

# Course Guide

Semester 1, 2014-2015

## Democracy and its Discontents

PLIT10096



- **Owning Programme:** Politics and International Relations.
- **Number of Credits:** 20.
- **Course Convenor:** Dr Mathias Thaler – [mathias.thaler@ed.ac.uk](mailto:mathias.thaler@ed.ac.uk).
- **Feedback and Guidance Hours:** Monday, 11:15am to 1:15pm at George Square 22, Room 2.01.

The best way to attend my feedback and guidance hours is by registering here: <https://mathiasthaler.youcanbook.me/>.

- **Course Secretary:** Andra Roston – [andra.roston@ed.ac.uk](mailto:andra.roston@ed.ac.uk).

## Course Description

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This course offers an introduction to the histories, theories and practices of democracy. Its purpose is to provide students with a systematic overview of the complex discourses on democracy today. What is democracy? Where does the idea of democracy come from? Has the idea one or many origins? Can democracy be justified, and if so, on what grounds? What are the limits of democracy? These, and many more, questions lie at the heart of democratic theory. The course will in particular focus on four central issues: (1) the historical origins of democracy in ancient Greece, and later developments in the Western hemisphere that have led to modern mass democracies; (2) the state of the contemporary debate in political theory, with positions ranging from minimalist to radical democracy; (3) recent changes in democratic practices, from new forums that exceed the nation state to novel mechanisms to reach inclusive and representative decisions; and (4) crucial challenges with which democracies around the globe are currently confronted, including the ever-expanding reach of market forces and the place of religion in the public sphere.

## Course Aims

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The course pursues the following aims:

- to introduce students to the complexity of democratic theory.
- to enable students to apply theoretical knowledge to empirical case studies in the context of democratic practices.

## Learning Outcomes

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By the end of this course students are expected to be able to:

- grasp the diverse histories, theories and practices of democracy.
- understand how democracy can be justified from a variety of normative standpoints.
- assess various arguments about the limitations of democracy.
- identify where new contexts and scales of democratic agency have emerged.
- analyse the main challenges democracy faces today.

## Course Delivery

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The course will be taught in 10x1-hour lectures by the convener. The total contact hours will be 20. The lecture will be accompanied by weekly tutorials. Students should attend every tutorial and lecture. This course will be very much focused on student participation. Preparation for and participation in tutorials will therefore count towards the final mark. The tutorials are intended to complement the lectures by giving the students the opportunity actively and critically to engage

with the ideas introduced in the lectures. In preparation for each tutorial, students are expected to read background material, prepare provisional answers to questions that relate to the core readings for the tutorial and share a news item that speaks to the problems raised in the weekly lecture. This will require independent research on the students' behalf, using the internet and library to go beyond the sources listed below. The focus will be on the quality rather than quantity of student contributions. Assessment of student participation relates broadly to essay and exam marking descriptors.

## Lecture Time and Venue

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The lecture takes place from **10:00 to 10:50** on **Monday** in **Seminar Room 4, Chrystal Macmillan Building**.

## Components of Assessment

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The course will be assessed by essay (40%), exam (50%) and tutorial participation (10%).

## Essay

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You must choose a question from the list provided below. The assessed essay must be typed in a decent size font (minimum 11pt), and with decent spacing (at least 1.5.) You should include a properly referenced list of cited works at the end. It would best if you used a bibliography management tool, such as Zotero or Mendeley – it will make your (and my) life much easier. The essay is due on **November 3, 2014, 12pm (noon)**. The word limit is 2,000 words, and essays that go over this length will be penalised (see below).

**Feedback on your essay will be returned online via ELMA on November 24, 2014.**

## Essay Questions

1. Is the drawing of the lot an inherently democratic method to select officials? What applications of random selection are possible today?
2. What are the pre-conditions of freedom on a republican reading of politics? In answering the question, compare and contrast the two strands of republican thinking.
3. "All forms of democracy depend on representation." Discuss.
4. On what conception of discussion does deliberative democracy rely? Examine both the advantages and limitations of this conception.
5. "A vital democracy needs conflicts." Discuss.

Please see the *Honours Handbook* for further information on submission of coursework; "Late Penalty Waivers"; plagiarism; learning disabilities, special circumstances; common marking descriptors, re-marking procedures and appeals.

## Uploading of Assignments on ELMA

Coursework is submitted online using our electronic submission system, ELMA. You will not be required to submit a paper copy of your work.

Marked coursework, grades and feedback will be returned to you via ELMA. You will not receive a paper copy of your marked course work or feedback.

