

Barnard College, Columbia University
Political Science Department
Fall 2009

Instructor: Lorraine Minnite
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Office hours: Wednesdays, 1-3 PM

BC3300 COLLOQUIUM ON PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRACY

Course Meeting Time and Place

Thursdays, 2:10 - 4:00 PM
Lehman Hall, Room 22

Course Description

This course broadly examines how ordinary Americans collectively struggle to effect social change. "Political participation" is unconventionally defined to incorporate different modes of action, from legitimation and consensus building practices (i.e., voting) to actions that directly challenge state and economic power (i.e., social movements). Of primary interest is the interaction between what political science treats as opposing forms of popular politics - i.e., the formal vs. informal, institutional vs. non-institutional, and the system-stabilizing vs. system-challenging ways people "participate" in modern democracies. We will begin with an examination of the remarkable 2008 election and the way electoral rules shape electoral outcomes. From there we will assess competing normative perspectives on the role and scope of political participation in democratic societies, paying careful attention to questions related to the distribution of political power under conditions of economic inequality. Next, we will examine the means by which social groups have expressed demands and expanded participation in the state and civil society in pursuit of their goals. Along the way, we will read case studies of the Southern civil rights movement, rightwing populism, militia movements and the rise of the New Right, and the student movements of the 1960s. To examine relevant questions about social change, we will analyze the political impact of these movements on individuals, public policy, and political institutions. The course concludes with reflections on the possibilities and limits of citizen participation and social change in an advanced democracy like the United States.

Course Requirements and Grading

The purpose of the course is three-fold: to introduce you to debates in the literatures on democratic theory, political participation, voting rights and social movements; to give you tools for analyzing the world around you; and to provide a forum for the further development of your critical thinking, reading, writing and speaking skills. It is imperative that you bring reading assignments to class, come prepared for discussion, and that you complete writing assignments on time.

Grades will be based on my evaluation of your attendance, participation in class discussions, completion of weekly writing assignments, your research paper and presentation. The components of the grade break down as follows:

Class Participation

- 1) Regular participation in class discussion (20%)

You must regularly demonstrate a familiarity with the assigned readings. This requirement raises an interesting question for participation theorists. Should people be forced to participate? The answer for us is yes. We can discuss why.

2) Regular written preparation for weekly discussions (20%)

Each week you will write a short commentary on a question raised by that week's reading assignment and pose your own questions for discussion.

Commentaries must be posted on our Courseworks page by 5 PM on the day before class. Good questions are a foundation for analytical thinking. Here is where you get the opportunity to develop your skills in formulating social scientific questions. The purpose of the assignment is to give you time to develop and organize your thoughts about the readings prior to class so that our discussions are as lively as possible. I will call on a different student each week to lead the discussion.

In lieu of a midterm exam, I will evaluate the quality of your weekly commentaries and issue a cumulative grade reflecting both your oral and written contributions to class discussion up to the middle of the semester.

Research Paper

The major requirement of this course is a research paper on a topic related to the course themes. You may investigate a theoretical question, write a literature review essay, conduct research into any of the social or political movements that have been important to American political development, or take up any other analytical problem identified in the literature on popular participation in American electoral politics and social movements. Keep in mind, colloquium papers present opportunities for students to explore thesis topics.

Your topic must be approved by me; therefore, a 2-3 page research proposal and preliminary bibliography are due **October 15 (10%)**. The preliminary bibliography should include at least twelve sources, annotated to indicate the significance of the work for your topic. Unless you plan to write a theoretical paper or a literature review essay, at least four of your sources should be primary ones (i.e., newspaper accounts, reports, legislation, court decisions, government documents and the like). You may reference books on the syllabus, but at least eight of your secondary sources (scholarly books and articles related to your topic) must be new.

The final paper is due **December 10 (50%)**. The paper will be at least 25 and no more than 30 pages long (not including your bibliography, tables, charts, or appendices). It should be typed, double-spaced, using 10 or 12 pt. font, and one inch margins all around, and should include an introductory section addressing your central question or hypothesis and why it is important; a literature review section that explains how your question relates to the larger literature on the subject (your secondary sources); your findings; and a conclusion that addresses the research question with which you started. Provide a complete bibliography and any appended tables, charts, etc. at the end.

Depending on the size of the class, we will schedule brief presentations of student research in-progress throughout the month of November. Please use *The Chicago Manual of Style* for the formatting of your paper (you may refer to Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses and Dissertations*, 7th Rev. Ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) for a

modified version of the Chicago style). I prefer you use footnotes instead of endnotes or in-text citations, and supply a full bibliography. Failure to observe these rules could reduce your grade.

Other Policies

Classroom Etiquette

I expect your full attention, and as this syllabus reflects, I expect students to take responsibility for the quality of our discussions. So, please be sure to turn off cell phones, iPhones, Blackberries, etc. It's discourteous to me and to your colleagues to send or receive text messages while in class. Coffee or other beverages are fine, but I would prefer you not eat in class unless you have a health reason for doing so.

Late Assignments

I strongly urge you to plan your time accordingly. Under no circumstances will I entertain changing the final due date for the paper. The only conditions for granting extensions will be illness or family emergencies. Papers will be downgraded by one-half grade for every three days late beyond the deadline.

Statement on Academic Honesty

In this class we will analyze the thoughts, arguments, and evidence of others. This work will be critical in helping you to develop your own ideas and arguments. Plagiarism occurs when you present someone else's ideas, arguments or evidence as your own without attribution or acknowledgement. Plagiarism occurs in, but is not limited to, the following instances: copying or paraphrasing someone else's writing without acknowledgement; using someone else's facts or ideas without acknowledgement; submitting someone else's work, or work that you have submitted for another course. Plagiarizing undermines the very foundation of our academic community and thus cannot and will not be tolerated.

