

## **Dismantling Democracy from Within**

Date	June 27 – July 2, 2022
Directors	Dilip Gaonkar (Rhetoric and Public Culture, Northwestern University) Shalini Randeria (Social Anthropology, Central European University)
Faculty	Prathama Banerjee (Centre for the Study of Developing Societies) Humberto Beck (Center for International Studies, El Colegio de México) Craig Calhoun (Social Sciences, Arizona State University) Eva Fodor (Gender Studies, Central European University) Nilüfer Göle (Sociology, École des hautes études en sciences sociales) Liam Mayes (Communication, Tulane University) Michael P. Steinberg (History, Music, German, Brown University) Charles Taylor (Philosophy, Emeritus, McGill University) Nadia Urbinati (Political Science, Columbia University)

### **Course Overview**

#### *Description*

During the first decades of the twenty-first century, the threat to democratic societies the world over has increasingly come from within. In general, this threat from within is not one of military coups or the interference of foreign governments, but of fraught popular elections and rising populist tides. Amid an array of national and cultural differences shaped by history and contemporary conditions, there is no one true and tested path to securing democratic societies against this threat. Yet this need not mean abandoning democracy. It means diagnosing democracy's current failures, understanding its partial achievements, and renewing its many and varied cultures. There is an urgent need for both sustained dialogue among proponents of diverse interpretive positions and their recommendations, for policy as well as mobilization.

The "Dismantling Democracy from Within" course advances the twin mission of understanding the critical challenges democracy is facing and developing the democratic agendas that will meet these challenges under variable cultural and socio-economic conditions. Such a mission can only be secured by facilitating a robust dialogue among students, activists, and scholars assembled from all over the world. Students will leave the Summer School with a deeper knowledge of the specific challenges facing democracy in different contexts as well as a global understanding of how they are connected.

#### *Format*

Sessions at the Summer School are led by its distinguished faculty and will generally take one of three forms:

1. *Lectures* where faculty present research broadly related to the Summer School's core themes; followed by a question-and-answer discussion period. The aim of the Lectures is to introduce students to pressing scholarly debates by having them engage with the forefront of academic research on the topic.

2. *Seminars* where faculty lead a discussion on pre-circulated readings related to the Summer School's core themes. The aim of the seminars is to provide students with the opportunity to (re)visit the foundational and influential texts that are shaping current debates.
3. *Student Fora* where a junior faculty member will facilitate a group discussion wherein students identify and discuss their common interests and investments without the constraints of a question-and-answer period or a seminar with assigned readings and a set agenda. The aim of the fora is for students to critically engage with the course's core questions and themes on their own terms to not only advance their own learning but to enrich subsequent sessions.

(In addition to these three formats, the Summer School will open and close with student-centered roundtable discussions.)

#### *Office Hours*

Students will have the opportunity to sign up for office hours with select faculty to discuss their research in one-on-one meetings.

## Schedule

### Monday, June 27

- 9.30** Dismantling Democracy from Within: Opening Remarks and Introductions (Roundtable)  
Dilip Gaonkar & Shalini Randeria
- 11.15** The Erosion of Citizen Efficacy (Lecture)  
Charles Taylor
- 12.30** Lunch
- 2.00** How Populism is Transforming Democracy (Lecture)  
Nadia Urbinati
- 3.45** The Social Conditions for Democracy (Lecture)  
Craig Calhoun  
*Readings*
- “Contradictions and Double Movements,” in *Degenerations of Democracy*
  - OPTIONAL: “What Is to Be Done?” in *Degenerations of Democracy*

### Tuesday, June 28

- 9.30** Democracy Disfigured: A critique of Two Myths (Seminar)  
Nadia Urbinati  
*Readings*
- “Democracy’s Diarchy,” “Unpolitical Democracy,” and “The Plebiscite of the Audience and the Politics of Passivity” in *Democracy Disfigured*
- 11.15** Democracy, Populism, and the Economy Question (Lecture)  
Prathama Banerjee
- 12.30** Lunch
- 2.00** The Challenges of Capitalism and Inequality (Seminar)  
Craig Calhoun  
*Readings*
- “Compromises with Capitalism” and “Authenticity and Meritocracy” in *Degenerations of Democracy*
- 3.45** Islam in Europe (Lecture)  
Nilüfer Göle

