

Course: JPM805 Democracy in the Age of Crises - Current Challenges and Innovations
(Winter semester 2023/2024)
25.9. 2023

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Times & Room: Tuesdays 11.00-12.20, Room B317

Credits: 5

Language: English

Overview:

This course addresses the challenges of liberal democracy in the age of crises and opportunities arising from democratic innovations to overcome these challenges. Democracy faces multiple and simultaneous crises – environmental and health crises being the most dominant ones at present. Democratic innovations empower citizens to express their preferences directly without the mediation of political parties and elected politicians. However, the concrete capacity of democratic innovation to present itself as a possible alternative to representative democracy must be further developed. This course is organized into four interconnected thematic blocks. This course will first address the current challenges of liberal democracy – the environmental crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, we will address the theoretical questions behind the design of democratic innovations and the methods of investigating them. Third, we will discuss case studies of key democratic innovations (mini-publics, participatory budgeting, constitutional assembly, recall, citizen juries). Fourth, we will focus on key issues pertaining to the assessment and effectiveness of democratic innovation.

Learning outcomes:

The seminar combines active and passive, individual and group learning forms, and is designed to develop:

1. **knowledge and understanding** of democracy and democratic innovations;
2. **information processing skills and analytical skills** - students should be able to identify the main challenges to liberal democracy, make linkages between democratic challenges and innovations, and theoretical frameworks with which these can be analyzed and understood;
3. **communication skills** – students will improve their communication and argumentation skills discussing various issues both in a smaller circle and in the class – developing ways to debate using theoretically informed and factual arguments;
4. **writing skills** – in the course of the semester, students will improve the ability to summarize academic texts in English – identifying and elaborating on the key points and working with resources according to academic standards (i.e., proper citation of various types of texts including online resources).

Course requirements:

The communication platform for this seminar will be Moodle.

All compulsory reading for the course is to be completed by every student for the given block of the seminar; the recommended reading aims to encourage students to understand the presented topics more profoundly.

Students are also encouraged to use the library and other resources available at the university. You are welcomed to ask for a recommendation in a specific direction during consultations.

1. **Active course participation** is the necessary requirement for the successful completion of the course. There is a difference between presence and active participation. Active participation means active engagement (commenting, discussing with peers, asking meaningful questions).

2. **Presentation:** depending on the number of participants, students will hold individual or shared presentations on recommended literature. The presentation will take 15-20 minutes, cover key aspects and the article(s). The group will present several questions for discussion based on the reading (minimum one question per group member).
3. **Written assignment:** Students are required to write a short paper on the topic of their choice selected from the course themes. (Times New Roman, font size 10-12, minimum 2000 words maximum 3000 words – including literature and footnotes). This paper is to be submitted per email at the latest 15.1.2024.

The idea behind this set of different assignments is that you familiarize yourself in some depth with many different questions and issues at the forefront of democratic theory and practice. This should train students to think along theoretical lines and see democratic innovations from a theoretically-informed perspective.

Consultations:

The students are encouraged to approach me individually if they need assistance with any aspect of the course, course readings, and course requirements. Consultations will take place via book AND email confirmed consultation via the Konzultace platform.

Block I. Challenges to (liberal) democracy		
Session	Date	Topic
1.	3.10.2023	Introduction: Contemporary Challenges of Democracy Course Overview Course Requirements Recommended reading: *Dryzek, J. S., Bächtiger, A., Chambers, S., Cohen, J., Druckman, J. N., Felicetti, A., ... & Landemore, H. (2019). The crisis of democracy and the science of deliberation. <i>Science</i> , 363(6432), 1144-1146.
2.	10.10.2023	Democracy – in vitro, in vivo, and in actu Required reading: *Deligiaouri, A., & Suiter, J. (2019). Assessing Democracy In Vitro, In Vivo, and In Actu and the Role of Democratic Theory Today. <i>Democratic Theory</i> , 6(2), 70-84. Recommended reading: *Hammond, M., Dryzek, J., & Pickering, J. (2020). Democracy in the Anthropocene. <i>Contemporary Political Theory</i> , 19(1), 127-141.
3.	17.10.2023	Democracy and Pandemic Compulsory reading *Afsahi, A. et al. (2020). Democracy in a Global Emergency Five Lessons from the COVID-19 Pandemic. <i>Democratic Theory</i> 7(2): v-ixi. Recommended readings *Guasti, P., & Bustikova, L. (2022). Pandemic Power Grab. <i>East European Politics</i> , 38(4), 529-550. * Engler, S., Brunner, P., Loviat, R., Abou-Chadi, T., Leemann, L., Glaser, A., & Kübler, D. (2021). Democracy in times of the pandemic: explaining the variation of COVID-19 policies across European democracies. <i>West European Politics</i> , 44(5-6), 1077-1102.

