

## Syllabus

|                                |   |                               |   |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| <b>Title of the Course:</b>    | Democracy, Political Participation and Social Movements | <b>Course Breakdown:</b>      | 20 teaching hours online (10 weeks), 130 hours independent study            |
| <b>Name of the Instructor:</b> | Selin Bengi Gumrukcu & Devrim Kabasakal Badamchi        | <b>Weekly class time:</b>     | Thursdays, 16:00 – 17:30 (CEST) / 17:00 – 18:30 (TSI) / 10:00 – 11:30 (EDT) |
| <b>Language:</b>               | English   |                               |   |
| <b>Hosted by:</b>              | New University in Exile Consortium                      | <b>Certificate issued by:</b> | New University in Exile Consortium (without ECTS)                           |

## Description of the course

This course considers democracy both as a set of normative ideas and an ideal that is intertwined with practice. Therefore, it is divided into two parts: The first five weeks focus on the normative landscape of democracy and the second five weeks focus on reasoning and reflecting on the meaning of political participation and democracy within the contexts of social movements. In the first part of the course, we will try to answer questions such as “Why is democracy important?”, “What are the normative concepts that we associate democracy with?”. Within this scope, we reflect on the relation of democracy with concepts such as equality, justice, neutrality, toleration, multiculturalism, and secularism. The second part of the course will be focusing on the relationship between democracy and social movements in general. It starts with analyzing the relationship between democracy and social movements by asking questions such as “Are social movements necessary for democracy?” and “Can democracies survive without social movements?”. In the following weeks, the nature of social movements and protests as well as their relation with the state are analyzed in detail. The last two weeks concentrate on mobilization under authoritarianism with specific reference to the *Arab Spring* as well as populism and its connection to social movements.

## Learning Aims

### To provide a general understanding about:

- Plural meanings of democracy
- The relation between democracy and social movements

- The relation between moral concepts and principles such as justice, equality, neutrality, toleration, multiculturalism, secularism, and democracy
- The relation between social movements and the contexts of authoritarianism and populism

**Upon the successful completion of the course students will be able to:**

- Reason analytically and critically on the meanings of democracy
- Debate firmly on the moral and societal aspects of the relation between social movements and democracy as well as authoritarianism and populism
- Have a deep insight on the relation between populism and democracy

**Course requirements**

Course components include:

- 1,5 Hour-long Class Meetings
- In-Class Discussions
- Weekly Core Readings
- Short Final Essay

Successful completion for the course will be based on the following:

- Reading the Core Readings Weekly
- Participation in the Weekly Classes
- Engaging in Weekly Class Discussions
- Short Final Essay

→ Please note that this course does not provide participants with ECTS credits. If you meet all course requirements, you will receive a completion certificate from *New University in Exile Consortium*, The New School.

**Weekly Readings, Participation, and Engaging in Class Discussions:** Our course is a seminar course which aims to read together closely the texts provided. Therefore, as a matter of principle, the participation to class discussions is important. The course will be delivered in lectures by the instructors which will be followed by a discussion. After 30 min. of lecturing by the instructors, certain questions regarding the readings of the course in relation to the lecture will be addressed during the discussion. Either the instructor or the participants can provide couple of discussion questions for each session. This will be decided with participants each week.

**Final Assignment:** A short final essay (about 2000-2500 words) will be written and submitted in the last (10<sup>th</sup>) week of the course (Times New Roman 12, with 1.5 line spacing, 2.5 margin spacing).

The essay topic could be related to debates and questions connected to any of the weeks within the syllabus. Submission of the essay topic and a short outline is also required in the 4<sup>th</sup> week of the classes.

## **Syllabus / Reading List**

### **Week 1: Plural Dimensions and Normative Vocabularies of Democracy**

- Why is democracy a good thing? Is it difficult to define democracy and if so, why and how?
- Has democracy and liberalism always overlapped?
- What are the difficulties and criticisms of liberal democracy?
- What are the challenges of contemporary theories of democracy?

#### **Core Readings:**

- Claus Offe & Ulrich Preuss, 'Democratic Institutions and Moral Resources' in David Held (ed.), *Political Theory Today*, Oxford, Polity Press, 1991, pp.143-171
- R. Blaug, 'Engineering Democracy', *Political Studies*, 50(1), 2002, pp. 102-116

#### *Further Readings:*

- W. Brown, *Undoing Demos- Liberalism's Stealth Revolution*, Zone Books, 2015 (part 1 "Undoing Democracy- Neoliberalism's Remaking of State and Subject" pp.17-47)
- D. Held (ed.), *Prospects for Democracy*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1993 [chs.2 & 3]
- Mark E. Warren, 'What Should We Expect From More Democracy? Radically Democratic Responses to Politics', *Political Theory*, 24(2), 1996, pp. 241-270

### **Week 2: Toleration, Neutrality and Democracy**

- Why are toleration and neutrality important for liberal democracy?
- Can a democratic state be tolerant and neutral at the same time?
- In what ways can toleration accommodate the idea of neutrality?
- Are toleration and neutrality enough for facilitating democratic participation?