### Wednesday, June 29

- 9.30** Politics, Anti-Politics, and Economic Reason (Seminar)

Prathama Banerjee

*Readings*

- Nasser Abourahme & Omar Jabary-Salamanca (2016) “Thinking Against the Sovereignty of the Concept,” *City*, 20:5, 737-754
- Ritu Birla (2015) “Jurisprudence of Emergence: Neo-Liberalism and the Public as Market in India,” *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 38:3, 466-480
- James Ferguson (2015) *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham, NC: Duke.
- OPTIONAL: Prathama Banerjee (2020) “Equality and Economic Reason” in *Elementary Aspects of the Political*. Durham, NC: Duke.

**11.15** Exile, Democracy, Renewal (Lecture)

Michael P. Steinberg

**12.30** Lunch

**2.00** Public Demos (Seminar)

Nilüfer Göle

*Readings*

- Nilüfer Göle, “Public space democracy, assembly and creativity”, in Nilüfer Göle (ed.) *Public Space Democracy: Performative, Visual and Normative Dimensions of Politics in a Global Age*, Routledge, 2022, pp. 7-26.
- Nilüfer Göle, “The Gezi Occupation: For a Democracy of Public Spaces,” *Opendemocracy*, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/gezi-occupation-for-democracy-of-public-spaces/>
- Nilüfer Göle, “Islam’s Disruptive Visibility in the European Public Space: Political Issues, Theoretical Questions,” *Eurozine*, 2013
- Nilüfer Göle “Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries,” *Public Culture*, vol. 14, #1, 2002, pp. 173-191.

**3.45** Democratic Pedagogies I (Student Forum)

Liam Mayes

**Thursday, June 30**

**9.30** Reconstructing Democracy (Seminar)

Charles Taylor

*Readings*

- “Degenerations of Democracy” in *Degenerations of Democracy*
- “Remaking the Local Community” and “Helping to Rebuild Political Communities” in *Reconstructing Democracy*

**11.15** Anti-Liberal, Illiberal ‘Democracies’ in Central Europe (Lecture)

Eva Fodor

**12.30** Lunch

**2.00** Race, Culture, and Democracy (Seminar)

Michael P. Steinberg

*Readings*

- Yaron Ezrahi, “Facts, Fictions, Abuses and Illusions: The Arduous Search for New Imaginaries of Democracy for our Time,” in *Can Democracy Recover? The Roots of the Crisis of Democratic Faith* (unpublished manuscript, 2019). Used with permission. DO NOT CITE OR DISTRIBUTE. (excerpts)
- Michael P. Steinberg, “Under Lincoln’s Eyes,” in *The Afterlife of Moses: Exile, Democracy, Renewal* (Stanford University Press, [July] 2022). (excerpts)

**3.45** The Population Question (Lecture)

Shalini Randeria

**Friday, July 1**

**9.30** The Gender Regimes of Illiberal and Neoliberal States (Seminar)

Eva Fodor

*Readings*

- “A Carefare Regime” in *The Gender Regime of Anti-Liberal Hungary*
- “Gender, Anti-Gender and Right-Wing Populism: Recasting the Debate” and “Gender as ‘Ebola from Brussels: The Uses and Abuses of the Anti-Colonial Frame” in *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Movement*
- OPTIONAL: [\*The Gender Regime of Anti-Liberal Hungary\*](#)

**11.15** Democratic Hope and Disenchantment: A View from Mexico (Lecture)

Humberto Beck

**12:30** Lunch

**2.00** Making Demos Safe for Democracy (Lecture)

Dilip Gaonkar

**3.45** Democratic Pedagogies II (Student Forum)

Liam Mayes

**Saturday, July 2**

**9.30** The Varieties of Democratic Decay: Some Latin American Perspectives (Seminar)

Humberto Beck

*Readings*

- Beck, H. & Iber, P. (2022). “The Contradictions of AMLO.” *Dissent*, 69, 109–117.

