

The Ethics of Democracy and Political Participation
POL 395J
Senior Seminar
Fall 2019

Meets: Wed 1-3.30 pm
Room: Bush Science Center 202

Professor: Dr. Julia Maskivker
Political Science Department
Office: CCS 236
Office Hours: TR, 1-3 pm
Or by appointment

In the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused. What do we really mean by "Democracy"; and how does it really work? This course reviews the works of classical, modern and contemporary thinkers on the nature of democracy to show the deep and diverse roots of the democratic ideal, as well as to provide materials for thinking about the way in which some contemporary theories build on different traditions of democratic theorizing. The views and arguments analyzed in this class championed influential theories concerning the opportunities and dangers associated with democratic politics. Thus, this course is normative in its nature; but it will touch upon policy and particular institutional implications often.

Some of the questions we will explore include: what is the nature of representation within a democracy? What is the different between participatory democracy and deliberative democracy? What is the relation between democracy and majority rule? What is the relation between democratic politics and individual rights? What does 'constitutionalism' add to democracy? What is the connection between democracy and equality or social justice? Can democracy be reconciled with multiculturalism? Should the freedom to vote be viewed as a duty as well as a right? Do democratic politics require a sense of "civic virtue" on the part of citizens? What is the interplay between democracy and the market? Are democracy and capitalism always fully compatible? This course will try to answer the foregoing questions, and more, via the analysis of classic, modern, and contemporary accounts of government and politics.

Requirements

A midterm and a final research paper, at least TWO presentations, participation in the debate sessions, and participation in the Citizenship Initiative project.

Required attendance for October 24 talk and one question for the speaker after reading the material

Presentations

At the beginning of the semester, I will hand out a presentation schedule and students will choose a week in which to present. The presentation should be about 30 mins long, about all or some of the readings assigned for the week in question. The student is not expected to uncritically repeat the arguments in the readings. On the contrary, she or he will present an original interpretation and pose questions to the class. The readings can be related to current affairs or historical phenomena. In any case, the presentation is an opportunity to offer an original view or interpretation of a topic, you can object to the author or relate his or her arguments to some issue of your interest. ******You will be expected to have a hand out to distribute to the class WITH AT LEAST TWO QUESTIONS TO STRUCTURE CLASS DISCUSSION AFTER, OR DURING YOUR PRESENTATION.******

Community Engagement Component

Citizenship Initiative Project: Outreach project for permanent legal immigrants

This project is a community engagement partnership with several immigration reform organizations (such as Florida New Americans and The Florida Immigration Coalition). This class will take a central role in bringing to fruition a highly innovative and needed research plan: How many legal residents could become naturalized but opt not to? What are the repercussions of these decisions for democracy at large? How is the power of the vote for these non-citizens debilitated? What policy outcomes could be enhanced if legal residents became citizens and actually voted at higher rates voted at elections? More importantly, what measures should be taken to facilitate citizenship status for legal residents? Students of this class will go out in the field and interview representative samples of legal residents who are formally eligible for citizenship but have not taken the initiative to change their status. Students will collect data and analyze it and will later produce a report of high quality, in which policy prescriptions will be offered with an eye to instructing political officials about different solutions to facilitate the conversion of legal permanent residents into U.S. naturalized citizens with the power to vote. This project will be undertaken in groups. The final report for the project is due the last day of classes

A Naturalization ceremony will take place on October 18th, attendance is mandatory

Talk on Gender Quotas by Dr. Louise Davidson-Schmich on October 24 at 10 am required

Percentages

Midterm: 25%

Paper: 30 %

Presentations: 20 % (including question for gender quota talk)

Naturalization Project: 25%

Academic Integrity

You must become familiar with Rollins' Academic Honor Code. You can find the code [online](http://www.rollins.edu/studentrecords/main/academic_regulations.html) at:

http://www.rollins.edu/studentrecords/main/academic_regulations.html

Please read the honor pledge and learn what constitutes an honor code violation, especially as regards cheating and plagiarism. Plagiarism is intellectual theft and you must know what constitutes it to avoid it. Failing to cite sources or incorrectly citing your sources constitutes plagiarism. Plagiarism can be unintentional, but it should be punished regardless of intention since it devalues academic quality, and irrevocably damages the credibility of the individual responsible for it. Because of this, please refrain from committing it, by getting familiarized with the honor code.