		*Guasti, P. (2020). The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Central and Eastern Europe: The Rise of Autocracy and Democratic Resilience. <i>Democratic Theory</i> 7(2): 47-60.
Block II. Democratic Innovations: Theory and Design		
4.	24.10.2023	<p>Democratic Innovations: Intro</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Zaremborg, G., & Welp, Y. (2019). Beyond Utopian and Dystopian Approaches to Democratic Innovations. <i>Recerca. Revista de Pensament i Anàlisi</i>, 25(1), 45-59.</p> <p>Recommended readings * Deligiaouri, A., & Suiter, J. (2023). Oscillating Between Representation and Participation in Deliberative Fora and the Question of Legitimacy: Can ‘Hybrid Representative Democracy’ be the Remedy?. <i>Representation</i>, 59(1), 137-153. *Newton, K., & Geissel, B. (Eds.). (2012). <i>Evaluating democratic innovations: Curing the democratic malaise?</i>. Routledge. *Smith, G., Richards Jr, R. C., & Gastil, J. (2015). The Potential of Participedia as a crowdsourcing tool for comparative analysis of democratic innovations. <i>Policy & Internet</i>, 7(2), 243-262. *Dalton, R. J., Scarrow, S. E., & Cain, B. E. (2003). New forms of democracy? Reform and transformation of democratic institutions. <i>Democracy transformed</i> 1-20.</p>
5.	31.10.2023	<p>Democratic Deliberation</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Warren, M. E., & Gastil, J. (2015). Can deliberative mini-publics address the cognitive challenges of democratic citizenship?. <i>The Journal of Politics</i>, 77(2), 562-574.</p> <p><i>Recommended readings</i> *Curato, N., Dryzek, J. S., Ercan, S. A., Hendriks, C. M., & Niemeyer, S. (2017). Twelve key findings in deliberative democracy research. <i>Daedalus</i>, 146(3), 28-38. *Landwehr, C. (2015). Democratic Meta-Deliberation: Towards Reflective Institutional Design. <i>Political Studies</i>, 63, 38-54. *Beauvais, E., & Bächtiger, A. (2016). Taking the goals of deliberation seriously: A differentiated view on equality and equity in deliberative designs and processes. <i>Journal of Public Deliberation</i>, 12(2), 2.</p>
6.	7.11.2023	<p>Participation – non-participation - participatory frustration</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Jacquet, V. (2017). Explaining non-participation in deliberative mini-publics. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 56(3), 640-659.</p> <p>Recommended readings * Wojciechowska, M. (2019). Towards intersectional democratic innovations. <i>Political Studies</i>, 67(4), 895-911. * Fernández-Martínez, J. L., García-Espín, P., & Jiménez-Sánchez, M. (2020). Participatory frustration: the unintended cultural effect of local democratic innovations. <i>Administration & Society</i>, 52(5), 718-748.</p>
Block III. Key Democratic Innovations		

