

POT 6067: Democratic Theory (Spring 2018)

Prof. Steven Klein
Wednesday 3 PM-6 PM
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Political Science Conference Room
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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>

Required Texts:

1. Josiah Ober, *Demopolis: Democracy Before Liberalism in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge 2017)
2. Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)
3. Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory, Expanded Edition* (University of Chicago Press, 2006)
4. Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1976)
5. Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg (MIT Press, 1998)
6. Philip Pettit, *On the People's Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)
7. Melissa Schwartzberg, *Counting the Many: The Origins and Limits of Supermajority Rules* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
8. Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections do not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press, 2016)
9. Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press 2009)
10. Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2002)
11. John McCormick, *Machiavellian Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2011)
12. Danielle Allen, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education* (University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Readings:

1. Jan 10: Introduction: The Justification of Democracy and the Study of Democracy

Niko Kolodny, "Rule Over None II: Social Equality and the Justification of Democracy," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42, no. 4 (September 2014): 287-336.

Suggested Further Reading:

Elizabeth Anderson, "Democracy: Instrumental vs. Non-Instrumental Value," in *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy*, ed. Christiano and Christman, (Blackwell, 2009)

Richard Arneson, "Democracy Is Not Intrinsically Just," in *Justice and Democracy* ed. Dowding, Goodin, and Pateman (Cambridge 2004).

Charles Beitz, *Political Equality: An Essay in Democratic Theory* (Princeton 1990)

Thomas Christiano, *The Constitution of Equality: Democratic Authority and Its Limits* (Oxford 2008)

David M. Estlund, *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework* (Princeton 2008)

- Niko Kolodny, "Rule Over None I: What Justifies Democracy?," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42, no. 3 (June 2014): 195-229.
- Andrew Sabl, "The Two Cultures of Democratic Theory: Responsiveness, Democratic Quality, and the Empirical-Normative Divide," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (June 2015): 345-365.
- Lisa Wedeen, "Concepts and Commitments in the Study of Democracy," in *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*, ed. Shapiro, Smith, and Masoud (Cambridge 2004).

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*

Daniela Cammack, "Aristotle on the Virtue of the Multitude," *Political Theory* 41, no. 2 (April 2013): 175-202.

Jon Elster, "Accountability in Athenian Politics," in A. Przeworski, S. Stokes, B. Manin, (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*

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

Mogens Hansen, *Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (University of Oklahoma Press 1991)

Kinch Hoekstra, "Athenian Democracy and Popular Tyranny," in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, ed. Bourke and Skinner (Cambridge 2016).

Alexander Kirshner, "Legitimate Opposition, Ostracism, and the Law of Democracy in Ancient Athens" *Journal of Politics* 78, no. 4 (October 2016): 1094-1106.

Matt Landauer, "The Idiōtēs and the Tyrant: Two Faces of Unaccountability in Democratic Athens," *Political Theory* Vol 42, no 2 (April 2014): 139–166.

Melissa Lane, "Popular Sovereignty as Control of Office Holders: Aristotle on Greek Democracy," in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, ed. Bourke and Skinner (Cambridge 2016).

Anthoula Malkopoulou, "Ostracism and Democratic Self-Defense in Athens," *Constellations* 24, no. 4 (December 2017): 623-636.

Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton 1991)

Josiah Ober, "The Original Meaning of 'Democracy': Capacity to Do Things, not Majority Rule," *Constellations* 15, no. 1 (March 2008): 3-9.

Kurt A. Raaflaub et al, eds., *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (University of California Press 2007)

Melissa Schwartzberg, "Aristotle and the Judgment of the Many: Equality, not Collective Quality," *Journal of Politics* 78, no. 3 (July 2016): 733-745.

Jeremy Waldron, "The Wisdom of the Multitude: Some Reflections on Book 3, Chapter 11 of Aristotle's Politics," *Political Theory* 23, no. 4 (November 1995): 563-584.

Sheldon Wolin, "Norm and Form: The Constitutionalizing of Democracy," in Euben, Ober, and Wallach, eds., *Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of American Democracy*

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

Joseph Schumpeter, "The Classical Doctrine of Democracy" and "Another Theory of Democracy," in *Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy*, 250–83

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," "Parliament and Government in Germany under a New Political Order," in *Political Writings* (Cambridge 1994)

Adam Przeworski, "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense," in *Democracy's Value*, ed. Shapiro and Hacker-Cordón (Cambridge 1999)

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory, Expanded Edition*

Jack L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 60, no. 2 (June 1966): 285-295.

Robert Dahl, "Further Reflections on the 'Elitist Theory of Democracy'" *American Political Science Review* 60, no. 2 (June 1966): 296-305.

