

# Deliberative Democracy

Political Science 581  
University of Notre Dame  
Prof. Gerry Mackie  
Spring 2004

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## PURPOSE

Voting and discussion are two essential aspects of democracy. Voting is a mathematical operation and lends itself easily to formalization; thus, the economic theories of democracy prominent in the discipline of political studies during the later 20<sup>th</sup> century concentrated exclusively on voting, the aggregation of individuals' preferences. The economic theories tend to find that democracy is a poor substitute for the market, and urge that democracy be minimized. Until the 1990s, political studies neglected the deliberative aspect of democracy, the transformation of individuals' preferences in public forums of discussion. Scholars seeking a richer descriptive and normative account of democracy were inspired initially by Habermas's theory of communicative action to offer new deliberative theories of democracy.

The course presents a comprehensive survey of the deliberative democracy literature, from a friendly but skeptical perspective.

## CONTACTS

My office is at 405 Decio Hall, tel. 631-7570, email [gmackie@nd.edu](mailto:gmackie@nd.edu). Office hours are Wednesday 10:00-11:30, Thursday 2:00-3:30, or by appointment. I encourage you to take advantage of the opportunity for office consultations.

## ASSESSMENT

The assessment is intended to promote advanced academic skills. Attendance, preparation, participation in discussion, including critical analysis, creative synthesis, and novel application of ideas, count for 35% of the final mark.

The remaining 65% will be based on your final paper for the course.. The paper can be any kind of analysis related to deliberative democracy, but consult with me about your topic, and your research and writing plans, well before the end of the semester (let's say, no later than March 30). Write and prepare the paper exactly as if it were a submission to one of the relevant journals (listed below, or another one, upon consultation), including length, format, and bibliography requirements.

## PERFORMANCE

Unjustified absences are not permitted. Justified absences must be notified in advance (excepting impossibility). Absences can effect the participation portion of the grade, and I reserve the right to lower the grade further for unusual absences.

The academic honor code fully applies, and no lapses are tolerated. All borrowings must be cited. Any doubts must be resolved by inquiry to the instructor. Ambiguities are construed against the violator.

I don't expect any problems from the people in this course, but fairness requires that I state such expectations in advance.

### **REQUIRED TEXTS, AND ON RESERVE**

- James Bohman, 1996, *Public Deliberation: Pluralism, Complexity, and Democracy*, MIT Press.
- James Bohman and William Rehg, eds., 1997, *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, MIT Press. Premiere anthology on the topic.
- Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, 1996, *Democracy and Disagreement*, Harvard UP.
- Carlos Santiago Nino, 1998, *The Constitution of Deliberative Democracy*, Yale U.P. A concise and complete theory of DD.
- Henry Richardson, 2002, *Democratic Autonomy: Public Reasoning about the Ends of Policy*, Oxford UP. A recent major work on DD.
- Iris Marion Young, 2000, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford UP. A survey of DD and democratic theory, from the inclusionist perspective.

Note: I ordered paperback, and if possible used, editions. In all cases we are reading only some chapters of the book, and you may be able to save money by consulting the library reserve copy.

### **READING PACKETS**

Packets of readings (all material not in the required texts) will be available from the Copy Center, 301 O'Shaughnessy Hall, in two installments. The first installment is pending at the Copy Center.

### **SCHEDULE**

Required readings are listed first, and bullet-pointed. This is followed by a list of further readings. There is absolutely no expectation to consult the further readings, they are provided as a convenience to those wishing to pursue a topic.

#### **Jan 13 Introduction**

- Amy Gutmann, 1993, Democracy, in Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, Blackwell.

- Jon Elster, The Market and the Forum, in Bohman and Rehg
- Benhabib, Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy, in Benhabib 1996

#### FURTHER READING ON DEMOCRACY:

Robert Dahl, 1998, *On Democracy*. Extremely simple.

Helena Catt, 1999, *Democracy in Practice*. Good practical introduction.

David Held, 1996, *Models of Democracy*, second edition. Great historical and typological survey of democratic theory.

Norberto Bobbio, 1989, *Democracy and Dictatorship*, Minnesota, pp. 133-166. Terminology of democracy.