#### **Core Readings:**

- Meckled-Garcia S., *Toleration and Neutrality: Incompatible Ideals?*. *Res Publica* 7, 293-313 (2001)

- Peter Jones, Making Sense of Political Toleration, British Journal of Political Science, Jul., 2007, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 2007), pp. 383-402

*Further Readings:*

- Peter Balint, “Neutrality, Toleration and Religious Diversity”, Spaces of Tolerance- Changing Geographies and Philosophies of Religion in Today’s Europe, ed. by Luiza Bialasiewicz, Valentina Gentile, Routledge, 2020
- Peter Jones, “Toleration. Neutrality and Exemption”, Critical Review of International, Social and Political Philosophy, Vol.23, Issue 2, 2020
- A. Koppelman, ‘The Fluidity of Neutrality’, The Review of Politics, 66(4), 2004, pp. 633-648

**Week 3: Secularism, Religion and Democracy**

- Does secularism have the same meaning in every society?
- If not, what are the different dimensions and meanings of secularism in the contemporary world?
- Why is secularism/s important for the idea of democracy?
- Can religious truth claims have a place in liberal democracies?

**Core Readings:**

- Jose Casanova, “ The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms”, in Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer & Jonathan Van Antwerpen eds., Rethinking Secularism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 54-75
- Maeve Cook, Unintelligible! Inaccessible! Unacceptable! Are religious truth claims a problem for liberal democracies?, Philosophy and Social Criticism, Vol.43, Issue 4-5, 2017

*Further Readings:*

- Tariq Madood, “Muslim Integration and Secularism”, Still Not Easy Being British, Struggles for a Multicultural Citizenship, London: Trentham Books Ltd, 2010, pp.33-50
- Rajeev Barghava, “The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism”, in The Future of Secularism, ed. T.N. Sirinivasan, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 20-53
- Cecile Laborde, ‘Secular Philosophy and Muslim Headscarves in Schools’, Journal of Political Philosophy. Sep2005, Vol. 13 Issue 3, p305-329. 25p.

**Week 4- Multiculturalism and Democracy**

- Are multicultural policies important for democracy and if so, why?

- What possible different meanings can multiculturalism have?
- What are different justifications of multiculturalism?
- What are the features of a multicultural democracy?

**Core Readings:**

- Will Kymlicka, 2007, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.86-133(part 4)
- Alessandro Ferrara, *The Democratic Horizon- Hyperpluralism and the Renewal of Political Liberalism*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 142-164

*Further Readings:*

- Charles Taylor, “Interculturalism, Multiculturalism”, in ed. Varun Uberoi, Tariq Madood, Bhikhu Parekh, *Multiculturalism Rethought: Interpretations, Dilemmas and New Directions: Essays in Honour of Bhikhu Parekh*, Edinburgh University Press, 2015, pp.327-347.
- Susan M. Okin, “Is Multiculturalism Bad For Women”, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*, Princeton University Press, ed. by J. Cohen, M. Howard, M. Nussbaum, 1999, pp. 7-24 (<https://doi-org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/10.1515/9781400840991>)
- F. Lovett, 2010, “Cultural Accommodation and Domination” *Political Theory*, 38(2): 243–267

**Week 5- Equality, Justice and Democracy**

- What are the principles of liberal idea of justice?
- Is liberal justice enough to achieve democratic equality?
- What other forms of democratic justice can we think of?

**Core Readings:**

- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1973 [sections 11-17, 2026]
- Charles W. Mills, ‘Rawls on Race/Race in Rawls’, *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* (2009) Vol. 47, Supplement: Race, Racism, and Liberalism in the Twenty-First Century, ed. Bill E. Lawson, pp. 161-184.

*Further Readings:*

- John Rawls, *Political liberalism*, Columbia University Press, 1993, Lecture 2- 1,2,3 (48-66), Lecture 4- 1,2,3,4,5 (133-158)

- Charles W. Mills, 'Retrieving Rawls for Racial Justice?: A Critique of Tommie Shelby, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 1, Iss. 1 (2013), pp. 1-27.
- Bill E. Lawson(ed.), *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* (2009) Vol. 47, Supplement: Race, Racism, and Liberalism in the Twenty-First Century. See in particular: Howard McGary 'Liberalism and the Problem of Racism', pp.1-15.

