

Political Science 200b
Democracy
Fall 2009

Lecture: Wednesdays, 12-1:50
Discussion: Thursdays, 6-6:50 or 7-7:50

Gerry Mackie
SSRB 322* – x47015
gmackie@dss.ucsd.edu

Tu 11:00 – 12:00, Wed 2:00 – 3:00

*NOT SSB, see <http://polisci.ucsd.edu/~gmackie> for directions

Mat McCubbins
SSB 392 – x43733
mmcubbins@ucsd.edu
Th 12:00 - 3:00

31 October 2009

ALL COURSE EMAIL MUST CONTAIN 200B IN THE SUBJECT LINE, OR IT MAY BE IGNORED

Course Description

This course provides an overview of the normative and positive issues associated with modern representative democracies. It is focused around two questions: (1) Is democracy morally justifiable? (2) How do the social, political, and economic arrangements of democracies actually work?

Requirements

1. Regular attendance of and participation in seminar. (50% of grade)
2. A six- to eight-page mid-term paper on hybrid democracy, due 26 October. (25% of grade)
3. A six- to eight-page final paper on the policy consequences of democracy, due 7 December. (25% of grade)

Course Materials

Readings range from short articles to substantial portions of books. We'll provide further information on availability of readings shortly. MAY BE REVISED.

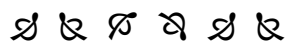
Cox, *Making Votes Count*

Gerber, *The Populist Paradox*

Putterman and Kroszner, *The Economic Nature of the Firm*

Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*

All other readings will be made available in class.



Reading Assignments and Course Schedule

1. Democracy (23 Sep)

Jeremy Waldron, Legislation, Authority, and Voting, 101-118 in Waldron *Law and Disagreement* (Oxford: OUP, 1999).

John Dunn, *Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy*, 123-126, 149-188 (London: Grove Atlantic, 2005).

Hans Herman Hoppe, On Monarchy, Democracy, and the Idea of Natural Order. in *Democracy: The God that Failed*, ch. 2 (New Brunswick: Transaction).

John Mueller, *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery*, 140-145 (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, chs. 21-22 (1943).

Dahl, *Polyarchy*, 1-9 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1971).

Manin, *Principles of Representative Government*, 1-7 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).

John Dryzek, Reconstructive Democratic Theory, *American Political Science Review* 87(1): 48-60, 1993.

IDEA Democracy Assessment, 3-5, skim remainder.

Grindle, Good Enough Government Revisited, *Development Policy Review*, 2007 25(5):553-574.

2. Organization (30 Sep)

Quentin Skinner, "The State," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, ed. Ball, Farr and Hanson, pp. 90-131

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*, pp. 3-8, 77-180

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Introduction, chs. 10, 13-17, 21, 26, Review and Conclusion

Charles Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," *Journal of Politics* 44 (1982): 324-36

Louis Putterman and Randall Kroszner, editors. *The Economic Nature of the Firm*. Chapter 14 by Armen Alchain and Harold Demsetz; Chapter 17 by Bengt Holmstrom and Paul Milgrom; Chapter 18 by Harvey Leibenstein; Chapter 19 by George Akerlof; and Chapter 20 by Martin Weitzman and Douglas Kruse.

3. Direct Democracy (7 Oct)

Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns"

Thomas Schwartz, "Votes, Strategies, and Institutions," in Mathew D. McCubbins and Terry Sullivan, eds, *Congress: Structure and Policy*

William Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism*, Chapters 1-5, 7 & 10

Gerry Mackie, *Democracy Defended*, pp. 23-43, 72-157, 241-58

Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins. "Lost in Translation: Social Choice Theory is *Misapplied* Against Legislative Intent." *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues*, 2005.

Thomas Romer and Howard Rosenthal, 1979. "Bureaucrats versus Voters: On the Political Economy of Resource Allocation by Direct Democracy," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, pages 563-87, November.

Thad Kousser and Mat McCubbins, "Social Choice, Crypto-Initiatives, and Policymaking by Direct Democracy," *Southern California Law Review* 78 (2005): 949-84

4. Representative Democracy I (14 Oct)

Bernard Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, 8-41, 79-131, 236-238 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).

Hanna Pitkin *The Concept of Representation* 38-39, 43-44, 55-56, 58-59, 60-65, 76-91, 112-115, 118-121, 141-143, 144-167, 209-225.

Przeworski, Manin, and Stokes, 1-16, 29-54, *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*.

Andrew Rehfeld, Towards a General Theory of Political Representation, *The Journal of Politics* 68:1-21, 2006.

5. Representative Democracy II (21 Oct)

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, pp. 1-61, 301-10

Matthew Shugart and Stephan Haggard, "Institutions and Public Policy in Presidential Systems," in *Structure and Policy in Presidential Democracies*, ed. McCubbins and Haggard

Rod Kiewiet & Mat McCubbins, *The Logic of Delegation*, ch. 2

Skip Lupia and Mat McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma*, ch. 3-5

Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count*, chs. 1-3, 8, 10, 12-15

The Federalist, 47-53

Midterm: Hybrid Democracy (due 26 Oct)

Elisabeth R. Gerber, *The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation*.