#### Jan 20 **Nino**

- Nino, *Constitution of Deliberative Democracy*, Chs. 1, 4, 5, 6

#### FURTHER READING:

Harold Hongjuh Ko and Ronald C. Slye, eds., 1999, *Deliberative Democracy and Human Rights*, Yale UP. Responses to Nino's life and work on democracy and human rights.

#### Jan 27 **Social Choice Theory**

- Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 2, Minimal Democracy? The Social Choice Critique.
- Mackie, All Men are Liars: Is Democracy Meaningless?, in Elster, *Deliberative Democracy*
- Mackie, *Democracy Defended*, selections.

#### FURTHER READING:

David Miller, 1992, Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice, *Political Studies* 40(special issue):54-67.

Jack Knight and James Johnson, 1994, Aggregation and Deliberation: On the Possibility of Democratic Legitimacy, *Political Theory* 22:277-296.

David Van Mill, 1996, The Possibility of Rational Outcomes from Democratic Discourse and Procedures, *Journal of Politics* 58:734-752.

John Dryzek and Christian List, 2003?, Social Choice Theory and Deliberative Democracy: A Reconciliation, *British Journal of Political Science*.

#### Feb 3 **Rawls**

- Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, Preface (xv-xxix)
- Rawls, The Idea of Public Reason, in Bohman and Rehg, pp. 93-130
- Rawls, The Idea of Public Reason Revisited, selections 132-156, 164-180.
- Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 1, Liberal Democracy and the Critical Alternative

**FURTHER READING:**

Michael Saward, 2002, Rawls and Deliberative Democracy, in d'Entreves, *Democracy as Public Deliberation*.

Rawls-Habermas Debate

*Journal of Philosophy*, 1995, vol. 92

Habermas reprinted and revised in his *Inclusion of the Other*

Rawls reprinted and revised in his *Political Liberalism* (1996 paperback edition)

**Feb 10 Habermas**

- Chambers, Discourse and Democratic Practices
- Habermas, 1997, Popular Sovereignty and Procedure, in Bohman and Rehg.
- Bayne, Democracy and the Rechtsstaat: Habermas's Faktizitat und Geltung
- Scheuerman, Between Radicalism and Resignation: Democratic Theory in Habermas's Between Facts and Norms

**FURTHER READING:**

Peter Dews, ed., 1999, *Habermas: A Critical Reader*, Blackwell.

Juergen Habermas, 1996, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, MIT Press.

Juergen Habermas, 2001, Constitutional Democracy: A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles?, *Political Theory* 29:771-

Juergen Habermas, 1998, On the Internal Relation between the Rule of Law and Democracy, in Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other*, 1998.

Juergen Habermas, Popular Sovereignty as Procedure; in Bohman and Rehg 1997; and in Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*.

Juergen Habermas, 1989, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, MIT Press.

Juergen Habermas, 1984/1987, *Theory of Communicative Action*, Beacon Press, two volumes.

Juergen Habermas, Three Normative Models of Democracy, in Benhabib 1996 and in Habermas, 1998, *The Inclusion of the Other*.

M. Rosenfeld and A. Arato, eds., 1998, *Habermas on Law and Democracy*, U. California Press.

Rene Von Schomberg and Kenneth Baynes, eds., 2002, *Discourse and Democracy: Essays on Habermas's Between Facts and Norms*, SUNY Press.

Stephen K. White, ed., 1995, *Cambridge Companion to Habermas*. Contains select bibliography to about 1994.

Jarle Weigard and Erik Oddvar Eriksen, eds., 2003, *Understanding Habermas: Communicative Action and Deliberative Democracy*, Continuum.

**Feb 17 Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy**

- Bernard Manin, 1987, On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation, *Political Theory* 15:338-368.

- Cohen, Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy, in Bohman and Rehg
- Cohen, Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy, in Bohman and Rehg

FURTHER READING:

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, 2003, Power and Reason, in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds., *Deepening Democracy*, Verso.

Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, Directly Deliberative Polyarchy,  
<http://www2.law.columbia.edu/sabel/papers/DDP.html>

Feb 24 **Christiano, Weithman, Estlund**

- Christiano, The Significance of Public Deliberation, in Bohman and Rehg
- Paul J. Weithman, 1995, Contractualist Liberalism and Deliberative Democracy, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 24:314-343
- David Estlund, Beyond Fairness and Deliberation: The Epistemic Dimension of Democratic Authority, in Bohman and Rehg

Mar 2 **Gutmann and Thompson**

- Gutmann and Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*, Chs. 1, 2, 6, Conclusion

FURTHER READING:

Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, 2002, Deliberative Democracy Beyond Process, *Journal of Political Philosophy*.

Stephen Macedo, 1999, *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*, Oxford UP. Responses to Gutmann and Thompson.

**--Spring Break--**

Mar 16 **Bohman**

- Bohman, *Public Deliberation*, Introduction, Chs. 1, 2, pp. 182-187

Mar 23 **Against Deliberation I**

- Michael Walzer, 1999, Deliberation, and What Else?, in Macedo, *Deliberative Politics*.
- Ian Shapiro, 1999, Enough of Deliberation: Politics is about Interests and Power, in Macedo, *Deliberative Politics*.
- Mouffe, 2000, For an Agonistic Model of Democracy, in her *The Democratic Paradox*, Verso.
- Lynn Sanders, 1997, Against Deliberation, *Political Theory* 25:347-376.

FURTHER READING:

- Jodi Dean, 2001, Publicity and Deliberation: Democratic Ideals in Pursuit: Publicity's Secret, *Political Theory* 29:624-651
- James A. Gardner, 1996, Shut Up and Vote: A Critique of Deliberative Democracy and the Life of Talk, *Tennessee Law Review* 63:421-451.
- Margaret Kohn, 2000, Language, Power, and Persuasion: Toward a Critique of Deliberative Democracy, *Constellations* 7:408-429.
- Claus Offe, 1997, Micro Aspects of Democratic Theory: What Makes for the Deliberative Competence of Citizens?, in Axel Hadenius, ed., *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Cambridge UP.
- Adam Przeworski, 1998, Deliberation and Ideological Domination, in Elster, *Deliberative Democracy*.
- Michael Saward, 2000, Less Than Meets the Eye: Democratic Legitimacy and Deliberative Theory, in Saward, ed., *Democratic Innovation*, Routledge.
- Frederick Schauer, 1997, Discourse and its Discontents, *Notre Dame Law Review* 72:1309-1334.
- Ian Shapiro, 2002, Optimal Deliberation, *Journal of Political Philosophy*.
- Carmen Sirianni, 1993, Learning Pluralism: Democracy and Diversity in Feminist Organizations, in Ian Shapiro and John Chapman, eds., *Democratic Community: NOMOS XXXV*.
- Susan Stokes, 1998, Pathologies of Deliberation, in Elster, *Deliberative Democracy*.
- Dana Villa, Postmodernism and the Public Sphere, *APSR* 86:712-721.
- Michael Walzer, 1989-1990, Critique of Philosophical Conversation, *Philosophical Forum*.

### Mar 30 **Young**

- Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Introduction, 1, 2, 3

#### FURTHER READING:

- Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 3, Difference Democracy: The Consciousness-Raising Group against the Gentleman's Club. Survey of difference democracy.
- David Miller, 2002, Is Deliberative Democracy Unfair to Disadvantaged Groups?, in d'Entreves, *Democracy as Public Deliberation*.
- Lorenzo Simpson, 2000, Communication and the Politics of Difference: Reading Iris Young, *Constellations* 7:430-442. Criticism of Young on deliberation.
- See readings listed under "Multiculturalism."

### Apr 6 **Against Deliberation, II**

- Richard A. Posner, 2003, Two Concepts of Democracy, and Democracy Defended, from his *Law, Pragmatism, and Democracy*, Harvard .

#### FURTHER READING:

- Peter Berkowitz, 2003, The Demagoguery of Democratic Theory, *Critical Review*.  
Abstract at [http://www.criticalreview.com/2004/current\\_issue.html](http://www.criticalreview.com/2004/current_issue.html)

Joseph Schumpeter, 1942, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, Third Edition, Chs. 21-22, Harper.

