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Winter Term 2012/13  
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**Participation and Deliberation:  
Recent Debates in Democratic Theory**

Seminar 53 080 – Lektürekurs  
Wednesdays, 16-18 hrs; UNI 3b, 004; Institut für Sozialwissenschaften

**Seminar Description**

In recent years participatory and deliberative models of democracy have progressively been proposed as democratic alternatives capable of correcting the purported flaws of representative government. Various governments have begun to institutionalize new participatory practices and deliberative experiments.

Core of these consistent attempts is to expand citizen participation beyond the right to vote. Citizens ought to become directly involved in the administration, particularly in the design, implementation, and control over public policy. The expected outcome of these democratic innovations is to enable citizens to express their preferences directly without the intermediation of political parties and professional politicians. However, the 'participatory wave' or 'deliberative turn' are not exempt from challenges and limits: the empirical costs of the new democratic models is proven high and their concrete ability to present themselves as a feasible alternative to representative democracy is yet to be unfolded.

This seminar will offer a general outlook of some of the main conceptualizations and theoretical frameworks related to participatory and deliberative democracy. This overview of some of the main debates of contemporary democratic theory will be followed by a critical assessment provided by an examination of selected cases and empirical evidence of participatory and deliberative experiments in Europe, USA, Canada, and Latin America. The background question of the seminar will be: Do innovative forms of political participation and deliberation cure or enhance the deficits or even crisis of representative democracies?

**Required readings**

All core course readings will be available at the Moodle course site at the beginning of the semester.

- Avritzer, Leonardo (2009): *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*, Washington, DC/Baltimore, MA: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dryzek, John (2000): *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.
- Fung, Archon (2003): "Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11 (3): 338–367.
- Fung, Archon (2006): "Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance", *Public Administration Review*; December 2006; Special Issue: 66-74.
- Gutmann, Amy (2004): *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1998): "Three Normative Models of Democracy", In: *The Inclusion of the Other. Studies in Political Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Mansbridge, Jane and John Parkison (eds.) (2012): *Deliberative Systems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.
- Pateman, Carole (1978): *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 1.
- Seele, Andrew and Enrique Peruzzotti (2010): *Participatory Innovation and Representative Democracy in Latin America*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Setala, Maja and Theo Schiller (2012): *Citizens' Initiatives in Europe: Procedures and Consequences of Agenda-Setting by Citizens*, Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shapiro, Ian (1999): "Enough of Deliberation: Politics is about Interests and Power", in: Stephen Macedo: *Deliberative Politics. Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 28-38.
- Urbinati, Nadia (2000): "Representation as Advocacy. A Study of Democratic Deliberation", *Political Theory* 28 (6): 758-786.
- Warren, Mark (2002): "What can democratic participation mean today?", *Political Theory* 30 (5): 677-701.
- Warren, Mark (2009): "Citizen Participation and Democratic Deficits: Considerations from the Perspective of Democratic Theory", in: Joan DeBardleben and Jon Pammett (eds.): *Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Participation in Europe and Canada*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan: 17-40.
- Warren, Mark and Hilary Pearse (eds.) (2008): *Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### **Additional readings**

