

DEMOCRACY: ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

Fall 1999
Government 4911
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Meetings: Mon. and Wed., 3.00-4.15, 105A, O'Shaughnessy
Office hours : 219 Hesburgh Center, Tu. 10.00:12.00, and 10.00:12.00. Otherwise by appointment.

There is no other term that elicits, as democracy does, so much discussion and (at least nominal) support in the contemporary world. The meanings of democracy are many, since its origins in Athens until today, ranging from common sense conceptions to sophisticated (albeit not necessarily better) theoretical formulations. Furthermore, the emotions triggered by democracy are enormous, including those who thought it was the worst possible kind of polity and the millions that in recent times took to the streets and risked their lives demanding it.

We will begin by studying the historical trajectory of the idea of democracy as well as of others that came to be closely associated with it—republicanism and liberalism. Then we will examine various kinds of contemporary issues and theories. We will not end with THE TRUTH about democracy. Rather, my hope is that we will end up with an informed awareness of the various aspects involved in the practice and theory of democracy, including some puzzling predicaments. I believe that conscious and highly educated citizens should enhance democracy with an appropriate understanding of its virtues and its limits.

This is a writing seminar. As a seminar, I expect you to participate by means of thoughtful presentations about selected readings, and to contribute to the general discussions. As a writing seminar, along the semester I will request from you several short pieces in which you reflect on some of the issues or problems we are discussing. In order to facilitate our discussions, the authors of these pieces will share them with all the seminar participants, with sufficient anticipation.

There will be a final take-home exam. Alternatively, if the student prefers to write a final paper, I expect him/her to discuss it with me no later than the first week of November. The final grade will take into account this final exercise (40%), the brief written pieces (40%), and participation in class discussions (20%)--but notice that these are approximate figures; there is no sense in being mechanical in these matters.

SCHEDULE

August 25

Introductions. Presentation of the goals and scope of the seminar.

August 30

Written assignment: Write your own definition of "democracy," and deliver it in my office no later than August 28 noontime. Note: I am requesting a **definition**; i.e., 10 lines should be more than enough.

September 1

No class: But: read for the next two classes!

September 6

Classic Democracy (Athens).

Read: Hansen (1991) 55-85, 125-160, 203-224, 225-242, 266-277, 296-320

September 8

Classic Republics I (Rome).

Read: Finer (1997) 395-418, 423-441

September 13

Classic Republics II (Italy)

Read: Waley (1988) 6-7, 32-45), 55-68, 97-143

September 15

Republicanism; legacies.

Read: Rubinstein in Bock et al. (1990)

Skinner in Dunn (1992)

September 20

Some historical/ideological roots (I)

Read: Manent (1994) 20-52

September 22

Some historical/ideological roots (II)

Read: Manent (53-79, 103-113)

September 27

Republicanism and Democratic Revolutions (I)

Read: Fontana in Dunn (1992)

Wood in Dunn (1992)

September 29

Republicanism and Democratic Revolutions (II).

Read: Federalist n. 10, 47, 48, and 51

Kramnick (1990) 260-288

October 4 and 6

No classes

But read: Some attempts at synthesis.

Offe & Preuss (1991)

Walzer (1989)

O'Donnell (1999a)

October 11

Contemporary Democracy (I): "Elitism," Schumpeter and Weber

Read : Schumpeter (1942) 269-283

Held (1987) 145-164

October 13

Overview: Where are we at?

October 16-24

Midterm break. Have a great time!

October 25

Contemporary Democracy (II): Sartori (1)

Read: Sartori (1987) vol.I, 21-35, vol.II, 298-306,

October 27

Contemporary Democracy (II): Sartori (2)

Read: Sartori (1987) vol II, 337-362

November 1

Contemporary Democracy (III): Dahl

Read: Dahl (1989) 105-131, 135-162, 213-224, 280-308

November 3

Constitutionalism and Rule of Law (I)

Read: Federalist n. 78

Holmes (1995)

November 8

Constitutionalism and Rule of Law (II)

Read: Bellamy (1996)

O'Donnell (1999b)

November 10

Difference : Gender

Read: Phillips (1993) 75-122

Phillips in Benhabib (1996)

Pateman in Phillips (1987)

Walby (1994)

November 15

Difference: Culture

Read: Taylor in Taylor (1994)

Habermas in Taylor (1994)

Gutmann in Taylor (1994)

Kymlicka in Dissent (1996)

November 17

Contemporary Democracy (V): Rawls and "Liberal" Democracy.

Read : Rawls in Copp (1993)

Hampton in Copp (1993)

Wolin (1996)

November 22

Contemporary Democracy (VI): Habermas and "Deliberative" Democracy

Read: Habermas (1996) 287-314, 359-373, and 463-475

November 24

Recent discussions on deliberative theories.