Evaluation Criteria

In this class, average work earns a C. If the student writes an acceptable exam, and fulfills all the other assignments for the class, she will receive a C. Students receiving an A will have written an excellent exam, or set thereof, participated actively in class, and fulfilled all the other requisites for the course equally satisfactorily. A B range grade will be awarded for students who fulfill the criteria for a C, but their written assignments are of superior quality. The participation grade will be based upon the quality and quantity of participation. For this reason, it is advisable that you carefully reflect on what you are going to contribute to the class. The superior A grade will be awarded to students who regularly offer insightful comments. Coming to my office hours also contributes to a good grade for this class. Excessive absences will make it impossible for you to receive a grade above the C range. (they can also make you fail the class).

Late Paper and Email Policy

I do not accept late papers or allow make-up work for no justified reasons. I expect to receive papers on time. I do not accept work that is emailed to me. No exceptions. You must give me a paper copy of your essays in class.

Attendance Policy

Your attendance in every class session is essential. *You are allowed a total of four absences.* Each absence over the specified limits will result in the final grade being dropped 1/3 of a letter. Therefore, if your final numerical grade is equivalent to a B-, and you have five absences, your final grade for the course would drop to a C+. Arriving after attendance has been taken counts as one half of an absence. You should save your absences for dire emergencies or serious illnesses. Meetings, job interviews, or early departures for weekend trips are not excused and will count as absences. **Religious holidays are justified absences but please announce them to me in advance so that I don't mark them as unjustified**

Disability Services Statement

Rollins College is committed to equal access and does not discriminate unlawfully against persons with disabilities in its policies, procedures, programs or employment processes. The College recognizes its obligations under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 to provide an environment that does not discriminate against persons with disabilities. If you are a person with a disability on this campus and anticipate needing any type of academic accommodations in order to participate in your classes, please make timely arrangements by disclosing this disability in writing to the Disability Services Office at (box 2613) - Thomas P. Johnson Student Resource Center, 1000 Holt Ave., Winter Park, FL, 32789. Appointments can be scheduled by calling 407-646-2354 or email: gridgeway@rollins.edu

Core books for this course (available at the College Bookstore, you can buy them via Amazon as used, too, if you would like to save money):

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton Univ Press

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*, Yale Univ Press

Andre Blais: *To Vote or not to Vote*, Univ of Pittsburgh Press

Yale University Press.

Cristina Lafont, *Democracy Without Shortcuts*, OUP

Other materials will be posted on Canvas as indicated below. These materials are not fully cited here (journal or books, but you will find complete information on canvas)

August 27: What is Democracy? Syllabus description + Dahl's On Democracy, chs 4,5 + explanation of community engagement project attached to this class

September 3: Origins of Democracy: The direct participation model +Dahl, on Democracy chs 2, 7 + Hansen, "Ancient democracy" + Lape, Race and Citizen Identity in Classical Athenian Democracy, chs 1-3 + Constant, "Liberty of the Ancients Compared to that of the Moderns" + (all on canvas), Xenophon, "The Athenian Constitution" (Canvas) + Pericles, The Funeral Oration (Canvas)

September 10: Conceptual distinctions regarding process and substance and some critiques to the plausibility of democracy: Shapiro, The State of Democratic Theory, chs 1-2 + Dahl "majority rule and the democratic process" and "procedure versus substance" both from *Democracy and its Critics* + E. Anderson "Democracy: Instrumental vs. Non-Instrumental Value" + R. Arneson "Democracy is not Intrinsically Just" (all on canvas)

September 17: Epistemic Benefits of Democracy: Landermore on "the wisdom of the many" (from her book *Democratic Reason*) + Estlund on "why not an epistocracy of the educated?" + JS Mill's Considerations On Rve Govt (chs 1-4)—all in Canvas + Lafont, chs 1-2, from *Democracy without Shortcuts*, + J. Waldron, "The Wisdom of the Multitude." (Canvas)