- Altman, David (2010): *Direct Democracy Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baiocchi, Gianpaolo (2003): "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory", in: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, London: Verso Press: 45-76.
- Barber, Benjamin (2004): *Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bohman, James (1996): *Public Deliberation. Pluralism, Complexity, and Democracy*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Bohman, James (1998): "The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy", *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6 (4): 400-425.
- Dewey, John (1954): *The Public and its Problems*. Chicago: Swallow Press.
- Dryzek, John and Simon Niemeyer (2008): "Discursive Representation", *American Political Science Review* 102: 481-491.
- Elster, John (1997): "The Market and the Forum": Three Varieties of Political Theory", in: Robert Goodin and Philip Pettit (eds.): *Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006.
- Elster, Jon (ed.) (1998): *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishkin, James and Robert C. Luskin (2005) : "Experimenting with a Democratic Ideal: Deliberative Polling and Public Opinion", *Acta Politica* 40 (3): 284-298.
- Fung, Archon and Erik Olin Wright (eds.) (2003): *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, London: Verso Press.
- Fung, Archon and Erik Olin Wright (2003): "Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance", in: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso: 3-42.
- Goodin, Robert (2008): *Innovating Democracy: Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1988). "Popular Sovereignty as Procedure", in: *Between Facts and Norms. Contributions for a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Honneth, Axel (1998): "Democracy as Reflexive Cooperation: John Dewey and the Theory of Democracy Today", *Political Theory* 26 (6): 763-783.
- Jacobs, Lawrence, Fay Lomax Cook and Michael X. Della Carpini (2009): *Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LeDuc, Lawrence (2003): *The Politics of Direct Democracy: Referendums in Global Perspective*, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Manin, Bernard (1987): "On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation", *Political Theory* 15 (3): 338-368.
- Mansbridge, Jane (1983): *Beyond Adversary Democracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Mansbridge, Jane (2010): “Deliberative Polling as the Gold Standard”, *The Good Society* (19) 1: 55-62.
- Mutz, Diana (2008): “Is Deliberative Democracy a Falsifiable Theory?”, *The Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 521-538.
- Pállinger, Zoltán Tibor, Bruno Kaufmann, Wilfried Marxer (eds.) (2007): *Direct Democracy in Europe. Developments and Prospects*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Papadopoulos, Yannis and Philippe Warin (2007): “Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy making democratic and effective?”, *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 445-472.
- Pateman, Carole (2012): “Participatory Democracy Revisited”, *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (1): 20-34.
- Peruzzotti, Enrique (2008): “Representative democracy as mediated politics: rethinking the links between representation and participation”. Manuscript.
- Saward, Michael (2008): “Authorization and Authenticity: Representation and the Unelected”, *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 17 (1): 1-22.
- Smith, Graham (2009): *Democratic Innovations. Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thompson, Dennis (2008): “Deliberative Democratic Theory and Empirical Political Science”, *The Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 497-520.
- Wampler, Brian (2007): *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation and Accountability*, University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.

### Overview of the course

	Date	Topic
1	Oct 17 <sup>th</sup>	Introduction <b>Crisis of Representative Democracy</b>
2	Oct 24 <sup>th</sup>	<b>Moving from Minimalist and Pluralist Conceptions of Representative Democracy to Participatory and Deliberative Models</b>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b>  ☞ Warren, Mark (2009): “Citizen Participation and Democratic Deficits: Considerations from the Perspective of Democratic Theory”, in: Joan DeBardeleben and Jon Pammett (eds.): <i>Activating the Citizen: Dilemmas of Participation in Europe and Canada</i>, New York: Palgrave MacMillan: 17-40.</p> <p>Additional reading:  ☞ Pateman, Carole (2012): “Participatory Democracy Revisited”, <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 10 (1): 20-34.</p>
3	Oct 31 <sup>st</sup>	<b>Framing the Theory of Participatory Democracy</b>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b>  ☞ Pateman, Carole (1978): <i>Participation and Democratic Theory</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Chapter 1.</p> <p>Additional readings:  ☞ Dewey, John (1954): <i>The Public and its Problems</i>. Chicago: Swallow Press.  ☞ Mansbridge, Jane (1983): <i>Beyond Adversary Democracy</i>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.</p>
4	Nov 7 <sup>th</sup>	<b>What can the concept of Participation mean today?</b>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b>  ☞ Warren, Mark (2002): “What can democratic participation mean today?”, <i>Political Theory</i> 30 (5): 677-701.</p>

