

ANALYZING DEMOCRACY

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MA course, 2 credits. Fall 2019, Wednesday 11 – 12.40 pm.

In Budapest: CEU N13 #309. In Vienna: CEU QS #D212

Course description:

This course offers theoretical and comparative analysis of democracies.

- First, we will analyze different theoretical models of democracy, namely the pluralist, elitist, representative, participatory, deliberative, populist, plebiscitary, national, transnational, global, cosmopolitan types.
- Second, our discussion will include the so-called different „stages” of democracy (such as minimalist, electoral, substantive, consolidated etc.).
- Third, current empirical problems, such as the phenomenon of „post-democracy”, the signs of deterioration (deconsolidation, breakdown) and the rise of illiberal democracy, competitive authoritarianism and hybrid regimes will be identified.
- The readings cover some of the most important texts written by classics and contemporary classic authors in political science from Dahl to Diamond and from Schumpeter to Mair, Urbinati, Schmitter and several others. The final essay topic must be discussed with the professor previously.

Learning outcome:

- Students will be able to analyze the different forms, and types of democracy, and their differences from semi-democracies and hybrid regimes.
- They will have the key academic skills in analytical writing and critical writing and will be able to base their knowledge on solid theoretical foundations.
- Students will have a multidimensional approach to the concept, and they will be able to think in terms of value awareness and policy relevance.

Grading:

- participation, activity (20%),
- oral presentations (20%),
- short written assignments, handouts (20%),
- a 2000-word final essay to be handed by the last class (40%).

TOPICS AND READINGS

WEEK 1. September 18. **Approaches to democracy**

Mandatory reading:

Philippe C. Schmitter, and Terry Lynn Karl 1991. "What Democracy Is... and Is Not" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 2. No. 3. Summer, 75-88.

Further readings:

David Held, 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Giovanni Sartori, 1987. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited I-II*. Chatham, N. J.: Chatham House Publishers

Adam Przeworski, 1988. „Democracy as a Contingent Outcome of Conflicts” in Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad eds. *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 59-80.

Anthony Arblaster 1991. *Democracy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press

WEEK 2. September 25. **Elitist and pluralist concepts of liberal democracy**

Mandatory readings:

Joseph Schumpeter 1950 [1942], *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, Chapter XXI. „The Classical Doctrine of Democracy” 250-268. Ch. XXII. „Another Theory of Democracy” 269-283.

Robert A. Dahl, 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1-32.

Robert A. Dahl 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 213-224.

Further readings:

Robert A. Dahl, 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Jack L. Walker, 1966. „A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 60. No. 2. 285-295.

Robert A. Dahl 1966. „Further Reflections on 'the Elitist Theory of Democracy'” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 60. No. 2. 296-305.

Peter Bachrach, 1969. *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique*. London: University of London Press

John Plamenatz, 1973. *Democracy and Illusion*. London: Longman. Chapter 4. „Schumpeter and Free Competition”, 95-129.

Robert A. Dahl, 1982. *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*. New Haven: Yale U. P. 31-53.

Samuel P. Huntington, 1989. „The Modest Meaning of Democracy” in Robert A. Pastor ed. *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum*. New York: JolmesMeier, 11-28.

Ian Shapiro 1996. *Democracy's Place*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Adam Przeworski, 1999. „Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense” in Ian Shapiro & Casiano Hacker-Colón eds. *Democracy's Value*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 23-55.

WEEK 3. October 2. Representative democracy

Mandatory readings:

Nadia Urbinati, 2006. *Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. „Introduction” 1-16. Ch. 1. „Representation and Democracy” 17-59.

Robert A. Dahl, 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, Ch. 10. „Majority Rule and the Democratic Process” 135-152. Ch. 11. „Is There a Better Alternative,” 153-162.

Peter Mair, 2013. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London – New York: Verso, 1-44.

Further readings:

J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman eds. 1968. *Representation. Nomos X*. New York: Atherton Press.

J. Roland Pennock, 1979. *Democratic Political Theory*. Princeton: Princeton U. P. 309-362.

Norberto Bobbio, 1984. *The Future of Democracy: A Defence of the Rules of the Game*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 43-62.

Juan Linz, 1992. „The Perils of Presidentialism” in Arend Lijphart ed. *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford U. P. 118-127.

Arend Lijphart, 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1-61.

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes & Bernard Manin eds. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

WEEK 4. October 9. Participatory and deliberative democracy

Mandatory readings:

Carole Pateman, 1970. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 22-44.

Jürgen Habermas 1989. [1959], *Social Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press, Ch. III. „Political Functions of the Public Sphere” 57-88.; Chapter VII. „On the Concept of Public Opinion” 236-250.

Kasper M. Hansen and Christian F. Rostboll, 2012. „Deliberative Democracy” in Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell eds. *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 502-512.

