**ANALYZING DEMOCRACY**

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MA course, 2 credits. Faculty Tower 908. Wednesday 5.30 – 7.10 pm.

Winter semester 2016.

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.). Finally, 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.

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 competitive authoritarian regimes in a sophisticated way. They will be able to base their knowledge on solid theoretical foundations.

Grading

Evaluation of students’ performance will be based on their participation, activity, oral presentations (40%), short written assignments, handouts (20%) and the final essay (40%).

TOPICS AND READINGS

***WEEK 1.*** January 13. **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:***

J. Roland Pennock, 1979. *Democratic Political Theory.* Princeton: Princeton U. P. 3-15.

Richard Jay, 1984. „Democracy” in Robert Eccleshall et al. *Political Ideologies*. London: Hutchinson, 153-184.

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

Robert O. Putnam, 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press

***WEEK 2.*** January 20. **Elitist and pluralist concepts of liberal democracy**

***Mandatory readings:***

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

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: Jolmes & Meier, 11-28.

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

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

***WEEK 3.*** January 27. **Representative democracy**

***Mandatory readings:***

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

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

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.*** February 3. **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, Chapter 3. „Political Functions of the Public Sphere” 57-88.; Chapter 7. „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.

Stephen Elstub, 2014. „Mini-publics: Issues and Cases” in S. Elstub and P. McLaverty eds. *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 166-188.

***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.

***WEEK 5.*** February 10. **Expert rule: Technocracy and its critics**

***Mandatory readings:***

Nadia Urbinati, 2014. *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapter 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.*** February 17. **Plebiscitarianism, populism, leader democracy**

***Mandatory readings:***

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

Jan Pakulski & András Körösényi, 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: University 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 7.*** February 24. **Cosmopolitan, transnational, and global democracy**

***Mandatory readings:***

Pierre Manent, 1997. „Democracy Without Nations?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 8. No. 2. April, 92-102.

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 & Raffaelle 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

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

Raffaelle Marchetti, 2008. *Global Democracy: For and Against. Ethical Theory, Institutional Design and Social Struggle*. London: Routledge

Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi & Raffaelle Marchetti eds. 2012. *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

***WEEK 8.*** March 2. **Post-Democracy**

***Mandatory readings:***

Colin Crouch, 2004. *Post-Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-52, 104-123.

Philippe C. Schmitter & Alexander H. Trechsel (co-ordinators) 2004. *The Future of Democracy in Europe: Trends, Analyses and Reforms*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing. 13-20.

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 Mac. 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 9.*** March 9. **The future of democracy**

Guest speaker: **Péter Csigó** (research fellow, Social Science Research Center, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

***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, 87-130.

Charles Tilly, 2007. *Democray.* 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 reading***

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 University Press, 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.

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.

***WEEK 10.*** March 16. **Illiberal democracy, semi-authoritarian, hybrid regime**

***Mandatory readings:***

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

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, 3-36.

***Further readings:***

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 University Press

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 Aida t 25: Time to Choose” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26. No. 1. January, 59-73.

***WEEK 11.*** March 23. **Deconsolidation and breakdown of democracy**

***Mandatory readings*:**

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

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.

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

Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Perez-Linán, 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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 – New York: CEU Press, 37-46.

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.

Béla Greskovits, 2015. „The Hollowing and Backsliding of Democracy in East Central Europe” *Global Policy* Volume 6. Supplement 1. June, 28-38.

***WEEK 12.*** March 30. **Concluding discussion**

and handing the final essays