7.	14.11.2023	<p>Democratic Innovations - National Level</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., Cunningham, K., & Harris, C. (2020). When Mini-Publics and Maxi-Publics Coincide: Ireland's National Debate on Abortion. <i>Representation</i>, 1-19.</p> <p><i>Recommended readings</i> *Dean, R., Hoffmann, F., Geissel, B., Jung, S., & Wipfler, B. (2022). Citizen Deliberation in Germany: Lessons from the 'Bürgerrat Demokratie'. <i>German Politics</i>, 1-25. *Farrell, D. M., Suiter, J., & Harris, C. (2019). 'Systematizing' constitutional deliberation: the 2016–18 citizens' assembly in Ireland. <i>Irish Political Studies</i>, 34(1), 113-123. *Pogrebinschi, T., & Samuels, D. (2014). The impact of participatory democracy: Evidence from Brazil's national public policy conferences. <i>Comparative Politics</i>, 46(3), 313-332. *Harris, C., Farrell, D. M., & Suiter, J. (2017). Ireland's evolving constitution. In <i>Constitutional Acceleration within the European Union and Beyond</i> (pp. 154-166). Routledge.</p>
8.	21.11.2023	<p>Democratic innovations - Municipal level</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Bua, A., & Bussu, S. (2020). Between governance-driven democratisation and democracy-driven governance: Explaining changes in participatory governance in the case of Barcelona. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>.</p> <p>Recommended readings *Holdo, M. (2020). Contestation in Participatory Budgeting: Spaces, Boundaries, and Agency. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i>, 64(9), 1348-1365. *Sintomer, Y., Röcke, A., & Herzberg, C. (2016). Six Participatory Models. In <i>Participatory Budgeting in Europe</i> (pp. 61-74). Routledge. *Adenskog, M. (2018). After the Equilibrium: Democratic Innovations and Long-term Institutional Development in the City of Reykjavik. <i>Analyse & Kritik</i>, 40(1), 31-54. *Donaghy, M. M. (2011). Do participatory governance institutions matter?: Municipal councils and social housing programs in Brazil. <i>Comparative Politics</i>, 44(1), 83-102. *Geissel, B., & Jung, S. (2018). Recall in Germany: explaining the use of a local democratic innovation. <i>Democratization</i>, 25(8), 1358-1378. *Brown, M. B. (2006). Survey article: citizen panels and the concept of representation. <i>Journal of Political Philosophy</i>, 14(2), 203-225.</p>
Block IV. Assessment and Effectiveness of Democratic Innovation		
9.	28.11.2023	<p>Challenges to Democratic Reform</p> <p>Compulsory reading *Bedock, C., Best, V., Otjes, S., & Weisskircher, M. (2022). A policy like no other? The populist radical right challenge in the field of democracy reform. <i>Party Politics</i>, 13540688221089126.</p> <p>Recommended readings *Curato, N., & Fossati, D. (2020). Authoritarian Innovations: Crafting support for a less democratic Southeast Asia. <i>Democratization</i>, 27(6), 1006-1020.</p>

		<p>*Bussu, S., Bua, A., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2022). Embedding participatory governance. <i>Critical Policy Studies</i>, 1-13.</p> <p>*Alnemr, N. (2020). Emancipation cannot be programmed: blind spots of algorithmic facilitation in online deliberation. <i>Contemporary Politics</i>, 26(5), 531-552.</p>
10.	5.12.2023	<p>Assessment and Effectiveness</p> <p>Compulsory reading</p> <p>*Fung, A. (2003). Survey article: recipes for public spheres: eight institutional design choices and their consequences. <i>Journal of political philosophy</i>, 11(3), 338-367.</p> <p>Recommended readings</p> <p>*Leino, M., Kulha, K., Setälä, M., & Ylisalo, J. (2022). Expert hearings in mini-publics: How does the field of expertise influence deliberation and its outcomes?. <i>Policy Sciences</i>, 55(3), 429-450.</p> <p>* Jacquet, V., & van der Does, R. (2020). The Consequences of Deliberative Minipublics: Systematic overview, conceptual gaps, and new directions. <i>Representation</i>, 1-11.</p> <p>*Geissel, B., & Hess, P. (2017). Explaining Political Efficacy in Deliberative Procedures-A Novel Methodological Approach. <i>Journal of Public Deliberation</i>, 13(2), 4.</p> <p>*Geißel, B., & Heß, P. (2018). 13. Determinants of successful participatory governance: the case of Local Agenda 21. <i>Handbook on Participatory Governance</i>.</p>
11.	12.12.2023	<p>Legitimacy and Capacity</p> <p>Compulsory reading</p> <p>*Werner, H., & Marien, S. (2022). Process vs. outcome? How to evaluate the effects of participatory processes on legitimacy perceptions. <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>, 52(1), 429-436.</p> <p>Recommended readings</p> <p>*Suiter, J., Muradova, L., Gastil, J., & Farrell, D. M. (2020). Scaling up Deliberation: Testing the Potential of Mini-Publics to Enhance the Deliberative Capacity of Citizens. <i>Swiss Political Science Review</i>.</p> <p>*Pogrebinschi, T., & Ryan, M. (2018). Moving beyond input legitimacy: When do democratic innovations affect policy making?. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 57(1), 135-152.</p> <p>*Setälä, M. (2017). Connecting deliberative mini-publics to representative decision making. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 56(4), 846-863.</p> <p>*Jäske, M. (2019). Participatory innovations and maxi-publics: The influence of participation possibilities on perceived legitimacy at the local level in Finland. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i>, 58(2), 603-630.</p>
12.	19.12.2023	<p>Final Session: Democracy for the Age of Crises</p> <p>Compulsory reading</p> <p>*Harris, C., & Hughes, I. (2020). Reimagining democracy in an era of deep transition. <i>Irish Studies in International Affairs</i>, 31(1), 71-89.</p> <p>Recommended readings</p> <p>*Curato, N., Sass, J., Ercan, S. A., & Niemeyer, S. (2020). Deliberative democracy in the age of serial crisis. <i>International Political Science Review</i>, 0192512120941882.</p>

