



Department of Social and Political Sciences
1st term Foundation Seminar
Fall 2018

Foundations of democracy

Hanspeter Kriesi

Tuesdays 9:00 AM-11:00 AM, Badia Seminar Room 4

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

Description

This seminar surveys some of the literature on democracy to answer questions such as these: What are the relevant theoretical, institutional and innovative models of democracy? How can we measure democracy? What are the social, economic, cultural and political prerequisites of democracy/democratization? What effect does the political and economic performance have on the support for democracy? What about populism: is it a danger for democracy? Is democracy in decline today?

These questions are approached both from the macro-perspective of institutions and context conditions as well as from the micro-perspective of the citizens and their understanding and evaluation of the way democracy works. The literature on these questions is, of course, huge, and the selection of the texts for the seminar is, as always, highly idiosyncratic. This is the selection of a comparative political sociologist who is trying to understand the conditions under which democracy as we know it develops and flourishes, and the conditions under which it is put into question. The selection is focused on more recent publications dealing with the core issues. It also tries to take into account some debates between competing views. At the same time, several of the selected texts provide the methodological tools to approach these questions empirically. The texts are available on the special website of the seminar. By choosing to take this class you are taking on the obligation to do all the reading.

As usual in my seminars, the students are expected to submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website by noon on the day before class at the latest. 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. 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: some theories of democracy (October 2)

- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A preface to democratic theory*. The University of Chicago Press. Introduction, Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-84), 5 (pp. 124-51) (111 pages) – Library 321.8
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1942[1962]. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 3rd edition, New York: Harper. Chapters XXI-XXII (pp. 250-283) (34 pages) – Library 330.122
- Schattschneider, E. E. 1960[1975]. *The semisovereign people. A Realist's view of democracy in America*. London: Thomson Learning. Chapter 8 (pp. 126-139) (14 pages) – Library 320.97309
- Achen, Christopher H. and Larry M. Bartels 2016. *Democracy for realists. Why elections do not produce responsive government*, Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 21-51) (30 pages) – Library 321.8

2. Measuring democracy: macro-level (October 9)

- Goertz, Gary. 2006. *Social Science Concepts*, Chapter 4: 'Increasing Concept-Measure Consistency', Princeton University Press, 95-127.
- Munck, Gerardo L. and Jay Verkuilen 2002. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy. Evaluating Alternative Indices', *Comparative Political Studies* 35, 1: 5-34.
- Bühlmann, Marc, Wolfgang Merkel, Lisa Müller and Bernhard Wessels 2012. The democracy barometer: a new instrument to measure the quality of democracy and its potential for comparative research, *European Political Science* (advance online publication): 1-18.
- Teorell, Jan, Michael Coppedge, Svend-Erik Skaaning, and Staffan I Lindberg 2016. *Measuring electoral democracy with V-dem data: introducing a new polyarchy index*, University of Gothenburg, Varieties of democracy institute, Working paper, Series 2016: 25.

3. Measuring democracy: micro-level (October 16)

- Easton, David 1975. A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support, *British Journal of Political Science* 5: 435-457.
- Ferrín, Monica and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) 2016. *How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy*, Oxford U Press: Chapters 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 14)

4. Institutional models of Democracy (October 23)

- Lijphart, Arend 1999. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapters 1-4, 7, 14, 17
- Vatter, Adrian 2009. Lijphart expanded: three dimensions of democracy in advanced OECD countries?, *European Political Science Review* 1,1: 125-154.
- Daniel Bochsler and Hanspeter Kriesi 2013. Varieties of Democracy, pp. 69-102 in *Democracy in the age of globalization and mediatization*, edited by Hanspeter Kriesi, Sandra Lavenex, Frank Esser, Jörg Matthes, Marc Bühlmann, Daniel Bochsler, Basingstoke : Palgrave.

5. Democratization: economic development (October 30)

- Lipset, Seymour Martin 1959. 'Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy', *American Political Science Review* 53: 69–105.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin 1994. "The Social Prerequisites of Democracy Revisited", *American Sociological Review* 59 (1), 1-22.
- Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes 2003. Endogenous democratization, *World Politics* 55, July: 517-49.
- Boix, Carles 2011. Democracy, Development, and the International System, *American Political Science Review*, 104(4): 809-828.

