THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

POLITICAL SCIENCE 448B/547D DEMOCRATIC THEORY

Mondays 9-12am

UBC's Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Instructor

Name and Title: Prof. Afsoun Afsahi (She/her/hers)

Office: C310

Office Hours: Mondays 14:00-15:00. Make an appointment on this link.

E-mail: afsoun.afsahi@ubc.ca

Office Hours for POLI448B/547D will be <u>on zoom</u>. Meetings will be scheduled for 15-minute intervals unless more time is necessary. Since 3 sessions fall on holidays, additional hours have been added. You can see this on <u>calendly</u>.

https://ubc.zoom.us/j/66183043926?pwd=TnV4WjJoU3VrcEpPY0ZDdFMyZEN1UT09

Meeting ID: 661 8304 3926

Passcode: 207706

Course Link for Online Sessions (if needed)

https://ubc.zoom.us/j/61651343471?pwd=rgzHa5W8a08WGyFZA3GzL8ffRNvVFJ.1

Meeting ID: 616 5134 3471

Passcode: 506164

Course Format

This course will be offered in-person as far as the health directives allow.

- In-person classes will take place in Buchanan C403.
- Attendance is mandatory. Even one absence will affect your grade. If you are going to miss a session, let me know. You may be able to attend via OWL/zoom.
- As I am immunocompromised, I am requesting all to continue masking up.

- PLEASE don't eat in the class. People have different allergies and sensitivities.
- If I (the instructor) am feeling ill: If I am unwell, I will not come to class. I will make every reasonable attempt to communicate plans for class as soon as possible (by email, and on Canvas). In that case, our class will move Online.
- If you are not feeling well: please don't come to class. We can arrange to use the OWL to zoom you into the classroom.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In politically turbulent times, democratic institutions once thought stable are under attack. Similarly, many rights long-believed to be universal, unalienable, and necessary for democratic politics are questioned.

In this course, we explore and rethink some of the very foundations of democracy by asking: Who constitutes a *demos* in a democracy? Who is authorized to speak in the name of a democratic people? Who should have a hand in making the laws and policies that can affect others? How should citizens relate to one another, to their representatives, and to outsiders? What are the necessary conditions for democratic inclusion and what normative consequences do non-participation and exclusion have? What constitutional mechanisms can give ordinary citizens an effective role in democratic decision-making?

In asking such questions, this course aims to bring into conversation different ways of critically interrogating the very foundations as well as the future possibilities of democratic practices. In doing so, we interrogate the concept of democracy from a variety of normative, institutional, and theoretical perspectives. We will pay attention to some of the on-going as well as new debates in democratic theory and politics: debates over the promise and limits of political deliberation and representation; debates over the relationship between democracy and capitalism; debates over citizenship and who counts as a "people"; and debates over democratic responsibility.

Required Texts:

Most articles/books can be accessed through UBC Library services. Articles/books unavailable through UBC library can be accessed on canvas (look for *). All book chapters and articles posted on canvas meet Copyright Fair Use standards.

ASSESSMENT

Participation (15%): As a seminar, this course depends on the active participation of its members. You are expected both to have completed and reflected on all the weekly readings before each class, as well as to make thoughtful contributions each week. Your questions and comments should draw on and assess arguments and concepts from the readings, and should also try to engage with other students' contributions. Even a good question asking for clarification of an issue can help move the discussion forward. The quality of your participation is more important than the quantity.

Presentation on readings (15%): Each student will act as the discussion leader for one class session. As discussion leader for that day, you will give a 12–15-minute presentation: you should spend 3 minutes summarizing the text, 3-5 minutes providing a critical commentary on the text, and no more than 3 minutes posing 2-3 questions for the class to discuss. **Presentations are strictly limited to 15 minutes.** I ask presenters to provide the class with a 1-page handout outlining the major points of the presentation and the questions. If you are presenting with someone, divide the readings between you but all presenters should be ready to answer questions on all the readings. If you are presenting on your own, focus on 2-3 readings during your presentation but be prepared to answer questions on all other readings.

Socratic Method Participation (15%): Each student will be "on-deck" for one session in the semester. On the day you are on-deck, you must read the assigned texts closely and be ready to answer questions from the instructor on the spot. Your answers do not need to be perfect to get full points, but you must show knowledge of the assigned texts and demonstrate that you have put effort into understanding them and thinking about them.