		<p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Barber, Benjamin (2004): <i>Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age</i>, Berkeley: University of California Press.</li> <li>☞ Honneth, Axel (1998): "Democracy as Reflexive Cooperation: John Dewey and the Theory of Democracy Today", <i>Political Theory</i> 26 (6): 763-783.</li> </ul>
5	Nov 14 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Participation and Governance</b></p>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Fung, Archon (2006): "Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance", <i>Public Administration Review</i>; December 2006; Special Issue: 66-74.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Fung, Archon and Erik Olin Weight (2003): "Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance", in: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): <i>Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance</i>. London: Verso: 3-42.</li> <li>☞ Smith, Graham (2009): <i>Democratic Innovations. Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation</i>. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.</li> </ul>
6	Nov 21 <sup>st</sup>	<p><b>Framing the Theory of Deliberative Democracy</b></p>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Habermas, Jürgen (1998): "Three Normative Models of Democracy", In: <i>The Inclusion of the Other. Studies in Political Theory</i>. Cambridge: MIT Press.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Elster, John (1997): "The Market and the Forum": Three Varieties of Political Theory", in: Robert Goodin and Philip Pettit (eds.): <i>Contemporary Political Philosophy</i>. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2006.</li> <li>☞ Habermas, Jürgen (1988). "Popular Sovereignty as Procedure", in: <i>Between Facts and Norms. Contributions for a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy</i>. Cambridge: MIT Press.</li> </ul>
7	Nov 28 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>The Deliberative Turn in Democratic Theory</b></p>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Dryzek, John (2000): <i>Deliberative Democracy and Beyond</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Bohman, James (1998): "The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy", <i>The Journal of Political Philosophy</i> 6 (4): 400-425.</li> <li>☞ Manin, Bernard (1987): "On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation", <i>Political Theory</i> 15 (3): 338-368.</li> </ul>
8	Dec 5 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Deliberation and Beyond</b></p>
		<p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Gutmann, Amy (2004): <i>Why Deliberative Democracy?</i> Princeton: Princeton University Press.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Bohman, James (1996): <i>Public Deliberation. Pluralism, Complexity, and Democracy</i>, Cambridge: MIT Press.</li> <li>☞ Goodin, Robert (2008): <i>Innovating Democracy: Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press.</li> </ul>

9	Dec 12 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>From Minipublics to Deliberative Systems</b></p> <p><b>Required readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Fung, Archon (2003): “Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences.” <i>Journal of Political Philosophy</i> 11 (3): 338–367.</li> <li>☞ Mansbridge, Jane and John Parkison (eds.) (2012): <i>Deliberative Systems</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Fishkin, James and Robert C. Luskin (2005) : “Experimenting with a Democratic Ideal: Deliberative Polling and Public Opinion”, <i>Acta Politica</i> 40 (3): 284-298.</li> <li>☞ Mansbridge, Jane (2010): “Deliberative Polling as the Gold Standard”, <i>The Good Society</i> (19) 1: 55-62.</li> </ul>
10	Dec 19 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Limits and Critics of Deliberation</b></p> <p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Shapiro, Ian (1999): “Enough of Deliberation: Politics is about Interests and Power”, in: Stephen Macedo: <i>Deliberative Politics. Essays on Democracy and Disagreement</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 28-38.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Elster, Jon (ed.) (1998): <i>Deliberative Democracy</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</li> <li>☞ Mutz, Diana (2008): “Is Deliberative Democracy a Falsifiable Theory?”, <i>The Annual Review of Political Science</i> 11: 521-538.</li> <li>☞ Papadopoulos, Yannis and Philippe Warin (2007): “Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy making democratic and effective?”, <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> 46: 445-472.</li> <li>☞ Thompson, Dennis (2008): “Deliberative Democratic Theory and Empirical Political Science”, <i>The Annual Review of Political Science</i> 11: 497-520.</li> </ul>
11	Jan 9 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Linking Participation and Deliberation to Representation</b></p> <p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Urbinati, Nadia (2000): “Representation as Advocacy. A Study of Democratic Deliberation”, <i>Political Theory</i> 28 (6): 758-786.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Dryzek, John and Simon Niemeyer (2008): “Discursive Representation”, <i>American Political Science Review</i> 102: 481-491.</li> <li>☞ Peruzzotti, Enrique (2008): “Representative democracy as mediated politics: rethinking the links between representation and participation”. Manuscript.</li> <li>☞ Saward, Michael (2008): “Authorization and Authenticity: Representation and the Unelected”, <i>The Journal of Political Philosophy</i> 17 (1): 1-22.</li> </ul>
		<p><b>Participation and Deliberation in Practice: Case Studies</b></p>
12 and 13	Jan 16 <sup>th</sup> and Jan 23 <sup>rd</sup>	<p><b>Latin America (two sessions)</b></p> <p><b>Required readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Avritzer, Leonardo (2009): <i>Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil</i>, Washington, DC/Baltimore, MA: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with The Johns Hopkins University Press.</li> <li>☞ Seele, Andrew and Enrique Peruzzotti (2010): <i>Participatory Innovation and Representative Democracy in Latin America</i>, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.</li> </ul>

