# A RADICAL ALTERNATIVE? A RE-EVALUATION OF CHANTAL MOUFFE'S RADICAL DEMOCRATIC APPROACH

#### Leah Skrzypiec

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy School of History and Politics Discipline of Politics University of Adelaide

July 2011

## Contents

ABSTRACT	V
DECLARATION	VII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VIII
INTRODUCTION	1
PART_ONE: THE OTHER ALTERNATIVES	16
1. MARXISM & SOCIALISM	19
THE CRITIQUE OF CLASSICAL MARXISM	21
<ul> <li>ECONOMISM</li> </ul>	23
Discourse	24
Hegemony	26
CLASS ESSENTIALISM  Constructed Identifies	28 29
Constructed Identities Chains of Equivalence	33
<ul> <li>REVOLUTION</li> </ul>	35
MOUFFE'S (LIBERAL) SOCIALIST STRATEGY	39
CONCLUSION	44
2. DELIBERATIVE & THIRD WAY THEORIES	45
HABERMAS	46
■ REASON	48
<ul> <li>THE PUBLIC SPHERE &amp; COMMON GOOD</li> </ul>	50
<ul> <li>IDEAL SPEECH SITUATION</li> </ul>	58
THE THIRD WAY & THE 'POST-POLITICAL' TREND	61
<ul> <li>GIDDENS &amp; BECK</li> </ul>	62

■ THE THIRD WAY CONCLUSION	68 73
3. LIBERALISM & RADICAL DEMOCRACY	75
LIBERALISM	76
<ul><li>THE LIBERAL SUBJECT</li><li>RAWLS</li></ul>	79 82
■ NEUTRALITY	86
DIFFERENCE AS POLITICAL	89
AGONISM	95
CONCLUSION	98
PART TWO: MOUFFE'S RADICAL ALTERNATIVE	102
4. MOUFFE'S RADICAL (RE)-THEORISING	104
IDENTITY RE-THEORISED	105
<ul> <li>THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE</li> </ul>	106
<ul> <li>SUBJECT POSITIONS</li> </ul>	112
<ul><li>AGENCY</li></ul>	115
PLURALISM	118
<ul> <li>AGONISTIC PLURALISM</li> </ul>	119
MOUFFE & WEBER	122
DEMOCRACY, POWER & HEGEMONY	127
THE DEMOCRATIC HORIZON  THE PROPERTY OF T	127
<ul> <li>THE HEGEMONIC PROJECT</li> </ul>	130
• POWER	135
CONCLUSION	138
5. RADICAL DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP	140
THE LIBERAL APPROACH	141
<ul> <li>NEUTRALITY VERSUS THE POLITICAL</li> </ul>	148
THE COMMUNITARIAN APPROACH	154
<ul> <li>THE COMMON GOOD</li> </ul>	159
THE BRIDGE: OAKESHOTT	162
RADICAL DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP	165
CONCLUSION	170
PART THREE: THE RADICAL EVALUATION	173
6. A DEMOCRATIC & LEFT ALTERNATIVE?	175 175
U. A DENIUCKATIC & LEFT ALTERNATIVE?	1/3

BIBLIOGRAPHY	238
CONCLUSION	230
CONCLUSION	228
A NEW PARADIGM FOR DEMOCRACY	224
<ul> <li>RADICAL RUPTURE: THE PRINCIPLES AS EMPTY SIGNIFIERS</li> </ul>	219
<ul> <li>RADICAL RUPTURE: AGONISM &amp; THE POLITICAL</li> </ul>	214
<ul> <li>RADICAL RUPTURE: THE CONSTRUCTED SUBJECT</li> </ul>	211
CHALLENGING THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTNERSHIP	210
7. A RADICALLY DIFFERENT APPROACH?	208
CONCLUSION	205
<ul> <li>THE PRINCIPLES AS KEY</li> </ul>	203
<ul><li>EVIDENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE</li><li>RADICAL IMPLICATIONS</li></ul>	195 200
RADICALLY LEFT?	193
A POSTSTRUCTURALIST APPROACH  N. D. C. L. L. L. C.	187
<ul> <li>INFORMING DEMOCRACY</li> </ul>	180
<ul> <li>INFORMING CITIZENSHIP</li> </ul>	177
RADICALLY DEMOCRATIC?	170

#### Abstract

The catalyst for this thesis is the current debate addressing the nature and practice of liberal democracies. Many critics have argued that liberal democracies are failing their constituents, and in order to revitalise the key features of "robust" democracies, a number of alternatives have been proposed. Chantal Mouffe's radical democratic approach offers one such alternative. Mouffe has written extensively on this subject and is considered an eminent proponent of a left, democratic, alternative and it is her body of work that I take as my explicit focus.