Draft + Peer-review (5%): Referee reports are how the articles and books we're reading in class came to be published. That is, in order to get published, research must undergo a rigorous peer review process from experts in the field. As academics, a key part of the service we provide to the profession is reading new research and preparing referee reports. You will be expected to write one referee report for another student's final paper. The process will be double-blind, meaning that the reviewer will not know whose paper they are reviewing and the paper-writer will not know who has been assigned to review their paper (only I will know who is assigned to what). This assignment thus has two very important components:

- 1. A working draft of your final paper: while your final paper is not due until the end of the term (see below), you must turn in a working draft to me by Nov 18th at 6:00PM PST. The draft should be 75% of your final paper (3000 words for undergraduates/ 3750 words for graduate students).
- 2. Referee report: As a referee, you are required to prepare a 1-2 page report on the paper to which you are assigned, providing constructive feedback on the argument, evidence provided, and any other comments or questions you believe will make the paper ready for submission by the end of the term. In order to encourage constructive feedback and promote a productive work environment, I will be reading your referee reports before returning them to the paper-writer. Referee reports are due on December 2nd at 6PM PST.

Note that both components of the peer review process must be completed on time to receive credit for the assignment. While this assignment is worth only 5%, failure to do the assignment properly or on time will result in an automatic zero for your final paper as well.

In addition to learning how to provide feedback, one of the goals of the review process is for you to incorporate the feedback you receive into your final paper. As such, you will receive your referee report on December 3rd, allowing you roughly two weeks to incorporate feedback before final papers are due.

Final paper (50%): A major objective of this course is for you to become not only a critical consumer of knowledge, but also a producer. Thus, this seminar will require an original research paper (4000 words for undergraduates and 5000 for graduate students). Graduate students may write a longer paper with my permission if they are interested in turning the term paper into their MA thesis or a publishable paper. The paper may cover any topic related to the required or recommended course material, broadly construed. Paper topics will need to be approved by me by November 4th, and as noted above, working drafts must be submitted for the peer review process. Please keep in mind that this is a political theory class. Therefore, your papers must engage with the texts and methods of political theory.

An overview of the timeline for final papers is included below, and important dates will be noted on the calendar:

- 1. November 4th: FINAL PAPER TOPIC MUST BE APPROVED
- 2. November 18th: WORKING DRAFT DUE FOR PEER REVIEW
- 3. December 2nd: RECEIVE REFEREE REPORT
- 4. December 16th: FINAL PAPER DUE

Failure to read the syllabus (-2%): Students often do not take the time to read the syllabus. As such, they fail to meet deadlines or fulfill course requirements. In addition, instructors often get emails about material that is clearly stated in the syllabus. I urge you to read this syllabus carefully. If you do not do so and contact me regarding a missed deadline or ask after information already in the syllabus, I will deduct 2% for each instance of this. See: https://www.google.com/search?q=syllabus+not+read+50+dollars&rlz=1C5CHFA enCA932CA93 2&oq=syllabus+not+read+50+dollars&aqs=chrome..69i57j33i160l2.7904j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#:~:text=Students%20Missed%20Chance,12/20%20%E2%80%BA%20student

If something on the syllabus is unclear or if you need further guidance, please feel free to come to me for clarifications regarding the syllabus.

SUBMITTING ASSIGNMENTS

- All written assignments must be double-spaced, 12 pt. font.
- All assignments must be submitted via canvas.
- Final paper <u>must also</u> be submitted via Turnitin so I can check your work for plagiarism.
 - For this submission, For Turn-it-in, go to <u>turnitin.com</u> and find the correct assignment:
 - o Class ID: 45218743
 - o Enrollment Key: Democracy

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

Date & Topic	Readings	Presenter	On Deck
Sep 09 Welcome + Approaches	Mark E. Warren, "A Problem-Based Approach to Democratic Theory," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 111(1): 39-53 (2017).	N/A	Everyone!
ripprodenes	Hendrix, Burke A. "Political theorists as dangerous social actors." <i>Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy</i> 15, no. 1 (2012): 41-61.		
	Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. <i>As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through radical resistance</i> . U of Minnesota Press, 2017. Chapter 9 "Land as Pedagogy".		
Sep 16 Democracy?	Dahl, Robert. A. (1998). "What is Democracy" in On democracy. Yale university press, Harrisonburg, Virginia. *		
	Joseph Schumpeter, <i>Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy</i> (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), pp. 240-43, 250-64, 269-73, 282-83 (cf. pp. 250-296) *		
	Elizabeth Anderson, "Democracy: Instrumental vs. Non-Instrumental Value," in Thomas Christiano and John Christman, eds., Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 213-228. *		
	(*) Thomas Christiano, "Democracy," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2006).		
	Richard Arneson, "Democracy is Not Intrinsically Just," in Keith Dowding, Robert E. Goodin and Carole Pateman, eds. <i>Justice and Democracy</i> , ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 40-58.		
Sep 23 (Democratic) Boundaries	Afsahi, Afsoun. (2021). "Towards a Principle of Most-Deeply Affected." Philosophy and Social Criticism. Vol 48, Iss 1. 40-61.		
	(*) Abizadeh, Arash. "On the demos and its kin: Nationalism, democracy, and the boundary		

