

CONTENTS

Preface to the Second Edition	xiii
Acknowledgements	xvii
Introduction: Democracy – Triumph or Crisis?	1
PART ONE: TRADITIONAL AFFIRMATIONS OF DEMOCRACY	
Introduction	21
1 Pericles, <i>Funeral Oration</i>	25
2 Aristotle, <i>The Politics</i>	28
3 Niccolò Machiavelli, <i>The Discourses</i>	33
4 Thomas Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i>	37
5 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i>	43
6 James Madison (et al.), <i>The Federalist Papers</i>	52
7 John Stuart Mill, <i>Representative Government</i>	58
8 Alexis de Tocqueville, <i>Democracy in America</i>	67
9 The Putney Debates	77
10 Thomas Paine, <i>Rights of Man</i>	83
11 The National Assembly of France, <i>Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen</i>	87
12 Abraham Lincoln, <i>The Gettysburg Address</i>	90
13 Joseph A. Schumpeter, <i>Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy</i>	91

PART TWO: KEY CONCEPTS

Section 1:	Freedom and Autonomy	
	Introduction	98
14	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i>	100
15	Immanuel Kant, <i>On the Common Saying: 'This May Be True in Theory but it Does not Apply in Practice'</i>	102
16	Benjamin Constant, <i>The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns</i>	108
17	Isaiah Berlin, <i>Two Concepts of Liberty</i>	111
18	Robert Paul Wolff, <i>In Defense of Anarchism</i>	115
Section 2:	Equality	
	Introduction	118
19	John Locke, <i>The Second Treatise of Government</i>	120
20	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i>	124
21	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality</i>	127
22	R. H. Tawney, <i>Equality</i>	130
23	Bernard Williams, <i>The Idea of Equality</i>	135
Section 3:	Representation	
	Introduction	142
24	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i>	145
25	Edmund Burke, <i>Speech at the Conclusion of the Poll, 3 November 1774</i>	148
26	James Mill, <i>Essay on Government</i>	151
27	Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, <i>The Concept of Representation</i>	155
28	Anne Phillips, <i>The Politics of Presence</i>	159
29	Iris Marion Young, <i>Justice and the Politics of Difference</i>	163
30	Michael Bakunin, <i>The Illusion of Universal Suffrage</i>	167
31	Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, <i>Parliamentary Isolation</i>	170

Section 4:	Majority Rule	
	Introduction	172
32	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i>	174
33	Richard Wollheim, <i>A Paradox in the Theory of Democracy</i>	177
34	John Stuart Mill, <i>Representative Government</i>	179
35	Alexis de Tocqueville, <i>Democracy in America</i>	183
36	Giovanni Sartori, <i>The Theory of Democracy Revisited</i>	192
Section 5:	Citizenship	
	Introduction	198
37	Aristotle, <i>The Politics</i>	200
38	T. H. Marshall, <i>Class, Citizenship and Social Development</i>	203
39	Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, <i>The Return of the Citizen</i>	206
40	Bernard Crick, <i>Civic Republicanism and Citizenship: The Challenge for Today</i>	214
 PART THREE: CRITIQUES OF DEMOCRACY		
Section 6:	Conservative, Elitist and Authoritarian Critiques	
	Introduction	226
41	Plato, <i>The Republic</i>	229
42	Edmund Burke, <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i>	234
43	Roger Scruton, <i>The Meaning of Conservatism</i>	239
44	Benito Mussolini, <i>The Doctrine of Fascism</i>	243
45	Carl Schmitt, <i>The Concept of the Political</i>	245
46	Max Weber, <i>Economy and Society</i>	247
47	Robert Michels, <i>Political Parties</i>	252
48	Giovanni Sartori, <i>Anti-Elitism Revisited</i>	255
49	Joseph A. Schumpeter, <i>Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy</i>	259