Apr 13 **Richardson**

- Richardson, *Democratic Autonomy*, Chs. 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15

Apr 20 **Applications**

- Archon Fung, 2003, Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences, *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11:338-367
- Bruce Ackerman and James Fishkin, 2002, Deliberation Day, *Journal of Political Philosophy*
- Tracy Sulkin and Adam F. Simon, 2001, Habermas in the Lab: A Study of Deliberation in an Experimental Setting, *Political Psychology* 22:809-826

FURTHER READING:

Joseph M. Bessette, 1994, *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government*, U. Chicago Press.

Jon Elster, 1998, Deliberation and Constitution Making, in Elster, *Deliberative Democracy*.

Archon Fung, [www.archonfung.net/class/pal218.html](http://www.archonfung.net/class/pal218.html), Course Syllabus for Designing Democratic Innovation.

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds, 2002, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Verso.

John Gastil, 2000, *By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy through Deliberative Elections*, U. California Press. See esp. Ch. 7, Citizen Panels.

Michael Neblo, Deliberate Actions: Identifying Communicative Rationality Empirically, [www.src.uchicago.edu/politicaltheory/neblo98.pdf](http://www.src.uchicago.edu/politicaltheory/neblo98.pdf)

Michael Neblo, Deliberate Counting Voices in an Echo Chamber: Cognition, Complexity, and the Prospects for Deliberative Democracy, [www.src.uchicago.edu/politicaltheory/neblo00.pdf](http://www.src.uchicago.edu/politicaltheory/neblo00.pdf)

Graham Smith and Corinne Wales, 2002, Citizens' Juries and Deliberative Democracy, in d'Entrevies, *Democracy as Public Deliberation*.

John Uhr, 1998, *Deliberative Democracy in Australia: The Changing Place of Parliament*, Cambridge UP. Aristotelian argument for deliberative democracy; history of modern political theory on parliamentary power and responsible government; deliberative parliamentary reforms.

Apr 27 **Controversies**

- Goodin, Democratic Deliberation Within, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*
- John Dryzek, 2001, Legitimacy and Economy in Deliberative Democracy, *Political Theory* 29:651-669
- Iris Marion Young, 2001, Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy, *Political Theory* 29:670-690.

**FURTHER READING:**

Robert Goodin, 2003, *Reflective Democracy*, Oxford UP.

**OTHER USEFUL BOOKS, ON RESERVE**

Seyla Benhabib, ed., 1996, *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Princeton UP. Important early anthology on deliberative democracy and difference democracy.

Simone Chambers, 1996, *Reasonable Democracy: Juergen Habermas and the Politics of Discourse*, Cornell UP. Easy introduction to Rawls, Scanlon, Habermas, some DD.

Maurizio Passerin d'Entreves, ed., 2002, *Democracy as Public Deliberation*, Manchester UP.

John Dryzek, 2002, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Cambridge UP. Great survey of DD and democratic theory – use for background and for understanding. Recommended.

Jon Elster, ed., 1998, *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge UP. Important anthology on the topic.

James Fishkin and Peter Laslett, eds., 2003, *Debating Deliberative Democracy*, Blackwell. Many of these essays are available in online journals; inquire.

Gerald Gaus, 2003, *Contemporary Theories of Liberalism*, Sage Publications. Excellent survey of contemporary liberal and democratic theory.

Juergen Habermas, 1996, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, MIT Press.

Stephen Macedo, 1999, *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*, Oxford UP. Responses to Gutmann and Thompson.

Gerry Mackie, 2003, *Democracy Defended*, Cambridge UP. Contra social choice theory. See also specific categories below.

**SURVEY ARTICLES ON DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Recommended in order listed. Might make more sense later on in the course. Except for Warren, each of these is available electronically from the library.

Mark Warren, 2002, Deliberative Democracy, in April Carter and Geoffrey Stokes, *Democratic Theory Today*, Polity. Simple summary, Habermasian.

Simone Chambers, 2003, Deliberative Democratic Theory, *Annual Review of Political Science* 6:307-326. Fresh and wide-ranging, no theoretical synthesis.