- Levitsky, S. (2018). “Latin America’s Shifting Politics: Democratic Survival and Weakness.” *Journal of Democracy*, 29, 102–113.
- Riofrancos, T. (2020, April 27). “Reclaiming Populism: The View from Latin America.” *Boston Review*.
- Saffon, M. P. & González-Bertomeu, J. G (2017). “Latin American Populism: An Admissible Trade-Off Between Procedural Democracy and Equality?” *Constellations*, 24, 416–431.

**11.15 Democracy Under Duress: Internal Fissures and External Foes (Roundtable)**  
Dilip Gaonkar & Shalini Randeria

## Course Bibliography

Readings for specific sessions will be assigned once the schedule is finalized.

Applebaum, A. (2020) *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism*. New York: Doubleday.

Arditi, B. (2005) Populism as an Internal Periphery of Democratic Politics. In F. Panizza (Ed.), *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy* (pp. 72–98). New York: Verso.

Banerjee, M. (2021) *Cultivating Democracy: Politics and Citizenship in Agrarian India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Banerjee, P. (2017, March) State and Violence. *Seminar*, 691, 26–30. [https://www.india-seminar.com/2017/691/691\\_prathama\\_banerjee.htm](https://www.india-seminar.com/2017/691/691_prathama_banerjee.htm).

Banerjee, P. (2018). The Abiding Binary: The Social and the Political in Modern India. In S. Legg & D. Heath (Eds.), *South Asian Governmentalities: Michel Foucault and the Question of Postcolonial Orderings* (pp. 79–103). (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018),

Banerjee, P. (2020) *Elementary Aspects of the Political: Histories from the Global South*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Calhoun, C. (1987) *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Calhoun, C., Gaonkar, D. P., & Taylor C. (2022) *Degenerations of Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Camaroff, J. (2011) Populism and Late Liberalism: A Special Affinity?, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 637, 99–111.

Chatterjee, P. (2004) *The Politics of the Governed*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chowdhury, D. R. & Keane, J. (2021) *To Kill a Democracy: India's Passage to Despotism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Desai, D., Randeria, S., & Lutringer, C. (2020) Redefining Vulnerability and State-Society Relationships during the COVID-19 Crisis: The Politics of Social Welfare Funds in India and Italy. In Maduro, M. and Kahn, P. (Eds.), *Democracy in Times of Pandemic: Different Futures Imagined* (pp. 182–195). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108955690.014

Desai, D., Lutringer, C., & Randeria, S. (2020) Emergency Use of Public Funds: Implications for Democratic Governance. *Global Challenges*, 1 (June).

[https://globalchallenges.ch/issue/special\\_1/emergency-use-of-public-funds-bypassing-state-citizen-engagement/](https://globalchallenges.ch/issue/special_1/emergency-use-of-public-funds-bypassing-state-citizen-engagement/).

Diamond, L. (2019) *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency*. New York: Penguin Press.

Frank, T. (2020) *The People, No!: A Brief History of Anti-Populism*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Fodor, E. (2022) *The Gender Regime of Anti-Liberal Hungary*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gaonkar, D. P. (2020) The Parasite and the Chameleon: Notes on Populism, Populist Media and Media Populism. *Culture Machine*, 19 (Media Populism). <https://culturemachine.net/vol-19-media-populism/the-parasite-and-the-chameleon-notes-on-populism-populist-media-and-media-populism-dilip-gaonkar/>.

Gaonkar, D. P. (2021) Demos Noir: Riots after Riots. In N. Ginwala et al. (Eds.), *Nights of the Dispossessed: Riots Unbound*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Göle, N. (2013, June 11) The Gezi Occupation: For a Democracy of Public Spaces. *openDemocracy*. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/gezi-occupation-for-democracy-of-public-spaces/>.

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Huntington, S. P. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

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- Runciman, D. (2018) *How Democracy Ends*. New York: Basic Books.
- Snyder, T. (2018) *The Road to Unfreedom: Russia–Europe–America*. New York: Penguin Random House.
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- Taylor, A. (2019) *Democracy May Not Exist, But We'll Miss It When It's Gone*. New York: Henry Holt & Company.
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- Warner, M. (2002) *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books.