

PSCI 5302W: DEMOCRATIC THEORIES

Time: Wednesday 6:05-8:55 p.m.

Room: Loeb C665

Instructor: Prof. Farhang Rajaee
OHs: Wednesday 4:30-6:00 or by appointment

Office: Loeb C672
Phone: 520 2600 X 2800

Email: farhang_rajaee@carleton.ca

In the case of a word like democracy, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it; consequently the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to one meaning. G Orwell, "Politics and the English Language"

What we call today democracy is a form of government where the few rule, at least supposedly, in the interests of the many. H. Arendt, *On Revolution*

Course Description

Description & Structure. This seminar is organized with a dual aim in mind. At one level, the instructor hopes to capture the meaning and the nuances of democracy, now the most prevalent political paradigm in the world. At another level, he aims to examine the major theories that comprise the democratic discourse today. As a way doing it, one part of the course focuses on an inquiry into the *philosophy*, the *functioning*, the *politics*, and the *history* of democracy while the other part covers the *current debate* on democracy.

In terms of organization, the seminar is divided into three sections. The first section contains a discussion of the nature and the meaning of democracy. Here the following questions guide the inquiry: Is democracy a universal notion, free from time and space? Or is it the product of a particular culture and "an accident of history?" Can one formulate a general definition of the notion? The second section will concentrate on the working of democracy by examining what the instructor terms the triad of democracy, i.e., the Agency (or the individual), the Good (or the collective), and Civility (or the mechanisms). What role does each of these factors play in a democratic context? How is the notion of democracy actualized in the public sphere? Who gets what, by whom, and how in a democratic process? Finally, the last part of the course would canvas the critiques of democracy. Here our inquiry covers the host of views from the more traditional realist critics to the most post-modern radicals. Since democratization is very intense outside the Western context, the last two sessions are devoted to the non-Western discussion and critiques of democracy.

Life of the Seminar. The topics will be explored by utilizing group discussions, individual presentations, lectures and debates. In the first three sessions I will present my narrative of democracy and argue that it is a universal notion. Starting the third week, the first part of each session will be devoted to smaller discussion groups of three or four, debating the readings for that week. Each group is expected to come up with some

questions. Then there would be a brief presentation(s) by the members of the seminar on one of the major variants of democratic theories under study for that week. In the second half of the seminar, the group as a whole discuss the general readings and to relate these readings to the group debates. I will open the general discussion with a short lecture, outlining the main theme of the session.

Texts

Ronald J. Terchek and Thomas C. Conte. (Co-Editors). *Theories of Democracy; A Reader*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001 (ISBN: 0847697258).

Course Pack (CP): It contains a selection of major essays.

Course Requirements

The final grade of the course will be calculated based on the followings:

- (a) **Class participation** (attendance, active participation in the discussion, and individual presentation, 40%).
- (b) **Two short papers** of 10-12 pages submitted in **the 7th week (Feb. 15) and the last day of class (Mar. 29)**. No paper is accepted after these dates. One paper should deal with one of the main approaches to democratic thinking and the other should deal with one of the critical schools. You are required, however, to consult with me about the topic) (Each 30%).

Course Calendar

Week 1 (Jan. 4)

Introduction

Orientation and going over the syllabus

Part 1: Anatomy of Democracy

Week 2 (Jan. 11) Democracy: a Human or a Cultural Notion?

Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address" (CP); "Pericles' Funeral Oration" (CP); and A. Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," (CP).

Recommended: In addition to readings the classics such as Aristotle (*The Politics*), de Tocqueville. (*Democracy in America*), and Schumpeter (*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*), consult the followings: Frank Cunningham, *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2002, JC423 (C794 2002); James Hyland. *Democratic Theory; the Philosophical Foundations*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1995 (JC423.H95); John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958 (JC423.M6 1958), Chapters 3-5; Bhikhu Parekh, "The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy," in *Prospects for Democracy: North, South, East and West*. Edited by D. Held. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993 (JC423.P885), pp. 156-175; Richard Rorty, "The Priority of Democracy to Philosophy," in *The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom*, Edited by Merrill D. Peterson and Robert C. Vaughan, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 257-82; and Iris Marion Young. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000 (JC423.Y69).

Week 3 (Jan. 18) Democracy: a Temporal or a Perennial Concept?

D. Held, "Democracy: From City-State to a Cosmopolitan Order" (CP); T. Jacobson, "Mesopotamia; the Cosmos as a State" (CP); and S. N. Kramer, "The First Bicameral Congress," (CP).

Recommended. Robert A. Dahl, "Why Polyarchy Developed in Some Countries and Not Others," in *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989 (JC423.D2478), pp. 244-264; Boris DeWiel. *Democracy: a History of Ideas*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000, JC421.D48); John Dunn. *Democracy; the Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 (JC421.D455); Torkild Jacobson, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. 2 (1943): 159-172; Monahan, Arthur P. Monahan. *Consent, Coercion, and Limit: the Medieval Origins of Parliamentary Democracy*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987 (JC423.M66); Philip Petite. *Republicanism; a Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997 (JC421.P49); Har Narain Sinha. *The Development of Indian Polity*. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1963 (DS446.S5 1963); and Quintin Skinner, "The Italian City Republics, in *Democracy; the Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*, Edited by John Dunn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 (JC421.D455), pp. 57-67.

