

## **Pol 392: Democratic Theory**

Tuesday – Thursday 1:10 – 2:30, Eliot 405

**Class website:** <http://www.reed.edu/~gronkep/pol392-s04>

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### **Course Description:**

Today, almost everyone in the world seems to be in favor of democracy. But what is democracy and why should we be in favor of it? On close examination, democracy proves to be a particularly elusive concept. The course compares and contrasts philosophical and empirical accounts of democracy, looking at how actual democratic practice, primarily in the United States, measures up to our normative expectations.

In our attempt to get a handle on this concept, we will address the following theoretical questions: What is a democracy? What is the relationship between the democratic ideal and other ideals such equality, liberty, and solidarity? Is democracy a set of procedural rules or is it a substantive way of life? What is the relationship between democracy and representative government? How responsive should representatives be to their constituencies? Are representative liberal democratic institutions the best possible realization of democratic principles or betrayals of them? What should be the role of citizen participation in a democracy? Should democratic deliberation differ from other forms of deliberation?

Over the course of the semester we will also address the following empirical concerns: Is there evidence that citizens can fulfill the expectations placed on them by democratic theory? How knowledgeable are citizens of public affairs? How important is public deliberation to actual political decision-making? How do citizens choose their representatives? How do political representatives make their decisions? How responsive are they to the people who voted for them? We will not only ask how well the various democratic ideas stand up to the empirical evidence, but also investigate whether there are institutional reforms that could help bring our democratic aspirations and our political practice closer together.

### **Course Requirements:**

This is a conference course. The success of this class depends very much upon your participation, as well as the ideas, questions and interests you bring to the discussion. You must not only read the assignments before class, but also be prepared to discuss them.

You will be required to write **two** 3-5 page precis. In your precis, you should summarize the main arguments or other important issue as succinctly and clearly as you can. You

will end each precis with **3** questions which you will **present to the class** for discussion. You should sign up for the readings on which you want to write at the beginning of the semester. They are due at **noon the day before** the class in which we will be discussing that reading. You will need to **email the précis to the class** as well as to the professors. Note that you will be evaluated 2/3 on the quality of your write-up and 1/3 on the quality of your discussion leadership.

There will also be a take midterm and final. Both will consist of a set of guided essays.

The course evaluation will be allocated as follows:

- Participation 10%
- Essays 20%
- Midterm 30%, Final 40%

### **Books**

*The following books are available at the bookstore.*

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*

Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*

Hannah Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*

Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation.*

William Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*

**Other Readings:** There are multiple copies of the books as well as other readings available on reserve. Some readings are available online at jstor (<http://www.jstor.org>).

## **READINGS**

### **Week I-II: Introduction: The Problems of Democracy**

**Tuesday, Jan. 27-29:** *Should US Foreign Policy promote democracy?*

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* November, 1997.

<http://www.fareedzakaria.com/articles/other/democracy.html>

Kagan, Robert. "The Ungreat Washed: Why democracy must remain America's goal abroad." *The New Republic* July 7-14, 2001. Available through "Academic Search Elite" or on our course website

Kagan and Zakaria correspondence from the *New Republic*. Available at "Academic Search Elite" or on our course website.

George W. Bush. "Freedom in Iraq and the Middle East." 11/6/2003 (see "Vital Speeches of the Day, Vol 70 (4), pg. 98) or Academic Search Elite or at our course website.

Zakaria, Fareed. "Bush's Really Good Idea." *Newsweek* 11/17/2003.

<http://www.fareedzakaria.com/articles/newsweek/111703.html>

Ottoway, Caruthers, Hawthorne, and Brumberg. "Democratic Mirage in the Middle East." Policy brief from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2002, Volume 20. <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief20.pdf>  
Bynum and Pollack. "Democracy in Iraq?" *Washington Quarterly*. Summer 2003. Available through "Social Science Abstracts" (FirstSearch) or on our course website.

**Tuesday February 3: *Problems of Mass Democracy***

Dye and Ziegler, "The Irony of Democracy". Available here:

[http://www.reed.edu/~gronkep/pol392-s03/Dye\\_Reading.pdf](http://www.reed.edu/~gronkep/pol392-s03/Dye_Reading.pdf)

John Mueller, "Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery: Elections, Equality and Minimal Human Being." *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 36, Issue 4 (Nov., 1992), pp. 983-1003). Available at JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>).

