民主理論與實踐 課綱

簡介

當有人大聲疾呼XX破壞民主，或者YY才是真民主，我們應該先問自己，我懂民主嗎？能民選選總統或國會議員就是民主了嗎？若造成社會過度對立或者政黨惡鬥是反對民主的好理由嗎？本門「民主理論與實踐」不僅會提供必要的知識回應上述問題，更會帶大家以理論的角度重新認識我們習以為常的民主制度。課程內容分三大區塊：民主的道德面向、知識論面向、以及實踐與挑戰。同時形式設計為課前預習指定閱讀（約兩小時的閱讀量），授課兩小時，討論課一小時，在最後一個區塊（也就是民主的實踐與挑戰），更會搭配實際的案例做分析。期望透過理論與現實的參照，同學們不僅對民主有更深一層的認識，更能在認知其困難的成因後，知道從何著手修復。

推薦參考書

- Thomas Christiano, *The Constitution of Equality: Democratic Authority and its Limits*, Oxford: OUP, 2008.
- David Estlund, *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework*, 2007.
- Robert E. Goodin and Kai Spiekermann, *An Epistemic Theory of Democracy*, Oxford: OUP, 2018.
- Frederick G. Whelan, *Democracy in Theory and Practice*, New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Hélène Landemore and Jason Brennan, *Debating Democracy: Do We Need More or Less?* Oxford: OUP, 2021.

評量方式

1. 課堂參與（含討論課表現） 10%

2. 個人隨堂作業 25%

   對每週指定閱讀做心得摘要，內容應包含：（1）文中某論點概述；（2）針對該論點的批評。文長 1500~2000 字。從 13 篇挑出最好的 10 篇做評分。每週繳交期限為上課當天的午夜 24 時之前。

3. 分組團體報告 30%

   政策擬定：首先挑選某週主題，點出該主題凸顯的問題，最後提出你們的改革方案。上台口頭報告 10%，書面 policy proposal 佔 20%。

4. 個人期末論文 (i.e. summative essay) 30%。繳交期限為第 18 周上課時段。

任選下列一種方案。（1）將分組團體報告寫成一篇 5000~7500 字的論文；或者（2）任選某週主題，與助教或老師討論寫作大綱後，寫一篇 5000~7500 字的論文。

5. 組內互評 5%

6. 加分（20%）：對任一建議閱讀之文章做心得摘要。每篇最多加 5 分，最多四篇。繳交期限同期末論文。

課程進度

1. Course Introduction
2. What is Democracy (1)- Comparative understanding
3. What is Democracy (2)- Normative understanding
4. Moral Dimension (1)- Liberty
5. Moral Dimension (2)- Political legitimacy
6. Moral Dimension (3)- Equality
7. Epistemic Dimension (1)- Rationality of voting
8. Epistemic Dimension (2)- Arrow theorem and its critics
9. Epistemic Dimension (3)- Condorcet jury theorem and epistemic democracy
10. Epistemic Dimension (4)- Epistemic value of diversity and deliberation
11. Practice and Challenge (1)- The boundary problem
12. Practice and Challenge (2)- Epistocracy
13. Practice and Challenge (3)- Compulsory voting
14. Practice and Challenge (4)- Youth voting
15. Group Presentation (1)
16. Group Presentation (2)
17. Group Presentation (3)
18. Revision (& Submitting your summative essay)

<h1 align="center">課程內容</h1>

W1.   Course Introduction

<u>Background reading</u>
- Frederick G. Whelan, 'Introduction,' in *Democracy in Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 1-26.
- Adam Swift, 'Part 5: Democracy,' in *Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide for Students and Politicians* 4th edn. (Oxford: OUP, 2013), pp. 55-95.

<u>Special tutorial</u>: Strategic reading and academic writing

W2.   What is Democracy (1)- Comparative understanding

<u>Essential reading</u>
- Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, 'Democracy,' in *Comparative Democracy* (5th ed.), 2020.
- Jonathan Hopkin, 'The Comparative Method,' in *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (March& Stoker ed., London: Palgrave, 2007), Chapter 14.

<u>Recommended reading</u>
- Larry Diamond, 'Elections Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes,' *Journal of Democracy*, 2002.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* 2nd edn. (Michigan: Yale University Press, 2012), Chapters 2-4.

<u>Seminar question:</u> What does democracy involve? Who does get the vote? What different form of democracy can it be? What does it mean to characterize democracy as an on-going struggle?

