



Universitat
Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona

Year: 2020/2021

21712 - Theories of Democracy and Justice

Syllabus Information

Academic Course: 2020/21

Academic Center: 339 - Faculty of Political and Social Sciences

Study: 3391 - Bachelor's (Degree) Programme in Political and Administration Sciences

Subject: 21712 - Theories of Democracy and Justice

Credits: 4.0

Course: 420 - Bachelor's degree in Political and
Administration Sciences: 4 701 - M nor en Ci ncia Pol tica: 1

Teaching languages: English (though papers and exams may
be also written in Catalan or Spanish)

Teaching Period: Third Quarter

Teacher: Sergi Morales-G lvez

Office Hours: Immediately after class, or by appointment
(email)

Office: 20.182 (Jaume I)

Email: sergi.moralesg@upf.edu

1. Presentation

There is a never-ending question (asked in very different forms) that has consistently appeared throughout the history of humankind: what is a good society? How should a society be organized to be considered just and/or democratic? Political philosophers have tried to deal with such questions from Ancient Greece until our times.

In the recent history of political thought, democracy and justice are ideals that have thrived together. However, the present reality of liberal democracies is full of tensions, dilemmas, contradictions and conflicts that show, on the one hand, the difficulty of fully implementing those ideals simultaneously and, on the other, the broad disagreement on the actual meaning of justice and democracy in the first place.

This course aims to address some of the main normative debates in the field of political theory, looking for responses to the challenges faced by contemporary societies. Among these, specific attention will be devoted to issues of cultural diversity and social inequality, frequently combining abstract discussion with case studies.

2. Associated skills

This course is part of the optional courses itinerary 'democracy in diverse societies' that, altogether, develops the following competencies/skills:

BASIC SKILLS:

CB2. That students can apply their knowledge to their work or vocation in a professional manner and have competences typically demonstrated through devising and sustaining arguments and solving problems within their field of study.

CB3. That students have the ability to gather and interpret relevant data (usually within their field of study) to inform judgments that include reflection on relevant social, scientific or ethical.

CB4. That students can communicate information, ideas, problems and solutions to both specialist and non-specialist audiences.

CB5. That students have developed those skills needed to undertake further studies with a high degree of autonomy.

GENERAL SKILLS:

CG1. Capacity for analysis and synthesis.

CG3. Knowledge of a second language.

CG6. Interpersonal skills.

CG8. Appreciation of diversity and multiculturalism.

CG15. Project design and management.

TRANSVERSAL SKILLS:

CT1. Identify and analyse critically gender inequality and its intersection with other axes of inequality.

SPECIFIC SKILLS:

EC1. Identify the main theories and approaches of Political Science and Administration.

EC2. Analyse the structure and functioning of political systems.

EC4. Examine the fundamentals of comparative politics. CE6. Identify citizen behaviour and democratic values.

EC8. Interpret contemporary political theories and arguments.

EC9. Interpret the historical dimension of political and social processes. CE17. Apply the methods and techniques of political and social research. CE19. Examine the techniques of political communication.

3. Class Structure and Teaching Methods (provisional: depending on the COVID19 situation)

The teaching methods (and assessment) of the course are based on two types of activities. First, classroom activities include: attendance, presenting readings in groups and discussion with colleagues. Second, it includes activities to do outside the classroom both individually (readings, a movie review and an essay) and in groups (prepare reading presentations). It is especially important the essay, which will mainly assess the understanding of the readings and the students' ability to develop personal arguments.

Each session of the course will be composed as follows:

- **Part 1:** general introduction to the issue by the instructor (1.30h approx.) with one break of 10 minutes in the middle of the lecture. All lectures will be recorded and uploaded in *Aula Global*.
- Break (10-15 minutes)
- **Part 2 (attendance to, at least, 70% is mandatory):**
 - Presentation of the reading(s) by a group of students, questions and answers, and general discussion. Students must have read and prepared the compulsory readings each week and participate in the discussion based on the readings (15 minutes' presentation plus discussion).
 - The last part of the class will be devoted to different tasks (for example, the instructor will introduce controversial debates to the students via newspapers pieces, movies, etc.). [this part only applies to the two sessions we will take face-to-face (streaming option included for all those unable to come physically). See section 8 of this syllabus for more information]

4. Contents

Unit. 1 – Presentation: What is Political Theory about? (April 15th)

The first session will be introductory. First, it will introduce the goals, methodology, and academic organization of the course. Second, it will provide an overview of the readings and assign classroom presentations of them. Third, it will introduce the basic concepts of the course, what is the relationship between political science and political theory, and raises questions about the main object of political theory (namely, theories of democracy and justice) and their crucial role as sources of political legitimacy in western liberal democracies.

