

PLSC 574a
Topics in Democratic Theory
Ian Shapiro
Fall 2009

Thursday 3:30 to 5:20 pm
202 Rosenkranz Hall

Office Hours
Wednesdays, 2:00 - 4:00
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Course description

A survey of recent work in democratic theory, aimed primarily at PhD students in Political Science. Others might be admitted by arrangement with the instructor as space permits.

The course will be divided into four parts: (i) competing definitions of democracy; (ii) getting and keeping democracy; (iii) tensions between democracy and other goods; and (iv) democracy and world politics. There will be some attention to classic authors such as Rousseau, Madison, Tocqueville, and Schumpeter, but most of our focus will be on contemporary debates. Inter alia, we will read work by Robert Dahl, Jürgen Habermas, John Rawls, Michael Walzer, Susan Moller Okin, John Roemer, Adam Przeworski, Will Kymlicka, Brian Barry, Sarah Song, and the instructor.

Our central focus will be on democratic theory, but this inevitably bumps up against other topics that have concerned contemporary political theorists. Students who lack background in contemporary political theory are advised to read in advance chapters 1-5 of Ian Shapiro, *The Moral Foundations of Politics* (Yale University Press, 2003), which surveys relevant debates.

Students will be expected *either* to write a review essay plus final exam, *or* a research paper (topic agreed with the instructor no later than October 15).

Key:

[L] Book available at Labyrinth
[O] Available online at the classes server
[P] Course packet available at Tyco

September 3
Introduction and housekeeping session

September 10
Democracy's meanings I

Required:

- Classical conceptions of democracy
 - J. J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Penguin, 1986). Pp. 49-50; 59-65; 69-74; 80-96; 101-34; 140-43; 149-57. [P]
- Constitutional conceptions of democracy
 - Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. By Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2009). Papers No. 1, 9, 10, 14, 23, 39, 47, 48, 51, 55, 58, 62, 70, 78. [L] (Note: if you have another version of *The Federalist Papers* you can use it).

Suggested

- Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. By Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2009). Papers No. 15, 16, 17, 49, 63, 84, 85.
- I. Shapiro, "The Federalist Then and Now". In Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. by Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2009).
- J. Dunn, "Unmanifest Destiny". In Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. by Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2009).
- D. Horowitz, "The Federalist Abroad in the World". In Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. by Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2009).

September 17
Democracy's meanings II

Required:

- Majoritarian conceptions of democracy:
 - J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*. Ed. by Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2003). Chapters VIII (pp. 141-154) and XIX (pp. 193-209). [P]
 - J. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Routledge, 1984). Chapter XXI, "The Classical Doctrine of Democracy"; and chapter XXII, "Another Theory of Democracy". [P]
- Democracy as anti-domination:
 - P. Pettit, *Republicanism: A theory of freedom and government*. Chapters 2 and 3. [P]
 - Habermas, J., 1999. "Reconciliation Through the Public use of Reason: Remarks on John Rawls's Political Liberalism" *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Mar., 1995), pp. 109-131. [O]
 - Rawls, J. *Political Liberalism*. Lecture IX. [P]

Suggested:

- P. Pettit, *Republicanism: A theory of freedom and government*. Chapter 1.
- I. Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory* (Princeton University Press, 2003). Chapters 1, 2, 3.

- I. Shapiro, “John Locke’s Democratic Theory”. In J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*. Ed. by Ian Shapiro (Yale University Press, 2003). Chapters VIII (pp. 141-154) and XIX (pp. 193-209).

September 24

Paths to democracy I: Modernization

Required:

- S. M. Lipset, 1960. *Political man: The social bases of politics* (Doubleday, 1960). Chapters 2 and 3. [P]
- Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World, 1950-1990*. Chapter 2. [P]

Suggested:

- A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. pp xiii-iv, 1-60; 231-245; 246-315; 429-436; 441-449; 503-516; 520-529; 667-670.
- Barrington Moore, *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy: lord and peasant in the making of the modern world* Chapters 7, 8 and 9.
- Dietrich Rueschmeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, “Endogenous Democratization”. *World Politics* 55 (July 2003), 517-49. Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson and Yared, “Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis” (2007).
- Adam Przeworski, “Economic Development and Transitions to Democracy”. Unpublished paper (2004).
- Adam Przeworski, “Comments on AJRY” (2007).

October 1

Paths to democracy II: Democratic paths to democracy?