Suggested Further Reading:

Gustave le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895)

Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (1896)

Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1911)

Moisey Ostrogorsky, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (1902)

Vilfred Pareto, "The Circulation of Elites"

Walter Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (1925)

Richard Bellamy, "The Advent of the Masses and the Making of the Modern Theory of Democracy," in *The Cambridge Companion of the History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Ball and Bellamy (Cambridge 2006)

Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (Yale 1989)

Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957)

Jeffrey Green, *The Eyes of the People: Democracy in an Age of Spectatorship* (Oxford 2009)

Gerry Mackie, *Democracy Defended* (Cambridge 2003)

John Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter's Two Theories of Democracy* (Harvard 2001)

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government* (Cambridge 2010)

William H. Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice* (1982)

Ian Shapiro, *The Real World of Democratic Theory* (Princeton 2010)

Quentin Skinner, "The Empirical Theorists of Democracy and Their Critics: A Plague on Both Their Houses," *Political Theory* 1, no. 3 (August 1973): 287-306.

5. Feb 7: Radical and Participatory Democracy

Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, "The Revolutionary Tradition and Its Lost Treasure"

Sheldon Wolin, "Fugitive Democracy," *Constellations* 1, no. 1 (December 1994): 11-25.

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*

Carole Pateman, "Participatory Democracy Revisited," *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no.1 (March 2012): 7-19.

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)

Paulina Ochoa Espejo, *The Time of Popular Sovereignty: Process and the Democratic State* (Penn State 2011)

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, "Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance," *Politics & Society* 29, no. 1 (March 2001): 5-41.

Bonnie Honig, *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics* (Cornell 1993)

Andreas Kalyvas, *Democracy and the Politics of the Extraordinary: Max Weber, Carl Schmitt, and Hannah Arendt* (Cambridge 2008)

Alan Keenan, *Democracy in Question: Democratic Openness in a Time of Political Closure* (Stanford 2003)

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Verso 1985)
Claude Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory* (1988)
Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy* (Basic Books 1980)
Patchen Markell, "The Rule of the People: Arendt, *Arché*, and Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 1 (February 2006): 1-14.
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)
Rainer Forst, "The Rule of Reasons: Three Models of Deliberative Democracy," *Ratio Juris* 14, no. 1 (December 2001): 345-378.
Bonnie Honig, "The People, the Multitude, and the Paradox of Politics," in *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy* (Princeton 2009)
Simone Chambers, "Rhetoric and the Public Sphere: Has Deliberative Democracy Abandoned Mass Democracy?," *Political Theory* 37, no. 3 (June 2009): 323-350
Jane Mansbridge et al, "A Systemic Approach to Deliberative Democracy," in *Deliberative Systems: Deliberative Democracy at the Large Scale*, ed. Parkinson and Mansbridge (Cambridge 2012)
David Owen and Graham Smith, "Deliberation, Democracy, and the Systemic Turn," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23, no. 5 (2015): 213-234

Further Suggested Reading:

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract* (1762)
John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* (1927)
Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962)

James Bohman and William Rehg, eds., *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics* (MIT Press 1997)
James Bohman, *Democracy Across Borders: From Demos to Demoi* (MIT Press 2007)

Simone Chambers, "Deliberative Democratic Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (June 2003): 307-326.

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

Joshua Cohen, "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy," *The Good Polity: Normative Analysis of the State*, ed. Hamlin and Petit (Blackwell, 1989)

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

Eva Erman, "Representation, Equality, and Inclusion in Deliberative Systems: Desiderata for a Good Account," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (2016).

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)

Jack Knight and James Johnson, *The Priority of Democracy: Political Consequences of Pragmatism* (Princeton 2011)

Hélène Landemore, *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of the Many* (Princeton 2012)

Cristina Lafont, "Deliberation, Participation, and Democratic Legitimacy: Should Deliberative Mini-publics Shape Public Policy?," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23, no. 1 (March 2015): 40-63.

Christian List and John Dryzek, "Social Choice Theory and Deliberative Democracy: A Reconciliation," *British Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 1 (January 2003): 1-28

Bernard Manin, "On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation," *Political Theory* 15, no. 3 (August 1987): 338-368.

Mark Warren, *Democracy and Association* (Princeton 2001)

Mark Warren, "A Problem-Based Approach to Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 1 (February 2017): 39-53.

8. Feb 28: Beyond Deliberation: Difference and Inclusion

Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*

Jane Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'," *Journal of Politics* 61, no. 3 (August 1999): 628-657.

Further Suggested Reading:

John Medearis, "Social Movements and Deliberative Democratic Theory," *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 1 (January 2005): 53-75.

Lisa Disch, "Towards a Mobilization Conception of Democratic Representation," *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2011): 100-114.

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

Jane Mansbridge, "Rethinking Representation," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (November 2003): 515-528.

Lois McNay, *The Misguided Search for the Political: Social Weightlessness in Democratic Theory* (Polity 2014)
Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence* (Oxford 1998)
Iris Marion Young, “Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy,” *Political Theory* 29, no. 5 (October 2001): 670-690.
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*
Juliet Hooker, “Black Lives Matter and the Paradoxes of U.S. Black Politics: From Democratic Sacrifice to Democratic Repair,” *Political Theory* 44, no. 4 (August 2016): 448-469.

