

TEORIAS DA DEMOCRACIA

Autogoverno, representação e igualdade política em concepções institucionais da democracia

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Apresentação

Esta disciplina pretende ser uma introdução às teorias da democracia eleitoral e representativa, em seus aspectos explicativos e normativos. A proposta da disciplina é olhar verticalmente para as potencialidades e limites de se olhar para a democracia como método eleitoral de seleção de governantes, nos eixos dahlsianos de participação e competição, com foco em diferentes concepções normativas de igualdade e liberdade políticas.

Avaliação final

Paper de 15 a 20 páginas com reflexão teórica sobre alguma proposta de reforma política atualmente em tramitação no Congresso, recentemente implementada ou conforme discutida por algum cientista político brasileiro. O paper deve utilizar, no mínimo, cinco textos discutidos em classe.

Para facilitar o processo reflexivo, é indicada a leitura dos seguintes volumes, formados por diversos capítulos e artigos de cientistas políticos brasileiros:

Avritzer, Leonardo & Fátima Anastasia. *Reforma política no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 2006.

“Dossiê Reforma Política – Primeira parte”, *Revista Parlamento e Sociedade*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 2015.

“Dossiê Reforma Política – Segunda”, *Revista Parlamento e Sociedade*, Vol. 3, No. 5, 2015.

Aula 1. Introdução ao enquadramento da questão: reflexões preliminares sobre as dimensões normativas e explicativas da teoria democrática

Dahl, Robert. *A preface to democratic theory. Expanded edition.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006. (Chapter 1. “Madsonian democracy”, pp. 4-33; Chapter 2. “Populistic democracy”, pp. 34-62; Chapter 3. “Polyarchal democracy”, pp. 63-89.)

Dworkin, Ronald. “What is equality? Part 4: Political equality.” *University of San Francisco Law Review*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1987, pp. 1-30.

Aula 2. Igual consideração e igualdade política: reflexões normativas

Estlund, David, Jeremy Waldron, Bernard Grofman & Scott Feld. “Democratic theory and the public interest: Condorcet and Rousseau revisited.” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 4 1989, pp. 1317-1340.

Beitz, Charles. *Political equality.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. (Chapter 1. “The subject of political equality”, pp. 3-29; Chapter 2. “Results”, pp. 31-48; Chapter 3. “Preferences”, pp. 49-74; Chapter 4. “Procedures”, pp. 75-96; Chapter 5. “A theory of political fairness”, pp. 97-121).

Aula 3. Igual consideração e igualdade política: reflexões sobre desenhos institucionais

Beitz, Charles. *Political equality.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. (Chapter 6. “Proportional representation”, pp. 123-140; Chapter 7. “Fair representation and legislative districting”, pp. 141-163; Chapter 8. “The formation of the political agenda”, pp. 164-191; Chapter 9. “Political finance”, pp. 192-215; Chapter 10. “Substance and method”, pp. 217-230.)



Aula 4. Reflexões sobre Schumpeter: sobre a democracia como método, poder e elites políticas

Schumpeter, Joseph. *Capitalism, socialism, and democracy*. London: Routledge, 2003. (Chapter XX. “The setting of the problem”, pp. 235-249; Chapter XXI. “The classical doctrine of democracy”, pp. 250-268; Chapter XXII. “Another theory of democracy”, pp. 269-283.)

Mackie, Gerry. “Schumpeter leadership democracy.” *Political Theory*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2009, pp. 128-153.

Green, Jeffrey. “Three Theses on Schumpeter: Response to Mackie.” *Political Theory*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2010, pp. 268-275.

Aula 5. Reflexões a partir de Dahl: sobre concepções pluralistas de democracia e poder

Dahl, Robert. *Who governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961. (1. “The nature of the problem”, pp. 1-9; Book IV. “The distribution of political resources”; Book V. “The use of political resources”, pp. 271-303.)

Dahl, Robert. *Polyarchy: participation and opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

Blokland, Hans. 2011. *Pluralism, democracy, and political knowledge: Robert Dahls and his critics in modern politics*. New York: Routledge, 2016. (Chapter 6. “A logical analysis of polyarchy”; Chapter 7. “Empirical research on polyarchy”; Chapter 9. “Power and powerlessness under polyarchy”; 10. “Epistemological reservations”.)



Aula 6. Teorias econômicas da democracia – Parte 1

Downs, Anthony. *An economic theory of democracy.* New York: Harper & Row, 1957. (Part I. “Basic structure of the model, pp. 2-74; Part II. “The general effects of uncertainty”, pp. 76-204.)

Aula 7. Teorias econômicas da democracia – Parte 2

Buchanan, James and Gordon Tullock. “The Calculus of Consent.” In T. Christiano (org.), *Philosophy and democracy. An Anthology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 195-215.

Riker, William. 2003. “Social choice theory and constitutional democracy”. In T. Christiano (org.), *Philosophy and democracy. An Anthology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 161-194.

Coleman, Jules. 1989. “Rationality and the justification of democracy”. In T. Christiano (org.), *Philosophy and democracy. An Anthology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 216-238.