6. Democratization: cultural change (November 6)

- 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)
- Welzel, Christian and Alejandro Moreno Alvarez 2014. Enlightening People. The Spark of Emancipative Values, pp. 59-88 in *The civic culture transformed. From allegiant to assertive citizens*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Christian Welzel, Cambridge U Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney 1996. Making social science work across space and time: a critical reflection on Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work, *American Political Science Review* 90, 2: 389-397.

- Solt, Frederick 2004. Civics or structure? Revisiting the origins of democratic quality in Italian regions, *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 123-135.

7. Political and economic performance (November 13)

- Scharpf, Fritz 1999. *Governing in Europe*. Oxford U Press, Chapter 1.1: Two faces of democratic self-determination, (pp. 6-28)
- Magalhães, Pedro C. 2014. Government effectiveness and support for democracy, *European Journal of Political Research* 53: 77-97.
- Dahlberg, Stefan and Sören Holmberg 2014. Democracy and bureaucracy: how their quality matters for popular satisfaction, *West European Politics* 37, 3: 515-37.
- Armingeon, Klaus and Kai Guthmann 2014. Democracy in crisis? The declining support for national democracy in European countries, 2007-2011, *European Journal of Political Research* 53: 423-442.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and James Tilley 2014. *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without accountability in the European Union*, Oxford U Press. Chapters 1, 2, 9.

8. Populism (November 20)

- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy (eds.) 2017. *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*
 - Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy 2017. Populism: An Overview over the Concept and the State of the Art, pp. 1-26
 - Mudde, Cas 2017. Populism: An Ideational Approach, pp. 27-48
 - Weyland, Kurt 2017. Populism: A Political-Strategic Approach, pp. 49-72
 - Urbinati, Nadia 2017. Populism and the Principle of Majority, pp. 572-589
 - Hawkins, Kirk, Madeleine Read, and Teun Pauwels 2017. Populism and its Causes, pp. 267-86.
 - Roberts, Kenneth 2017. Populism and Political Parties, pp. 288-304
 - Manucci, Luca 2017. Populism and the Media, pp. 468-88.
 - Lowndes, Joseph 2017. Populism in the United States, pp. 233-47
 - De la Torre, Carlos 2017. Populism in Latin America, pp. 196-213.
 - Taggart, Paul 2017. Populism in Western Europe, pp. 249-263.
 - Stanley, Ben 2017. Populism in Central and Eastern Europe, pp. 141-160

9. Democracy in crisis (November 27)

- Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yasha Mounk. 2016. The Dangers of Deconsolidation. *Journal of Democracy* 27: 5-17.

- Inglehart, Ronald F. 2016. The danger of deconsolidation. How much should we worry?, *Journal of Democracy* 27, 3: 18-23.
- Voeten, Erik 2017. Are people really turning away from democracy?, *Journal of Democracy Web Exchange*.
- Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt 2018. *How democracies die*, N.Y.: Introduction, Chapters 1, 8, 9 (pp. 1-32, 176-231) - Library 321.8
- Mounk, Yascha 2018. *The people vs. democracy. Why our freedom is in danger and how to save it*, Harvard U Press, pp. 23-98. – Library 321.8
- Runciman, David 2018. *How democracy ends*. London: Profile Books, Preface and Chapter 3 (pp. 1-9, 120-164). – Library 321.8

10. Democratic innovations: the model of direct democracy (December 4)

- Kriesi, Hanspeter 2005. *Direct democratic choice. The Swiss experience*. Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 1-11.
- Lupia, Arthur 1994. Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: information and voting behaviour in California insurance reform elections, *American Political Science Review*, 88, 1: 63-76.
- The Bartels-Lupia debate on the 2001 Bush tax cuts:
 - Bartels, Larry M. 2005. Homer gets a tax cut: inequality and public policy in the American mind, *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 1: 15-31
 - Lupia, Arthur, Adam Seth Levine, Jesse O. Menning and Gisela Sin 2007. Were Bush tax cut supporters ‘simply ignorant?’ A second look at conservatism and liberalism in ‘Homer gets a tax cut’, *Perspectives on Politics* 5, 4: 773-785
 - Bartels, Larry M. 2007. Homer gets a warm hug. A note on ignorance and extenuation, *Perspectives on Politics* 5, 4: 785-790.
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson and Rune Slothuus 2013. How elite partisan polarization affects public opinion formation, *American Political Science Review* 107, 1: 57-79.
- Colombo, Céline 2018. Justification and citizen competence in direct democracy: a multilevel analysis, *British Journal of Political Science* 48, 3: 787-806.