Although there is no mandatory reading, I recommend the following reading:

- List, C. and Valentini, L. (2016) "The Methodology of Political Theory", in Cappelen, H., Szabó Gendler, T., and Hawthorne, J. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophical Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bauböck, R. (2008) "Normative Political Theory and empirical research", in Della Porta, D. and Keating, M. (eds.), *Approaches and methodologies in the Social Sciences: A pluralist perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 40–60.

SECTION 1: THEORIES OF JUSTICE

Unit. 2 – Distributive Justice I: Utilitarianism and Liberal Egalitarianism (April 22nd)

The fair distribution of rights, opportunities and resources among individual members of the society, is one of the main concerns of political philosophy. Different accounts of equality and/or justified inequalities are the central element of debates on social justice. How much state intervention to redistribute wealth and resources is required or legitimate in well-ordered societies?

Mandatory reading:

- Parvin, P. and Chambers, C. (2012) "Utilitarianism" in Parvin, P. and Chambers, C. (eds.), *Political Philosophy: A Complete Introduction*. UK: Hodder, 135–148.
- Rawls, J. (1999 [1971]) *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, sections 1, 4 and 11. *

Unit. 3 – Distributive Justice II. Criticisms to Liberal Egalitarianism: Libertarianism, Marxism and Feminism (April 29th)

There are many criticisms to mainstream liberal egalitarian theories of distributive justice (especially John Rawls' theory). On the one hand, some criticisms come from the right-wing of the ideological spectrum (libertarianism). On the other, some others come from the left side (Marxism/socialism and feminism). In this unit we will deal with these critical and alternative traditions.

Mandatory reading:

- Nozick, R. (2013 [1974]) *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, chapter 7, section 1 (pp. 149-182).*
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1989) *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chapter 12.*

Unit. 4 – Cultural Justice I: Communitarianism, is still alive? (May 13th)

During the 1980s, some philosophers criticize John Rawls and mainstream liberalism for being too individualistic and for not paying enough attention to the importance of communities and group membership. Is membership morally valuable for individuals? Why?

Mandatory reading:

- Walzer, M. (1990) The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism. *Political Theory* 18 (1): 6–23.

Unit. 5 – Cultural Justice II: Multiculturalism (May 20th)

The majority in today's liberal democracies has to deal with multiple demands for respect that come from diverse minority groups. Do these struggles for recognition have their own meaning that is independent from the question of fair redistribution of resources and goods? To address this question, we will discuss whether there should be any special group rights apart from the general liberal right to ethical independence, and whether identity politics is the right way to maintain equal respect for all citizens.

Mandatory reading:

- Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 75–93.*

Unit. 6 – Cultural Justice III: Self-determination and Secession (May 27th)

One way in which the 'demos' or the 'society' are contested is by the attempts to break up existing nation states, and the creation of new ones. If membership in a given political community is so decisive, why are there so few accounts of what justifies existing borders? When is a change in borders legitimate? What do theories of democracy and justice have to say about all this?

Mandatory reading:

- Beran, H. (1984) A Liberal Theory of Secession. *Political Studies* 32 (1): 21–31.
- Birch, A. H. (1984) Another Liberal Theory of Secession. *Political Studies* 32: 596–602.

SECTION 2: AUTHORITY, JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY

Unit. 7 – The Complex Relationship between Democracy and Justice (June 3rd)

This unit introduces the basic concepts of the course and raises questions about the main object of theories of democracy and justice, and their crucial role as sources of political legitimacy in western liberal democracies. It also tries to provide different perspectives on whether these concepts are inherently compatible, opposed or complementary.

Mandatory reading:

- Valentini, L. (2012) Justice, Disagreement and Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science* 43: 177–199.

Unit. 8 – Global Democracy and Global Justice (June 10th)

Humanity faces several issues all over the world: socio-economic inequalities between developed countries and the global south; global warming; refugee and migration movements, etc. How should these issues be addressed? This session will provide an overview of current normative debates on the feasibility, desirability, and necessity of extending (global) democracy beyond nation-states (to transnational and global organizations), focusing as well on nationalist criticisms to this question.

Mandatory reading:

- Brock, G. (2015) Global Justice, Cosmopolitan Duties and Duties to Compatriots: The Case of Healthcare. *Public Health Ethics* 8(2): 110–120.

Unit. 9 – Justice, Democracy and Non-Human Animals (June 17th)

Traditional morality claims that nonhuman animals do not matter at all or, at best, that they matter much less than human beings. In the last four decades, however, many authors have argued that our disadvantageous treatment of animals is actually a form of species-based discrimination (speciesism) and, therefore, seriously morally wrong. What kind of moral and political obligations do we have, then, towards animals?

Mandatory reading:

- Singer, P. (1989) “All Animals Are Equal” In Regan, T. and Singer, P. (eds.), *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 148–162.