Elisabeth R. Gerber, Arthur Lupia, and Mathew D. McCubbins, 2004. "When Does Government Limit the Impact of Voter Initiatives? The Politics of Implementation and Enforcement." *Journal of Politics* 66:43-68

Elizabeth Garrett, "The Promise and Perils of Hybrid Democracy," *George Washington Law Review* (2006).

6. Law (28 Oct)

Sir John Davies, *Le Primer Report*

Jeremy Bentham, *A Comment on the Commentaries*, XXXXX, and *Of Laws in General*, XXXXX

McNollgast, "The Political Economy of Law: Decision Making by Judiciary, Legislative, Executive and Administrative Agencies. In *The Handbook of Law and Economics*, edited by A. Mitchell Polinsky and Steven Shavell, Elsevier Press 2007.

Don Herzog, *Happy Slaves*, pp. 110-47

Stephen Holmes, "Precommitment and Self-Rule," in *Constitutionalism and Democracy*, ed. Elster and Slagstad, 195-240

7. Rule of Law (4 Nov)

Paul Milgrom, Douglass North and Barry Weingast, "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs," *Economics and Politics* 1 (1990): 1-23

Melissa Thomas, "What Do the Worldwide Governance Indicators Measure? 2007

Rosenthal, Howard and Erik Voeten, "Measuring Legal Systems." N.d.

Stephen Holmes, "Lineages of the Rule of Law," in *Democracy and the Rule of Law*, ed. Maravall and Przeworski, 19-61

Judith Shklar, *Legalism*, 111-221

Ronald Dworkin, "Hard Cases," *Harvard Law Review* 88 (1975): 1057-1109

Douglass North and Barry R. Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England," *J. Econ. History*. (1989)

Mathew D. McCubbins, Daniel B. Rodriguez and Barry R. Weingast. "The Rule of Law Unplugged." (2009)

8. Comparative Regime Change (11 Nov)

Huntington, 1991, *The third wave*. 3-30, What?

Haggard and Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 263-283, 1997

Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure?," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (1996): 39-55

Geddes, 1999, What do we know about democratization after twenty years?

Carothers, 2002, *End of the Transition Paradigm*

Diamond, *Thinking About Hybrid Regimes*

Hadenius and Teorrel, *Pathways from Authoritarianism*

Philip Roeder, 2005, "Power Dividing as an Alternative to Ethnic Power Sharing," in *Sustainable Peace: Democracy and Power-Dividing Institutions after Civil War*, ed. Roeder and Rothchild, 51-82

9. Collective Decisions and Deliberation (18 Nov)

Nicolaus Tideman, 3-21, 35-56, *Collective Decisions and Voting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

John Rawls, *Proceduralism*, *Theory of Justice*, rev. ed., 74-75

Adam Swift, *Democracy*, 181-222, *Political Philosophy* (Polity, 2006)

John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, Ch. 5

Erikson and Weigard, *Understanding Habermas*, 111-128, 164-177

Jon Elster, *Arguing and Bargaining in Two Constituent Assemblies*.

Gerry Mackie, *Does Democratic Deliberation Change Minds?*

McCubbins and Rodriguez, *When Does Deliberating Improve Decisionmaking?*, *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues*, Vol. 15, 2006

10. Collective Decisions and Voting (2 Dec)

Review Tideman and Swift

Gerry Mackie, *Deliberation but Voting Too*

Jeremy Waldron, *Participation: The Right of Rights*

IDEA, *Electoral System Design*, 1-33, 120-121, plus read four case studies of your choice

Plato, *The Republic* 487b-494a

Aristotle, *Politics*, 1281a:35-1282b:10

Scott Page, *The Difference* 23-36, 48-50, 152-165, 175-196, 199-214

Bryan Caplan, 1-22, 114-141, *The Myth of the Rational Voter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Gerry Mackie, *Rational Ignorance and Beyond*, forthcoming, in Jon Elster, ed., *The Wisdom of Crowds*.

Final: (due 7 Dec)

The common theme is democratic delegation, voting, discussion, in pursuit of the public good. The first essay is theoretical, and summarizes and adds to earlier material. The remaining articles are theory applied to concrete problems:

1. Reforming the voting rule in Colombia
2. Reforming the voting rule in PNG
3. Reforming political constituencies in the US (note effects on deliberation)
4. Deliberation vs. democracy in authoritarian China

Cox and McCubbins, Institutional Determinants of Economic Policy Outcomes

Shugart, Moreno, Fajardo. Deepening Democracy by Renovating Political Practices: The Struggle for Electoral Reform in Colombia

Reilly, Ethnic Conflict in Papua New Guinea, short

Rehfeld, The Concept of Constituency, brief selections

Baogang and Warren, Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development