Samuel Freeman, Deliberative Democracy: A Sympathetic Comment, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 29:371-418. A lot on Rawls.

James Bohman, 1998, Survey Article: The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy, *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6:400-425. See Dryzek for corrective.

James Tully, 2002, The Unfreedom of the Moderns in Comparison to Their Ideals of Constitutional Democracy, *The Modern Law Review* 65:204-228. A bit of everything.



## OTHER COURSE SYLLABI ON DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Simone Chambers: [www.chass.utoronto.ca/~schamber](http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~schamber), Reason, Deliberation and the Public Sphere. Theoretical.

John Gastil: <http://faculty.washington.edu/jgastil/teaching/555.html>, Political Deliberation. Practical.

## JOURNALS

Articles on deliberative democracy appear especially in *Constellations* (more continental) and in *Journal of Political Philosophy* (more Anglo-American); somewhat in *Political Theory*, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, *Social Philosophy and Policy*, *American Political Science Review*, *Polity*, and elsewhere.

## POLITICAL THEORY LINKS

political theory digests

<http://www.politicaltheory.info/> HOT

<http://www.politicalthought.com>

<http://www.politicaltheory.blogspot.com/>

<http://www.bostonreview.net/ndf.html>

social and political philosophy bibliography, comprehensive

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/sefd0/bib/polphil.htm>

humanities digest

<http://www.aldaily.com/>

philosophy links

<http://www.epistemelinks.com/>

organizations

<http://www.political-theory.org/>

<http://www.cspt.tulane.edu/>

<http://organizations.oneonta.edu/apt/>

<http://poltheory.uchicago.edu/asplp.html>

chicago

<http://ptw.uchicago.edu/>

<http://home.uchicago.edu/~pmarkell/cpt.html>

<http://cptgrad.uchicago.edu/>

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON ADDITIONAL TOPICS IS INCLUDED IN THE ELECTRONIC VERSION OF THE SYLLABUS EMAILED TO CLASS MEMBERS.

## ADDITIONAL TOPICS

### Dryzek

As above, and:

John Dryzek, 1990, *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy, and Political Science*, Cambridge UP. Especially chapter titled “Discursive Designs.”

John Dryzek, 1996, *Democracy in Capitalist Times*, Oxford UP.

### Mansbridge

Jane Mansbridge, 1988, Motivating Deliberation in Congress, in Sarah Baumgartner Thurow, *E Pluribus Unum*, University Press of America

Jane Mansbridge, 1992, A Deliberative Theory of Interest Representation, in Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interests: Interests Transformed*, Westview.

Jane Mansbridge, 1993, Self-Interest and Political Transformation, in Marcus and Hanson, *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*.

Jane Mansbridge, 1996, Reconstructing Democracy, in Nancy J. Hirschmann and Christine di Stefano, eds., *Revisioning the Political ...*, Westview Press.

Jane Mansbridge, Using Power/Fighting Power: The Polity, in Benhabib 1996

Jane Mansbridge, Everyday Talk in the Deliberative System, in Macedo 1999, *Deliberative Politics*.

### FURTHER READING:

Jane Mansbridge, 1983, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*, U. Chicago Press. Excellent study of New England town meetings and workers’ coop meetings.

Jane Mansbridge, 1998, Feminism and Democracy, in Anne Phillips, ed., *Feminism and Politics*, Oxford UP.

### Sunstein

Cass Sunstein, 1993, *The Partial Constitution*, Harvard.

Other work, not in bibliography: Sunstein is a major legal theorist who offered an early and well-developed deliberative theory, perhaps somewhat paternalistic.

See also Frank Michelman, another legal theorist in the “republican revival.”

### Warren

Mark Warren, 1992, Democratic Theory and Self-Transformation, *APSR* 86:8-23

Mark Warren, 1995, The Self in Discursive Democracy, in Stephen K. White, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Habermas*.

Mark Warren, 1996, Deliberative Democracy and Authority, *APSR* 90:46-60.

Mark Warren, 1996, What Should We Expect from More Democracy?: Radically Democratic Responses to Politics, *Political Theory* 24:241-270.