For information, help and advice on submitting coursework and accessing feedback, please see the ELMA wiki at <https://www.wiki.ed.ac.uk/display/SPSITWiki/ELMA>. Further detailed guidance on the essay deadline and a link to the wiki and submission page will be available on the course Learn page. The wiki is the primary source of information on how to submit your work correctly and provides advice on approved file formats, uploading cover sheets and how to name your files correctly.

When you submit your work electronically, you will be asked to tick a box confirming that your work complies with university regulations on plagiarism. This confirms that the work you have submitted is your own.

Occasionally, there can be technical problems with a submission. We request that you monitor your university student email account in the 24 hours following the deadline for submitting your work. If there are any problems with your submission the course secretary will email you at this stage.

We undertake to return all coursework within 15 working days of submission. This time is needed for marking, moderation, second marking and input of results. If there are any unanticipated delays, it is the course organiser's responsibility to inform you of the reasons.

**All our coursework is assessed anonymously to ensure fairness: to facilitate this process put your Examination number (on your student card), not your name or student number, on your coursework or cover sheet.**

## Plagiarism

Material you submit for assessment, such as your essays, must be your own work. You can, and should, draw upon published work, ideas from lectures and class discussions, and (if appropriate) even upon discussions with other students, but you must always make clear that you are doing so. **Passing off anyone else's work** (including another student's work or material from the Web or a published author) **as your own is plagiarism** and will be punished severely. When you upload your work to ELMA you will be asked to check a box to confirm the work is your own. ELMA automatically runs all submissions through 'Turnitin', our plagiarism detection software, and compares every essay against a constantly-updated database, which highlights all plagiarised work. Assessed work that contains plagiarised material will be awarded a mark of zero, and serious cases of plagiarism will also be reported to the College Academic Misconduct officer. In

either case, the actions taken will be noted permanently on the student's record. **For further details on plagiarism see the Academic Services' website:**

<http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/academic-services/students/undergraduate/discipline/plagiarism>

### **Word Count Penalties**

Your essay should be no more than 2,000 words. (excluding the bibliography)\*. Essays above 2,000 words will be penalised using the Ordinary level criterion of 1 mark for every 20 words over length: anything between 2,000 and 2,020 words will lose one mark, 2,000 and 2,040 two marks, and so on.

You will not be penalised for submitting work below the word limit. However, you should note that shorter essays are unlikely to achieve the required depth and that this will be reflected in your mark.

### **Lateness Penalties**

**Unlike in Years 1 and 2, no extensions are granted with respect to the submission deadlines for any assessed work at honours level.**

Managing deadlines is a basic life-skill that you are expected to have acquired by the time you reach Honours. Timely submission of all assessed items (coursework, essays, project reports, etc.) is a vitally important responsibility at this stage in your university career. Unexcused lateness can put at risk your prospects of proceeding to Senior Honours and can damage your final degree grade.

If you miss the submission deadline for any piece of assessed work 5 marks will be deducted for each calendar day that work is late, up to a maximum of five calendar days (25 marks). Thereafter, a mark of zero will be recorded. There is no grace period for lateness and penalties begin to apply immediately following the deadline. For example, if the deadline is Tuesday at 12 noon, work submitted on Tuesday at 12.01pm will be marked as one day late, work submitted at 12.01pm on Wednesday will be marked as two days late, and so on.

Failure to submit an item of assessed work will result in a mark of zero, with potentially very serious consequences for your overall degree class, or no degree at all. It is therefore always in your interest to submit work, even if very late.

**Please be aware that all work submitted is returned to students with a provisional mark and without applicable penalties in the first instance. The mark you receive on ELMA is therefore subject to change following the consideration of the Lateness Penalty Waiver Panel (please see below for further information) and the Board of Examiners.**

## How to Submit a Lateness Penalty Waiver Form

If there are extenuating circumstances beyond your control which make it essential for you to submit work after the deadline you must fill in a 'Lateness Penalty Waiver' (LPW) form to state the reason for your lateness. This is a request for any applicable penalties to be removed and will be considered by the Lateness Penalty Waiver Panel.

Before submitting an LPW, please consider carefully whether your circumstances are (or were) significant enough to justify the lateness. Such circumstances should be serious and exceptional (e.g. not a common cold or a heavy workload). Computer failures are **not** regarded as justifiable reason for late submission. You are expected to regularly back-up your work and allow sufficient time for uploading it to ELMA.

