



Making democracy work: the quality of democracy

Seminar Fall 2013

Hanspeter Kriesi

Tuesdays 8:45 AM-10:45 AM, Badia Seminar Room 4

Registration with Maureen Lechleitner (Maureen.Lechleitner@EUI.eu)

Description

This seminar surveys yet another part of the literature on democracy. It is designed as a companion to the previous seminar on Democracy (Fall 2012) that took a macro-approach and asked about the models, prerequisites and challenges of democracy. By contrast, the present seminar approaches democracy from the micro-perspective of the citizens and focuses on how democracy works/on its consequences. The citizens' views/expectations and evaluations of democracy constitute the criteria for the assessment of its quality. Is democracy seen as the only legitimate game in town and how do citizens view the meaning of democracy? How do they evaluate the quality of the democracy they are living in? Can democracies count on stable, unconditional support by the citizens, or is support for, satisfaction with, and trust in democratic authorities and institutions and participation in democratic processes variable across time and space? To what extent do the really existing democracies fall short of the ideal, i.e. to what extent is there a 'democratic deficit' or a 'crisis of democracy'? Once the concepts, the trends and the cross-national variation have been established, the seminar will turn to the factors driving them: are the trends and country-specific patterns the result of political factors – on the input side of politics (institutions, processes) and the output side of politics (state capacity, policies, crisis management), or do they rather reflect social and economic developments such as profound value change, and the overall economic performance of a country?

The course also has a pragmatic goal: to familiarize you with key contributions to the literature on democracy research. The course sessions are structured around classic texts, literature reviews, and recent empirical studies documenting the development and providing explanations for them. By choosing to take this class you are taking on the obligation to do all the reading. It is, of course, possible to choose this seminar without having followed the previous seminar.

Over the course of the seminar students must submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website at noon on the day before class. These response papers are fundamental for the holding of a good discussion of the materials, as is a thorough reading of the assigned texts.

Writing a term paper is encouraged. Your term paper should draw on the literature covered in the course but go well beyond it. Those who wish to write a term paper should submit it to me by email and in paper copy, with a cc to Maureen Lechleitner.

Sessions, topics and readings

1. Introduction: What is democracy? What is legitimacy? What is support? (October 8)

- Tilly, Charles 2007: *Democracy*, Cambridge U Press, Chapter 1: What is democracy? (pp. 1-24)
- Weber, Max 1968. *Economy and Society I*, edited by Guenter Roth and Claus Wittich, Berkeley: U of California Press, pp. 212-216.
- Habermas, Jürgen 1973 [1988]. *Legitimation crisis*, Part III: On the logic of legitimation problems (pp. 95-101+Notes, pp. 156-7)
- Easton, David 1975. A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support, *British Journal of Political Science* 5: 435-457.
- Scharpf, Fritz 1999. *Governing in Europe*. Oxford U Press, Chapter 1.1: Two faces of democratic self-determination, (pp. 6-28)

2. Meaning and general support of democracy (October 15)

- Thomassen, Jacques 2007. Democratic values, pp. 418-434 in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Oxford U Press.
- Bratton, Michael, Robert Mattes, E. Gyemah-Boadi 2005. *Public opinion, democracy, and market reform in Africa*, Cambridge U Press, Chapter 3: attitudes to democracy, (pp. 65-96)
- Chu, Yun-Han, Larry Diamond, Andrew J. Nathan, and Doh Chull Shin 2008. Introduction: Comparative perspectives on democratic legitimacy in East Asia, pp. 1-38 in *How East Asians view democracy*, edited by Yun-han Chu et al., New York: Columbia U Press.

- Shin Tianjian 2008. China. Democratic values supporting an authoritarian regime, 209-37 in *How East Asians view democracy*, edited by Yun-han Chu et al., New York: Columbia U Press.
- Schedler, Andreas and Rodolfo Sarsfield 2009. Democrats with adjectives: Linking direct and indirect measures of democratic support, *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 637-659

3. General and specific support for democracy and democratic deficit (October 22)

- Dalton, Russell J. 2004. *Democratic challenges democratic choices. The erosion of political support in advanced industrial democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 2 (Changing citizen orientations) and 9 (conclusion), (pp.21-54, 191-208)
- Norris, Pippa 2011. *Democratic deficit. Critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge U Press, Part I&II (pp. 19-115)

4. Between elections: policies and approval of political authorities (October 29)

- Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson 1995. Dynamic representation, *American Political Science Review* 89, 3: 543-565.
- Stimson, James A. 2004. *Tides of consent*. Cambridge U Press, Chapters 1, 5 and 6 (pp. 1-22, 137-174).
- Soroka, Stuart N. and Christopher Wlezien 2010. *Degrees of democracy. Politics, public opinion, and policy*, Cambridge U Press. Chapter 2: The thermostatic model, (pp. 22-42)
- Wlezien, Christopher and Stuart N. Soroka 2012. Political institutions and the opinion-policy link, *West European Politics* 35, 6: 1407-1432.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., Suzanna L. De Boef, and Amber E. Boydston 2008. *The decline of the death penalty and the discovery of innocence*, Cambridge U Press, Chapter 1: Innocence and the Death Penalty Debate (pp. 1-22)

5. Institutions: types of democracy and institutional legacies (November 5)

- Aarts, Kees and Jacques Thomassen 2008. Satisfaction with democracy: Do institutions matter?, *Electoral Studies* 27: 5-18.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2011. Electoral supply, median voters and feelings of representation in democracies, pp. 214-37 in *Citizens, context, and choice. How context shapes citizens' electoral choice*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Christopher J. Anderson, Oxford U Press.