Further readings:

J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman eds. 1975. *Participation in Politics. Nomos XVI*. New York: Lieber – Atherton

- Benjamin Barber, 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jon Elster ed. 1998. *Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- John Dryzek 2006. *Deliberative Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jörg Forbrig & Pavol Demes, eds. 2007. *Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe*. Washington, D. C.: GMFUS
- Maija Setala, 2014. „The Public Sphere as a Site of Deliberation: An Analysis of the Problem of Inclusion” in S. Elstub & P. McLaverty eds. *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 149-165.
- Stephen Elstub, 2014. „Mini-publics: Issues and Cases” in S. Elstub and P. McLaverty eds. *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 166-188.

WEEK 5. October 16. **Expert rule: technocracy and its critics**

Mandatory readings:

Nadia Urbinati, 2014. *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Ch. 2. „Unpolitical Democracy” 81-127.

Gil Eyal, Iván Szelényi and Eleanor Townsley, 1998. *Making Capitalism without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. London: Verso, 86-112.

Further readings:

Harold Perkin, 1996. *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*. London: Routledge

David Rothkopf 2008. *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and The World They Are Making*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 3-50, 296-323.

Barbara J. Falk, 2009. „Intellectuals in Politics in the 21st Century”. Paper presented at the APSA convention, Toronto, Canada.

Colin Crouch, 2011. *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press

WEEK 6. October 23. No class.

WEEK 7. October 30. **Plebiscitarianism, populism, leader democracy**

Mandatory readings:

Nadia Urbinati, 2014. *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Ch. 3. „The Populist Power” 128-170. Ch. 4. „The Plebiscite and the Audience and the Politics of Passivity” 171-227.

Jan Pakulski & András Körösenyi, 2012. *Toward Leader Democracy*. London: Anthem Press, Ch. 4. „Leader Democracy and Its Rivals” 81-106. Ch. 5. „The Future of Leader Democracy” 107-145.

Further readings:

- Max Weber, 1990. „The Advent of Plebiscitarian Democracy” in Peter Mair ed. *The West European Party System*. Oxford: Oxford U. P. 31-36.
- Torbjörn Tannsjö, 1992. *Populist Democracy: A Defence*. London: Routledge
- Nadia Urbinati, 2006. *Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press. Chapter 2. „Rousseau’s Unrepresentable Sovereign” 60-100.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita & Alastair Smith, 2011. *The Dictator’s Handbook: Why Bad Behavior Is Almost Always Good Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 21-74.
- Takis Pappas 2014. „Populist Democracies” *Government and Opposition*
- András Bozóki, 2015. „The Illusion of Inclusion: Configurations of Populism in Hungary” in Michal Kopecek and Piotr Wcislik eds. *Thinking Through Transition*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 275-312.

WEEK 8. November 6. Cosmopolitan, transnational & global democracy

Mandatory readings:

- Daniele Archibugi 1998. „Principles of Cosmopolitan Democracy” in D. Archibugi, David Held and Martin Kohler eds. *Re-imagining Political Community*. Cambridge: Polity, 198-228.
- Andreas Follesdal 2012. „Cosmopolitan Democracy: Neither a Category Mistake Nor a Categorical Imperative” in Daniele Archibugi, Mathias-Koenig Archibugi & Raffaele Marchetti eds. *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 96-114.
- James Anderson, 2012. „Transnational Democracy” in Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell eds. *The Edinburgh Companion of the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 467-478.

Further readings:

- David Held, 1993. „Democracy: From City-States to Cosmopolitan Order?” in D. Held ed. *Prospects for Democracy: North, South, East, West*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 13-51.
- David Held, 1995. *Democracy and Global Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Daniele Archibugi & David Held eds. 1995. *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Pierre Manent, 1997. „Democracy Without Nations?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 8. No. 2. April, 92-102.
- Jürgen Habermas, 2001. *The Postnational Constellation*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 58-112.
- David Held & Mathias Koenig-Archibugi eds. 2005. *Global Governance and Public Accountability*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Raffaele Marchetti, 2008. *Global Democracy: For and Against. Ethical Theory, Institutional Design and Social Struggle*. London: Routledge
- Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi & Raffaele Marchetti eds. 2012. *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press
- Jürgen Habermas, 2014. Democracy in Europe: Why the Development of the European Union into a Transnational Democracy is Necessary and How it is Possible. *Arena WP*. 13.

WEEK 9. November 13.

Post-Democracy

Mandatory readings:

Colin Crouch, 2004. *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Ch. 1. „Why Post-Democracy?“ 1-30. „The Global Firm: The Key Institution of the Post-Democratic World“ 31-50. Ch. 6. „Conclusions: Where Do We Go From Here,“ 104-123.

