

ANALYZING DEMOCRACY

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MA course, 2 credits. Fall 2020,
#D318, Tuesday 1.30 – 3.10 pm.

Course description

This course offers theoretical and comparative analysis of democracies. We will analyze different theoretical models of democracy, namely the pluralist, elitist, representative, participatory, deliberative, populist, plebiscitary, national, transnational, global, cosmopolitan types. Our discussion will include the so-called different „stages” of democracy (such as minimalist, electoral, substantive, consolidated, and so on). Beyond these approaches, we shall reflect on some empirical problems, such as the phenomenon of „post-democracy”, the signs of deterioration (deconsolidation, breakdown) of liberal democracy and the rise of illiberal, competitive authoritarian regimes. The readings cover some of the most important texts written by classics and contemporary classic authors in political science from Dahl, Schumpeter and Pateman to Mair, Urbinati, Schmitter and others.

Learning outcome

By the end of the course students will be able to analyze the different forms, and types of democracy, and their differences from semi-democracies and mixed regimes in a sophisticated way. They will be able to base their knowledge on solid theoretical foundations.

Grade components

- Students are required to follow the readings before each meeting, attending the seminars, participating actively in the class discussions, and, if asked, introducing the readings of the week **(20%)**.
- Each student will be asked to give one or two presentation(s) depending on the size of the class **(10%)**.
- Midterm: an in-class, open book exam, where students will have to write their response to three questions **(25%)**
- Position paper **(10%)**
- Students need to write a 2000-word final essay by the last meeting of the semester. The topic, chosen by the student, has to be approved by the professor. It has to be handed in a print-out form as well as to be sent electronically **(35%)**.

TOPICS AND READINGS

WEEK 1. September 29. **Approaches to democracy**

Philippe C. Schmitter, and Terry Lynn Karl 1991. "What Democracy Is... and Is Not" *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3): 75-88.

Further readings

- Robert A. Dahl, 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale UP
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 J. Elster & R. Slagstad eds. *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP 59-80.
Robert A. Dahl, 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press
Anthony Arblaster 1991. *Democracy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
David Held, 1996. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press
Juan J. Linz, 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers
Benjamin Isakhan & Stephen Stockwell eds. 2012. *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

WEEK 2. October 6. **Pluralist and elitist concepts of liberal democracy**

James Madison (1961 [1788]), „Federalist Papers No. 10. in: Alexander Hamilton, J. Madison & John Jay: *Federalist Papers*. New York: Mentor – Penguin, 77-84.

Joseph Schumpeter 1950 [1942], *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, 250-283.

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
Robert A. Dahl, 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University 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
Robert A. Dahl, 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1-32.
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.
David Held, 1996. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press Ch. 5. „Competitive Elitism”, 157-198.; Ch. 6. „Pluralism and its Critics” 199-232.
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.
Jeffrey Friedman (2019), *Power Without Knowledge: A Critique of Technocracy*. Oxford: OUP

WEEK 3. October 13. **Representative democracy**

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

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

Further readings:

John S. Mill (2011 [1861]), *Considerations on Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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

Arend Lijphart, 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Norberto Bobbio, 1978. „Are there Alternatives to Representative Democracy?” *Telos*, 35. 17-30.

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.

Robert A. Dahl, 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, Chapter 10. „Majority Rule and the Democratic Process” 135-162.

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

David Held, 1996. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Ch. 3. „The Development of Liberal Democracy” 70-120.

Arend Lijphart, 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. 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 20. **Participatory and deliberative democracy**

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

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.

POSITION PAPER

Jürgen Habermas 1989. [1959], *Social Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press, Chapter 3. „Political Functions of the Public Sphere” 57-88.; Chapter 7. „On the Concept of Public Opinion” 236-250.

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, 117-261.
- Jon Elster ed. 1998. *Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- David Held, 1996. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, „Participation” 263-273.
- John Dryzek 2006. *Deliberative Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- 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 27. Expert rule: technocracy and its critics

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

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

Further readings:

- Richard Hofstadter, 1963. *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*. New York: Vintage
- Iván Széleányi, 1982. „The Intelligentsia in the Class Structure of State-Socialist Societies” *American Journal of Sociology*, 88. 287-326.
- Bill Martin & Iván Széleányi, 1987. „Beyond Cultural Capital: Toward a Theory of Symbolic Domination” in Ron Eyerman & Lennart G. Svensson eds. *Intellectuals, Universities and the State in Western Societies*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Harold Perkin, 1996. *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World*. London: Routledge
- King, Lawrence P. & Iván Széleányi, 2003. *Theories of the New Class*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- David Rothkopf 2008. *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and The World They Are Making*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 3-50, 296-323.
- Pierre Rosanvallon (2008), *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, „Unpolitical Democracy” 249-289.

