Five questions

1. **What?**
   - Ideals v. institutions

2. **Where?**
   - Supra-national
     - e.g. regional, global
   - Sub-national
     - e.g. workplace, family

3. **Who?**
   - Those that should **not** share in rule, but **do**
   - Those that **should** share, but do **not**

4. **Why?**

5. **How?**
Overview

1. Why democracy?
   a) Instrumental arguments
   b) Non-instrumental arguments

2. Democracy how?
   a) Participation

3. Summing-up
Aristotle’s typology of constitutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How many rules?</th>
<th>Is their rule good or bad?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- One -</td>
<td>- Good -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Some -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Many -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Democracy = rule by the mob

Democratic (Constitutional Govt.)
Why democracy?

Instrumental justifications

- Democracy is justified when and because it **produces good consequences** more reliably than any other feasible decision procedure.

Problems

a) Which consequences are ‘good’?

b) How good is democracy at delivering them (as compared to non-democratic systems)?

- Need account of specifically democratic mechanisms.
'Democratic governments ... have to win elections and face public criticism, and have strong incentives to undertake measures to avert famines and other catastrophes. It is not surprising that no famine has ever taken place in the history of the world in a functioning democracy.'

– Sen, Development as Freedom, p. 16
Instrumental

*Two instrumental accounts*

1. ‘Correctness’ account
   - Reliably reaches morally best **policies** over the long haul

2. ‘Best results’ account
   - Reliably produces morally superior **results** over the long haul

*‘Best results’ wider than ‘correctness’*

1. ‘Correctness’ might be satisfied by autocracy
2. If ‘making citizens virtuous’ inc. under ‘best results’, then ‘best results’ only satisfied by democracy

– Arneson, ‘Defending the Purely Instrumental Account’
Wisdom of the multitude

‘the many, of whom each individual is not a good man, when they meet together may be better than the few good, if regarded not individually but collectively, just as a feast to which many contribute is better than a dinner provided out of a single purse. For each individual among the many has a share of ... practical wisdom ... Hence the many are better judges than a single man of music and poetry; for some understand one part, and some another, and among them they understand the whole ... [S]o a multitude is a better judge of many things than any individual’

– Aristotle, Politics, 1281a, 1286a
Condorcet jury theorem

Options
- Binary options (e.g. innocent/guilty)
- There is a right answer

Members of jury
- Vote independently
- Judgmental competence > 0.5

Decision rules
- Probability that simple majority will arrive at correct answer > 0.5, and increases rapidly as ...
  a) ... size of group increases
  b) ... size of majority increases
  c) ... individual judgmental competence increases
Problems with Condorcet jury theorem

Options
1. Legitimate political disagreement concerns content of, not just means to, common good

Members of jury
2. Vote independently
   - Prohibits deliberation?
3. Individual competence
   a) Assessed how? Very competent judge might consistently be in minority
   b) How likely to be > 0.5?
      - If < 0.5, group competence approaches 0 just as rapidly as it approaches 1 when individual competence > 0.5
Overview

1. **Why democracy?**
   a) Instrumental arguments
   b) **Non-instrumental arguments**

2. Democracy how?
   a) Participation

3. Summing-up
Why democracy?

**Instrumental justifications**
- Democracy is justified when and because it produces good consequences more reliably than any other feasible decision procedure.

**Non-instrumental arguments**
- Democracy is justified when and because it embodies certain values.
Self-development

‘It has long ... been a common saying, that if a good despot could be ensured, despotic monarchy would be the best form of government. ... I am willing, for the sake of the argument, to concede all this ... What should we then have? One man of superhuman mental activity managing the entire affairs of a mentally passive people. ... What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regimen? What development can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it? ... A good despotism is an altogether false ideal ... more noxious than a bad one; for it is far more relaxing and enervating to the thoughts, feelings, and energies of the people.’

– Mill, Considerations on Representative Government, ch. 3
Five questions

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     - e.g. workplace

3. **Who?**
   - Those that should **not** share in rule, but **do**
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4. **Why?**
   - Instrumental v. non-instrumental

5. **How?**
   - Direct v. indirect
   - Aggregative v. non-aggregative
Overview

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2. Democracy how?
   a) Participation

3. Summing-up
Popular participation

‘In Rome, a tribune, or any citizen, could propose laws, on which every citizen could speak . . . so that ultimately the people might choose what was best.’

– Machiavelli, Discourses, 1.18
Objections

1. Feasibility
2. Competence
3. Expertise
4. Manipulation
5. Populism
'No democracy ... ever did or could rise above mediocrity, except insofar as the sovereign Many have let themselves be guided ... by the counsels and influence of a more highly gifted and instructed One or Few. The initiation of all wise of noble things, comes and must come from individuals ... The honour and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led to them with his eyes open.'

– Mill, On Liberty, ch. 3
‘above all, ever, and in all cases, [it is the representative’s duty] to prefer [his constituents’] interest to his own ... But his unbiassed opinion, his **mature judgment**, his **enlightened conscience**, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. ... Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his **judgment**; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.’

– Burke, ‘Speech to the Electors of Bristol’ (1774)
A modern tribunate?

1. **Who?**
   - 51 private citizens
   - Cannot be from political or economic elite

2. **How?**
   - Selected by lottery, not election
   - One-year non-renewable term

3. **What?**
   - Can veto up to: (a) one piece of congressional legislation, (b) one executive order, (c) one Supreme Court decision
   - Can call one national referendum

Overview

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   b) Non-instrumental arguments

2. Democracy how?
   a) Participation

3. Summing-up
Summing-up

Why democracy?
- Instrumental arguments (e.g. epistemic benefits)
- Non-instrumental arguments (e.g. self-development)

Participatory democracy
- Feasible?
- Desirable?