5. Evaluation

Continuous assessment:

- a) Room Tasks (fundamentally: group presentation. But also, classroom participation. 70% of attendance (at least) to the ‘seminar part’ of the class is mandatory [sessions after the break]) (25%)
- b) Movie Review (25%) → Deadline: 10 May 2021, before midnight.

Final Assessment:

- a) Individual Essay (50%)
 - a. Preliminary Essay proposal: 3 May 2021, before midnight (5%)
 - b. Final submission of the Essay: 21 June 2021, before midnight (45%)
- b) Optional (+10%): two options [if anyone is interested, let the professor know beforehand] → Deadline: 29 June 2021, before midnight.
 - a. Book review of a philosophical novel (Lukes, S. (1995) *The Curious Enlightenment of Professor Caritat: A Novel of Ideas* [*there is also a Spanish translation]).
 - b. Review of the TV show ‘The Handmaid’s Tale’ (first season) (or the original book, by Margaret Atwood (1985)*).
 - c. If anyone has any extra interesting proposal, let the professor know.

Retake Exam:

- Students who have attended 70% of the seminar sessions (sessions after the break), gave a presentation in class, handed the movie review and the individual essay, but obtain a final grade for the course under 5, will be allowed to retake the exam of early July.

- The recovery consists of a 48h take-home exam: students will receive a question, and they will have 48 hours to answer it, writing a kind of short essay. This exam will assess the content of the theoretical sessions and relevant readings. The % of the final mark to be recovered would depend on which one of both parts of the evaluation (continuous assessment or final assessment) is under 5. If both are under 5, the recovery will imply 100% of the final mark.

6. Plagiarism

Plagiarism will not be tolerated, and will result in failure of the course. Remember to quote properly.

7. Bibliography and information resources

Useful links: <http://plato.stanford.edu/> and <http://www.iep.utm.edu/>

Fundamental bibliography:

- Beran H. (1984) A Liberal Theory of Secession. *Political Studies* 32 (1): 21–31.
- Berlin, I. (1969) *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- Birch, A. H. (1984) Another Liberal Theory of Secession. *Political Studies* 32: 596–602.
- Cohen, G.A. (2011) *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice and Other Essays in Political Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Della Porta, D. and Keating, M. (eds.) (2008) *Approaches and methodologies in the Social Sciences: A pluralist perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- List, C. and Valentini, L. (2016) "The Methodology of Political Theory", in Cappellem, H., Szabó Gendler, T., and Hawthorne, J. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophical Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. (1989) *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press*
- Nozick, R. (2013 [1974]) *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Books.*
- Parvin, P. and Chambers, C. (2012) "Utilitarianism" in Parvin, P. and Chambers, C. (eds.), *Political Philosophy: A Complete Introduction*. UK: Hodder, 135–148.
- Pettit, P. (1997) *Republicanism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- Rawls, J. (1999 [1971]) *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.*
- Singer, P. (1989) "All Animals Are Equal" In Regan, T. and Singer, P. (eds.), *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall: 148-162.
- Valentini, L. (2012) Justice, Disagreement and Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science* 43: 177–199.
- Walzer, M. (1990) The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism. *Political Theory* 18 (1): 6–23.

Introductory bibliography:

- Arnsperger, C. and Van Parijs, P. (2002) *Ética Económica y Social: Teorías de la Sociedad Justa*. Barcelona: Paidós, 11–26.
- Bellamy, R., and Mason, A. (eds.) (2018) *Political Concepts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gargarella, R. (1996) *Las teorías de la justicia después de Rawls*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Gaus, G. F. & Kukathas, C. (eds.) (2004) *Handbook of Political Theory*. SAGE Publications.
- Geoghegan, V., and Wilford, R. (eds.) (2014) *Political Ideologies*. London: Routledge.
- Kymlicka, W. (2002) *Contemporary Political Philosophy. An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- Máiz, R. (ed.) (2009) *Teorías políticas contemporáneas*. València: Tirant lo Blanch.
- Miller, D. (2003) *Political Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- Parvin, P. and Chambers, C. (2012) *Political Philosophy: A Complete Introduction*. UK: Hodder.
- Requejo, F. and Gonzalo, E. (2009) *Desigualtats en Democràcia: Les Teories de la Justícia Socioeconòmica al Segle XXI*. Vic: Eumo Editorial.
- Sandel, M. (2009) *Justice: What's the right thing to do?* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.*
- Vallespin, F. (ed.) (1990) *Historia de la Teoría Política 1*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Wolff, J. (1996) *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*

Suggested extra readings:

