Göztepe, E. 2017. "Ein Paradigmenwechsel für den Sicherheitsstaat." In: Lemke, M. (ed.) *Ausnahmezustand: Theoriegeschichte – Anwendungen – Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: Springer-Verlag, pp 105-127.

Haggard, S. and R. Kaufmann. 2016. *Dictators and Democrats*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Harden, A. and J. Thomas. 2010. "Mixed methods and systematic reviews: examples and emerging issues." In: A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie, *Mixed Methods Handbook (Second Edition)*, New York, Sage Publications, pp 749-774.

Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., and A. Norenzayan. 2010. "The WEIRDest People in The World." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3): 61–83.

Hogan, D. 2014. "Why Is Singapore's School System So Successful, And Is It a Model for the West?" *The Conversation*, February 12. Available from: http://theconversation.com/why-is-singapores-school-system-so-successful-and-is-it-a-model-for-the-west-22917.

Hounshell, B. 2011. "The revolution will be tweeted." *Foreign policy*, 187: 20-21.

Hughes-Freeland, F. 2007. "Charisma and celebrity in Indonesian politics." *Anthropological Theory*, 7(2): 177-200.

Inglehart, R. and C. Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jennings. K. 1996. "Political knowledge over time and across generations." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(2): 228–252.

Jackman, RW. 1973. "On the relation of economic development to democratic performance*." American Journal of Political Science,* 17(3): 611-621.

Johnson, K. J., Mueller, N. L., Williams, K., and DH. Gutmann. 2014. "Evaluation of participant recruitment methods to a rare disease online registry." *American journal of medical genetics Part A*, *164*(7): 1686-1694.

Kahneman, D. and A. Tversky. 1979. "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk*." Econometrica*, XLVII: 263-91.

King, G, Pan, J., and ME. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review,* 107 (2): 1–18.

Korda, H. and Z. Itani. 2013. "Harnessing Social Media for Health Promotion and Behavior Change". *Health Promotion Practice*, 14(1): 15-23.

Kornetis, K., 2013. *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the 'Long 1960s' in Greece* (Vol. 10). Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books.

Kosinski, M., Matz, S., Gosling, S., Popov, V. and D. Stillwell. 2015. "Facebook as a Research Tool for the Social Sciences: Opportunities, challenges, ethical considerations, and practical guidelines." *American Psychologist,* 70(6): 543-556.

Krosnick, J. and D. Alwin. 1989. "Aging and susceptibility to attitude change." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 57(3): 416-425.

Levitsky S. and D. Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York, NY: Penguin Random House.

Lewis-Beck, M. 1988. *Economics and Elections: The Major Western Democracies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Linz, J. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Linz, J. and A. Stepan, 1996. *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Lipset SM. 1959. "Some social requisites of democracy: economic development and political legitimacy." *American Political Science Review*, *53*(1): 69-105.

Loveman, B. 1993. *The constitution of tyranny: regimes of exception in Spanish America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Lührmann, A. and Lindberg, S. 2018. "Keeping the Democratic Façade: Contemporary Autocratization as a Game of Deception." *V-Dem Working Paper*, 2018:75.

Marcus, G.E. 2000. "Emotions in Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3: 221-250.

Mazgaj, MS. 2010. *Church and State in Communist Poland: A History, 1944-1989*. Jefferson, NC, USA: McFarland.

Manzano, D. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Marquardt, K. L., and D. Pemstein. 2018. "IRT models for expert-coded panel data." *Political Analysis*, *26*(4): 431-456.

Mincu, ME., 2009. "Myth, rhetoric, and ideology in Eastern European education: Schools and citizenship in Hungary, Poland, and Romania." *European Education*, *41*(1): 55-78.

Mounk, Y. 2018. *The people vs. democracy*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press.

Mueller, T. and A. Neundorf. 2012. "The role of the state in the repression and revival of religiosity in post-Socialist societies." *Social Forces*, 91(2): 559-582.

Murray, E. et al. 2016. "Evaluating digital health interventions: key questions and approaches." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 51(5): 843–851.

Nasong'o, W.S., 2016. "Kenya at Fifty and the Betrayal of Nationalism: The Paradoxes of Two Family Dynasties." In: Kithinji, M. M., Koster, M. M., & Rotich, J. P. (Eds.). *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*. Palgrave Macmillan US. pp. 165-187

Neundorf, A. 2010. "Democracy in transition: A micro perspective on system change in post-Soviet societies. "*Journal of Politics*, 72(4): 1096 -1108.

Neundorf, A., Smets, K. and G. García-Albacete. 2013. "Homemade citizens: The development of political interest during adolescents and young adulthood." *Acta Politica*, 48(1): 92-16.

Neundorf, A., Niemi, R. and K. Smets. 2016. "The Compensation Effect of Civic Education: How School Education Makes Up for Missing Parental Political Socialisation." *Political Behavior*, 38(4): 921-949.

Neundorf, A. and K. Smets. 2017. "Political Socialization: The making of citizens." *Oxford Handbooks Online*. Oxford University Press.

