Contemporary Democratic Theory

Graduate Course Syllabus Professor Gerry Mackie Department of Political Science University of California, San Diego Spring, 2019

The course will selectively survey contemporary democratic theory. Most such theory falls in the category of deliberative democracy, directly or indirectly influenced by Habermas. In part, that is because political theorists have wrongly accepted the pessimistic accounts of democratic voting offered by allegedly positivist theorists. I will instead emphasize philosophical approaches to the conceptualization and evaluation of democracy that consider topics beyond deliberation, including problems of democratic voting. Voting, deliberation, and delegation are the three major mechanisms of political democracy. Delegation is treated well by UCSD institutionalists and by political theorists of representation such as Pitkin and Manin; I have taught it in other courses and will neglect it here.

Except for some technical presentations on my part, I hope we can vigorously debate most of the readings. If you're put off by technical material, don't worry, it will be presented in a friendly fashion.

Books

Books to Obtain

- David Held, Models of Democracy, 3rd edition (buy)
- Charles, Beitz, Political Equality
- Thomas Christiano, *Constitution of Equality* (too expensive!)
- David Estlund, Democratic Authority

Optional Books

- Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (four short chapters)
- Gerry Mackie, Democracy Defended (a few excerpts in course)

The above books are on library reserve (Held only in its second edition). You are responsible for obtaining all texts. However, texts marked with an * below may be available from instructor.

Further references: PhilPapers

Schedule

Week 1. Introduction.

• Held, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd edition, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; look at all diagrams; remaining chapters are recommended. **Read before quarter begins.** This text fills in historical background, and will allow us to proceed immediately to contemporary theory in week 2.

History of democracy, for your future reference:

- Bernard Manin, Principles of Representative Government
- Josep Colomer, *Political Institutions* (ignore his Rikerian framework)
- John Dunn, ed. Democracy: The Unfinished Journey
- John Dunn, Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy Second Edition

Week 2. The Value of Democracy

• Beitz, Political Equality, Preface, Intro, and Part I, ix-119

Student presentations: Hyland, Beitz Intro, Beitz 1, Beitz 2, Beitz 3, Beitz 4, Beitz 5

Week 3. Arneson, Waldron, Dahl

- Arneson, Democracy is Not Intrinsically Just http://philosophy.ucsd.edu/faculty/rarneson/democracyandjustice1.pdf
- Christiano on Waldron, Law and Philosophy 19: 513-543, 2000. http://www.springerlink.com/content/t423242443x451q2/fulltext.pdf
- JEREMY WALDRON, The Core of the Case Against Judicial Review, , 115 Yale
 L.I. 1346, via UC Library Lexis-Nexis
- Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, chs. 6, 7, 8, 13.

Student Presentations: Arneson, Christiano on Waldron, Waldron, Dahl 6 and 7, Dahl 8 and 13.

Week 4. Social Choice Theory

- *Mackie, Democracy Defended, pp.5-9
- . *
- *Mackie on Arrow theorem, Democracy Defended, 72-82, 92-94, and Ch. 6
- *Davies and Shah, Intuitive Preference Aggregation (just focus on their empirical results)

Lehtinen, Farewell to IIA, http://philsci-archive.pitt.edu/archive/00003429/01/fiia.pdf

Student Presentations: Instructor will present all.

Further Reading

- Tideman, *Collective Decisions and Voting* (please don't recall it from me). Best. Comprehensive and realistic evaluations of social choice.
- Anything popular by Donald Saari: Disposing Dictators. Chaotic Elections.
 Decisions and Elections. He is now the giant in social choice theory.
 Spectacular, but not sufficiently realistic, and better at mathematics than argument.
- Wikipedia on voting rules (beware of fanaticism)

Week 5. Risse on Majority Voting

- *Mackie on alternative voting rules, Democracy Defended, Ch. 3
- Regenwetter, Behavioral Social Choice, http://rstb.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/364/1518/833.abstract (just glance at sections 2 and 5)

Optional!!! Controversy between Risse and Saari on Condorcet vs. Borda rules

Student Presentations: Mackie, Risse 2004, Risse 2009-1, Risse 2009-2, Brams. If someone is interested, they could present on the Risse-Saari controversy, but it is not required of anybody.

Week 6. Information Aggregation; Condorcet Jury Theorem

- Grofman and Feld, Rousseau's General Will: A Condorcetian Perspective. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1957401
- *Scott Page, The Difference, Chs. 7-8
- List and Goodin, Epistemic Democracy, http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/118998837/PDFSTART
- *Landemore, Democratic Reason
- Estlund, Democratic Authority, Ch. 12.
- List and others, Bees, Independence, and Interdependence
 http://www.ma.rhbnc.ac.uk/~elsholtz/WWW/papers/papers28listelsholtzseleev.pdf
- The Doctrinal Paradox http://personal.lse.ac.uk/LIST/doctrinalparadox.htm

Optional!

Commented [GM1]: Should know maybe. But as with most "paradoxes" I find it unfruitful.

Student Presentations: Page, List and Goodin, Landemore, Estlund, List, Doctrinal Paradox

Week 7. Tom Christiano, The Constitution of Equality

- SKIM, chs. 1, 2, 4
- Read chs. 3, 6, 7

Student Presentations: Chs. 1-2, 3, 4, 6, 7

Week 8. Deliberation

- *Mackie, Deliberation but Voting Too
- *Mark Warren, Deliberative Democracy (Habermasian)
- *Cohen, Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy (Rawls meets Habermas)
- Dennis Thompson, Deliberative Democratic Theory and Empirical Political Science
 - http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.0 81306.070555
- Diane Mutz, Is Deliberative Democracy a Falsifiable Theory? http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.0 81306.070308
- JPP 2010, Toward More Realistic Models of Deliberative Democracy http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/122421558/PDFSTART
- JPP 2010, Self-Interest and Power in Deliberative Democracy http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/122663020/PDFSTART

Optional

- Ask instructor for further material on public deliberation.
- Christiano, Constitution of Equality, Ch. 5

Student Presentations: Warren, Cohen, Thompson, Mutz, JPPa, JPPb

Week 9. David Estlund, Democratic Authority

- Read chs. 1, 4, 5, 6
- Other chapters optional

Student Presentations: 1, 4, 5, 6,

Week 10. Student Choice

Class choice of one of the following topics for the tenth week.

- Confucian Democracy
- Constitutionalism and Judicial Review
 Democratic Minimalism (Descriptive and Justificatory)
 Global Democracy
- Representation

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