**Thursday Feb 5: *The Athenian Example***

Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, Ch. 1, p. 8-41

Elster, Jon. "Accountability in Athenian Politics." In Przeworski, Stokes, and Manin. (Ch. 8, 253-278).

Extended readings:

For an introduction to Athens, David Held, *Models of Democracy*, Ch. 1.

Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy*.

Finley, *Democracy: Ancient and Modern*

**Week III: Democracy: The Modern Reinterpretation**

**Tuesday Feb. 10-Thursday Feb 12**

Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," Books I-II (Tuesday)

Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," Books III-IV (Thursday)

Schumpeter, Joseph. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Ch. 21 (250-268) (Thursday)

**Week IV: The American Model**

**Tuesday February 17 – Thursday February 19**

Hamilton, Jay, and Madison. *The Federalist Papers*. Fed 10. Available all over the web, try here: <http://memory.loc.gov/const/fed/fedpapers.html>

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, all except Chapter 5.

Extended readings:

Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* and *Who Governs*.

Bachratz and Baratz "The Two Faces of Power", *American Political Science Review*

## **Week V-VI: Democracy and Representation**

### **Tuesday February 24: *Theories of Representation***

*The Federalist Papers* 33 and 51. Available all over the web.

Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, Ch 3, pp. 94-131

### **Thursday February 26: *The Classic Treatment of Representation***

Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, chapter 4-6, pp. 60-143

### **Tues March 2 – Thurs March 4 *Empirical Perspectives on Representation I***

Mayhew, David. *The Electoral Connection*

Fenno, Richard. "U.S. House Members in their Constituency: An Exploration."

*American Political Science Review*. (JSTOR).

#### Extended Readings:

Fenno, *Home Style*. Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, *The Personal Vote*. Stewart, *Analyzing Congress*, Chs. 1-4.

## **Week VII: Representation and Responsiveness**

### **Tuesday March 9: *Mechanisms and Controversies***

Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, Ch. 7-9 (p 144-208)

Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, Ch. 5 (161-192) (recommended for a summary, chapter 6)

### **Thursday March 11: Midterm Examination Due. No class today.**

### **March 13-21: SPRING BREAK**

## **Week VIII: Accountability, Responsibility, and Representation**

### **Tuesday – Thursday March 23-25**

Przeworski reader, Chapters 1, 2, 5, 7

"Principal/agent theory" entry from economic dictionary (available in class)

Borowiak, Craig. 2004. *Accountability in Globalized World*. Chapter 3.

## **Week IX: Who do Politicians Actually Listen To?**

### **Tuesday – Thursday March 30-April 1**

Jacobs and Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander*, Ch. 1-2, 3, 9-10

John W. Kingdon "Models of Legislative Voting." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 3. (Aug., 1977), pp. 563-595. (Available on JSTOR)

## **Week X: Social Choice Theory: Is Democracy Incoherent?**

### **Tuesday-Thursday, April 6-8**

Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*, whole book.

#### Extended Readings:

Shepsle and Bonchek, *Analyzing Politics*, Chs. 3-4. Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Buchanan and Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*. Russell Hardin, "Public Choice versus Democracy" and Thomas Christiano, "Social Choice and Democracy," both in *The Idea of Democracy*

**Week XI: Against Democratic Minimalism: Barber's "Strong Democracy"**

**Tuesday, April 13**

Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*, chapters 1-2, 5, 6 (pp. 1-46, 93-138)

**Thursday, April 15**

Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*, chapters 8-9 (pp. 163-260)

**Week XII: Deliberative Democracy**

**Tuesday, April 20**

Iris Marion Young. *Inclusion and Democracy*. (pp 16-51).

David Miller, "Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice." *Political Studies* Vol 40 (1992): 54-67 (Online via FIRST SEARCH).

**Thursday, April 22**

Iris Marion Young, (2001) "Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory* 29(5): 670-690 (JSTOR)

Sanders, Lynn. "Against Deliberation" in *Political Theory* (June, 1997) (JSTOR)

**Week XIII: Closing Comments**

**Tuesday, April 27** *The Post Colonial Critique of Democratic Theory*

Iris Marion Young, "Hybrid Democracy: Iroquois Federalism and the Postcolonial Project"

Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Liberal Democracy and *Ayllu* Democracy in Bolivia: The Case of Northern Potosi" *The Journal of Development Studies*, 1993, 97-121.

Additional readings to be determined.

**Thursday, April 29**

No class today; we will hold an end of semester off campus gathering, location and time to be announced.