Read: Fearon in Elster (1998)

Johnson in Elster (1998)

Sanders (1997)

Young in Benhabib (1996)

November 25: Happy Thanksgiving!

November 29

Foundations of Democracy. Agency, autonomy, dignity

Read: Kuflik (1994)
Lane (1988)
O'Donnell (1999c)

December 1

General discussion, overview of the semester (I)

Read: Dunn in Dunn (1992)

December 6

General discussion, overview of the semester (II)

Read: Verba et al. (1995) 1-48, 500-533
Putnam (1993 and 1995)

December 8

Last class: Take-home exam handed.

Further general discussion. Conclusions?

December 14: Take-home exams due in my office, no later than 12AM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) BOOKS

Bell, Terence and Hanson, Russel, eds., **Political Innovation and Cultural Change** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Benhabid, Seyla, ed., **Democracy and Difference. Contesting the Boundaries of the Political** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

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Kramnick, Isaac, **Republicanism and Bourgeois Radicalism. Political Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England and America** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Manent, Pierre, **An Intellectual History of Liberalism** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Méndez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, eds., **The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America** (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999)

Phillips, Anne, **Democracy and Difference** (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)..

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Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, eds., **The Self-Restraining State. Power and Accountability in New Democracies** (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999).

Schumpeter, Joseph, **Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy** (New York: Harper & Row, [1942]1975).

Taylor, Charles, et.al. **Multiculturalism** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady, **Voice and Equality. Civic Voluntarism in American Politics** (Cambridge USA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Waley, Daniel, **The Italian City Republics** (London: Longman, 1988).

2) JOURNAL ARTICLES and CHAPTERS IN BOOKS (Note: Books fully referenced in listing of books, above)

Bellamy, Richard, "The Political Form of the Constitution: The Separation of Powers, Rights, and Representative Democracy," **Political Studies** 44 (1996) p.436-456

Benhabib, Seyla, "Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy," in Benhabib, S., ed. (1996) p.67-94

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Dunn, John, "Conclusion" in Dunn, J., ed. (1992) p.239-266

Fearon, James D., "Deliberation as Discussion," in Elster, J., ed. (1998) p.44-68

Hampton, Jean, "The Moral Commitments of Liberalism," in Copp, D., et al., eds. (1993) p.292-313

Holmes, Stephen, "Constitutionalism," in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., **The Encyclopedia of Democracy** (London: Routledge, 1995), p.299-306

Johnson, James, "Arguing for Deliberation: Some Skeptical Considerations," in Elster, J., ed. (1998) p.161-184

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Kymlicka, Will, "The Good, the Bad, and the Intolerable," **Dissent** (Summer 1996) p.22-30

Lane, Robert, "Procedural Goods in a Democracy: How One is Treated Versus What One Gets," **Social Justice Research**, 2, n.3 (1988) p.177-192

Nippel, Wilfried, "Ancient and Modern Republicanism: 'Mixed Constitution' and 'ephors'," in Fontana ed. (1994) p.6-26.

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O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Democratic Theory and Comparative Politics," multicopied (1999c)

Offe, Claus, and Ulrich K. Preuss, "Democratic Institutions and Moral Resources" in Held, David, ed. (1991) p.143-171

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Phillips, Anne, "Dealing with Difference: A Politics of Ideas, or a Politics of Presence?," in S. Benhabib ed. (1996) p.139-152

Putnam, Robert , "Social Capital and Public Affairs," **The American Prospect** (Spring 1993), p.1-8

Putnam, Robert, "Bowling Alone. America's Declining Social Capital," **Journal of Democracy**, 6, n.1 (1995), p.65-78

Rawls, John, "The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus," in Copp, D. et al., eds. (1993) p.245-269

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Skinner, Quentin, "The Italian City Republics," in Dunn, J., ed. (1992) p. 57-69

Walby, Silvia, "Is Citizenship Gendered?," **Sociology**, 28, n.2 (May 1994) p.379-395.

Walzer, Michael, "Citizenship" in Bell, T. et al, eds., eds. (1989) p.211-219

Wolin, Sheldon, "The Liberal/Democratic Divide. On Rawl's Political Liberalism," **Political Theory**, 24, n.1 (February 1996), p.97-14

Wood, Gordon, "Democracy and the American Revolution," in Dunn ed. (1992) p.91-105.

Young, Iris M., "Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy," in Benhabib S., ed. (1996) p.120-135

From: Prof. Guillermo O'Donnell
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To : Reserve Book Room:

Re: Readings for course Government 491I (20 students)

New texts to be added to past Fall's readings (it was course 491J)

Two photocopies of each enclosed:

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Horizontal Accountability and New Polyarchies," in Schedler et al., eds. (1999a) p.29-52.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Polyarchies and the (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America," in Méndez et al., eds. (1999b) p.303-337.

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Adcock, F.E., **Roman Political Ideas and Practice** (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964).