Part II: The Working of Democracy

Week 4 (Jan. 25) The Agency or the Individual

Terchek and Conte, pp. 3-49; D. Beetham, "Freedom as the Foundation," (CP); and Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" (CP).

Recommended: Sir Isaiah Berlin. *Two Concepts of Liberty; an Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford, on 31 October 1958*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958, JC585.B42); John Gray. *Two Faces of Liberalism*. New York: New Press, 2000 (JC574.G73); John A. Hall. *Liberalism; Politics, Ideology, and the Market*. London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1987 (JC585.H175); Pierre Manent. *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994 (JC571.M326613); C. B. Macpherson, "Berlin's division of liberty," in his *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973 (JC423.M1595), pp. 95-119; John Rawls. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993 (JC578.R37); Thomas A. Spragens, Jr. *Civic Liberalism: Reflections on our Democratic Ideals*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, c1999 (JC574. S6); and Alex de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000 (JK216. T713 2000).

Week 5 (Feb. 1) The Good or the Collective

Terchek and Conte, pp. 51-87 and Taylor "Atomism," (CP).

Recommended: Amitai Etzioni. *The Essential Communitarian Reader*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998 (HM216.E43); Alasdair MacIntyre. *After Virtue; a Study in Moral Theory*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984. (BJ1012. M325 1984); Alasdair MacIntyre. *The MacIntyre Reader*. Edited by Kelvin Knight. Notre

Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998 (B1647. M124.M33); Quentin Skinner. *Liberty before liberalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (JC585. S524); J. J. Rousseau. *The Social Contract*. Translated and introduced by Maurice Cranston. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968 (JC179. R86 1968); Michael J. Sandel. *Democracy's Discontent; America in Search of a Public Philosophy*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1996 (JK1726.S325); Charles Taylor, "Cross Purposes; the Liberal-Communitarian Debate," *Philosophical Arguments*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995 (B995.T3P47), pp. 181-203; M Walser, "The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism," *Political Theory*. 18:1 (1990), pp. 6-23; and Michael Walzer. *On Toleration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997 (JC574.W353).

Week 6 (Feb. 8) Civility or Mechanism I (the State)

Terchek and Conte, pp. 91-178

Recommended. Benjamin R. Barber. *A Passion for Democracy: American Essays*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998. (JK1726. B27); **Daniel Bell**. *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 1976 (E169.12 B37); Richard Bellamy. *Liberalism and Pluralism: Towards a Politics of Compromise*. New York: Routledge, 1999 (JC574. B45); Jeffrey M. Berry. *The Interest Group Society*. New York : Longman, 3rd edition, 1997 (JK 1118. B 395 1997); Robert A. Dahl. *On Democracy*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1998 (JC423.D2497); John Dewey. *The Public and Its Problems*. Chicago: Gateway, 1946. (JC251.D47 1946). Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. [New York] New American Library [1961] (JK154. 1961); Friedrich Hayek. *The Constitution of Liberty*. Chicago] University of Chicago Press [1960] (JC585 H29); Paul Hirst. *From Statism to Pluralism: Democracy, Civil Society, and Global Politics*. Bristol, Penn.: UCL Press, 1997 (JC423 H638); Robert Nozick. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York : Basic Books, [1974] (JC571.N68); and **Robert D. Putnam**. *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000 (HN65 .P878).

Week 7 (Feb. 15) Civility or Mechanism II (the Globe)

David Held, "Democracy and Globalization,;" and Martin Kohler, "From the National to the Cosmopolitan Public Sphere," (CP).

Recommended. Cynthia Jacqueline Alexander and Leslie A. Pal. *Digital Democracy; Policy and Politics in the Wired World*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998 (JC421.D53); D. Archibugi, D. Held, and M. Kohler (Eds.). *Re-imagining Political Community; Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity, 1998 (JC423.R334); Barbara Crow and Grahan Longford, "Digital Restructuring: Gender, Class and Citizenship in the Information Society in Canada," *Citizenship Studies*. 4:2 (2000), pp. 207-230; Langdon Winner (Editor). *Democracy in a Technological Society*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1992, T14.D36); Antonio Franceschet, "Popular Sovereignty or Cosmopolitan Democracy," *European Journal of International Relations* 6:2 (2000), pp. 277-302; David Held. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2nd Edition, 1996 (JC421.H44 1996); Mark Gerald Kingwell. *A Civil Tongue; Justice, Dialogue, and the Politics of Pluralism*. University Park, Pennsylvania:

State University Press, 1995 (JC578.K56); and Pippa Norris. *Digital Divide; Civic engagement, Information Poverty and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001 (HN49.I56 N67 2001).