Neundorf, A., Ezrow, N., Gerschewski, J., Olar, R.G. and R. Shorrocks. 2017. The Legacy of Authoritarian Regimes on Democratic Citizenship: A global analysis of authoritarian indoctrination, and repression. Working Paper.

Nie, N.H., Junn, J. and K. Stehlik-Barry. 1996. *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norman, G., Zabinski, M., Adams, M., Rosenberg, D., Yaroch, A., and A. Atienza. 2007. "A Review of eHealth Interventions for Physical Activity and Dietary Behavior Change." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 33(4): 336–345.

Norris, Pippa. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nyangena, K.O and J. Kenyatta. 2003. "An Epitome of Indigenous Pan-Africanism, Nationalism and Intellectual Production in Kenya." *African Journal of International Affairs*, *6*(1-2): 1-18.

O'Donnell, G. and P. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Pemstein, D., et al. 2017. "The V-Dem Measurement Model: Latent Variable Analysis for Cross-National and Cross-Temporal Expert-Coded Data." U of Gothenburg, V-Dem: Working Paper 21.

Petrakis, M. 2011. *The Metaxas Myth: Dictatorship and Propaganda in Greece*. London: IB Tauris.

Pinto, D. 2004. "Indoctrinating the youth of Post-war Spain: A discourse analysis of a fascist civics textbook". *Discourse & Society*, *15*(5): 649-667.

Pop-Eleches, G. and J. Tucker. 2011. "Communist Legacies, and Political Values and Behavior: A Theoretical Framework with an Application to Political Party Trust." *Comparative Politics* 43 (4): 379-408.

Prior, M. 2003. Any Good News in Soft News? The Impact of Soft News Preference on Political Knowledge. *Political Communication*, 20(2): 149-171.

Prior, M. 2005. News v. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3): 594-609.

Przeworski A, and Limongi F. 1997. "Modernization: theories and facts." *World Polit*ics, 49: 155-83

Przeworski, A.; Alvarez, M.; Cheibub, J. A. and F. Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Remington, TF. 1988. *The truth of authority: Ideology and communication in the Soviet Union*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Rodden, J. 2010. *Textbook Reds: schoolbooks, ideology, and Eastern German identity*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

Rose, R., and W. Mishler. 1996. "Testing the Churchill Hypothesis: Popular Support for Democracy and Its Alternatives." *Journal of Public Policy*, 16(1): 29–58.

Rose R., Mishler W., and C. Haerpfer. 1998. *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-communist Societies.* Baltimire: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rupnik, J. 2018. "Explaining Eastern Europe: The Crisis of Liberalism.*" Journal of Democracy*, 29(3): 24-38.

Sears, D.O. and NA. Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Pre-adult Socialization." *American Political Science Review,* 91(1): 45–65.

Sears, D.O. and C.L. Funk. 1999. "Evidence of the Long-Term Persistence of Adults' Political Predispositions." *Journal of Politics,* 61(1): 1-28.

Snook, I.A. 2010. *Concepts of Indoctrination (International Library of the Philosophy of Education Volume 20): Philosophical Essays*. Routledge.

Stockemer, D., LaMontagne, B. and L. Scruggs. 2013. "Bribes and ballots: The impact of corruption on voter turnout in democracies." *International Political Science Review*, *34*(1): 74-90.

Svolik, M. 2008. "Authoritarian reversals & democratic consolidation." *American Political Science Review,* 102: 153-68

Svolik, M. 2018. "When polarization trumps civic virtue: Partisan conflict and the subversion of democracy by incumbents." *Available at: SSRN 3243470.*

Swire, B., Berinski, A., Lewandowsky, S. and U.K.H. Ecker. 2017. "Processing Political Misinformation: Comprehending the Trump Phenomenon." *Royal Society Open Science*: 1-21.

Teorell, J. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972–2006*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tertytchnaya, K. and T. Lankina. 2019. "Electoral Protests and Political Attitudes under Electoral Authoritarianism." *Journal of Politics.*

Tucker, J., Barberá, P., Roberts, M. and Y. Theocharis. 2017. "From Liberation to Turmoil: Social Media and Democracy". *The Journal of Democracy,* 28(4): 46-59.

Turner, M.M., 1990. "Authoritarian rule and the dilemma of legitimacy: The case of President Marcos of the Philippines." *The Pacific Review*, *3*(4), pp.349-362.

Tversky, A. and D. Kahneman. 1991. *"*Loss Aversion in Riskless Choice: A Reference-Dependent Model.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 106(4): 1039-1061.

Washington, G. 1796. *8th annual address to Congress*. December 7.Available from: https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu

Welzel, C. 2007. "Are Levels of Democracy Affected by Mass Attitudes? Testing Attainment and Sustainment Effects on Democracy." *International Political Science Review* 28(4): 397–424.

Wright, C. 2012. "Going beyond the Roman dictator: a comprehensive approach to emergency rule, with evidence from Latin America." *Democratization*, 19(4): 713-734.