You should submit the LPW form and supply an expected date of submission as soon as you are able to do so, and preferably before the deadline. Depending on the circumstances, supporting documentation may be required, so please be prepared to provide this where possible.

LPW forms can be found in a folder outside your SSO's office, on online at:

[http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/on\\_course\\_students/assessment\\_and\\_regulations/coursework\\_requirements/coursework\\_requirements\\_honours](http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/on_course_students/assessment_and_regulations/coursework_requirements/coursework_requirements_honours)

Forms should be returned by email or, if possible, in person to your SSO. They will sign the form to indicate receipt and will be able to advise you if you would like further guidance or support.

Please Note: Signing the LPW form by either your SSO or Personal Tutor only indicates acknowledgment of the request, not the waiving of lateness penalties. Final decisions on all marks rest with Examination Boards.

There is a dedicated SSO for students in each subject area in SPS. To find out who your SSO is, and how to contact them, please find your home subject area on the table below:

Subject Area	Name of SSO	Email	Phone	Office
Politics	Ruth Winkle	<a href="mailto:ruth.winkle@ed.ac.uk">ruth.winkle@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 650 4253	Room 1.11, Chrystal MacMillan Building
International Relations	Rebecca Shade	<a href="mailto:rebecca.shade@ed.ac.uk">rebecca.shade@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 651 3896	Room 1.10, Chrystal MacMillan Building

Social Anthropology	Vanessa Feldberg	<a href="mailto:vanessa.feldberg@ed.ac.uk">vanessa.feldberg@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 650 3933	Room 1.04, Chrystal MacMillan Building
Social Policy	Louise Angus	<a href="mailto:L.Angus@ed.ac.uk">L.Angus@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 650 3923	Room 1.08, Chrystal MacMillan Building
Social Work	Jane Marshall	<a href="mailto:jane.marshall@ed.ac.uk">jane.marshall@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 650 3912	Room 1.07, Chrystal MacMillan Building
Sociology	Karen Dargo	<a href="mailto:Karen.Dargo@ed.ac.uk">Karen.Dargo@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 651 1306	Room 1.03, Chrystal MacMillan Building
Sustainable Development	Sue Renton	<a href="mailto:sue.renton@ed.ac.uk">sue.renton@ed.ac.uk</a>	0131 650 6958	Room 1.09, Chrystal MacMillan Building

If you are a student from another School, you should submit your LPW to the SSO for the subject area of the course, Ruth Winkle.

**Students who have not handed in coursework will be permitted to sit the exam for the Course; but you will receive a zero for the coursework component (40%) of your overall mark.**

## Exam

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The semester 1 exam period runs from December 8 to 19. Students will receive generalized feedback on their exam performance.

If you would like to see your exam script after the final marks have been published then you should contact the course secretary by email to arrange a time to do this. Please note that there will be no feedback comments written on the scripts, but you may find it useful to look at what you wrote, and see the marks achieved for each individual question. You will not be permitted to keep the exam script but you are welcome to take it away to read over or make photocopies. If you wish to do this please bring a form of ID that can be left at the office until you return the script. Please note that scripts cannot be taken away overnight.

## Tutorial Participation

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You are expected to attend every tutorial and lecture, unless you have very good reason to be absent. Absences should be explained in advance and justified with

evidence where appropriate. As befits a course on democracy, both the lecture and the tutorial are very much focused on student participation. Your preparation for, and participation in, tutorials will count towards your final mark. The tutorials are intended to complement the lectures by giving you the opportunity to actively and critically engage with the ideas introduced in the lectures.

In preparation for each tutorial, you are expected to undertake two small tasks: (1) You are invited to prepare provisional answers to three discussion points that relate to the core readings for the tutorial. This will require independent research on your behalf, using the internet and the library to go beyond the sources listed below. The debate during the tutorial will, amongst other aspects, revolve around these issues. (2) You are also asked to post a news item (taken from any respectable source you can find, e.g. the BBC or Guardian websites) on LEARN. Links to stories from social media, such as Twitter or Facebook, are welcome as well. The post should, in one way or another, speak to the week's theme. This will help us create a small library of democracy-related posts, to which we can return at the end of the course. If you simply can't find a news item on a specific week's theme, there is no problem. As an indicative example, take this recent article from the BBC, which is relevant for the first lecture: Stamp, Gavin. "Why Do MPs Quit Parliament?" BBC, August 12, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-28567634>.

