Course Description: This seminar explores the concept of democracy from a variety of historical, normative, and institutional perspectives. We will investigate the value of democracy as an ideal, examine the diverse historical meanings that have congealed around the term, and inquire into the different institutional mechanisms and practices that could realize the value of democracy. Questions we will pursue include: how does “modern” democracy relate to “ancient” democracy? How has thinking about democracy evolved over the 20th century (elitist, pluralist, deliberative, etc. democracy)? What is the meaning of political equality and democratic citizenship? How does the normative evaluation of democracy relate to the empirical study of democratic regimes? What are the relative merits of the different institutional mechanisms of democracy (elections, referenda, sortation, non-electoral representation)? How do democratic practices intersect with broader structures of inequality and domination in society?

Seminar Requirements and Grading:

This is a reading and discussion focused seminar. You are expected to come to the seminar having completed all the readings and prepared to discuss the material.

Your seminar grade will be based on three components.

1. Research Paper or Book Reviews

You may either write a research paper (18-25 pages) or two analytic literature reviews (9-12 pages). This is worth 60% of your grade (30% each for the analytic book reviews). If you want to write the research paper, please consult with me about the topic early in the semester. Each analytic literature review should reconstruct, critically analyze, and place into dialogue the readings from two different sessions of the class. If you choose to do the reviews, you must do the first review by week 8. The research paper is due Wednesday, May 2nd.

2. Presentations

You will be required to do two 5 minutes in class presentations. These are together worth 20% of your grade.

3. Seminar Participation

20% of your grade will be based on your preparation for discussion and your active seminar participation.

If you require accommodation for disability, you must register with the Dean of Students Office and provide their documentation. If you need an accommodation, please contact me as soon as
Possible. All students are required to abide by UF’s Academic Honesty Guidelines, which may be viewed at [http://www.dso.ufl.edu/judicial/procedures/honestybrochure.php](http://www.dso.ufl.edu/judicial/procedures/honestybrochure.php)

**Required Texts:**

10. Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2002)

**Readings:**


Suggested Further Reading:


2. **Jan 17: Ancient Democracy as a Model**

Josiah Ober, *Demopolis: Democracy Before Liberalism in Theory and Practice*

Suggested Further Reading:

Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*

Pseudo-Xenophon/Old Oligarch, *Constitution of the Athenians*


M. I. Finley, *Democracy Ancient and Modern: Revised Edition* (Rutgers, 1985)


3. Jan 24: The History of Representative Democracy

Bernard Manin, The Principles of Representative Government

Suggested Further Reading:

Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, The Federalist Papers (1788)
Abbe Sieyes, “Views on the Executive Means Available to the Representatives of France in 1789,” “What is the Third Estate?”
Marquis de Condorcet, "On the principles of the constitutional plan presented to the national convention," “Outline for the French Constitution”
Benjamin Constant, “Principles of Politics Applicable to All Representative Governments,” “The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns”
John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government (1861)

Hannah Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (University of California 1967)
David Poltke, “Representation is Democracy,” Constellations 4, no. 1: 19-34.
Ricard Tuck, The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy (Cambridge 2016)
Nadia Urbinati, Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy (University of Chicago 2006)

4. Jan 31: Elite Democracy and the Pluralist Critics


Suggested Further Reading:

Gustave le Bon, The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind (1895)
Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (1896)
Moisey Ostrogorsky, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (1902)
Vilfred Pareto, “The Circulation of Elites”
Walter Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (1925)

Jeffrey Green, *The Eyes of the People: Democracy in an Age of Spectatorship* (Oxford 2009)
John Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter’s Two Theories of Democracy* (Harvard 2001)

5. **Feb 7: Radical and Participatory Democracy**


Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*

Suggested Further Reading:

Gianpalo Baiocchi, Patrick Heller, and Marcelo Silva, *Bootstrapping Democracy: Transforming Local Governance and Civil Society in Brazil* (Stanford 2011)
Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (1975)
Bonnie Honig, *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics* (Cornell 1993)
Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Verso 1985)
Graham Smith, *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation* (Cambridge 2009)

6. **Feb 14: Deliberative Democracy I**

Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (all except chapters 5 and 6)

7. **Feb 21: Deliberative Democracy II**

Seyla Benhabib, “Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy,” in *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton 1996)

Simone Chambers, “Rhetoric and the Public Sphere: Has Deliberative Democracy Abandoned Mass Democracy?,” *Political Theory* 37, no. 3 (June 2009): 323-350

Further Suggested Reading:

Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962)


Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (MIT 1992)


John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations* (Oxford 2002)


Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, in *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the “Postsocialist” Condition*” (Routledge 1997)

Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement* (Harvard 1996)


8. **Feb 28: Beyond Deliberation: Difference and Inclusion**

Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*


Further Suggested Reading:


Lynn Sanders, “Against Deliberation,” *Political Theory* 25, no. 3 (June 1997): 347-376

Iris Marion Young, “Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy,” in *Democracy and Difference* (Princeton 2006)  
Linda Zerilli, *Feminism and the Abyss of Freedom* (Chicago 2005)

March 7: Spring Break

9. March 14: Racial Domination and Democracy

Danielle Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education*  

Suggested Further Reading:

Elizabeth Anderson, *The Imperative of Integration* (Princeton 2010)  

10. March 21: Rethinking Electoral Democracy: Republicanism

Philip Pettit, *On the People’s Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy*  

Further Suggested Reading:

Niko Kolodny, “Being Under the Power of Others”  
Cecile Laborde and John Maynor, *Republicanism and Political Theory*. (Blackwell 2008)  

11. March 28: Majoritarianism and Constitutional Entrenchment

Melissa Schwartzberg, *Counting the Many: The Origins and Limits of Supermajority Rules*

Further Suggested Reading:

Stephen Holmes, “Precommitment and the paradox of democracy,” in *Constitutionalism and Democracy*, ed. Elster and Slagstad

12. April 4: The Class Bases of Electoral Accountability

Acemoglu and Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*

Further Suggested Reading:

Pablo Beramendi and Christopher Anderson, eds., *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective* (Sage 2008)

13. April 11: Electoral Democracy and the Limits of Accountability
Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government*

Further Suggested Reading


Peter Mair, *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy* (Verso 2013)

Peter Mair, “Representative versus Responsible Government,” MPIfG Working Paper 09/8


Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability and Representation* (Cambridge 1999)

9. **April 18: Alternatives to Electoral Democracy: Sortition and Referenda**

John P. McCormick, *Machiavellian Democracy*


Further Suggested Reading:


*Representation: Journal of Representative Democracy*, special issue on Direct Democracy and Representation (24, no. 2 2006).