Aula 8. Constituency: reflexões normativas e desenhos institucionais

Rehfeld, Andrew. *The concept of constituency: political representation, democratic legitimacy, and institutional design.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (1. “Introduction”, pp. 3-28; 2. “The concept of constituency”, pp. 29-53; 7. “Territory reconsidered”, pp. 145-176; 8. “Legitimate representation and institutional design: for permanent, involuntary, heterogeneous constituencies, pp. 177-208; 9. “Random constituencies”, pp. 209-239).

Aula 9. Representação, eleição e democracia

Manin, Bernard. *Principles of representative government.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. (4. “A democratic aristocracy”, pp. 132-160; 5. “The verdict of the people”, pp. 161-235; 6.



“Metamorphoses of representative government”; pp. 193-235.)

Manin, Bernard; Przeworski, Adam; Stokes, Susan. “Eleições e Representação”. *Lua Nova*, São Paulo, 67, 2006, pp. 105-138.

Aula 10. Democracia, liberdade de expressão e opinião pública

Post, Robert. “Managing deliberation: the quandary of democratic dialogue.” *Ethics*, Vol. 103, No. 4 1993, pp. 654-678.

Sunstein, Cass. *Democracy and the problem of free speech*. New York: The Free Press, 1993. (2. “A New Deal for speech”, pp. 17-52; 3. “Broadcasting, politics, liberty”, pp. 53-92; 5. “Political speech and the two-tier First Amendment”, pp. 121-166.)

Aula 11. “Integridade representativa” e opinião pública (ou Da relação entre democracia discursiva e democracia eleitoral)

Post, Robert. *Citizens divided: campaign finance reform and the Constitution*. Cambridge-Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. (“First Lecture: A short history of representation and discursive democracy”, pp. 1-42; “Second Lecture: Campaign finance reform and the First Amendment”, pp. 43-94.)

Dworkin, Ronald. *Sovereign virtue: the theory and practice of equality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. (“Free speech politics and the dimensions of democracy”, pp. 351-385.)

Aula 12. Financiamento de campanha

Rawls, John. *Political Liberalism. Expanded edition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.



(Lecture VIII. “The basic liberties and their priority”, pp. 289-371.)

Ackerman & Ayres. *Voting with dollars: a new paradigm for campaign finance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.(Part I. The New Paradigm; pp. 1-56)

Aula 13. Igualdade política e representação equitativa

Phillips, Anne. *The politics of presence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. (Chapter. 1 “From a politics of ideas to a politics of presence?”, pp. 1-26; Chapter 2. Political equality and fair representation, pp. 27-56; Chapter 6. “Deliberation, accountability, and interest”, pp. 167-192.)

Phillips, Anne. *Engendering democracy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991. (Chapter 3. “The representation of women”, pp. 60-89; Chapter 5. “Paradoxes of participation”, pp. 120-146)

Aula 14. Impeachment e teoria democrática

Sunstein, Cass. *Impeachment: a citizen’s guide*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Posner, Richard. 1999. *An affair of state: the investigation, impeachment, and trial of President Clinton*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (Cap. 4. “Morality, private and public” e cap. 5 “Should President Clinton have been impeached, and if impeached convicted?; , pp. 133-198)

Dworkin, Ronald. “A kind of coup” *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 14 de janeiro de 1999.



Aula 15. Participação e democracia¹

Waldron, Jeremy. “Participation: the right of rights.” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. 98 1998, pp. 307-337.

Barber, Benjamin. *Strong democracy. Participatory politics for a new age.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. (5. “Thin democracy in the twentieth century: the potential for pathology”, pp. 93-115; 6. “Strong democracy: politics as a way of living”, pp. 117-138; 7. “A conceptual frame: politics in the participatory mode”, pp. 117-138; 10. “The real present: institutionalizing strong democracy in the modern world”, pp. 261-311).

Aula 16. Sistemas deliberativos e indutores de conectividade: instituições para a deliberação democrática²

Gutmann, Amy & Dennis Thompson. *Why deliberative democracy?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. (1. “What deliberative democracy means?”, pp. 1-63.)

Ferejohn, John. “Instituting deliberative democracy.” *In* Shapiro & Macedo (eds.). *Designing democratic institutions. NOMOS XLII.* New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp. 75-104.

Mansbridge, Bohman, Chambers, Christiano, Fung, Parkinson, Thompson & Warren. “A systemic

¹ Aula extra formulada para os alunos interessados em teorias participativas da democracia. A presença não será obrigatória.

² Aula extra formulada para os alunos interessados em teorias deliberativas da democracia. A presença não será obrigatória.



approach to deliberative democracy.” In Parkinson & Mansbridge (eds.). *Deliberative systems. Deliberative democracy at the large scale*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 1-26.

Chambers, Simone. “Deliberation and mass democracy.” In Parkinson & Mansbridge (eds.). *Deliberative systems. Deliberative democracy at the large scale*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 52-71.

Parkinson, John. “Democratizing deliberative systems.” In Parkinson & Mansbridge (eds.). *Deliberative systems. Deliberative democracy at the large scale*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 151-172.