## **Week 6 – Democracy, Social Movements and Collective Action: Concepts**

- What is a protest?
- What are social movements?
- What is the relationship between democracy and social movements?
- Are social movements necessary for democracy?
- Can democracies survive without social movements? When, if ever, do they bring democracy?

### **Core Readings:**

- Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2008* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2009), chapter 1 ("Social Movements as Politics")
- Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, "Social Movements and Democracy," chap. 9 in *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 223–249

### *Further Readings:*

- Charles Tilly, "When Do (and Don't) Social Movements Promote Democratization?" in *Social Movements and Democracy* ed, Pedro Iberra, ch. 2.
- McAdam, Doug, Sydney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 1996. "To Map Contentious Politics." *Mobilization* 1:17-34.
- Nancy Bermeo, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2003), Chapter 1

## **Week 7 – Organizations, Resources and Opportunities**

- How and when do social movements emerge?
- What are the resources they are based on?
- Why do social movements differ from one context to another?
- What is the role of culture in social movements?

**Core Readings:**

- John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. 2015. "Ch.16: Social Movement Organizations," in *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* edited by Goodwin and Jasper, pp. 159-173.
- Bob Edwards and Partrick Gillham. 2013. Resource Mobilization Theory

*Further Readings:*

- Walker and Martin' "Social Movement Organizations", ch. 9 in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. 1991. "A Critique of Resource Mobilization Theory," in *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 4(4): 435-458.
- J. Craig Jenkins and Charles Perrow. 2015. "Ch.26: Farmworkers' Movements in Changing Political Contexts," pp. 287-300 in *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* edited by Goodwin and Jasper.

**Week 8 - Cycles of Protest, Repression and Outcomes**

- How the protests evolve in time?
- Why are they disappearing?
- How social movements interact with the state?
- When and how social movements are repressed?
- What are the outcomes of social movements?
- What kind of changes do they bring, if any?

**Core Readings:**

- Koopmans, "The Dynamics of Protest Waves, West Germany, 1965-1989." Pp. 367-383 in McAdam and Snow."
- Donatella Della Porta and Olivier Fillieule. 2004. "Ch.10: Policing Social Protest." Ch.10 in *Blackwell Companion* edited by Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, read only pp. 217-222; 231-236.

*Further Readings:*

- David S. Meyer. 2014. "Ch.36: How Social Movements Matter," in *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* edited by Goodwin and Jasper, pp. 386-390.
- Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 62(5): 779-800.

- Pamela Oliver. 2008. "Repression and Crime Control: Why Social Movement Scholars Should Pay Attention to Mass Incarceration as a Form of Repression." *Mobilization*, 13(1): 1-24.

## **Week 9 – Mobilization under Authoritarianism – The “Arab Spring”**

- How people mobilize under authoritarian regimes?
- What was the Arab Spring?
- What were the causes of the Arab Spring?
- Was the Arab Spring successful? If not, why?
- Why the Arab Spring did not bring democratization?

### **Core Readings:**

- Bayat, Asef. 2010. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford UP. (Ch 1)
- J Beinin, Joel and Frederic Vairel, eds. 2011. *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford UP. (Intro; Ch 1)

### *Further Readings:*

- Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds, "Why Breakdowns Did Not Always Produce Transitions," Ch 5 in *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform* (Oxford UP, 2015), 169-210.
- Ricardo R. Laremont, ed. *Revolution, Revolt and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond* (Routledge 2014). Introduction.
- Hamid Dabashi, *The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism* (Zed Books, 2012). Introduction, Chapter 1 & Conclusion.

## **Week 10 – Populism, Democracy and Social Movements**

- What is populism?
- Is it a threat to democracy?
- What is the relationship between social movements and populism?
- How can we consider rising right-wing protests in this framework?

### **Core Readings:**

- Hanspeter Kriesi. 2018 "Revisiting the Populist Challenge", *Czech Journal of Political Science* vol. 1: 5-27.
- Paris Aslanidis. 2017. "Populism and Social Movements". *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* Edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy.

*Further Readings:*

- Kotwas, Marta and Jan Kubik. “Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right- Wing Populism in Poland.” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33, no.2 (2019): 435-471. doi: 10.1177/0888325419826691
- Margaret Canovan. 1999. “Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy”, *Political Studies*, XLVII: 2-16.
- Marc F. Plattner. 2010. “Democracy's Past and Future: Populism, Pluralism, and Liberal Democracy” *Journal of Democracy* 21 (1): 81-92.

*We reserve the right to make changes to this syllabus. You will be immediately notified of all changes.*