During the tutorial, you are expected to contribute to class discussions by offering ideas and asking questions. The focus will be on the quality rather than quantity of your contributions. It's not a race to see who can say the most in the shortest period of time. Rather, students will be rewarded for their capacity to make relevant points, bring in the readings where appropriate, and listen to, and engage with, others. Assessment of student participation relates broadly to essay and exam marking descriptors, so that excellence would receive a mark of 70-80%, very good work 60-70%, good work 50-60%, and so on. See the appendix for the Tutorial Feedback and Assessment Form. If you have any questions regarding the assessment of student participation, just ask.

## Tutorial Time and Venue

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There are three tutorial slots on **Tuesday** from **14:10 to 15:00** (Appleton Tower, Seminar Room G5), **15:10 to 16:00** (Appleton Tower, Room M1) and **16:10 to 17:00** (Appleton Tower, Seminar Room G5). To sign up for tutorial groups, go to the LEARN page. The tutor on this course is Alex Latham. He can be reached at: [a.g.latham@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:a.g.latham@sms.ed.ac.uk). Tutorials start in Week 1. If you encounter problems with signing up for tutorial groups, contact the course secretary, Andra Roston at: [andra.roston@ed.ac.uk](mailto:andra.roston@ed.ac.uk).

## Resources

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This course engages the complex social order of democracy through the lens of Political Theory. This means that the secondary literature we discuss will be

largely (but not exclusively) limited to Political Theory. The syllabus lists all the required and optional readings for this course. You should, however, also consult other sources, in particular journals such as *Constellations*, *Political Theory*, *Journal of Political Philosophy*, *European Journal of Political Theory*, *Ethics*, *Contemporary Political Theory*, *Critical Review of Social and Political Philosophy*, and others. An invaluable resource for anybody working on political philosophy is the excellent website of the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. You can find it here: <http://plato.stanford.edu/>.

“Democracy” is such a wide field of research that many other academic disciplines have been engaging with it, as well. This is not the place to give an overview over the most important publications in disciplines such as History or Sociology, but a few books still deserve to be mentioned. Since Political Theory cannot bear fruits unless it engages with real-world problems – which is one of the background assumptions of this course – these accounts of democracy, in their historical and sociological dimensions, will help you in widening the scope of your investigations:

- Canfora, Luciano. *Democracy in Europe: A History of an Ideology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Dunn, John. *Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy*. London: Atlantic, 2005.
- Graeber, David. *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2013.
- Isakhan, Benjamin, and Stephen Stockwell, eds. *The Secret History of Democracy*. Houndmills/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Keane, John. *The Life and Death of Democracy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. *Contesting Democracy: Political Thought in Twentieth-Century Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Runciman, David. *The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from World War I to the Present*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

As regards the syllabus, the required readings often have chapters specified, but in the optional readings this is not always the case: if you are keen to go beyond what is minimally asked from you in terms of preparing for the tutorials, consult these readings as well. All the resources enumerated in the course guide should be available through the University Library system. An asterisk (\*) indicates that the text is available through e-reserve; a plus (+) indicates that it is available online through the University Library website. All the journal articles can be found electronically, again through the University Library website.

You can now access all the readings for this course – insofar as they are available online – through the University’s TALIS system. The link to the resource lists is here, just search for the course: <http://resourcelists.ed.ac.uk>

## Syllabus

<b>Week 1</b> September 15	Introduction: Outline, Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes.
<b>Thematic Block I: Ancients and Moderns</b>	
<b>Week 2</b> September 22	Historical Origins: Democracy, <i>Isonomia</i> and Sortition.
<b>Week 3</b> September 29	Republicanism: The Citizens Rule.
<b>Week 4</b> October 6	Modern Mass Democracy: Representation and Constitutionalism.
<b>Thematic Block II Theory Today</b>	
<b>Week 5</b> October 13	Minimalist and Aggregative Democracy.
<b>Week 6</b> October 20	Deliberative Democracy.
<b>Week 7</b> October 27	Radical and Agonistic Democracy.
<b>Thematic Block III Recent Transformations</b>	
<b>Week 8</b> November 3	Scaling Democracy beyond and beneath the Nation State.
<b>Week 9</b> November 10	Innovating Democracy.
<b>Week 10</b> November 17	Democracy, Secularism and Religion.
<b>Week 11</b> November 24	Revision and Exam Preparation.

## Basic Introductory Texts

- Dahl, Robert Alan, Ian Shapiro, and José Antônio Cheibub, eds. *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.
- Cunningham, Frank. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006.
- Shapiro, Ian. *The State of Democratic Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

The book by David Held will serve as the textbook for this course. This means that you will find it in general useful for all the topics we will discuss – but you will still have to consult other resources to gain a more complete picture of the topics discussed.