W3.   What is Democracy (2)- Normative understanding

<u>Essential reading</u>
- Frederick G. Whelan, *Democracy in Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2019), Chapter 2: pp.36-63 & Chapter 3.

<u>Recommended reading</u>
- David Estlund, *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapter 1.
- Niko Kolodny, 'Rule over None (1): What Justifies Democracy?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 2014.
- Lachlan Montgomery Umbers, 'Democratic legitimacy and the competence objection,' *Res Publica*, 2018.
- Sean Ingham and Frank Lovett, 'Domination and democratic legislation,' *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 2022.

Seminar question: Summarise the principles for democracy. Would you say that Ancient Greece satisfied those conditions? Discuss also what other values would be sacrificed in order to secure the norm of democracy. Would you agree that we should give up those values for the sake of democracy?

## W4.	Moral Dimension (1)- Liberty

Essential reading
- Adam Swift, 'Part 5: Democracy,' in *Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide for Students and Politicians* 4th edn. (Oxford: OUP, 2019), ref. Intrinsic values 1&2, pp.78-81.
- J.S. Mill, 'Of True and False Democracy; Representation of All, and Representation of the Majority Only,' in *John Stuart Mill: Three Essays* (Oxford: OUP, 1975), Chapter 7.

Recommended reading
- Anna Stilz, 'The Value of Self-Determination,' in Oxford Studies in Political Philosophy, Volume 2, Sobel et al. ed. (Oxford: OUP, 2016).
- Richard J. Arneson, 'Democracy and Liberty in Mill's Theory of Government,' *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 1982.
- Margaret Moore, 'The moral value of collective self-determination and the ethics of secession,' *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 2020.

Seminar question: Discus what kind(s) of freedom democracy secures. Are the arguments convincing to you?

## W5.	Moral Dimension (2)- Political Legitimacy

Essential reading
- Allen Buchanan, 'Legitimacy and Democracy,' *Ethics*, 2002.
- Scott Hershovitz, 'Legitimacy, Democracy, and Razian Athority,' *Legal Theory*, 2003.

Recommended reading
- Iñigo González-Ricoy, 'Democratic Legitimacy and the Paradox of persisting opposition,' *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 2017.
- Simone Chamber, 'Democracy, Popular Sovereignty, and Constitutional Legitimacy,' *Constellations*, 2004.
- Samuel Freeman, 'Constitutional Democracy and the Legitimacy of Judicial Review,' *Law and Philosophy*, 1990-91.

Seminar question: Would you regard that democracy makes a state/community more legitimate? Re-examine the relationship/relevance between democracy and (political) legitimacy.

## W6.	Moral Dimension (3)- Equality

Essential reading
· Adam Swift, 'Part 5: Democracy: Intrinsic value 3- Equality,' in *Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide for Students and Politicians* 4th edn. (Oxford: OUP, 2013), pp. 64-65, 82-85.
· Niko Kolodny, 'Rule over None (2): Social Equality and the Justification of Democracy' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 2014.

Recommended reading
· Thomas Christiano, *The Constitution of Equality: Democratic Authority and its Limits* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), Chapters 2, 5-6.

Seminar question: What kind of equality does democracy secure? Articulate also to what extent that equality is important for us.

W7. Epistemic Dimension (1)- The Rationality of Voting

Essential reading
· Shelly Kagan, 'Do I make a difference?' Philosophy and Public Affairs, 2011

Recommended reading
· Loren E. Lomasky and Geoffrey Brennan, 'Is there a Duty to Vote?' *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 2000.
· David Estlund, *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapter 3.

Seminar question: Do you think there is a duty to vote? If there is, what sort of duty is it and what ground is it based upon? If not, would that conviction undermine democracy?

W8. Epistemic Dimension (2)- Arrow theorem and its critics

Essential reading
· Gerry Mackie, 'The Arrow general possibility theorem,' in *Democracy Defended* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), Chapter 4.

Recommended reading
· Amartya Sen, 'Arrow and the Impossibility Theorem,' in *The Arrow Impossibility Theorem* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), Chapter 1.

Seminar question: Do you agree with Riker's assessment that Arrow's theorem 'only occasionally renders decision by majoritarian decision meaningless…at least when the subjects for political decision are not politically important. When, on the other hand, subjects are political important enough to justify the energy and expense of contriving cycles, Arrow's result is of great practical significance…on the very most important

subjects, cycles may render social outcomes meaningless.' Should we really be worried about the Arrow Impossibility Theorem?