Oct 07 Democratic Authority and Self- determination	problem." American Political Science Review 106, no. 4 (2012): 867-882 Goodin, Robert. E. (2007). Enfranchising all affected interests, and its alternatives. Philosophy & public affairs, 35(1), 40-68. Coulthard, Glen Sean. Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition. Minnesota Press: 2014. Chapter 3 "Essentialism and the Gendered Politics of Aboriginal Self-Government" Gover, Kirsty. "When tribalism meets liberalism: Human rights and Indigenous boundary problems in Canada." University of Toronto Law Journal 64, no. 2 (2014): 206-242. Hannah Arendt, 'What is Authority' [1961], in idem, Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought, ed. Jerome Kohn (New York: Penguin, 2006), (Special focus on pp. 91-104, 128-141) * Thomas Christiano, 'The Authority of Democracy', The Journal of Political Philosophy 12 (2004) no. 3. Allard-Tremblay, Yann. "The two row wampum: decolonizing and indigenizing democratic autonomy." Polity 54, no. 2 (2022): 225-249. Young, Iris Marion. "Two Concepts of Selfdetermination" in Global Challenges: War, Selfdetermination, and Responsibility for Justice (2007). (*) Pasternak, Shiri. Grounded authority: The Algonquins of Barriere Lake against the state. U of Minnesota Press, 2017. Introduction	
Oct 21 Representation, Participation and Deliberation 1	Hannah Pitkin, <i>The Concept of Representation</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 1-12 * Lisa Disch, "Toward a Mobilization Conception of Political Representation," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 105(1): 100-114 (2011).	

	(*) Mansbridge, Jane. (2018). Recursive Representation. <i>Creating Political Presence: The New Politics of Democratic Representation</i> . Dale Turner. (2006). "White Paper Liberalism	
	and the Problem of Aboriginal Participation." This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 12-37	
	Kouslaa T. Kessler-Mata. American Indians and the Trouble with Sovereignty: A Turn toward Structural Self-Determination, Cambridge University Press (2017). Chapter 5 "Political Participation: A Hallmark of Incorporation"	
Oct 28	Jürgen Habermas, 'Three Normative Models of Democracy', <i>Constellations</i> 1 (1994) no. 1: 1-10	
Representation, Participation and Deliberation 2	Sanders, L. M. (1997). Against deliberation. <i>Political theory</i> , 25(3), 347-376.	
Denociation 2	John S. Dryzek, 'Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies', <i>Political Theory</i> 33 (2005) no. 2: 218-242	
	Rollo, T. (2017). Everyday deeds: Enactive protest, exit, and silence in deliberative systems. <i>Political Theory</i> , 45(5), 587-609.	
	(*) Afsahi, Afsoun. "Disabled lives in deliberative systems." <i>Political Theory</i> 48, no. 6 (2020): 751-776.	
Nov 04 (In)equality and Democracy	Anne Phillips, 'Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?', <i>Political Studies</i> 40 (1992) supp. 1: 68-82	
and Democracy	Pateman, Carole. "Democratizing citizenship: some advantages of a basic income." <i>Politics & society</i> 32, no. 1 (2004): 89-105.	
	Iris Marion Young, 'Five Faces of Oppression', in <i>The Community Development Reader</i> (Routledge 2007), pp. 276-285	
	(*) Coulthard, G. S. (2007). Subjects of empire: Indigenous peoples and the 'politics of	