## Weekly Themes and Readings

### Week 1

#### **Introduction: Outline, Course Objectives and Learning Outcomes.**

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This session will introduce students to the main themes of the course. We will also cover formal aspects regarding successful course completion and substantive introductory ideas that will run through the semester.

#### **Required Reading**

- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006. [Introduction]\*
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. “Democratic Universalism as a Historical Problem.” *Constellations* 16, no. 4 (2009): 539–49.
- Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. [Chapter 1: What is Democracy?]\*

#### **Optional Reading**

- Graeber, David. *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2013.
- Markoff, John. “Where and When Was Democracy Invented?” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 4 (1999): 660–690.
- Sen, Amartya Kumar. “Democracy as a Universal Value.” *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (1999): 3–17.
- Urbinati, Nadia. “Unpolitical Democracy.” *Political Theory* 38, no. 1 (2010): 65–92.
- Warren, Mark E. “What Can Democratic Participation Mean Today?” *Political Theory* 30, no. 5 (2002): 677–701.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. Which characteristics do you consider essential for any democracy?
2. Do you think the UK is a fully democratic country?
3. Why should we care about democracy when we face so many much more pressing problems today, such as global poverty or violent conflicts?

## Week 2

### **Historical Origins: Democracy, *Isonomia* and Sortition.**

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This session grapples with the historical origins of democracy in the ancient Greece. We will debate some of the pre-conditions as well as the mechanisms of political organization in the *polis*. Particular attention will be paid to the varieties of democratic agency in ancient Greece – and to why so many philosophers thought rather lowly of democracy.

#### **Required Reading**

- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006. [Chapter 1: Classical Democracy]\*
- Raaflaub, Kurt A., Josiah Ober, and Robert W. Wallace. *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. [Introduction]+
- Ober, Josiah. “The Original Meaning of ‘Democracy’: Capacity to Do Things, Not Majority Rule.” *Constellations* 15, no. 1 (2008): 3–9.

#### **Optional Reading**

- Hansen, Mogens Herman. “The Tradition of the Athenian Democracy A. D. 1750-1990.” *Greece & Rome* 39, no. 1 (1992): 14–30.
- Lombardini, John. “Isonomia and the Public Sphere in Democratic Athens.” *History of Political Thought* 34, no. 3 (2013): 393–420.
- Ober, Josiah. *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Thorley, John. *Athenian Democracy*. 2nd ed. London: New York/Routledge, 2004.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. City-state (*polis*).
2. Selection by lot.
3. Plato as a critic of democracy

## Week 3

### **Republicanism: Developmental and Protective.**

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In this session, we discuss the republican heritage of democratic theory. Republicans come in at least two kinds: developmental and protective. Developmental republicans, such as Hannah Arendt, emphasize the importance of active citizenship for the flourishing of human capabilities. Protective republicans, on the other hand, stress the need for institutions to shield the citizen from arbitrary domination, either at the hands of the state or of private powers.

#### **Required Reading**

- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006. [Chapter 2: Republicanism]\*
- McCormick, John P. "Machiavellian Democracy: Controlling Elites with Ferocious Populism." *The American Political Science Review* 95, no. 2 (2001): 297–313.
- Skinner, Quentin. *Visions of Politics*. Vol. II: Renaissance Virtues. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. [Chapter 2: The Rediscovery of Republican Values]\*

#### **Optional Reading**

- Bock, Gisela, Quentin Skinner and Maurizio Viroli, eds. *Machiavelli and Republicanism*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Honohan, Iseult. *Civic Republicanism*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Laborde, Cécile, and John W. Maynor, eds. *Republicanism and Political Theory*. Malden: Blackwell, 2008.
- McCormick, John P. *Machiavellian Democracy*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Pettit, Philip. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford Political Theory. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Pocock, J. G. A. *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Skinner, Quentin. *Machiavelli: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. Self-government.
2. Machiavelli's view of the well-ordered polity.
3. Rousseau's notion of the "common will", as opposed to the "will of all".

## Week 4

### **Modern Mass Democracy: Representation and Constitutionalism.**

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This session deals with the historical evolution of democratic thought in the early modern and Enlightenment period. We will focus on key concepts such as representation and natural rights. Under conditions of modernity, democracy becomes a different set of political practices that sometimes barely resembles its historical precursors. What we consider today the essence of democracy – the casting of the vote to elect representatives – is in fact a rather novel development that is intimately connected to ideas such as popular will and sovereignty.