		<p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Baiocchi, Gianpaolo (2003): "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory", in: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): <i>Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance</i>, London: Verso Press: 45-76.</li> <li>☞ Wampler, Brian (2007): <i>Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation and Accountability</i>, University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.</li> </ul>
14	Jan 30 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>North America (one session)</b></p> <p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Warren, Mark and Hilary Pearce (eds.) (2008): <i>Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Fung, Archon and Erik Olin Wright (eds.) (2003): <i>Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance</i>, London: Verso Press.</li> <li>☞ Jacobs, Lawrence, Fay Lomax Cook and Michael X. Della Carpini (2009): <i>Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America</i>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.</li> </ul>
15	Feb 6 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Direct Democracy in Europe: Referendum, Plebiscite and Citizens Initiative</b></p> <p><b>Required reading:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Setala, Maja and Theo Schiller (2012): <i>Citizens' Initiatives in Europe: Procedures and Consequences of Agenda-Setting by Citizens</i>, Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.</li> </ul> <p>Additional readings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>☞ Altman, David (2010): <i>Direct Democracy Worldwide</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</li> <li>☞ LeDuc, Lawrence (2003): <i>The Politics of Direct Democracy: Referendums in Global Perspective</i>, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.</li> <li>☞ Pállinger, Zoltán Tibor, Bruno Kaufmann, Wilfried Marxer (eds.) (2007): <i>Direct Democracy in Europe. Developments and Prospects</i>, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.</li> </ul> <p><b>Summary of the most important issues of the seminar</b></p>
16	Feb 13 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Proctored (written) examination</b></p>

### **Recommended further readings**

- Alonso, Sonia, John Keane, Wolfgang Merkel (eds.) (2011): *The Future of Representative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barber, Benjamin (2004): *Strong Democracy. Participatory Politics for a New Age*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, Joshua and Archon Fung (2004): "The Radical-Democratic Project", *Deliberation et Action Publique*: 23-34.
- Dryzek, John S. and Aviezer Tucker (2008): "Deliberative Innovation to Different Effect: Consensus Conferences in Denmark, France, and the United States", *Public Administration Review*, September/October: 864-876.
- Fishkin, James (1993): *Democracy and Deliberation. New Directions for Democratic Reform*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fung, Archon (2004): "Democratizing the Policy Process", in: Martin Rein, Michael Moran and Robert E. Goodin (eds.): *Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*: 669-685.

- Fung, Archon (2005): „Deliberation before the Revolution: Toward an Ethics of Deliberative Democracy in an Unjust World“, *Political Theory* (33) 2: 397-419.
- Geissel, Brigitte (2009): “How to Improve the Quality of Democracy? Experiences with participatory Innovations at the Local Level in Germany”, *German Politics and Society* 27 (4): 51-71.
- Goodin, Robert E. (2005): “Sequencing Deliberative Moments”, *Acta Politica* 40: 182-196.
- Niemeyer, Simon and John S. Dryzek (2007): “The Ends of Deliberation: meta-consensus and Inter-subjective Rationality as Ideal Outcomes”, *Swiss Political Science Review* 13 (4): 497-526.
- Urbinati, Nadia (2011): “Representative democracy and its critics”, in: Sonia Alonso, John Keane, Wolfgang Merkel (eds.): *The Future of Representative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 23-49.