Suggested Further Reading:

Elizabeth Anderson, *The Imperative of Integration* (Princeton 2010)
Christina Beltran, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity* (Oxford 2010)
Chris Lebron, *The Color of Our Shame: Race and Justice in Our Time* (Oxford 2013)
Joel Olson, *The Abolition of White Democracy* (Minnesota 2004)
Neil Roberts, *Freedom as Marronage* (Chicago 2015)

10. March 21: Rethinking Electoral Democracy: Republicanism

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

Further Suggested Reading:

Richard Bellamy, *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defense of the Constitutionality of Democracy* (Cambridge 2007)
Niko Kolodny, “Being Under the Power of Others”
Cecile Laborde and John Maynor, *Republicanism and Political Theory*. (Blackwell 2008)
Frank Lovett, *A General Theory of Domination and Justice* (Cambridge 2013)
Andreas Niederberger and Philipp Schink, *Republican Democracy: Liberty, Law and Politics* (Edinburgh 2013)
Assaf Sharon, “Domination and the Rule of Law,” *Oxford Studies in Political Philosophy, Volume 2*
K. Sabeel Rahman, *Democracy Against Domination* (Cambridge 2016)

Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge 1998)
David Watkins, "Institutionalizing Freedom as Non-Domination: Democracy and the Role of the State," *Polity* 47, no. 4 (October 2015): 508-534.

11. March 28: Majoritarianism and Constitutional Entrenchment

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

Further Suggested Reading:

Corey Brettschneider. *Democratic Rights: The Substance of Self-Government* (Princeton 2010)
Stephen Holmes, "Precommitment and the paradox of democracy," in *Constitutionalism and Democracy*, ed. Elster and Slagstad
Mathias Risse, "Arguing for Majority Rule," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12, no. 1 (March 2004): 41-64
Mathias Risse, "On the Philosophy of Group Decision Methods," *Philosophical Compass* 4, no. 5 (2009).
Ben Saunders, "Democracy, Political Equality, and Majority Rule," *Ethics* 121, no. 1 (October 2010): 148-177.
Jeremy Waldron. "The Core of the Case Against Judicial Review." *The Yale Law Journal* 115(6) (2006): 1346-1406.

12. April 4: The Class Bases of Electoral Accountability

Acemoglu and Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*
Daniel Ziblatt, "How did Europe Democratize?," *World Politics* 58 (January 2006): 311-338.

Further Suggested Reading:

Michael Albertus. *Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform* (Cambridge 2015).
Amel Ahmed, *Democracy and the Politics of Electoral System Choice: Engineering Electoral Dominance* (Cambridge 2016)
Pablo Beramendi and Christopher Anderson, eds., *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective* (Sage 2008)
Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge 2003)
Thomas Cusack, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, "Coevolution of Capitalism and Political Representation: The Choice of Electoral Systems," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 2 (May 2010): 393-403.
Torben Iversen and David Soskice, "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century," *World Politics* 61, no. 3 (July 2009): 438-486.

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

Scott Ashworth, "Electoral Accountability: Recent Theoretical and Empirical Work," *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 183-201.

Colin Crouch, *Post-Democracy* (Polity 2004)

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

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

Jason Maloy, "Intermediate Conditions of Democratic Accountability: A Response to Electoral Skepticism," *Politics and Governance* 3, no. 2 (2015): 76-89.

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*

Alexander Guerro, "Against Elections: The Lottocratic Alternative," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 135-178.

Lawrence Leduc, "Referendums and Deliberative Democracy," *Electoral Studies* 38 (June 2015): 139-148

Caroline Tolbert and Daniel Smith, "Representation and Direct Democracy in the United States," *Representation: Journal of Representative Democracy* 42, no. 1 (2006): 25-44.

Further Suggested Reading:

Hubertus Buchstein, "Reviving Randomness for Political Equality: Elements of a Theory of Aleatory Democracy," *Constellations* 17, no. 3 (September 2010): 435-454.

Sherman Clark, "A Populist Critique of Direct Democracy," *Harvard Law Review* 122, no. 2 (December 1998): 434-482.

Dirk Jörke, "Political Participation, Social Inequalities, and Special Veto Powers," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (2016): 320-338.

Arthur Lupia and John Matsusaka, "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 464-482.

Matthew Mendelsohn and Andrew Parker, *Referendum Democracy: Citizens, Elites, and Deliberation in Referendum Campaigns* (Palgrave 2001)

Yves Sintomer, "Random Selection, Republican Self-Government, and Deliberative Democracy," *Constellations* 17, no. 3 (September 2010): 472-487.

Peter Stone, "Sortition, Voting, and Democratic Equality," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 19, no. 3 (2016): 339-356

Stephen Tierney, *Constitutional Referendums: The Theory and Practice of Republican Deliberation* (Oxford 2012)

Alex Zakaras, "Lot and Democratic Representation: A Modest Proposal," *Constellations* 17, no. 3 (September 2010): 455-471.
Representation: Journal of Representative Democracy, special issue on Direct Democracy and Representation (24, no. 2 2006).