This seminar will focus on theories of political equality and citizenship and whether we should study the concepts analytically or in the contexts in which political equality and citizenship are fought out. The course will tend to favor the latter direction, focusing on the tensions between citizenship and the market in the struggle over the welfare state and beyond, the tensions between general theories of political equality and theories based on pluralism, the tensions within neo-Republican models of citizenship and the demands for democratic participation, the tensions between citizenship as protest vs citizenship as participating in deliberation, the tension between national citizenship and immigration, and the tension between national and cosmopolitan citizenship. The underlying principle of the course is that political equality as equal citizenship is expansive prompting its proponents to extend it into constantly new areas whether in the economy, in civil society, in the provision of social rights, maximum inclusion of all residents of a nation, in offering transnational membership. It thus provokes proponents of inequality in those areas to resist this process. This expansive nature of equal citizenship leads to the fact that the meaning of citizenship and political equality is constantly contested. This course should be of interest not just to students in political theory but also those students in other subfields such as American and Comparative Politics who are dealing with matters of democracy, political equality, and citizenship.

We will start with an assessment of the analytical approach to political equality and then turn toward a classic political-sociological approach to citizenship, that of T. H. Marshall, who views citizenship as both a development social rights and as part of a struggle with the market and social class. We will then turn toward updated versions of the Marshall argument by examining a) various arguments about how and to what degree the principle of political equality also requires social and economic equality and b) the claim that equal citizenship demands roughly equal distribution of political resources. This discussion will lead us toward Robert Dahl’s recent works that takes up the latter argument as the basis for inquiring into how or indeed whether or not, effective participation can be reconciled with a pluralist concept of democracy. We will then examine the strategies conservatives use to undermine social citizenship and reduce citizenship to a narrow concept of political and civil rights. From this point on we turn to a variety of democratic theories that try to deepen or expand the concept of citizenship beyond that set by Marshall: among them theories that claim citizenship requires a deliberative concept of democracy; theories that claim that a republican model derived from “negative liberty as non-domination” can reengage citizens despite the large scale of nation states; theories that claim we must reshape citizenship to accommodate immigrants; theories that claim democratic citizenship can only flourish if we embed citizenship in the concept of the nationality; and recent arguments for a cosmopolitan citizenship that supersedes all civil society or state-centered notions. Finally, (time permitting) we take stock of these various concepts of citizenship and political equality that argue democracy can never be institutionalized and therefore the scope and meaning of citizenship will always be contested.
**Required Books**
Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (Yale University Press)
Robert Pettit, *On the People’s Terms* (Cambridge University Press)
Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (Oxford University Press)

The books have been ordered at the University Bookstore and at Mary Jane=s Books on Western and Quail Streets.
Additional readings will appear on Blackboard.

**Course Outline** (* means read especially carefully)

**I. Defining Political Equality and Citizenship: Analytic Approaches**
- Recommended:

**II. Political Equality, Social and Economic Equality, and the Market**

A. Political Equality versus Social Class

B. Political Equality and Redistribution--Marshall updated?

C. Political Equality and Effective Participation vs. Pluralism

**III. Citizenship and The Right: Strategies of Attacking Political and Social Citizenship**
- Albert Hirschman, *The Rhetoric of Reaction*
IV. Citizenship and Deliberative Democracy
   A. Jürgen Habermas, Three Normative Models of Democracy in Benhabib Democracy and Difference (on Blackboard)
   Mathew Humphries, Mark Stears, “Animal Rights Protest and the Challenge of Deliberative Democracy” Economy and Society, 35,3, August 2006, 400-422 (on Blackboard)

V. Citizenship and Neo-Republicanism—Popular Sovereignty, Coercion and Negative Liberty
   Philip Pettit, On the People’s Terms

VI. Citizenship and Inclusion: Should all Affected by Decisions be Included as Citizens
   Richard Bellamy, Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction ch. 3 “Membership and Belonging”
   Reread: Robert Dahl, Democracy and its Critics, ch. 9,
   Joseph Carens, The Ethics of Immigration, Intro, 1-8 (give special attention to chs 4, 8)
   Joseph Carens, The Ethics of Immigration, 9-13 (give special attention to chs 11-12)

VI. Citizenship and the Nation
   Jürgen Habermas, Citizenship and National Identity, in Beiner ed. Theorizing Citizenship (on Blackboard)
   Recommended: David Miller, On Nationality
   Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, ch 9, “The Decline of the Nation State and the Rights of Man.”

VII. Citizenship and Globalism
   Daniel Archibugi, A Global Commonwealth of Citizens
   Recommended:
   David Held, Democracy and the Global Order (Part I, Part II, 3.3, 5, 6, Part III, 7-8, IV)
   Andrew Linklater, Cosmopolitan Citizenship in K. Hutchings, R Dannreuther, Cosmopolitan Citizenship (on Blackboard)

VIII. Citizenship Without Stable Status or Political Form
   Sheldon Wolin, Fugitive Democracy in Seyla Benhabib ed., Democracy and Difference
Recommended:
Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, Chapter 4, *Hegemony and Radical Democracy* from *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (on Blackboard)

**Additional Bibliography**

**Citizenship Driven Social Justice: Political Equality, Social and Economic Equality and the Market**

A. Marshall and his critics

J. M. Barbalet, *Citizenship*


Anthony Giddens, AClass Division, Class Conflict and Citizenship Rights, @ in *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 164-180.