- Archibugi, D. (2008) *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Berlin, I. (1962) "Does Political Theory Still Exist?", in Laslett, P. and Runciman, W. G. (eds.), *Philosophy, Politics, and Society*, 2nd Series. Oxford: Blackwell, 1–33.*
- Brock, G. (2013) *Cosmopolitanism versus Non-Cosmopolitanism: Critiques, Defenses, Reconceptualizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, A. (1991), *Secession. The morality of Political Divorce from Port Sumter to Lithuania and Quebec*. Boulder: Westview Press.*
- Butler, J. (2006 [1990]). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Canovan, M. (1996) *Nationhood and Political Theory*. Aldershot. E. Elgar Publishing.
- Dowding, K., Goodin R. and Pateman, C. (eds.) (2004) *Justice and Democracy: Essays for Brian Barry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gargarella, R. and Ovejero, F. (2001) *Razones para el Socialismo*. Barcelona: Paidós.

- Gilligan, C. (1982) *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Marchetti, R. (2008) *Global Democracy: For and Against*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Miller, D. (2007) *National Responsibility and Global Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, D. (1995) *On Nationality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*
- Moore, M. (ed.) (1998) *National Self-determination and Secession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2019) *The Cosmopolitan Tradition: A Noble but Flawed Ideal*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (1996) *For love of country*. Boston: Beacon Press.*
- Okin, S. M., and Mansbridge, J. (1994) *Feminism: Schools of Thought in Politics*. Aldershot. E. Elgar Publishing.
- Pateman, C. (1988) *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Patten, A. (2014) *Equal Recognition: The Moral Foundations of Minority Rights*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rawls, J. (2008) *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. *
- Rawls, J. (1999) *The Law of Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Requejo, F. (2002) *Democracy and National Pluralism*. London and New York: Routledge*
- Shapiro, I., and Hacker-Cordon, C. (eds.) (1999) *Democracy's Edges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Singer, P. (2002), *One world: The ethics of globalization*, Yale University Press.
- Smart, J.J.C. and Williams, B. (eds.) (1973) *Utilitarianism For and Against*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, A. (2001) *Nacionalismo*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Tamir, Y. (1993) *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Van Parijs, P. (2011) *Just Democracy: The Rawls-Machiavelli Programme*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Vergés Gifra, J. (2013) *La Nació Necessària*. Barcelona: Angle Editorial.
- Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

*indicates that Catalan and/or Spanish translations are available.

8. General calendar and tasks

Syllabus		Dates	Readings	Room task ¹	
INTRODUCTION to Political Theory		April 15 th 08.30- 11.30	List & Valentini / Bauböck (not required)	None	
SECTION 1: Theories of justice	Distributive Justice I	April 22 nd 08.30- 11.30	Smart / Rawls	1 reading presentation	Case study: Is Age discrimination acceptable?
	Distributive Justice II	April 29 th 08.30- 11.30	Nozick / MacKinnon	2 reading presentations	None
	Submission of the Individual Essay proposal (Deadline: 3 May, 23.59 o'clock)				
	Tutoring session	May 6 th 08.30- 11.30	Discussion of the essay proposal with the professor		
	Submission Movie Review (Deadline: 10 May, 23.59 o'clock)				
	Cultural Justice I	May 13 th 08.30- 11.30	Walzer	1 Reading presentation	None
	Cultural Justice II	May 20 th 08.30- 11.30	Kymlicka	1 Reading presentation	None
	Cultural Justice III	May 27 th 08.30- 11.30	Beran / Birch	1 Reading presentation	None
SECTION 2: Authority and Democracy	Democracy & Justice	June 3 rd 08.30- 11.30	Valentini	1 Reading presentation	None
	Global justice & global democracy	June 10 th 08.30- 11.30	Brock	1 Reading presentation	None
	Justice, democracy & non-human animals ²	June 17 th 08.30- 11.30	Singer	1 Reading presentation	Debate: speciesism vs the moral consideration of nonhuman animals (plus 30 minutes of doubts and revision of the course)
Submission of the final version of the Individual Essay (deadline: 21 June, 23.59 o'clock)					
Submission of the voluntary extra task (29 June, 23.59 o'clock)					

¹ All the room tasks of the second box (debates, case studies) will take place only when having 'face-to-face' classes. Of course, considering that there is no obligation to physically attend to classes, the class will be streamed anyway for those unable to attend in person. That means that only the sessions taking place on April 22 (Distributive Justice I) and June 17 (Justice, democracy and non-human animals), both in green, will be face-to-face plus streaming. All the rest will be performed online (only). The two face-to-face sessions will take place on room 40.248 (Roger de Llúria building, second floor). Of course, physical attendance those two days is not mandatory. In any case, I would encourage you all to attend physically (if possible).

² This session will be performed with the collaboration of Dr. Eze Paez, researcher at UPF (Department of Law), and expert and defender of non-human animal rights.