	regardition, in Canada Contamporary political	
	recognition' in Canada. Contemporary political theory, 6, 437-460.	
	Baker, W. Oliver. "Democracy, Class, and White Settler Colonialism." <i>Public</i> 28, no. 55 (2017): 144-153.	
Nov 18 Disobedience	Celikates, Robin. (2016). Democratizing civil disobedience. <i>Philosophy & Social Criticism</i> , 42(10), 982-994.	
and	Criticism, 42(10), 902-994.	
Resurgence	Corntassel, Jeff. "Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination." (2012).	
	Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Indigenous resurgence and co-resistance." <i>Critical ethnic studies</i> 2, no. 2 (2016): 19-34.	
	Delmas, Candice. A duty to resist: When disobedience should be uncivil. Oxford University Press, 2018. Chapter "In Defense of Uncivil Disobedience"	
	(*) Pineda, Erin R. Seeing Like an Activist: Civil Disobedience and the Civil Rights Movement. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2021. Chapter 1 "Seeing Like A White State".	
Nov 25	Jacques Derrida, 'Declarations of Independence', New Political Science 7 (1986) no. 1: 7-15 *	
Democratic Peoplehood and Indigenous	Margaret Canovan, <i>The People</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), pp. 1-9, 65-90 *	
Sovereignty	(*) Sultan, Nazmul S. "Between the Many and the One: Anticolonial Federalism and Popular Sovereignty." <i>Political Theory</i> 50, no. 2 (2022): 247-274.	
	Lightfoot, Sheryl R. "Decolonizing self-determination: Haudenosaunee passports and negotiated sovereignty." <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 27, no. 4 (2021): 971-994.	
	Alfred, Taiaiake. "Sovereignty—An inappropriate concept." <i>The indigenous experience: Global perspectives</i> (2006): 322-336.	

Dec 02	Bickford, S. (2000). Constructing inequality: City spaces and the architecture of
Democratic	citizenship. <i>Political theory</i> , 28(3), 355-376.
Sites	
	Honig, Bonnie. Public things: Democracy in
	disrepair. Fordham Univ Press, 2017. 1-36, 85- 97.
	(*) Forestal, Jennifer. Designing for Democracy: How to Build Community in Digital Environments.
	Oxford University Press, 2021. 1-30
	Draper, J. (2022). Gentrification and everyday democracy. European Journal of Political
	Theory, $\theta(0)$.
	Corntassel, Jeff. "Life beyond the state:
	Regenerating Indigenous international relations
	and everyday challenges to settler colonialism."
	Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies
	2021, no. 1 (2021): 71-97.

(*) before a reading means that this is a recommended reading for the class. However, if you are presenting or if you on deck, you should do this reading as well.

GENERAL ACADEMIC POLICIES

Attendance

Regular attendance and participation in seminars are **required**. All assignments must be completed and handed in. Students who do not attend regularly or fail to hand in an assignment may be disallowed from finishing the class. You may miss 2 class sessions without penalty, after which you will lose 5% of your grade for every un-excused session missed, up to a maximum of 15% (amount of your participation grade). Policy on coming to class late: 2 tardies = 1 absence.

Read the university calendar so that you are aware of no-penalty drop dates, requirements for medical authorization (to defer an exam, for example) and other procedures that may affect you.

Late Paper Policy

The peer-review and draft must be submitted on time to ensure that comments can be given in a timely manner. There are no exceptions or accommodations with this assignment. If you fail to submit draft or peer-review on time, you will receive a zero for this assignment and the final

paper.

Final papers handed in late will be docked 2% per day to a maximum of 18% (includes weekend days).

Grade Appeal

Students who wish to appeal grades assigned to their academic work may do so. You must write-up a memo with points of discussion/concern if you wish to appeal the grade. If the student remains unsatisfied with this process, he/she/they may proceed to the head of the department or further to a formal committee established in accordance with University policies.

Religious Holidays

UBC permits students who are scheduled to attend classes or write examinations on holy days of their religions to notify their instructor in advance of these days and their wish to observe them by absenting themselves from class or examination. Instructors provide opportunity for students to make up work or examinations missed without penalty. (Policy # 65.)

Accommodation

UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. UBC's policy on Academic Accommodations for students with disabilities aims to remove barriers and provide equal access to University services, ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students, and to create a welcoming environment. Students with a disability should first meet with an Access and Diversity advisor to determine what accommodations/services you are eligible for.

University Values and Priorities:

UBC provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available here.

Academic Integrity and Responsibility

As a member of this class, you are responsible for contributing to the course objectives through your participation in class activities and your work on essays, exams, and other projects. In the process of coming into your own as an independent, responsible participant in the academic community, you are encouraged to seek advice, clarification, and guidance in your learning from your instructor and/or Teaching Assistant. If you decide to seek help beyond the resources of this course, you are responsible for ensuring that this help does not lead you to submit others'

work as your own. If an outside tutor or other person helps you, show this policy to your tutor or helper: make sure you both understand the limits of this person's permissible contribution. If you are uncertain, consult your instructor or TA.