David Lockwood, AFor T. H. Marshall, @ *Sociology* 8, no.3 (1974)


Jytte Klausen, ASocial Rights and State Building, T. H. Marshall in the Hands of Reformers, @ *World Politics.* 47, 244-267.


Elisabeth Frazier, ACitizenship Education, @ *Political Studies,* 48, 1, March 2000: 88-103.

B. Relating political equality to social distribution


Ronald Dworkin, ALiberalism, @ in *A Matter of Principle*

Ronald Dworkin, AWhy Liberals Should Care About Equality, @ in *A Matter of Principle*

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*

Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*

Bo Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter*

John Dryzek, *Democracy in Capitalist Times*

Richard Krouse and Michael McPherson, ACapitalism, Property Owning Democracy, and the Welfare State, @ in *Democracy and the Welfare State,* ed. Amy Gutman

Ian Shapiro, *Democracy = Place*

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*
Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*
John Rawls, *Justice as Fairness*
Ross Zucker, *Democratic Distributive Justice*
Margaret Somer, *Genealogies of Citizenship*

**Citizenship and Workplace Democracy**
Christopher McMahon, *Authority and Democracy*
Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*
David Schweikert, *Against Capitalism*
Carole Gould, *Rethinking Democracy*

**Citizenship and Neo-Republican Theory**
Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*

**Multicultural and Group Citizenship**
Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*
Iris Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*
Anne Phillips, *Democracy and Difference*
Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community, and Culture*
Anne Phillips, *Engendering Democracy*
Ursula Vogel, *As Citizenship Gender -Specific?* in Ursual Vogel and Michael Moran eds, *The Frontiers of Citizenship*
Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*

**Citizenship and Deliberative Democracy**
James Bohman, William Rehg eds., *Deliberative Democracy*
Jon Elster ed., *Deliberative Democracy*
*Democracy and Difference*
Seyla Benhabib, *Toward A Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy* in Seyla Benhabib
ed. *Democracy and Difference*
John Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*
James Fishkin, *Democracy and Deliberation*
Kevin Olsen, *Reflexive Democracy*

**Citizenship and the Nation**
Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country*
Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country*
Yoal Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*
Ronald Beiner, *Liberalism, Nationalism, Citizenship*
Ronald Beiner ed., *Theorizing Nationalism*
E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*

**Citizenship and Globalism**
David Held, D. Archibugi, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*
April Carter, *The Political Theory of Global Citizenship*
Steven Vertovec, Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*
Kimberley Hutchins, Ronald Danneuher ed., *Cosmopolitan Citizenship*
Jürgen Habermas, *The Post-National Constellation*
John Dryzek, *A Transitional Democracy* in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 7, 1, 30-51
Samuel Scheffler, *A Conceptions of Cosmopolitanism* in *Boundaries and Allegiances*
Kwame Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism Ethics in a World of Strangers*

**Citizenship Without Stable Status or Political Form**
Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Multitude*
William Connolly, *Identity and Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*
Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*
Chantal Mouffe, *The Paradox of Democracy*
Bonnie Honig, *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics*

**Course Requirements**
1. Each member of the seminar will have to give at least two presentations on the readings. I will select volunteers from week to week. Your presentation should have at least three components: 1) it should lay out the argument at hand; 2) it should discuss how the argument fits in with the theme of the course as well as arguments we have already discussed; 3) and it should critically assess the strengths and weakness of the argument both conceptually and empirically. You also are to prepare an outline of the argument and your assessment of it to be handed to other members of the class at the time of your presentation.
2. There will be a series of smaller critical exercises of 3-4 pages that I will assign as we go along.
3. Each member will be responsible to write a long research paper of 20+ pages. This paper
should take one of the strands of argument on the theory of political equality and democratic citizenship and critically map out and assess the various directions this strand has taken. For example, you may write a paper working out the various arguments for and against global citizenship, or for and against the notion that political equality demands the extension of social rights in opposition to the market, or for and against citizenship based on cultural rights. Or you may seek to critically address the redefinition of political equality by one of the concepts of citizenship. You may, want to write a paper arguing that an adequate concept of democratic citizenship requires a fusion of several concepts, but, if you do so, you will have to discuss the possible costs as well as benefits of such a combination. In preparation for this paper you must read widely in the area you select for examination. I have provided suggestions for further reading in the syllabus. You should choose your area of research early in the semester.

4. Finally, it will be expected that you come prepared ready to discuss the readings. I am assuming that students in the seminar have some acquaintance with democratic theory, but even if not, I have assigned a short overview book, Richard Bellamy, *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*, that should bring you up to speed on the ongoing discussion of citizenship.

**Office Hours**

I shall have office hours in Milne 204 from 2-4 on Mondays and Wednesdays but I could also meet with you by appointment. I can be reached at 442-5277 or at pbreiner@albany.edu