Peter Mair, 2013. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London – New York: Verso, 75-98.

Further readings:

C. B. Macpherson, 1973. *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Chapter IX. „Post-Liberal-Democracy?“, 170-184.

Gary Marks and Larry Diamond eds, 1992. *Reexamining Democracy*. London: Sage

Francis Fukuyama, 1993. „Capitalism and Democracy: The Missing Link“ in Larry Diamond and Marc. F. Plattner eds. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Revisited*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 94-104.

Colin Crouch, 2000. *Coping with Post-Democracy*. London: Fabian Society.

Chantal Mouffe, 2005. *The Democratic Paradox*. London – New York: Verso

WEEK 10. November 20.

The future of democracy

Mandatory reading:

Philippe C. Schmitter & Alexander H. Trechsel (co-ordinators) 2004. *The Future of Democracy in Europe: Trends, Analyses and Reforms*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, Part I. „Challenges and Opportunities“ 13-20, „Recommendations for Reform“ 87-130.

Charles Tilly, 2007. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 8. 186-205

Peter Mair, 2013. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy* London – New York: Verso. Chapter 4. „Popular Democracy and the European Union Polity“ 99-142.

Further readings:

Norberto Bobbio, 1978. „Are there Alternatives to Representative Democracy?“ *Telos*, No. 35. Spring, 17-30.

Norberto Bobbio, 1984. *The Future of Democracy: A Defence of the Rules of the Game*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 23-42.

Robert A. Dahl, 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven – London: Yale UP, 311-341.

Albert O. Hirschman, 1994. „Social Conflicts as Pillars of Democratic Market Society“ *Political Theory*, Vol. 22. No. 2. 203-218.

Charles Tilly, 2007. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch.1. 1-24.

Pierre Rosanvallon, 2008. *Counter-Democracy: Politics in the Age of Distrust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Christopher Hobson, 2012. „Democracy Promotion“ in Isakhan & Stockwell eds. *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: E. UP, 455-466.

Pavel Barsa (2019), „Why Liberal Elites Can be Dangerous to Democracy“ (Interview by Ludger Hagedorn) *IWM Post*, No. 123. Spring / Summer 7-8.

WEEK 11. November 27. **Semi-democracies, pseudo-democracies**

Mandatory readings:

Fareed Zakaria, 1997. „The Rise of Illiberal Democracy” *Foreign Affairs*, November, 1-16.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1. „Introduction” 3-36.

András Bozóki & Dániel Hegedűs, 2018. „Democracy, Dictatorship and Hybrid Regimes: Concepts and Approaches” in Magdalena Solska, Florian Bieber & Dane Taleski eds. (2018), *Illiberal and Authoritarian Tendencies in Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe*. Bern: Peter Lang, 21-49.

Further readings:

Guillermo O’Donnell, 1994. „Delegative Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5. No. 1. January, 55-69.

Marc F. Plattner, 1998. „Liberalism and Democracy: Can’t Have One Without the Other” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 77. No. 2. 171-180.

Andreas Schedler, 2006. *Electoral Authoritarianism*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner

Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras and Scott Mainwaring eds. 2014. *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O’Donnell*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP

Laurence Whitehead, 2014. „Antidemocracy Promotion: Four Strategies in Search for a Framework” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10. No. 2. 1-24.

Thomas Carothers, 2015. „Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 59-73.

Bálint Magyar ed. 2019. *Stubborn Structures: Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

WEEK 12. December 4. **Discussion on the breakdown of democracies**

Mandatory readings:

Francis Fukuyama, 2015. „Why Is Democracy Performing So Poorly?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 11-20.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, 2015. „The Myth of Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 45-58.

Further readings:

Juan J. Linz, 1978. *Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration*. Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 14-74.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe*. Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Philippe C. Schmitter, 2015. „Crisis and Transition, But Not Decline” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 32-44.

- Larry Diamond, 2015. „Facing up the Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 141-155.
- Miklós Bánkuti, Gábor Halmai, and Kim Lane Scheppele, 2015. „Hungary’s Illiberal Turn: Disabling the Constitution” in P. Krasztev and J. Van Til eds. *The Hungarian Patient: Social Opposition to an Illiberal Democracy*. Budapest – NY: CEU Press, 37-46.
- András Bozóki, 2015. „Broken Democracy, Predatory State, Nationalist Populism” in Péter Krasztev and Jon Van Til eds. *The Hungarian Patient: Social Opposition to an Illiberal Democracy*. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 3-36.
- Béla Greskovits, 2015. „The Hollowing and Backsliding of Democracy in East Central Europe” *Global Policy* Volume 6. Supplement 1. June, 28-38.
- Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt (2018), *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown
- David Runciman (2018), *How Democracy Ends*. New York: Basic Books

Handing the final essays.