Academic communities depend on their members' honesty and integrity in representing the sources of reasoning, claims, and wordings that appear in their work. Like any other member of the academic community, you will be held responsible for the accurate representation of your sources: the means by which you produced the work you are submitting. If you are found to have misrepresented your sources and to have submitted others' work as your own, penalties may follow. Your case may be forwarded to the Head of the department, who may decide that you should receive zero for the assignment. The Head will report your case to the Dean's Office, where the report will remain on file. The Head may decide, in consultation with your instructor, that a greater penalty is called for, and will forward your case to the Dean's Office. After an interview in the Dean's Office, your case may be forwarded to the President's Advisory Committee on Academic Misconduct. Following a hearing in which you will be asked to account for your actions, the President may apply penalties including zero for the assignment; zero for the course; suspension from the university for a period ranging from 4 to 24 months; a notation on your permanent record. The penalty may be a combination of these.

Academic communities also depend on their members' living up to the commitments they make. By enrolling in this course, you make commitments to an academic community: you are responsible for meeting deadlines, and attending class and engaging in class activities. If you find that you cannot meet a deadline or cannot participate in a course activity, discuss your situation with your instructor or TA before the deadline or before your absence.

Like any academic author submitting work for review and evaluation, you are guaranteeing that the work you submit for this course has not already been submitted for credit in another course. Your submitting work from another course, without your instructor's prior agreement, may result in penalties such as those applied to the misrepresentation of sources.

Illness and Absence

If you are sick, it is important that you stay home. Complete a self-assessment for COVID-19 symptoms here: https://bc.thrive.health/covid19/en. In this class, the marking scheme is intended to provide flexibility so that you can prioritize your health and still succeed.

If you are concerned that you will miss a deadline due to illness, contact me to discuss further.

If you experience medical, emotional, or personal problems that affect your attendance or academic performance, please notify <u>Arts Academic Advising</u>. If you are registered with Access and Diversity, you should notify your instructor at least two weeks before examination dates. If you are planning to be absent for varsity athletics, family obligations, or other commitments, you should discuss your commitments with the instructor before the drop date.

Reach out and ask for help if you need it

University students often encounter setbacks from time to time that can impact academic performance. If you run into difficulties and need assistance, I encourage you to contact me by email or by dropping by my office. I will do my best to support your success during the term. This includes identifying concerns I may have about your academic progress or wellbeing through Early Alert. With Early Alert, faculty members can connect you with advisors who offer student's support and assistance getting back on track to success. Only specialized UBC advisors are able to access any concerns I may identify, and Early Alert does not affect your academic record.

For more information: https://facultystaff.students.ubc.ca/systems-tools/early-alert

For information about addressing mental or physical health concerns, including seeing a UBC counselor or doctor, visit: https://students.ubc.ca/health-wellness

Respectful University Environment

UBC recognizes that "the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued." The full *UBC Statement* Environment for Students, Faculty and Respectful Staff can http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct, at: http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of other students or of the instructor. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will be professional and respectful in all their exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, please raise them with the instructor. You also have the options of contacting the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC's Equity and Inclusion Office (http://equity.ubc.ca), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students: https://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca

Equity and Harassment

UBC is committed to equity (including but not limited to gender equity) and fostering a safe learning environment for everyone. All peoples should be able to study, work, and learn in a supportive environment that is free from sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination. UBC's Policy #3 on Discrimination and Harassment defines harassment as: "unwanted and unwelcome attention from a person who knows, or ought to know, that the behaviour is unwelcome. Harassment can range from written or spoken comments to unwanted jokes, gifts, and physical assault, and may be accompanied by threats or promises regarding work or study opportunities

and conditions. Harassment can be either a single incident or a series of related incidents." Such behavior is not acceptable and will not be tolerated at UBC. If you or someone you know has encountered sexual violence or harassment, you can find confidential support and resources at the AMS Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC), and the Equity and Inclusion Office. The SASC is an all-genders service that serves the UBC-Vancouver campus community and is committed to creating a safer campus community, free from sexualized violence. Their work is informed by feminism, anti-oppression and recognition of intersectionality. The Equity and Inclusion Office is committed to fostering a community in which human rights are respected and equity and diversity are integral to university life.

Resources are available at:

Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC) 249M, Student Union Building, UBC 604-827-5180 sasc@ams.ubc.ca http://amssasc.ca

Equity and Inclusion Office 2306 – 1874 East Mall (Brock Hall) 604.822.6353 equity@equity.ubc.ca http://equity.ubc.ca

ADDITIONAL READINGS

If you are interested in one of the themes of the class, get in touch. I can provide additional readings.