## **Models of Democracy**

Third Edition

DAVID HELD

Stanford University Press Stanford, California 2006

## Contents

List of Figures and Tables	VIII
Preface to the Third Edition	ix
Introduction	1
DADT ONE CLASSIC MODELS	
PART ONE CLASSIC MODELS	
1 Classical Democracy: Athens	11
Political ideals and aims	13
Institutional features	17
The exclusivity of ancient democracy	19
The critics	23
In sum: model I	27
2 Republicanism: Liberty, Self-Government and the Active Citizen	29
The eclipse and re-emergence of homo politicus	29
The reforging of republicanism	32
Republicanism, elective government and popular sovereignty	36
From civic life to civic glory	40
The republic and the general will	43
In sum: model IIa	44
In sum: model IIb	48
The public and the private	49
3 The Development of Liberal Democracy: For and Against the State	56
Power and sovereignty	60
Citizenship and the constitutional state	62
Separation of powers	65
The problem of factions	70
Accountability and markets	75
In sum: model IIIa	78
Liberty and the development of democracy	79
The dangers of despotic power and an overgrown state	81
Representative government	84
The subordination of women	88
Competing conceptions of the 'ends of government'	91
In sum: model IIIb	92

4 Direct Democracy and the End of Politics	96
Class and class conflict	96
History as evolution and the development of capitalism	98
Two theories of the state	103
The end of politics	108
Competing conceptions of Marxism	116
In sum: model IV	120
PART TWO VARIANTS FROM THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	
5 Competitive Elitism and the Technocratic Vision	125
Classes, power and conflict	126
Bureaucracy, parliaments and nation-states	129
Competitive elitist democracy	134
Liberal democracy at the crossroads	138
The last vestige of democracy?	141
Democracy, capitalism and socialism	144
'Classical' v. modern democracy	146
A technocratic vision	152
In sum: model V	157
6 Pluralism, Corporate Capitalism and the State	158
Group politics, governments and power	160
Politics, consensus and the distribution of power	165
Democracy, corporate capitalism and the state	169
Accumulation, legitimation and the restricted sphere of the political	172
In sum: model VI	173
The changing form of representative institutions	179
7 From Postwar Stability to Political Crisis:	
The Polarization of Political Ideals	185
A legitimate democratic order or a repressive regime?	187
Overloaded state or legitimation crisis?	190
Crisis theories: an assessment	196
Law, liberty and democracy	201
In sum: model VII	207
Participation, liberty and democracy	209
In sum: model VIII	215
8 Democracy after Soviet Communism	217
The historical backdrop	218
The triumph of economic and political liberalism?	220
The renewed necessity of Marxism and democracy from 'below'?	225

	Contents	vii
9 Deliberative Democracy and the Defence of the Public Realm	231	
Reason and participation	231	
The limits of democratic theory	234	
The aims of deliberative democracy	237	
	238	
What is sound public reasoning? Impartialism and its critics		
Institutions of deliberative democracy	246	
Value pluralism and democracy	252	
In sum: model IX	253	
PART THREE WHAT SHOULD DEMOCRACY MEAN TODAY?		
10 Democratic Autonomy	259	
The appeal of democracy	260	
The principle of autonomy	262	
Enacting the principle	267	
The heritage of classic and twentieth-century democratic theory	271	
Democracy: a double-sided process	275	
Democratic autonomy: compatibilities and incompatibilities	281	
In sum: model Xa	282	
11 Democracy, the Nation-State and the Global System	290	
Democratic legitimacy and borders	291	
Regional and global flows: old and new	292	
Sovereignty, autonomy and disjunctures	294	
Rethinking democracy for a more global age: the cosmopolitan model	304	
In sum: model Xb	308	
A utopian project?	309	
Acknowledgements	312	
Bibliography	313	
Index	328	