Mark Warren, 2002, What Can Democratic Participation Mean Today?, *Political Theory* 30:677-701. Not about DD, but valuable.

### FURTHER READING:

Mark Warren, 2001, *Democracy and Association*, Princeton UP.

### **Civil Society**

Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, Ch. 7, Civil Society and the Political Public Sphere

Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Ch. 5, Civil Society and its Limits

Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 4, Insurgent Democracy: Civil Society and State.

Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, 1994, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, MIT Press.

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, eds., 1995, *Associations and Democracy*, Verso.

Much more. Inquire.

### **Consensus**

Maeve Cook, 1993, Habermas and Consensus, *European Journal of Philosophy*.

Stuart Hampshire

Patchen Markell, 1997, Contesting Consensus: Rereading Habermas and the Public Sphere, *Constellations* 3:377-400.

Thomas McCarthy, 1991, Practical Discourse: On the Relation of Morality to Politics, in his *Ideals and Illusions*, MIT Press.

Thomas McCarthy, 1998, Legitimacy and Diversity: Dialectical Reflections on Analytic Distinctions, in Rosenfeld and Arato, eds., *Habermas on Law and Democracy*.

J. Donald Moon, 1993, *Constructing Community: Moral Pluralism and Tragic Conflicts*, Princeton UP.

Douglas W. Rae, 1975, The Limits of Consensual Decision, *APSR*, 79:1270-1297

Nicholas Rescher, 1993, *Pluralism: Against the Demand for Consensus*, Oxford UP. Thoroughgoing critique of Habermasian consensus.

Gary Shiffman, 2002, Construing Disagreement: Consensus and Inveective in "Constitutional" Debate, *Political Theory* 30:175-203.

Cass Sunstein, DATE, Incompletely Theorized Agreements, CITE

### **Deliberative Polling**

Consult The Center for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford. Eight essays on deliberative polling are available at <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research//index.html>

James Fishkin, 1995, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy*, Yale UP.

### **Green Theory**

Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 5, Green Democracy.

Robyn Eckersley, 2000, Deliberative Democracy, Ecological Risk and "Communities of Fate," in Saward 2000.

Graham Smith, 2003?, *Deliberative Democracy and the Environment*, Routledge. I have not seen this volume.

### **International Politics**

Daniel Archibugi and David Held, 1999, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Polity. Much else by Held on this.

James Bohman, 1998, The Globalization of the Public Sphere, *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 24:199-216.

Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Ch. 5, Transnational Democracy and Beyond.

Andrew Linklater, 1998, *The Transformation of the Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era*, University of South Carolina Press.

Thomas Risse, 2000, "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics, *International Organization* 54:1-39.

Dennis Thompson, *Journal of Political Philosophy*.

Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Ch. 7, Self-Determination and Global Democracy

### **International Politics – European Union**

Erik Oddvar Eriksen and John Erik Fossum, eds., 2000, *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through Deliberation?*, Routledge.

Damian Chalmers, *Talking European*, 2003,

[www.europeanbooks.org/europeanbooks/essaysreviews](http://www.europeanbooks.org/europeanbooks/essaysreviews). Lengthy and good

Gerstenberg and Sabel, *Directly Deliberative Democracy: An Institutional Ideal for Europe*, in J. Joerges, ed., *Good Governance in the European Union*.

### **Multiculturalism**

Iris Marion Young, *Democracy and Inclusion; Justice and the Politics of Difference*.

Monique Deveaux, 2003, A Deliberative Approach to Conflicts of Culture, *Political Theory* 31:780-807. Recommended.

Robert Gooding-Williams, 1998, Race, Multiculturalism, and Democracy, *Constellations* 5:18-41.

Shane O'Neill, 2003, Are National Conflicts Irreconcilable? Discourse Theory and Political Accommodation in Northern Ireland, *Constellations* 10:75-94. Recommended.

Gregory Streich, 2002, Constructing Multiracial Democracy: To Deliberate or Not to Deliberate?, *Constellations* 9:127-153

### **Policy Analysis and Practice**

Frank Fischer, 2003, *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*, Oxford UP.