Reading Schedule

Note: All reading assignments are required. All of the material for this course is on Reserve at the Barnard College library or on our *Courseworks* page. The following books have been ordered at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street:

Larry J. Sabato, *The Year of Obama: How Barack Obama Won the White House* (New York: Longman, 2010)

Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and Jose Antonio Cheibub, eds., *The Democracy Sourcebook* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2003)

Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2nd ed., 2007); available as an eBook

Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Reading assignments should be completed by the dates indicated below.

- Week 1 **Introduction and course overview**
 Screening: "Unprecedented: The 2000 Presidential Election," directed by Richard Perez and Joan Sekler, Robert Greenwald Productions (2002)
- Week 2 **Anatomy of an election**
 Larry J. Sabato, *The Year of Obama*, essays by Sabato, Cook, Abramowitz, Toner, Owen, Gulati, Cornfield and McManus
- Week 3 **Electoral-representative institutions, democratic governance, and the right to vote**
 Robert A. Dahl, et al., *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pp. 311-349, and 354-362
 Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela S. Karlen, and Richard H. Pildes, *The Law of Democracy: Legal Structure of the Political Process*, 1-67
 Alexander Keyssar, "The Right to Vote and Election 2000," in Jack N. Rakove, ed., *The Unfinished Election of 2000* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 75-102
 Cass R. Sunstein, "Why Does the American Constitution Lack Social and Economic Guarantees?" University of Chicago Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper #36 (January 2003)
- Recommended:
 Issacharoff et al., *The Law of Democracy*, 68-115
 Advancement Project, "In Pursuit of an Affirmative Right to Vote," (July 2008)
 Ann N. Crigler, Marion R. Just and Edward J. McCaffery, *Rethinking the Vote: The Politics and Prospects of American Election Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Week 4 **Arguments for and against "more" participation**
 Robert A. Dahl, et al., *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pp. 1-53
 Students for a Democratic Society, "The Port Huron Statement"
 Samuel P. Huntington, "The Democratic Distemper," *Public Interest* 41 (Fall 1975)
 Aryeh Botwinick and Peter Bachrach, "Democracy and Scarcity: Toward a Theory of Participatory Democracy" *International Political Science Review* 4:3 (1983), 361-373
- Recommended:
 Tom Hayden, "The Way We Were: And the Future of the Port Huron Statement" (2005)
 C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy: Essays in Retrieval* (1973), chapter 3
 David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd ed. (2006)
 Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970)
 Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Democracy and Capitalism: Property, Community, and the Contradictions of Modern Social Thought* (1987)
- Week 5 **The hidden question of power in debates on participation and democracy**
 Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd Ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 14-59
- Recommended:
 Dennis R. Wrong, *Power: Its Forms, Bases, and Uses*, 3rd ed. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 2002)

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review* 56:4 (December 1962), 947-952
 Antonio Gramsci, "State and Civil Society," *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 210-278
 Thomas R. Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36:2 (April-June 1975), 351-366

- Week 6 **The "third dimension of power," "infra-politics," and "rule-breaking:" theories of political quiescence and action under conditions of inequality**
 James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), chapter 7
 Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Rulemaking, Rulebreaking and Power," in Thomas Janoski, et al., eds., *The Handbook Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 33-53
- Week 7 **The origins of the American Civil Rights movement**
 Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), chapter 1
 Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, chapters 1-3
- Week 8 **Building movements**
 Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, chapters 6-9
 Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer*, Prologue-chapter 3
- Week 9 **Movement challenge, response and transition**
 Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, chapter 10
 Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer*, chapter 4
- Week 10 **Movement impact**
 Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, chapter 11-Epilogue
 Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer*, chapter 5-Epilogue
- Week 11 **Movement extremism on the Left: Weatherman**
 Donnatella Della Porta, "Research on Social Movements and Political Violence," *Qualitative Sociology* 31 (2008), 221-230
 Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), chapters 2-4
 Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam [1987] 1993), chapter 17
 John Edgar Hoover, "A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence: Students For A Democratic Society, 1962-1979," *Fordham Law Review* 38:2 (1969), 289-306

Recommended:

Weatherman Chronology (in Jacobs, *Weatherman*, 1970)
 Andrew Kopkind, "The Real SDS Stands Up," *Hard Times* (June 30, 1969) in Jacobs

Karin Ashley, M-Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dorhn, et al., "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows," *New Left Notes* (June 18, 1969), in Jacobs
Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn and Terry Robbins, "Bringing the War Back Home: Less Talk, More National Action," (Ramparts Press, Inc., 1970)
Shin'ya Ono, "You Do Need a Weatherman," excerpted in Judith Clavir Albert and Stewart Edward Albert, *The Sixties Papers: Documents of A Rebellious Decade* (New York: Praeger, 1984)
James Weinstein, "Weatherman: A Lot of Thunder But A Short Reign," in Jacobs
Irwin Unger, *The Movement; A History of the American New Left, 1959-1972* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1974), chapters 4-6

Week 12

Movement extremism on the Right: the Patriot movement

William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (1959), excerpt
Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," *Harper's*, November 1964, 77-86
Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics and the Oklahoma City Bombing*, entire book, especially chapters 1-5, and 8

Recommended:

Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close For Comfort* (2000), Introduction, chapters 11 and 15, Conclusion

Week 13

Conclusion: "Participation," social change and American democracy

Robert A. Dahl, et al., *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pp. 455-488
Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, "Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance," *Politics and Society* 29:1 (March 2001), 5-41