This thesis examines to what degree Mouffe's alternative can be considered radical. There are three important elements to this evaluation, all of which relate to the different definitions of the term. Specifically, these criteria are embodied in the following questions: "How different to the other alternatives is Mouffe's approach?"; "How left is it?"; and "How democratic is it?". While it is clear that some of Mouffe's work has progressive, disruptive, democratic, and therefore "radical" elements, this thesis argues that this radicalness does not reach its full potential. The lacunae in Mouffe's work, which relate to a lack of detail and theoretical clarification on many important concepts, mean that Mouffe is unable, at this point in time, to present a comprehensive, useful, and radical alternative to rival the other approaches.

Laden within her work, however, there is the *potential* for radical democracy to become a paradigm changing approach to democracy. Central to this thesis is the claim that Mouffe should capitalise on the most radical aspects of her work – expanding the areas of re-theorisation, utilising them to inform the principles

of liberty and equality, and disrupting the paradigm of liberal democracy. In doing so, radical democracy could rival other alternative models of democracy, and present an important new approach in democratic theory and practice.

### Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Leah Skrzypiec and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the *Copyright Act 1968*.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, the Australasian Digital Theses Program (ADTP), and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

#### Leah Skrzypiec

The author acknowledges that copyright of published works contained within this thesis (as listed below) resides with the copyright holder(s) of those works.

Skrzypiec, Leah 'Chantal Mouffe's Radical Democratic Approach to Equality', Australian Political Science Association Conference, Melbourne, Victoria 27-29 September 2010, pp. 1-9.

## Adinoviedenis

This dissertation could not have been completed without the assistance of a number of important people. First and foremost I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor Dr Christine Beasley who has been fundamental to my academic career. From my earliest undergraduate days, Chris has encouraged me to pursue academia and has been there to offer ideas, feedback and emotional support when they were most needed. She has played an essential role in guiding me towards radical democratic theory, and for this I am also extremely grateful. Her comments and suggestions for reworking parts of this thesis were extremely helpful, and I am very appreciative of the time she gave to this.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr Gregory McCarthy and Dr Carol Bacchi for making themselves available to read my early drafts, and for their ideas and feedback that helped me to reframe key elements of my argument. My thesis is stronger for their contribution. I also thank Dr Clement Macintyre for his unwavering practical support, regardless of time restraints or other pressing matters. Knowing that Clem was always available to advocate on my behalf (and that of other students) was invaluable, and I am sincerely grateful.

The assistance, encouragement and friendship offered by colleagues and peers, especially Zoë Gordon (who also found time to read and provide feedback on my work) and Katrina Stats, have been priceless in this process. Their generosity and unconditional support has helped to make this journey worthwhile, and I feel blessed to have been able to share this process with both of them. My appreciation also extends to Dr Coral Stanley and my colleagues at

the Parliament Research Library. Their patience, support, and encouragement while I undertook this project have been incredibly helpful.

I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my family whose support has been unconditional and unwavering. To my mum, Grace Skrzypiec, I owe my thirst for knowledge and the uncompromising love of thinking. Her feedback on various drafts has also been invaluable, and I thank her for always having time to proofread my work.

I thank my brother, Andrzej Skrzypiec, and my sister, Karina Skrzypiec, for also encouraging my thirst for knowledge by being available to engage my thoughts, challenging some of them, but always being proud of me. To my dad and my extended family, as well as Maria Fiorito and Toby Rice, I am eternally grateful for your encouragement, practical support, love and friendship, which reinvigorated me when things were difficult. My friends and family have never questioned the worth of this project, nor doubted my ability to complete it, and it is for this that I am sincerely thankful.