Frank Fischer and John Forester, eds. 1993, *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Duke UP.

John Forester, 1999, *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*, MIT Press.

Martin Hajer and Hendrik Wagenaar, eds., 2003, *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in a Network Society*, Cambridge UP

### **Political Communication**

This is the label for the earlier behavioralist study of communication in politics. Much of it does not bear on DD, but it's worth a look. See John Gastil's detailed syllabus for many cites in this literature, some directly on DD. Otherwise, the research of Huckfeldt and Sprague into networks of political communication seems relevant:

- Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague, 1995, *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication*, Cambridge UP.
- Robert Huckfeldt, John Sprague, and Jeffrey Levine, 2000, The Dynamics of Collective Deliberation in the 1996 Election: Campaign Effects on Accessibility, Certainty, and Accuracy, *APSR* 94:641-651
- Robert Huckfeldt, Paul E. Johnson, John Sprague, 2002, Political Environments, Political Dynamics, and the Survival of Disagreement, *The Journal of Politics* 64:1-21.
- Arthur Lupia, 2003, Necessary Conditions for Improving Civic Competence: A Scientific Perspective, on internet.

### **Representation**

- Bernard Manin, 1997, *The Principles of Representative Government*, esp. chapter titled "Verdict of the People."
- Nadia Urbinati, 2000, Representation as Advocacy: A Study of Democratic Deliberation, *Political Theory* 28:758-786.
- Melissa Williams, 2000, The Uneasy Alliance of Group Representation and Deliberative Democracy, in Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, eds., *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, Oxford UP.
- Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Ch. 4, Representation and Social Perspective.

### **Social Psychology**

- Not directly on deliberative democracy, but these review articles on the social-psychology of attitude change suggest novel lines of inquiry.
- Petty, Wegener and Fabrigar, 1997, Attitudes and Attitude Change, *Annual Review of Psychology* 48:609-647.
- Wendy Wood, 2000, Attitude Change: Persuasion and Social Influence, *Annual Review of Psychology* 51:539-570.
- Icek Ajzen, 2001, Nature and Operation of Attitudes, *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52:27-58.

### **Miscellaneous**

- Anne Aaken, Christian List, and Luetge, eds., 2003, *Deliberation and Decision: Constitutional Theory and Deliberative Democracy*, Ashgate. I have not seen this volume, probably much formal theory.
- Fred D'Agostino and Gerald F. Gaus, eds., 1998, *Public Reason*, Ashgate. Excellent anthology of journal reprints on public reason.
- Susan Bickford, 1996, *The Dissonance of Democracy: Listening, Conflict and Citizenship*, Cornell UP. Emphasis on listening..
- Ricardo Blaug, 1996, New Theories of Discursive Democracy: A User's Guide, *Social Philosophy and Policy* 22:49-80.
- David Copp, Jean Hampton, and John E. Roemer, eds., 1993, *The Idea of Democracy*, Cambridge UP. Good anthology, see esp. Estlund, Hardin, Sunstein, Joshua Cohen, Gauthier.
- Fred D'Agostino, 1996, *Free Public Reason: Making It Up As We Go*, Oxford UP.

- David Estlund, 1993, Who's Afraid of Deliberative Democracy? On the Strategic/Deliberative Dichotomy in Recent Constitutional Jurisprudence, *University of Texas Law Review* 71:1431-. Contra Gauthier, and other DD analyses.
- Joseph Femia, 1996, Complexity and Deliberative Democracy, *Inquiry* 39:359-397.
- Bent Flyvbjerg, 1998, *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*. U. Chicago Press.
- Gerald Gaus, 1996, *Justificatory Liberalism*, Oxford UP.
- Emily Hauptmann, 2001, Can Less Be More? Leftist Deliberative Democrats' Critique of Participatory Democracy, *Polity* 33: 397-421. Deliberative democracy is not participatory democracy.
- John Gastil, Mark A. Smith, and Cindy Simmons, 2001, There's More than One Way to Legislate: An Integration of Representative, Direct, and Deliberative Approaches to Democratic Governance, *University of Colorado Law Review* 72:1005-1028.
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