Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-107-01533-3 — Democracy and Authenticity Howard H. Schweber Frontmatter More Information

Democracy and Authenticity

Toward a Theory of Public Justification

In *Democracy and Authenticity*, Howard H. Schweber examines a basic problem for liberal democracies. When a polity is characterized by a plurality of identities and values, certain constraints apply to the reasons citizens and public officials use to justify coercive political actions. The author argues that justifications based on religious and similar doctrines are not a proper basis for government actions that affect everyone. He then develops a concept of public justification intended to guide citizens in a liberal democracy through the work of creating a form of politics that satisfies their responsibilities to one another.

Howard H. Schweber is Professor of political science and legal studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he received the William T. Kiekhoffer award for Distinguished Teaching in 2006. He is the author of *The Language of Liberal Constitutionalism* (Cambridge, 2007); *The Creation of American Common Law*, 1850–1880: Technology, Politics, and the Construction of Citizenship (Cambridge, 2004); and Speech, Conduct and the First Amendment (2003). Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-107-01533-3 — Democracy and Authenticity Howard H. Schweber Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

> "In this sensible and carefully-reasoned book, Howard Schweber tackles the central question of liberal political theory: how to justify state action in the face of an abiding and often quite unreasonable pluralism. Schweber's knowledge of contemporary debates is near-encyclopedic, and his dissection of the theoretical underpinnings of all major schools of deliberative democracy is compelling. His alternative of a 'listenercentric' theory of public justification proves a useful corrective to competing theories that end up, on closer examination, being either unduly inclusive or restrictive. In *Democracy and Authenticity*, Schweber has crafted a challenging new theory of deliberative democracy that political philosophers, constitutional scholars, and defenders of the politics of authenticity will have to take seriously."

- Richard Boyd, Associate Professor of Government, Georgetown University; author of Uncivil Society: The Perils of Pluralism and the Making of Modern Liberalism

"Professor Schweber has written an exceptionally erudite study of justification in a liberal culture. His assertion that liberalism often requires a certain inauthenticity is original, fascinating, and a challenge to much contemporary orthodoxy."

> - Mark Graber, Professor of Law and Government, University of Maryland, Carey School of Law; author of *Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil*

"Tribalism is not an arcane premodern phenomenon but rather a trait to be found in democracies as different as those of Pakistan, Israel, and the United States, notes Howard Schweber. Defending liberal concerns about the deleterious impact of tribalism on politics, Schweber treats likely critics and allies with equal seriousness as he makes the case for practices of public justification (not public reason) that are neither subjectivist nor perfectionist. Even those of us who have argued against treating justification as the essential work of political theory will be compelled to reconsider after reading this ambitious and fair-minded book."

- Bonnie Honig, author of *Emergency Politics: Paradox, Law, Democracy*

"A fierce defense of liberalism. Schweber warns against the politics of authenticity and accommodations of pluralism that go too far."

- Robert L. Tsai, Professor of Law, American University, and author of *Eloquence and Reason*

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-107-01533-3 — Democracy and Authenticity Howard H. Schweber Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Democracy and Authenticity

Toward a Theory of Public Justification

HOWARD H. SCHWEBER

University of Wisconsin-Madison





Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-107-01533-3 — Democracy and Authenticity Howard H. Schweber Frontmatter More Information



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107015333

© Howard H. Schweber 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2012 First paperback edition 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data Schweber, Howard H. Democracy and authenticity : toward a theory of public justification / Howard H. Schweber. p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-107-01533-3 (hardback) 1. Democracy - Philosophy. 2. Authenticity (Philosophy) 3. Liberalism. 1. Title. JC423.8386 2011 321.8 - dc23 2011018882 ISBN 978-1-107-01533-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-41539-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-107-01533-3 — Democracy and Authenticity Howard H. Schweber Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

Ι	Introduction: Consensus Liberalism and the Challenge of Pluralism	page 1
PAF	RT ONE: THE CASE FOR CONSTRAINT	
2	Three Versions of the Case for Constraint: Audi, Rawls, and Larmore	33
3	Subjective Standards and the Problem of Deliberative Perfectionism	68
4	Liberalism and the Problem of Authenticity	95
5	Further Reflections on Authenticity	130
6	The Scope of Constraint	163
PAF	RT TWO: RESPONDING TO THE CASE FOR INCLUSION	
7	Arguments from Consequences: Pluralism and the Role of Culture	205
8	Further Arguments from Consequences: Agonistic Democracy and Republican Virtue	2 4 I
9	Fairness as Equality	268
10	Fairness as Recognition	301
II	The Argument from Epistemology: Claims of Equivalence	328
12	Empiricism and Public Justification	364
13	Toward a Theory of Public Justification	391
Bibliography		417
Index		433

v