Week 8 (Feb. 22) Winter Break

Part III: The Critiques of Democracy

Week 9 (Mar. 1) Realist Tradition: Aristotle to Weber

Terchek and Conte, pp. 181-200

Recommended: Hannah Arendt. *The Human Condition*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition. 1998 (HM211. A71998); Robert Michels. *Political Parties: Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Dover Publications, 1959 (JF2049.M62 1959). Hans J. Morgenthau. *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago press, [1946] (JA80.M6). Reinhold Niebuhr. *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness, a Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of its Traditional Defense*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1944 (JC423.N5); Vilfredo Pareto. *The Mind and Society; a Treatise on General Sociology*. New York: Dover Publications, 1935 (HM59.P25 1963); Carl Schmitt. *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985 (JF511.S313); and Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Translated, edited, and with an introduction, by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, new printing, 1958 (H33.W36 1958).

Week 10 (Mar. 8) Post-Modern Trend: Habermas

Terchek and Conte, pp. 201-250

Recommended: Peter Bachrach and Aryeh Botwinick. *Power and Empowerment: a Radical Theory of Participatory Democracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992 (HD5650.B138); Seyla Benhabib. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002 (HM631. B45 2002); Joshua Cohen, "Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy," in *Democracy and Difference; Contesting Boundaries of the Political*. Edited by Seyla Benhabib. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996 (JC423.D429), pp 95-119; Chantal Mouffe (Ed.). *Dimensions of Radical Democracy; Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*. London: Verso, 1992 (JC423.D58); Chantal Mouffe. *The Return of the Political*. London: Verso, 1993 (JC423.M737); Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 2001. (HX73.L33 2001); David Trend. *Radical Democracy; Identity, Citizenship, and the State*. (New York: Routledge, 1996, HN90.R3R35); and Stephen K. White. *Political Theory and Postmodernism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991 (JA71. W456).

Week 11 (Mar. 15) Radical Schools: Marx to Derrida

Terchek and Conte, pp. 251-277; and Phillips. *The Politics of Presence* (CP).

Recommended: Ricardo Balaug. *Democracy, Real and Ideal; Discourse Ethics and Radical Politics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999 (JC423.B59); John S. Dryzek. *Discursive Democracy; Politics, Policy and Political Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 (JC423.D73); Jon Elster. *Deliberative Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (JC423.D388); Will Kymlicka. *Multicultural Citizenship: a Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995 (JF1061.K96); Behikhu Parekh. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000 (HM1271. P37). Charles Taylor. *Multiculturalism; Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994 (E184.A1M84 1994); and Amy Gutman and Dennis Thompson. *Democracy and Disagreement: Why Moral Conflict Cannot Be Avoided in Politics and What Can Be Done About It*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996 (JC423.G87).

Week 12(Mar. 22) Non-Western I: Gandhi to Aristide

Terchek and Conte, pp. 279-314.

Recommended: Dennis Austin. *Liberal Democracy in Non-Western States*. New York: Paragon House, 1995; Fred Dallmayr. *Achieving our World: toward a Global and Plural Democracy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, c2001 (JC 423.D277 2001); Fred Dallmayr. *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter*. Albany: State University of New York Press, c1996 (BD 175.5.M84D35); M. K. Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. Edited by Anthony J. Parel. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997 (DS 480. 45. G242); Nelson Mandela. *Nelson Mandela, Symbol of Resistance and Hope for a Free South Africa: Selected Speeches since his Release*. Edited by E.S. Reddy. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, c1990 (DT1949 M35A5 1990); Rigoberta Menchu. ***Crossing Borders***. Translated and edited by Ann Wright. London: Verso, 1998 (F1465 .2. Q5M37313).

Week 13 (Mar. 29) Non-Western Critiques II: Muslims & Democracy

Abutalebi, "Islam, Islamists, and Democracy" (CP); Daniel Brumberg, "Islamists and the Politics of Consensus," (CP); and Enayat, "Democracy," (CP).

Recommended: John L. Esposito. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996 (JC49.E76); Noah Feldman. ***After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy***. New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003 (BP190.5 .D45.F45 2003) Miriam Hoexter,

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion (editors.). *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002 (BP 173.6. P83 2002); Charles Kurzman (ed.). *Liberal Islam; a Source Book*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1998, (BP60.L53); Fatima Memissi. *Islam and Democracy; Fear of the Modern World*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1992 (BP163.M4713), pp. 42-59; Daniel E. Price. *Islamic Political Culture, Democracy, and Human Rights; a Comparative Study*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999 (JA75.7.P75); and Mahmoud Sadri and Ahmad Sadri (Editors). *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim*

Soroush. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Omid Safi (ed.). *Progressive Muslims: on Justice, Gender and Pluralism*. Oxford: One-world, c2003 (BP161.3.P76 2003).



Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean*.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.