Colin Crouch, 2011. *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press
Tom Nichols, 2017. *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Oxford UP

WEEK 6. November 3. **Plebiscitarianism, populism, leader democracy**

Nadia Urbinati, 2014. *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapter 3. „The Populist Power” 128-170.

Nadia Urbinati 2014. *Democracy Disfigured*. Chapter 4. „The Plebiscite and the Audience and the Politics of Passivity” Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 171-227.

Jan Pakulski & András Körösiényi, 2012. *Toward Leader Democracy*. London: Anthem Press, 81-145.

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.

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.

Jan-Werner Müller, 2016. *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Cas Mudde & Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

WEEK 7. November 10. **In-class midterm**

WEEK 8. November 17. **Cosmopolitan, transnational & global democracy**

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 D. Archibugi, M-K Archibugi & R. 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*, 8(2): 92-102.
- David Held, 2000. “The Changing Contours of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization” in Barry Holden ed. *Global Democracy: Key Debates*. London: Routledge, 17-31.
- 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
- Raffaella Marchetti, 2008. *Global Democracy: For and Against. Ethical Theory, Institutional Design and Social Struggle*. London: Routledge
- Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi & Raffaella Marchetti eds. 2012. *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- Kasper M. Hansen & Kristian F Rostboll, 2012. „Deliberative Democracy” in Isakhan & Stockwell eds. *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 502-512.

WEEK 9. November 24.

Post-Democracy

Colin Crouch, 2004. *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-52, 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
- Guillermo O’ Donnell, 1994. „Delegative Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1): 55-69.
- Francis Fukuyama, 1993. „Capitalism and Democracy: The Missing Link” in Larry Diamond & Marc. F. Plattner eds. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy Revisited*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 94-104.
- Chantal Mouffe, 2005. *The Democratic Paradox*. London – New York: Verso
- Nadia Urbinati 2019. *Me, the People: How Populism Transforms Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

WEEK 10. December 1. **The future of democracy**

Philippe C. Schmitter, Alexander H. Trechsel et al. 2004. *The Future of Democracy in Europe: Trends, Analyses and Reforms*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 87-130.

Charles Tilly, 2007. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, Ch. 8. „Democracy’s Pasts and Futures”, 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, 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*, 22 (2): 203-218.

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

Christopher Hobson, 2012. „Democracy Promotion” in Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell eds. *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 455-466.

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 Working Paper* 13.

William A. Galston, 2018. *Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press

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

WEEK 11. December 8. **Semi-democracies, pseudo-democracies**

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

Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way, 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-36.

András Bozóki & Dániel Hegedűs, 2018. „Democracy, Dictatorship and Hybrid Regimes: Concepts and Approaches” in Magdalena Solska, Florian Bieber & Dane Taleski eds. *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*, 5 (1): 55-69.

Marc F. Plattner, 1998. „Liberalism and Democracy: Can’t Have One Without the Other” *Foreign Affairs*, 77(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*, 10(2): 1-24.
- Thomas Carothers, 2015. „Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose” *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1): 59-73.
- Richard Youngs, 2015. *The Puzzle of Non-Western Democracy*. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Bálint Magyar ed. 2019. *Stubborn Structures: Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

WEEK 12. December 15. **Concluding discussion on the breakdown of democracies**

Francis Fukuyama, 2015. „Why Is Democracy Performing So Poorly?” *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1): 11-20.

Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way, 2015. „The Myth of Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1): 45-58.

Further readings:

- Juan J. Linz, 1978. *Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration*. Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 14-74.
- Philippe C. Schmitter, 2015. „Crisis and Transition, But Not Decline” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (1): 32-44.
- Larry Diamond, 2015. „Facing up the Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*. 26(1): 141-155.
- 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: CEU Press, 3-36.
- Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt, 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown
- Michael Albertus & Victor Menaldo, 2018. *Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- David Runciman, 2018. *How Democracy Ends*. New York: Basic Books
- Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright & Erica Frantz (2018), *How Dictatorships Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Erica Frantz 2018, *Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford UP
- András Bozóki & Dániel Hegedűs, 2018. „An Externally Constrained Hybrid Regime” *Democratization*,
- Anne Applebaum, 2020. *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*. New York: Doubleday