#### **Required Reading**

- Cunningham, Frank. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002. [Chapter 5: Classical Pluralism - Discussion]+
- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006. [Chapter 3: The Development of Liberal Democracy]\*
- Manin, Bernard. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. [Chapter 2: The Triumph of Election]+

#### **Optional Reading**

- Mansbridge, Jane. “Rethinking Representation.” *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (2003): 515–528.
- Rehfeld, Andrew. “Towards a General Theory of Political Representation.” *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 1 (2006): 1–21.
- Urbinati, Nadia, and Mark E. Warren. “The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (2008): 387–412.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. *Democratic Legitimacy: Impartiality, Reflexivity, Proximity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. Natural rights.
2. Locke’s theory of the role of government.
3. Elections and representation.

## Week 5

### **Minimalist Democracy and Social Choice Theory.**

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Shifting to the contemporary landscape, this session deals with one of the most prominent accounts of democratic theory: minimalism. We will rehearse the main positions and outline possible objections. Some political theorists, such as Joseph Schumpeter, claim that democracy has a rather limited scope in that it simply offers the best way to aggregate and coordinate individual preferences about the distribution of social goods. Genuine self-government in the stronger sense must remain an illusion, they argue. What democracy actually means is the organized and peaceful competition for leadership between elites.

#### **Required Reading**

- Dahl, Robert Alan, Ian Shapiro, and José Antônio Cheibub, eds. *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. [Chapter 1: Defining Democracy - *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* by Joseph Schumpeter, and *Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense* by Adam Przeworski]+
- Coleman, Jules, and John Ferejohn. "Democracy and Social Choice." *Ethics* 97, no. 1 (1986): 6–25.
- Mackie, Gerry. "Schumpeter's Leadership Democracy." *Political Theory* 37, no. 1 (2009): 128–53.
- Shapiro, Ian. *The State of Democratic Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. [Chapter 3: Power and Democratic Competition]+

#### **Optional Reading**

- Gaertner, Wulf. *A Primer in Social Choice Theory*. Rev. ed. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Miller, David. "Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice." *Political Studies* 40 (1992): 54–67.
- Przeworski, Adam. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London/New York: Routledge, 1994.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. The (illusion of the) common good in Joseph Schumpeter's theory of democracy.
2. Competitive elitism.
3. Realism and normative accounts of democracy.

## Week 6

### **Deliberative Democracy.**

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This session discusses the proposal to re-conceive democracy in deliberative terms. We will concentrate on the philosophical justifications and political consequences of this idea. Theorists of deliberation claim that minimalist models of democracy fundamentally misconstrue the nature of democratic agency: only by acknowledging the legitimating role of speech and debate can we recuperate the essence of democracy. One of the main voices we will listen to in this debate is Jürgen Habermas's.

#### **Required Reading**

- Bohman, James, and William Rehg, eds. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997. [Introduction]\*
- Cunningham, Frank. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002. [Chapter 9: Deliberative Democracy]+
- Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. [Chapter 1: What Deliberative Democracy Means]+

#### **Optional Reading**

4. Bohman, James. "Survey Article: The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 6, no. 4 (1998): 400–425.
5. Elster, Jon, ed. *Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
6. Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity, 2006. [Chapter 9: Deliberative Democracy and the Defence of the Public Realm]
7. Mutz, Diana Carole. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
8. Sanders, Lynn M. "Against Deliberation." *Political Theory* 25, no. 3 (1997): 347–76.
9. Young, Iris Marion. "Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory* 29, no. 5 (2001): 670–690.
10. Walzer, Michael. "Deliberation ... and What Else?" In *Politics and Passion: Toward a More Egalitarian Liberalism*, 90–109. New Haven: Yale University, 2004.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. Difference between the "market" and the "forum".
2. Private and public autonomy in Habermas.
3. Challenges to deliberative democracy.

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## Week 7

### Radical and Agonistic Democracy.

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This session covers proponents of radical democracy. We will outline the main positions in the debate, focusing especially on the notions of “agonism” and contestation. Defenders of radical and agonistic democracy are sceptical of consensus-based models of politics and reject deliberative accounts of democratic legitimation. What they would like to emphasize is the conflictual character of all forms of democracy.

