



Syllabus for the Seminar on “Democracy’s Futures” 1st term 2009

Seminar offered by

Prof. Peter Mair and Prof. Alexander H. Trechsel

This seminar will discuss the current practices of and challenges to democracy in contemporary Europe and beyond. Our attention is devoted mainly to established democracies – what Schmitter refers to as the REDS, the Real Existing Democracies – and we try to focus the discussion on the problems facing traditional institutions, and the ways in which these are being changed or reformed to meet new challenges. We look at parties and elections, at representative and direct democracy, and at deliberative democracy and e-democracy. We explore the evidence for and the sources of citizen dissatisfaction and disaffection, and we have two concluding sessions that review and evaluate a host of concrete proposals for reforming and reviving participation and accountability.

Participants in the seminar are expected to read and comment on all of the literature which is recommended in each session – part of the goal of the seminar is to acquaint researchers with this literature and these debates, particularly since these issues will have a prominent place on the scholarly and public agendas for some time to come. To prepare for the discussions, write a short essay (max two pages) on the required readings for each week, and send it to the convenors prior to the seminar. For the last two weeks, participants will be expected to write a brief paper arguing either for or against one of the proposals included in the Schmitter-Trechsel text assigned for the last two seminars. Finally, it is also possible to write a research paper (‘term paper’) for this course, and those who intend doing so will be given the opportunity to present their ongoing work in one or more of the meetings.

The readings are available as downloads through the library or in a protected seminar space at www.futuredem.pbworks.com



Session 1, October 6: Introductory session

- Problems of democracy
- rationale of this seminar
- organisation
- requirements

Session 2, October 9: Deliberative democracy Guest seminar by Pepper D. Culpepper

[Culpepper, Pepper C, Elena Fagotto, Archon Fung and Taeku Lee, 2009. "Beyond Elections? Deliberation and Democracy in the European Union", mimeo.](#)

[Moravcsik, Andrew, 2006: "What Can We Learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Project?" *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47, 219-241.](#)

Papadapolous, Yannis, and Philippe Warin. 2007. "Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy-making democratic and effective?" *European Journal of Political Research* 46(4): 445-72.

Session 3, October 13: Party democracy and beyond

Peter Mair. 2005. Democracy Beyond Parties. *Center for the Study of Democracy*. Working Paper 05-06.
<http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd/05-06>; shorter version downloadable as Peter Mair. Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy. *New Left Review* 42, November-December 2006, 25-51.

Mark Thatcher and Alec Stone Sweet. 2002. Theory and Practice of Delegation to Non-Majoritarian Institutions. *West European Politics* 25 (1), 1-22



Mark Blyth and Richard S. Katz. 2005. From Catch-all Politics to Cartelisation. *West European Politics* 28 (1), 33-60

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin. 2004. Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27 (3), 335-42

Session 4, October 20: The challenge to party government

Peter Mair, 2008. The Challenge to Party Government. *West European Politics* 31:1-2, 211-234.

Richard Bellamy, 2009. Democracy without Democracy? Can Democratic 'Outputs' be Separated from the Democratic 'Inputs' provided by Competitive Parties and Majority Rule? Mimeo

B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, 2006. Governance, accountability and democratic legitimacy. In Arthur Benz and Yannis Papadopoulos (eds.), *Governance and Democracy*. London: Routledge, 29-43.

Claus Offe. 2006. Political disaffection as an outcome of institutional practices? In Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero (eds), *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies*. London: Routledge, 23-45.

Peter Mair. 2009. Representative versus Responsible Government. MPIfG Working Paper 09/8. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, 2009. <http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp09-8.pdf>

Session 5, October 27: Citizens: Distrust, Dissatisfaction, Civil Society

Torcal, Mariano and José Ramón Montero, 2006. "Political disaffection in comparative perspective", in Mariano Torcal and José Ramón



Montero (eds), *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies*. London: Routledge, 3-20.

Offe, Claus. 2006. "Political disaffection as an outcome of institutional practices?", in Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero (eds), *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies*. London: Routledge, 23-45.

Hardin, Russel, 2000. "The Public Trust", pp. 31-51 in Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Democracies*, New Haven: Princeton University Press.

Hibbing, John, R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, 2002. *Stealth Democracy. Americans' Beliefs about how government should work*, Cambridge University Press. ("Introduction*", pp. 1-14; and "Americans' Desire for Stealth Democracy*", pp. 129-159).

Canovan, Margret, 1999. "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy", *Political Studies* 47(1): 2-16.

Rosanvallon, Pierre, 2009. *Counter-Democracy. Politics in an Age of Distrust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press ("Conclusion: the modern mixed regime", pp. 290-318).

Session 6, November 3: Direct Participation

Lupia, Arthur and John G. Matsusaka, 2004. "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, pp. 463-82.

Trechsel, Alexander H., 2010. "Direct democracy and reflexive accountability", *West European Politics*, forthcoming.

Wampler, Brian, 2009. "When does participatory democracy deepen the quality of democracy? Lessons from Brazil", *Comparative Politics*. Early manuscript available as:
<http://polisci.boisestate.edu/faculty/wampler/ParticipatoryDem.pdf>

Papadopoulos, Yannis and Philippe Warin, 207. "Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy making



democratic and effective?", *European Journal of Political Research* 46, 445-472.

Zittel, Thomas, 2008. "Participatory Engineering: Promises and Pitfalls", pp. 119-144 in: Beate Kohler-Koch, Dirk De Bièvre, William Maloney (eds.), *Opening EU-Governance to Civil Society - Gains and Challenges*. Mannheim.

Alvarez, Michael, Hall, Thad and Alexander H. Trechsel, 2009. "Internet Voting in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Estonia", *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42(3): pp. 497-505.

Session 7, November 10: EU Democracy Guest seminar by Phillippe C. Schmitter

Readings to be announced

Session 8, November 17: Paparazzi Democracy

Bernard Manin, 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 6.

Hanspeter Kriesi, 2004. Strategic Political Communication. In Frank Eser and Barbara Pfetsch (eds), *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge University Press.

Dahlgren, Peter, 2009. *Media and Political Engagement. Citizens, Communication, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Sessions 9 (November 24) and 10 (November 25): Reforming Democracy

Schmitter, Phillippe C. and Alexander H. Trechsel (eds.), 2004. *The Future of Democracy. Trends, Analysis and Reforms*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing