

Conclusion. A Research Agenda for Political Pragmatism

Throughout this book I have contended that, in its broadest terms, a wide view of democracy can help us revive and advance the democratic project, insofar as it reconnects the political phase of democracy to its social roots. Such a theory provides us with precious theoretical resources to tackle some of the most pressing challenges of our time, such as the rise of populism, democratic deficits, the ongoing crisis of formal political institutions, and the emergence of new forms of discrimination. By including the whole of social life in the concept of democracy, the wide view is better suited not only to the critical task of identifying the cracks and tensions that threaten the democratic project, but also, and especially, to the reconstructive task of providing concrete guidance for reform projects, whether for democratizing the workplace and other social institutions, for extending the scope of the associational principle to new production practices, for reducing global inequality by politicizing consumerism, or for achieving greater degrees of accountability in global politics. Indeed, it seems to me that it is only by radically broadening our conceptual framework that we can hope to overcome the practical and theoretical deadlocks that democracy faces today, precisely because this enlargement allows us to come closer to the true reasons that render the democratic project so important and so inescapable, even when its political performances appear

so shallow and the legitimacy of its formal institutions so wanting. Those who contend that democracy does not matter to us, that our representative institutions have been emptied of meaning and are therefore worth nothing, or that we have entered a post-democratic phase, should look at the immense achievements that the democratic project has brought to our societies in terms of freedom, equality, and social involvement in all spheres of social life. They should also consider that the democratization of our habits, patterns of social interaction, and forms of organization are not only incomplete, but also badly in need of furtherance, and that no jeremiad against neoliberalism or post-democracy will be of much help in this task. What a wide view of democracy can provide is an all-encompassing scheme within which practices of reform and transformation can find their broadest meaning, so that diverse projects and practices such as those discussed in this book will finally appear as coherent instantiations of a single unifying vision of the future we desire and for which we strive.

In concluding, I wish merely to recapitulate the three major normative statements that this book has vindicated. The first is that the democratic project advances or retreats according to how patterns of social interaction evolve throughout society. We should, therefore, consistently refer to democracy as the appropriate norm to assess the quality of social life at all its levels, and not only of its political institutions. The second is that experimental democratic institutions provide the most adequate strategy to identify, face, and meet social challenges and generate social innovation. This assumption should guide us in inventing new projects of social and institutional reform aimed at designing private and public institutions more suited to our times. The third statement is that social involvement matters as much as freedom and equality. We should, therefore, pay more attention to the inclusive nature of social practices, and be less content with merely formal, or legal, patterns of recognition. Democracy is inseparable from an imperative of social involvement, as only active participation in social practices create the concrete belonging which is required by any community to exist. Developing social settings in which not only freedom and equality but also social involvement are effectively achieved, devising new experimentalist democratic institutions, and rendering patterns of social interaction consistently democratic throughout the social body define the guidelines that committed democrats should prioritize in their agenda.

Arguments supporting these general claims have been developed throughout the book. They vindicate the claim that adopting a wide view of democracy is a necessary step if we are to engage more consciously in the never-ending pursuit of the democratic project, one that is unachievable not because of its supposedly elusive or utopian content, but because it requires constant adjustment and transformation of the temporary and fragile solutions with which we meet ever-changing social circumstances. These are the normative implications the wide view of democracy bears for political theory. If this picture of democracy is correct, then we have a clear indication for a new research program in democratic theory, as well as some decisive indications for a new political agenda.

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