#### Required Reading

- Cunningham, Frank. *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002. [Chapter 10: Radical Pluralism]+
- Lefort, Claude. *Democracy and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988. [Chapter 1: The Question of Democracy]\*
- Mouffe, Chantal. *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso, 2000. [Chapter 4: For an Agonistic Model of Democracy]\*
- Rancière, Jacques. “Democracy, Republic, Representation.” *Constellations* 13, no. 3 (2006): 297–307.

#### Optional Reading

- Deveaux, Monique. “Agonism and Pluralism.” *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 25, no. 4 (1999): 1–22.
- Little, Adrian. *Democratic Piety: Complexity, Conflict and Violence*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- Thaler, Mathias. “The Illusion of Purity: Chantal Mouffe’s Realist Critique of Cosmopolitanism.” *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 36, no. 7 (2010): 785–800.
- Wenman, Mark. “‘Agonistic Pluralism’ and Three Archetypal Forms of Politics.” *Contemporary Political Theory* 2, no. 2 (2003): 165–186.
- Wolin, Sheldon S. *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*. Expanded Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

#### Discussion Points for Tutorial

1. The empty space of democracy.
2. Antagonism and agonism.
3. Applications of agonism.

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## Week 8

### Scaling Democracy beyond and beneath the Nation State: Urban and Cosmopolitan Contexts.

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This session will question the nexus between the nation state and democratic governance. We will focus on emerging scales of democracy, from the city to the globe. Paradoxically, these new scales reveal both promising opportunities for, and serious dangers, to the ways in which democratic agency can be exercised.

#### Required Reading

- Archibugi, Daniele. *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. [Chapter 4: The Architecture of Cosmopolitan Democracy]+
- Bauböck, Rainer. “Reinventing Urban Citizenship.” *Citizenship Studies* 7, no. 2 (2003): 139–160.
- Bohman, James. *Democracy Across Borders: From Dêmos to Dêmoi*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007. [Introduction]\*
- Melo, Marcus Andre, and Gianpaolo Baiocchi. “Deliberative Democracy and Local Governance: Towards a New Agenda.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 3 (2006): 587–600.

#### Optional Reading

- Cochran, Molly. “A Democratic Critique of Cosmopolitan Democracy: Pragmatism from the Bottom-Up.” *European Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 4 (2002): 517–548.
- Fung, Archon. *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Gould, Carol C. “Structuring Global Democracy: Political Communities, Universal Human Rights, and Transnational Representation.” *Metaphilosophy* 40, no. 1 (2009): 24–41
- Kuper, Andrew. *Democracy beyond Borders: Justice and Representation in Global Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Purcell, Mark. “Urban Democracy and the Local Trap.” *Urban Studies* 43, no. 11 (2006): 1921–1941.

#### Discussion Points for Tutorial

1. Globalization.
2. Reforms for cosmopolitan democracy.
3. Urban citizenship, and its relationship to national membership in the political community.

## Week 9

### **Innovating Democracy: Participatory Budgeting, Deliberative Polls and E-Democracy.**

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This session deals with the perils and opportunities of democratic experimentation. Our main concern will lie with Citizens' Assemblies, participatory budgeting, and e-democracy. We will explore whether these innovative mechanisms of democratic participation can live up to their promise – or whether they remain trapped within paradigm of democracy that has been utterly delegitimized.

#### **Required Reading**

- Fung, Archon, and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso, 2003. [Chapter 1: Introduction]\*
- Fishkin, James S. *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. [Chapters 1 & 4]+
- Parkinson, John. *Deliberating in the Real World: Problems of Legitimacy in Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. [Chapter 1: Deliberative Democracy and Legitimacy]+
- Smith, Graham. *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. [Chapter 1: Studying Democratic Innovations]+

#### **Optional Reading**

- Baiocchi, Gianpaolo. "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory." *Politics & Society* 29, no. 1 (2001): 43–72.
- Brown, Mark B. "Survey Article: Citizen Panels and the Concept of Representation." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14, no. 2 (2006): 203–225.
- Gimmler, Antje. "Deliberative Democracy, the Public Sphere and the Internet." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 27, no. 4 (2001): 21–39.
- Mansbridge, Jane. "Deliberative Polling as the Gold Standard." *The Good Society* 19, no. 1 (2010): 55–62.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. Democratic innovations.
2. Mini-publics.
3. Participatory budgeting.

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## Week 10

### **Democracy, Secularism and Religion.**

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This session concentrates with the place of religion in democracy. We will debate whether secularism is a precondition or rather a hindrance to democracy. This discussion will also rehearse the structural relations between religion and politics, and why this relationship matters for democracy today.

