

Democratic Theory¹
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This course will explore the subject of democratic theory from ancient Athens to the present. What is democracy? What is the value of democracy? What are the limits to democratic theory and democratic practice? How radical or transformative is the idea of democracy?

Goals & Objectives

We shall be attempting to identify *arguments* in the assigned readings. What are the authors' premises and conclusions? Do their arguments work on their own terms? Do their arguments work on our terms? What do the authors' arguments mean for contemporary political life?

My teaching philosophy emphasizes three primary objectives. I strive to (a) foster understanding of key concepts and their wider applicability (b) construct a collaborative atmosphere in which students feel comfortable trying out new ideas, and (c) encourage students to appreciate and value course ideas.

Learning is a two-way street. Students are expected to do their part by keeping up with course readings, raising questions in class, and actively participating in discussions.

Office Hours

In addition to regularly scheduled office hours, additional office hours are available by appointment. Students are strongly encouraged to discuss paper theses, outlines, and drafts with the instructor. Please don't hesitate to stop by; my door is always open.

Midterm Course Evaluation

Halfway through the semester, students are asked to complete an optional (but strongly encouraged) midterm course evaluation. This is a chance for students to offer constructive comments on the course. After midterm evaluations are completed, the instructor will discuss potential changes to the course.

Required Texts

David Held. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006.

¹Draft syllabus. Last updated: November 9, 2015

Recommended Background Reading

John Dunn, ed. *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Course Requirements

Thesis Statement Identification: Throughout the course of the semester, select ten book chapters or articles. For each book chapter or article selected, write 1-2 sentences summarizing the main thesis. What is the author's main point? What did the author want you to learn? Thesis summaries are due Friday 5pm of the week in which the article or chapter is assigned. Graded on completion. *10% of final grade.*

Critical Essays: Three critical essays. 1500 words each. Topics to be announced. Essays due at the beginning of class. Due dates TBA. *75% of final grade.*

Final Exam: Short answer questions. Some exam questions will be provided periodically in lecture. *15% of final grade.*

Readings & Schedule²

Part I. Models

Week 1. Athenian Democracy and Lottery

1. Held, *Models of Democracy*, chapter 1.
2. Ober, Josiah. "The Original Meaning of "Democracy": Capacity to Do Things, Not Majority Rule." *Constellations* 15, no. 1 (2008): 3-9.
3. Guerrero, Alexander A. "Against Elections: The Lottocratic Alternative." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 42, no. 2 (2014): 135-178.

Week 2. Protective Democracy

1. Held, *Models of Democracy*, pp. 56-79
2. Macpherson, C. B. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, chapter 2
3. Pateman, Carole. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, chapter 1.

²The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Week 3. Developmental Democracy

1. Held, *Models of Democracy*, pp. 79-95
2. Macpherson, C. B. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, chapter 3.

Week 4. Participatory Democracy

1. Pateman, Carole. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, chapter 2.
2. Macpherson, C. B. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, chapter 5.
3. Ober, Josiah. "Natural Capacities and Democracy as a Good-in-Itself." *Philosophical Studies* 132, no. 1 (2007): 59-73.
4. Arendt, Hannah. *The Portable Hannah Arendt*. Edited by Peter Baehr. New York: Penguin Books, 2000, pp. 182-218
5. Pateman, Carole. "Participatory Democracy Revisited." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 1 (2012): 7-19.

Week 5. Deliberative Democracy

1. Held, *Models of Democracy*, chapter 9.
2. Cohen, Joshua. "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy." In *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Edited by James Bohman and William Rehg. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997, pp. 67-91
3. Sanders, Lynn M. "Against Deliberation." *Political Theory* 25, no. 3 (1997): 347-376.
4. Young, Iris Marion. "Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory* 29, no. 5 (2001): 670-690.
5. Mutz, Diana. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, selections.

Week 6. Epistemic Democracy

1. List, Christin, and Robert E. Goodin. "Epistemic Democracy: Generalizing the Condorcet Jury Theorem." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9, no. 3 (2001): 277-306.
2. Waldron, Jeremy. "The Wisdom of the Multitude: Some Reflections on Book 3, Chapter 11 of Aristotle's Politics." *Political Theory* 23, no. 4 (1995): 563-584.
3. Cohen, Joshua. "An Epistemic Conception of Democracy." *Ethics* 97, no. 1 (1986): 26-38.

Part II. Problems

Week 7. Majority Rule

1. Wollheim, Richard. "A Paradox in the Theory of Democracy." In *Philosophy, Politics and Society*. Edited by Peter Laslet and W.G. Runciman. 71-87. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1962.
2. Calhoun, John C. *A Disquisition on Government*. In *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*. Edited by Ross M. Lence. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992, pp. 3-78
3. Kateb, George. "The Majority Principle: Calhoun and His Antecedents." *Political Science Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (1969): 583-605.

Week 8. Representation

1. Brito Vieira, Monica, and David Runciman. *Representation*. Cambridge: Polity, 2008, part II.
2. Guinier, Lani. *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*. New York: Free Press, 1994, selections.

Week 9. Political Equality

1. Beitz, Charles R. *Political Equality: An Essay in Democratic Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 31- 119

Week 10. Democracy and Difference

1. Young, Iris Marion. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, selections.
2. Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, chapter 8.

Week 11. Citizen Competence

1. Converse, Philip. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*. 206-61, 1964.
2. Bartels, Larry M. "Democracy with Attitudes." In *Electoral Democracy*. Edited by Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Week 12. Pluralism

1. Dahl, Robert A. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, chapter 8-12.

2. Rogin, Michael Paul. "Nonpartisanship and the Group Interest." In *Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Week 13. Consensus

1. Mansbridge, Jane J. *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. New York: Basic Books, 1980, pp. 3-135, 233-302.

Selected Recommended Readings³

1. Arrow, Kenneth J. *Social Choice and Individual Values*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963 [1951].
2. Cohen, Joshua. *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009.
3. Dahl, Robert A. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
4. Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
5. Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York,: Harper, 1957.
6. Estlund, David M. *Democracy*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
7. Estlund, David M. *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008.
8. Fung, Archon. *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.
9. Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis F. Thompson. *Democracy and Disagreement*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.
10. Habermas, Jrgen. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
11. Latimer, Trevor. "Plural Voting and Political Equality: A Thought Experiment in Democratic Theory." *European Journal of Political Theory* (2015).
12. Manin, Bernard. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
13. Medearis, John. "Social Movements and Deliberative Democratic Theory." *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 1 (2005): 53-75.

³Democratic theory is a massive subject. We only have time to cover a small sliver of the field. Do not hesitate to inquire about topics you would like to learn more about.

14. Pitkin, Hanna. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
15. Quattrocchi, Angelo, and Tom Nairn. *The Beginning of the End: France, May 1968*. London: Verso, 1998 [1968].
16. Rancire, Jacques. *Hatred of Democracy*. Translated by Steve Corcoran. London: Verso, 2009.
17. Rawls, John. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
18. Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
19. Schmitt, Carl. *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985.
20. Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.
21. Shah, Anwar, ed. *Participatory Budgeting*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2007.
22. Trend, David, ed. *Radical Democracy: Identity, Citizenship, and the State*. New York: Routledge, 1996.