		<p>*Veri, F. (2022). Mapping Democratic Innovations: A Bottom-up Empirical Perspective. <i>Representation</i>, 1-18.</p> <p>*Ercan, S. A., Hendriks, C. M., & Dryzek, J. S. (2019). Public deliberation in an era of communicative plenty. <i>Policy & politics</i>, 47(1), 19-36.</p> <p>*Chambers, S., & Gastil, J. (2020). Deliberation, Democracy, and the Digital Landscape. <i>Political Studies</i>, 0032321719901123</p>
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Further readings (reading marked with * are available in a special folder on the Moodle platform):

- *Barber, B. R. (1998). Three scenarios for the future of technology and strong democracy. *Political Science Quarterly*, 113(4), 573-589.
- *Chambers, S. (2003). Deliberative democratic theory. *Annual review of political science*, 6(1), 307-326.
- *Dean, R. J. (2017). Beyond radicalism and resignation: the competing logics for public participation in policy decisions. *Policy & Politics*, 45(2), 213-230.
- *el-Wakil, A. (2020). Supporting Deliberative Systems with Referendums and Initiatives. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 16(1), pp. 37-45.
- *Forst, R. (2001). The rule of reasons. Three models of deliberative democracy. *Ratio Juris*, 14(4), 345-378.
- *Gagnon, J. P., 2018. "2,234 Descriptions of Democracy: An Update to Democracy's Ontological Pluralism." *Democratic Theory* 5(1): 92-113.
- *Goldberg, S., Wyss, D., & Bächtiger, A. (2019). Deliberating or Thinking (Twice) About Democratic Preferences: What German Citizens Want From Democracy. *Political Studies*, 0032321719843967.
- *Green, J., Kingzette, J., & Neblo, M. (2019). Deliberative Democracy and Political Decision Making. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- *Guasti, P. 2018. "Democracy under Stress: Changing Perspectives on Democracy, Governance, and Their Measurement." *Democracy under Stress*, in Guasti, P. & Mansfeldova Z. *Democracy under Stress*: Prague: ISASCR.
- *Mackie, G. (2009). Schumpeter's leadership democracy. *Political Theory*, 37(1), 128-153.
- *Ringin, S. (2008). Robert A. Dahl: Defender of Democracy. *Society*, 45(3), 283-287.
- *Wojciechowska, M. (2019). Towards intersectional democratic innovations. *Political Studies*, 67(4), 895-911.
- *Zittel, T. (2006). Participatory democracy and political participation. In *Participatory Democracy and Political Participation* (pp. 25-44). Routledge.
- *Zittel, T., & Fuchs, D. (2007). *Participatory democracy and political participation. Can participatory engineering bring citizens back in?* London, New York: Routledge.
- Dahl, R. A. (1989). *Democracy and its Critics*. Yale University Press.
- Della Porta, D., & Keating, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences: A pluralist perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fung, Archon, and Wright, Erik Olin (eds.). 2003. *Deepening Democracy. Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso.
- Habermas, J. (1994). Three normative models of democracy. *Constellations*, 1(1), 1-10
- Neblo, M. A., Esterling, K. M., & Lazer, D. M. (2018). *Politics with the People: Building a directly representative democracy* (Vol. 555). Cambridge University Press.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (2010). *Capitalism, socialism, and democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, G. (2009). *Democratic innovations: Designing institutions for citizen participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Websites and Resources on democratic innovations:

- » <http://www.participedia.net/>, <http://www.c2d.ch/>, <http://www.concepts-methods.org/>
- » <http://www.idea.int/>
- » http://aceproject.org/ace-en/focus/direct-democracy/default?set_language=en
- » <http://www.sudd.ch/index.php?lang=de>