W9.   Epistemic Dimension (3)- Condorcet jury theorem and epistemic democracy

Essential reading
·   Robert E. Goodin and Kai Spiekermann, *An Epistemic Theory of Democracy* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), Part 1: Chapters 2-4.

Recommended reading
·   Cass Sunstein, 'The (Occasional) Power of Numbers, in *Infotopia: How Many Minds Produce Knowledge* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), Chapter 1.

Seminar question: How plausible are Condorcet's assumptions? To what extent are they threatened by our susceptibility to systematic bias, or lack of expertise that renders us worse than random?

W10.   Epistemic Dimension (4)- Epistemic value of diversity and deliberation

Essential reading
·   Robert E. Goodin and Kai Spiekermann, *An Epistemic Theory of Democracy* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), Part 1: Chapters 7&9.

Recommended reading
·   Hélène Landemore, 'Epistemic Failures of Deliberation,' in *Democratic Reason* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012), Chapter 5.
·   Kristoffer Ahlstrom-Vij, 'Why Deliberative Democracy is (Still) Untenable,' *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 2012.

Seminar question: Summarise how democracy promotes diversity and why diversity is good for a society. Discuss also how deliberative democracy can avoid the problem of group homogeneity.

W11.   Practice and Challenge (1)- The boundary problem

Essential reading
·   Frederick G. Whelan, 'Prologue: Democratic Theory and the Boundary Problem,' in *Liberal Democracy Nomos XXV*, Pennock and Chapmam ed. (New York: NYU Press, 1983).
·   Case study: Immigration and secession
    Recommended reading
·   Robert E. Goodin, 'Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives,' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, (2007).

· Sarah Song, 'The Boundary Problem in Democratic Theory: Why the Demos should be Bounded by the State,' *International Theory*, 2012.

Seminar question: Do you think the boundary problem fatal to democracy? Would you say that a good democratic society necessarily minimizes the harm from the boundary problem to the greatest extent?

W12.   Practice and Challenge (2)- Epistocracy

Essential reading
· Jason Brennan, 'The Right to a Competent Electorate' *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 2011.
· Case study: 韓國瑜現象
Recommended reading
· Jason Brennan, 'Alternatives to Democracy,' in *Debating Democracy,* Jason Brennan and Hélène Landemore (Oxford: OUP, 2021), Chapter 4.
· Hélène Landemore, 'Against Epistocracy,' in *Debating Democracy,* Jason Brennan and Hélène Landemore (Oxford: OUP, 2021), Chapter 7.

Seminar question: Suppose epistocracy can somehow coexist with democracy. Yet for Taiwan, which element do we need more? Does Taiwan (now) need more epistocracy or more democracy?

W13.   Practice and Challenge (3)- Compulsory voting

Essential reading
· Annabelle Lever, 'Compulsory Voting: A Critical Perspective,' *British Journal of Political Science*, 2010.
· Case study: Investigate what makes Brazil and Australia employ compulsory voting.

Recommended reading
· Lisa Hill, 'Republican Democracy and Compulsory Voting,' *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 2015.
· Ben Saunders, 'A Further Defence of the Right Not to Vote,' Res Publica, 2018.

Seminar question: Do you think compulsory voting would make democracy better? Would you take citizens reluctant to vote or believing that voting is meaningless as unqualified citizens?

W14.   Practice and Challenge (4)- Youth voting

Essential reading
· Timothy Fowler, 'The Status of Child Citizens,' Politics, Philosophy and Economic, 2012.
· Case study: TBC.

Recommended reading
· Tak Wing Chan and Matthew Clayton, 'Should the Voting Age be Lowered to Sixteen? Normative and Empirical Considerations,' *Political Studies*, 2006.
· Attila Mráz, 'Disenfranchisement and the Capacity/Equality Puzzle: Why Disenfranchise Children but Not Adults Living with Cognitive Disabilities,' *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, 2020.

Seminar question: Do you agree with the argument for youth voting? If yes, does the current Taiwanese government hold the argument for the amendment of the constitution? If not, why does the government aim to lower the voting age in Taiwan?

W15. **Group presentation (1)**
W16. **Group presentation (2)**
W17. **Group presentation (3)**
W18. **Revision**