#### **Required Reading**

- Bhargava, Rajeev. "Political Secularism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, 636–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.+
- Habermas, Jürgen. "Religion in the Public Sphere." *European Journal of Philosophy* 14, no. 1 (2006): 1–25.
- Maclure, Jocelyn, and Charles Taylor. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011. [Part 1: Secularism]+

#### **Optional Reading**

- Audi, Robert. *Democratic Authority and the Separation of Church and State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. [Chapter 2: The Liberty of Citizens and the Responsibilities of Government]+
- An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed. *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Bader, Veit. *Secularism or Democracy? Associational Governance of Religious Diversity*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Greenawalt, Kent. "Has Religion Any Place in the Politics and Law of Liberal Democracy?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142, no. 3 (1998): 378–387.
- Levey, Geoffrey Brahm, and Tariq Modood, eds. *Secularism, Religion and Multicultural Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Rosenblum, Nancy L. "Religious Parties, Religious Political Identity, and the Cold Shoulder of Liberal Democratic Thought." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 6, no. 1 (2003): 23–53.
- Taylor, Charles. "Cultures of Democracy and Citizen Efficacy." *Public Culture* 19, no. 1 (2007): 117–150.

#### **Discussion Points for Tutorial**

1. State/religion relations.
2. Political secularism.
3. State neutrality.

## Appendix 1: Guide to Using LEARN for Online Tutorial Sign-up

The following is a guide to using LEARN to sign up for your tutorial. If you have any problems using the LEARN sign up, please contact the course secretary by email (andra.roston@ed.ac.uk).

Tutorial sign up will open on Monday 8 September 2014, and will close at 12 noon on the Monday of Week 1, at 17:00 (Friday 15 September 2014.)

### Step 1 – Accessing LEARN course pages

Access to LEARN is through the MyEd Portal. You will be given a log-in and password during Freshers' Week. Once you are logged into MyEd, you should see a tab called 'Courses' which will list the active LEARN pages for your courses under 'myLEARN'.

### Step 2 – Welcome to LEARN

Once you have clicked on the relevant course from the list, you will see the Course Content page. There will be icons for the different resources available, including one called 'Tutorial Sign Up'. Please take note of any instructions there.

### Step 3 – Signing up for your tutorial

Clicking on **Tutorial Sign Up** will take you to the sign up page where all the available tutorial groups are listed along with the running time and location.

Once you have selected the group you would like to attend, click on the 'Sign up' button. A confirmation screen will display.

**IMPORTANT: If you change your mind after having chosen a tutorial you cannot go back and change it and you will need to email the course secretary. Reassignments once tutorials are full or after the sign-up period has closed will only be made in exceptional circumstances.**

**Tutorials have restricted numbers and it is important to sign up as soon as possible. If you have not yet signed up for a tutorial by September 15 at 17:00, you will be automatically assigned to a group which you will be expected to attend.**

## Appendix 2: Learning Resources for Undergraduates

The Study Development Team at the Institute for Academic Development (IAD) provides resources and workshops aimed at helping all students to enhance their learning skills and develop effective study techniques. Resources and workshops cover a range of topics, such as managing your own learning, reading, note making, essay and report writing, exam preparation and exam techniques.

The study development resources are housed on 'LearnBetter' (undergraduate), part of Learn, the University's virtual learning environment. Follow the link from the IAD Study Development web page to enrol: [www.ed.ac.uk/iad/undergraduates](http://www.ed.ac.uk/iad/undergraduates)

Workshops are interactive: they will give you the chance to take part in activities, have discussions, exchange strategies, share ideas and ask questions. They are 90 minutes long and held on Wednesday afternoons at 1.30pm or 3.30pm. The schedule is available from the IAD Undergraduate web page (see above).

Workshops are open to all undergraduates but you need to book in advance, using the MyEd booking system. Each workshop opens for booking 2 weeks before the date of the workshop itself. If you book and then cannot attend, please cancel in advance through MyEd so that another student can have your place. (To be fair to all students, anyone who persistently books on workshops and fails to attend may be barred from signing up for future events).

Study Development Advisors are also available for an individual consultation if you have specific questions about your own approach to studying, working more effectively, strategies for improving your learning and your academic work. Please note, however, that Study Development Advisors are not subject specialists so they cannot comment on the content of your work. They also do not check or proof read students' work.

To make an appointment with a Study Development Advisor, email [iad.study@ed.ac.uk](mailto:iad.study@ed.ac.uk)

(For support with English Language, you should contact the English Language Teaching Centre).