- Bernauer, Julian and Adrian Vatter 2012. Can't get no satisfaction with the Westminster model? Winners, losers and the effects of consensual and direct democratic institutions on satisfaction with democracy, *European Journal of Political Research* 51: 435-68.
- Frey, Bruno S and Alois Stutzer 2005. Beyond outcomes: measuring procedural utility, *Oxford Economic Papers* 57: 90-111.

6. Electoral outcomes: winners and losers (November 12)

- Anderson, Christopher J., André Blais, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Ola Listhaug 2005. *Losers' Consent. Elections and Democratic Legitimacy*, Oxford U Press, Chapters 1-4, 6, 8, 10 (pp. 1-69, 90-109, 141-60, 182-94)
- Magalhaes, Pedro C. 2006. Confidence in parliaments. Performance, representation, and accountability, pp. 190-214 in *Political disaffection in contemporary democracies. Social capital, institutions, and politics*, edited by Mariano Torcal and José Ramón Montero, London: Routledge.

7. Institutional performance (November 19)

- Rothstein, Bo and Jan Teorell 2012. Defining and measuring quality of government, pp. 13-39 in *Good government. The relevance of political science*, edited by Sören Holmberg and Bo Rothstein, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Magalhaes, Pedro C. 2013. Government effectiveness and support for democracy, *European Journal of Political Research* (forthcoming)
- Anderson, Chris J and Yullya V. Tverdova 2003. Corruption, political allegiances, and attitudes toward government in contemporary democracies, *American Journal of Political Science* 47, 1: 9-109.
- Dahlberg, Stefan, Jonas Linde and Sören Holmberg 2013. Dissatisfied democrats. A matter of representation or performance?, *Working paper series 2013:8*, QOG-The quality of government institute, University of Gothenburg.

8. Changing political culture (November 26)

- Fuchs, Dieter 2007. The political culture paradigm, pp. 161-84 in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Oxford U Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel 2005. *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy. The human development sequence*, Cambridge U Press, Chapters 7 and 8: The causal link between democratic values and democratic institutions (pp. 149-209)

- Charron, Nicholas and Victor Lapuente 2012. In democracy we trust, but how much?, pp. 105-129 in *Good government. The relevance of political science*, edited by Sören Holmberg and Bo Rothstein, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Norris, Pippa 2011. *Democratic deficit. Critical citizens revisited*, (Chapter 7, pp. 119-41)
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker 2013. *Communism's shadow: the effect of Communist legacies on post-Communist preferences, evaluations, and behavior*, unpubl. Ms, Chapter 4 on Democratic attitudes.

9. Political and economic performance (December 3)

- Norris, Pippa 2011. *Democratic deficit. Critical citizens revisited*, (Chapter 10, pp. 188-215)
- Polavieja, Javier 2013. Economic crisis, political legitimacy and social cohesion, in *Economic crisis, quality of work and social integration: The European experience*, edited by Duncan Gallie, Oxford U press.
- Armingeon, Klaus and Besir Ceka 2013. The loss of trust in the European Union during the great recession since 2007: The role of heuristics from the national political system, *European Union Politics* (forthcoming)
- Hobolt, Sara B. 2012. Citizen satisfaction with democracy in the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (s1): 88-105.

10. Political participation: turnout decline and alternative forms of participation (December 10)

- Blais, André and Daniel Rubenson 2013. The source of turnout decline: new values or new contexts? *Comparative political studies* 46, 1: 95-117. 3: 351-362.
- Hooghe, Marc and Sofie Marien 2013. A comparative analysis of the relation between political trust and forms of political participation in Europe, *European Societies* 15, 1: 131-52.
- Stolle, Dietlind and Marc Hooghe 2011. Shifting inequalities. Patterns of exclusion and inclusion in emerging forms of political participation, *European Societies* 13, 1: 119-142.
- Bowler, Shaun, Todd Donovan and Jeffrey A. Karp 2007. Enraged or Engaged? Preferences for Direct Citizen Participation in Affluent Democracies, *Political Research Quarterly* 60, 3: 351-62.

- Neblo, Michael A., Kevin M. Esterling, Ryan P. Kennedy, David M.J. Lazer and Anand E. Sokhey 2010. Who Wants to Deliberate – And Why?, *American Political Science Review* 104, 3: 566-583.