September 24: Constitutionalism, tyranny, and popular sovereignty: Federalists, # 1, 10, 51, 78, 68 (all in canvas) + Thomas Jefferson's letters to Madison and Kercheval (canvas) + Brutus # I, II (Canvas) + j. Cohen Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy and Constitutionalism, chs 1-3 (Canvas) + S. Benhabib, "Is There a Human Right to Democracy?" (Canvas) + C. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, chs 1-2 (Canvas) + Vynx, L, "Carl Schmitt and the Problem of Constitutional Guardianship" (Canvas)

October 1: The Ethics of Voting in a Democracy I: Contra the Duty to Vote: Jason Brennan "Polluting the Polls" (canvas) + Blais, *Who Votes?* chs 5-7 + Jones "In Defense of Apathy" (Canvas) + Somin, *Political Ignorance*, chs 2-4 (Canvas), + A. Downs, *An Economic Conception of Democracy*, ch 1-2 (canvas) + Paul Sheehy, 2001. "A Duty not to Vote." *Ratio* XV. (canvas_

October 8: The Ethics of Voting II: In Favor of the Duty to Vote: Blais, intro + chs 3, 4 (Canvas) + Lardy, "Is there a Right not to vote?" (Canvas) + Lacroix "why liberals should favor compulsory voting" (Canvas) + NYtimes article on compulsory voting (Canvas) + Maskivker, "Why being a Good Samaritan Requires you to Vote" (Canvas) +

Hill, Lisa and Jason Brennan 2014. *Compulsory Voting: For and Against*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

October 15: Elitist conceptions of democracy and their participatory and lottocratic critics: Plato, *The Republic*, Books, 2-3 (canvas) + Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, chs 3-5 (Canvas) + Hanna Arendt, *On Revolution*, chs 2-4 (Canvas) + Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, chs, 1-3, (Canvas) + A. Guerrero, “Against Elections: The Lottocratic Alternative.” (canvas)

October 22: Citizen Representation in a Democracy: + J. Mansbridge “Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women?” (canvas) + Hanna Pitkin on the mandate-independence controversy piece, from *The Concept of Representation* (Canvas) + N. Urbinati, *Representative Democracy*, chs 2-4 (canvas) + Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government*, ch 3-4 (Canvas) + Rousseau, *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (Canvas)

October 29: Deliberative Democracy, Public Reason, and Epistemic/Hermeneutic Injustice: Joshua Cohen “Reflections on Deliberative Democracy (canvas) + Habermas *The Theory of Communicative Action*, chs1-3 (Canvas) + Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, chs 2-3 + M. Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice*, chs 2-4 (Canvas) + J. Medina, *The Epistemology of Resistance*, chs1-2 + Sanders “Against Deliberation” (Canvas)

November 5. Democratic Accounts of Solidarity: Ana Stilz, *Liberal Loyalty*, ch 6 (Canvas) + Scholz, *Political Solidarity*, ch 1-2 + Martin “What Should White People do.?” In *Decentering the Center* (Canvas) + Habermas “Justice and Solidarity.” In *Hermeneutics and Critical Theory* (Canvas) + Huntington, “Fragmentation, Race, and Gender: Building Solidarity in a Post-modern Era.” In *Existence in Black* (Canvas)

November 12: Democracy, Private Property, and the Social question: Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, ch 5 (dem and distribution) + Dahl *on Democracy* chs 12-14 + Rousseau “Discourse on the Origin of Inequality” (Canvas) + Marx “Primitive Accumulation” from *Capital* (Canvas) + T. Paine “Agrarian Justice” (Canvas) + Hume “Of Justice and Property.” From *Treatise on Human Nature* (Canvas) + Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, ch 1 (Canvas)

November 19. The Social contract and its critics. T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chs13-22 (Canvas) + John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chs 2-5, 16-19 (Canvas) + Rousseau *On the Social Contract*, chs 1-9 (Canvas) + Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, chs 1-3 (Canvas) + Gauthier “The Social Contract as Ideology” (Canvas), Mills, *The Racial Contract*, chs 1-2 (Canvas)

November 26: THANKSGIVING

December 3. Democracy, power, and oppression: Ferguson, *Sexual Democracy: Women, Oppression, and Revolution*, chs 1-2 (Canvas), C. Gould “ Racism and Democracy Reconsidered.” (Canvas), a. Cudd, *Analyzing Oppression*, ch 3 (Canvas), S Luke, *Power: A Radical View*, ch 1 (Canvas)