Section 7:	Marxist and Socialist Critiques	
	Introduction	266
50	Karl Marx, <i>On the Jewish Question</i>	268
51	Karl Marx, <i>The Civil War in France</i>	274
52	Vladimir Ilich Lenin, <i>The State and Revolution</i>	278
53	Ralph Miliband, <i>Marxism and Politics</i>	282
54	C. B. Macpherson, <i>Democratic Theory, Essays in Retrieval</i>	287
Section 8:	Feminist Critiques	
	Introduction	294
55	Mary Wollstonecraft, <i>Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i>	297
56	Diana Coole, <i>Women in Political Theory</i>	307
57	Sheila Rowbotham, <i>Feminism and Democracy</i>	315
58	Susan Mendus, <i>Losing the Faith: Feminism and Democracy</i>	318
PART FOUR:	CONTEMPORARY ISSUES	
Section 9:	The Market	
	Introduction	328
59	Friedrich Hayek, <i>The Fatal Conceit: The Errors of Socialism</i>	330
60	Allen Buchanan, <i>Ethics, Efficiency, and the Market</i>	335
61	Milton Friedman, <i>Capitalism and Freedom</i>	344
62	David Beetham, <i>Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization</i>	350
63	Hilary Wainwright, <i>Arguments for a New Left</i>	354
64	John F. Weeks, <i>Wealth Accumulates and Democracy Decays</i>	357
65	Wendy Brown, <i>American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization</i>	361

Section 10:	Civil Society	
	Introduction	368
66	Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, <i>Civil Society and Political Theory</i>	370
67	Robert D. Putnam, <i>Bowling Alone</i>	375
68	Paul Hirst, <i>Associative Principles and Democratic Reform</i>	378
Section 11:	Participation	
	Introduction	384
69	Geraint Parry and George Moyser, <i>More Participation, More Democracy?</i>	386
70	Hanna Fenichel Pitkin and Sara M. Shumer, <i>On Participation</i>	391
71	Carole Pateman, <i>Participation and Democratic Theory</i>	397
72	Tom DeLuca, <i>The Two Faces of Political Apathy</i>	403
73	Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, <i>What Deliberative Democracy Means</i>	415
Section 12:	The Internet	
	Introduction	426
74	Merlyna Lim and Mark E. Kann, <i>Politics: Deliberation, Mobilization, and Networked Practices of Agitation</i>	428
75	Manuel Castells, <i>Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age</i>	433
76	Evgeny Morozov, <i>The Net Delusion: How Not to Liberate the World</i>	436
Section 13:	Nationalism	
	Introduction	442
77	Ghia Nodia, <i>Nationalism and Democracy</i>	444
78	David Miller, <i>Citizenship and National Identity</i>	447
79	Erika Harris, 'The People', <i>Identity and Democracy</i>	450
80	Craig Calhoun, <i>Nationalism and Democracy</i>	454

Section 14:	Cosmopolitan Democracy	
	Introduction	460
81	Ulrich Beck, <i>Methodological Cosmopolitanism</i>	463
82	Luis Cabrera, <i>The Practice of Global Citizenship</i>	468
83	Daniele Archibugi, <i>World Citizenship</i>	473
84	John S. Dryzek, <i>Global Democracy and Its Setbacks</i>	478
85	Jürgen Habermas, <i>The Post-National Constellation and the Future of Democracy</i>	483
86	Norrie MacQueen, <i>The Prospect of 'Post-Westphalian' Intervention</i>	491
Section 15:	Religion	
	Introduction	500
87	Asef Bayat, <i>Islam and Democracy: What is the Real Question?</i>	502
88	Robert W. Hefner, <i>Public Islam and the Problem of Democratization</i>	516
89	Michael Reder and Josef Schmidt, <i>Habermas and Religion</i>	522
90	Fred Dallmayr, <i>Whither Democracy? Religion, Politics and Islam</i>	525
91	John Keane, <i>The Life and Death of Democracy</i>	536
Section 16:	Multiculturalism	
	Introduction	542
92	Charles Taylor, <i>The Dynamics of Democratic Exclusion</i>	544
93	Will Kymlicka, <i>Multicultural Citizenship</i>	547
94	Iris Marion Young, <i>Justice and the Politics of Difference</i>	553
95	Charles W. Mills, <i>The Racial Contract</i>	558
Section 17:	Democracy and Violence	
	Introduction	564
96	Hannah Arendt, <i>On Violence</i>	566
97	Michael Mann, <i>Two Versions of 'We the People'</i>	575

98	John Schwarzmantel, <i>New Forms of Violence</i>	584
99	Zygmunt Bauman, <i>Global Frontier-land</i>	591
	Bibliography	596
	Index	603