Required:

- I. Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*. Chapter 4. [L]
- Courtney Jung, Ellen Lust-Okar and Ian Shapiro. “Problems and Prospects for Democratic Settlements: South Africa as a Model for the Middle East and Northern Ireland?”. *Politics & Society* vol. 33, 2005. (O)
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge University Press, 1991). Chapter 4. [P]

Suggested:

- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge University Press, 1991). Chapter 2.
- Courtney Jung and Ian Shapiro, “South Africa’s Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order”. In Ian Shapiro, *Democracy’s Place* (Cornell University Press, 1996)

October 8

Democracy and other goods I: Equality

- Michael Graetz and Ian Shapiro, *Death by a Thousand Cuts*. Chapters 1-12, 16, 19, 20-23, and Epilogue. [L]

- Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Chapter 5. [L]

October 15

Democracy and other goods II: Justice

Required:

- M. Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (Basic Books, 1984). Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6 & 9. [L]
- I. Shapiro, *Democratic Justice*. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 [L]

Suggested:

- J. Roemer, “Does Democracy Engender Justice?” In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, *Democracy’s Value* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

October 22

Democracy and other goods III: Efficiency

- Okun, Arthur, 1975. *Equality and Efficiency. The Big Trade-Off*. Chapters 3 and 4. [L]
- Ian Shapiro, *Democratic Justice*. Chapter 6. [L]

Suggested:

- Barenberg, Mark, “Democracy and Domination in the Law of Workplace Cooperation: From Bureaucratic to Flexible Production”. *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 94, No. 3 (April, 1994), pp. 753-983.
- Mark Barenberg, “Federalism and American labor law: Toward a critical mapping of the ‘social dumping’ question”, in Ingol Pernice, ed., *Harmonization of Legislation in Federal Systems* (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996).
- Mark Barenberg, “Law and Labor in the new global economy”, *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 33, No. 3 (1995) pp. 445-55.

October 29

Democracy and other goods IV: Multiculturalism

- Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1995). Chapters 7 and 8. [P]
- Sarah Song, *Justice, gender, and the politics of multiculturalism*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Chapters 3, 4 and 6. [L]

Suggested:

- Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Harvard University Press, 2002). Chapters 1, 4, 7, 8.
- Sarah Song, *Justice, gender, and the politics of multiculturalism*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Chapter 2.

November 5

Democracy and other goods V: Privacy

- Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. (Basic Books, 1999). Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 & 8. [L]
- Ian Shapiro, *Democratic Justice*. Chapters 4 & 5.[L]

November 12

Democracy and other goods VI: Religion

Required:

- John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy*. Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 7. [L]
- Robin Wright, “Two Visions of Reformation”. In *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East* by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Daniel Brumberg. [P]
- Huntington, *The Third Wave*. Excerpt: last section of chapter 2, “Religious Changes” (pp. 72-108) [P]

Suggested:

- Timur Kuran, *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism*. (Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Timur Kuran, “Why the Middle East is economically underdeveloped: historical mechanisms of institutional stagnation”. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 2004

November 19

Democracy and World Politics I: Cosmopolitanism

Required:

- David Held, “The transformation of political community: rethinking democracy in the context of globalization”. In Ian Shapiro and H. Cordón (eds.) *Democracy’s Edges* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) [P]
- Douglas Rae, “Democratic liberty and the tyrannies of place”. In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds., *Democracy’s Edges* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp.165-192. [P]
- Buchanan and Keohane “The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions,” in *Ethics and International Affairs* 20:4 (2006), 405-37. [O]
- Andrew Kuper. *Democracy Beyond Borders*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004. Chapters 3 and 4. [P]

Suggested:

- W. Kymlicka, “Citizenship in an era of globalization: a commentary on Held”. In Ian Shapiro and H. Cordón (eds.) *Democracy’s Edges* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- A. Wendt, “A comment on Held’s Cosmopolitanism”. In Ian Shapiro and H. Cordón (eds.) *Democracy’s Edges* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Daniele Archibugi: *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens* OUP 2008.
- Andrew Kuper. *Democracy Beyond Borders*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004. All other chapters.
- Thomas Pogge, “Creating Supra-National Institutions Democratically,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 5:2 (1997), 163-182.
- Thomas Pogge “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty”, in *World Poverty and Human Rights* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2002)
- Simon Caney, *Justice Beyond Borders* chapter 5 (Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Susan Marks, *The Riddle of All Constitutions: International Law, Democracy, and the Critique of Ideology* (Oxford 2003), Chapter 5.

November 26

Fall recess—no class

December 3

Democracy and World Politics II: National Security

Required:

- I. Kant, “Perpetual Peace” (1795). [O]
- Doyle, Michael. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part I." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (Summer 1983): 205-235.[O]
- Ian Shapiro, *Containment: rebuilding a strategy against global terror* (Princeton University Press, 2007). Chapters 4, 5 and 6 [L]

Suggested:

- Gleditsch, Nils Petter. "Democracy and Peace." *Journal Of Peace Research* 29 (4, 1992): 369-376.
- D. Green, Soo Yeon Kim and David H. Yoon, “Dirty Pool”. *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring, 2001), pp. 441-468.
- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett, “Clear and Clean: The Fixed Effects of the Liberal Peace”. *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring, 2001), pp. 496-85.