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CITIZENSHIP AND EXCLUSION
POLS 3125, Fall 2012
Columbia University
T-Th 1:10-2:25, 603 Hamilton

Citizenship has always been a battleground in struggles for inclusion and exclusion. This course aims to familiarize students with contemporary theories of citizenship from the lens of boundaries. What kind of ‘good’ is citizenship, and why is it denied to some? How do politically, socially, or culturally marginalized groups use the discourse of citizenship to claim equal participation and recognition? How should access to citizenship be regulated in contemporary democracies?

This is a political theory course about citizenship, but citizenship itself is inseparable from political practice. For this reason, the assigned reading is drawn from a wide range of materials: philosophical and normative accounts, historical studies, social science research, judicial decisions, real-world manifestoes, speeches, and debates. The estimated weekly reading load is 80-100 pages.

The course takes seriously students’ own commitments as citizens of their respective political communities. To foster more active engagement with the questions and arguments we will examine in the class, each student is asked to prepare two 2-page memos advancing a disciplined argument on a contemporary controversy regarding citizenship (due Sep 30th, Nov 11th or Dec 2nd). The lectures immediately following the memo assignments will be conducted as a course-wide discussion incorporating students’ responses to the question.

Forms of assessment

Take-home midterm (Oct 28-30)	30%
Class memos	20%
Take-home final (Dec 14-17)	30%
Discussion session participation	20%

Class preparation and attendance

Regular attendance in lectures and discussion sections is mandatory.

There is a required reading assignment associated with every lecture, listed under the lecture title and date. As this is a fast-paced course, you should take care to keep up with the reading for each week. You will receive additional section instructions from your TA.

Questions or comments about the material are always welcome, whether by email or in class.

Lateness policy

You must hand in your midterm and final exams no later than the respective due dates and times listed in the syllabus. You will lose one letter grade (e.g. A to a B, or B+ to a C+) per day if you miss the deadline. Exams must be submitted in printed, hard copy form. Extensions will not be granted except in extremely adverse circumstances.

Books for purchase (available at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street)

Plato, *The Trial and Death of Socrates* (Hackett)
Aristotle, *Politics*, Jowett translation (Dover)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Basic Political Writings*, 2nd Ed. (Hackett)
Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy* (UC Press)
Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Harcourt Brace)
Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country* (Beacon)

Courseworks website

Most of the reading materials for the course (i.e., everything listed on the syllabus as required reading, other than the books for purchase listed above) have been uploaded to the Courseworks website for this class, either under “Library Reserves” or under “Course materials.” You are responsible for checking the syllabus before each class and downloading the assigned reading.

Academic honesty

Whenever you draw on or allude to ideas other than your own, you must reference the original source, whatever it may be (a book, a reference manual, a website, a lecture, an introductory essay, etc.). This rule is not limited to verbatim quotations; all distinctive ideas you borrow from others, even where you paraphrase them in your own words, must be explicitly referenced. This rule applies not only to formally assessed work, but to *all* of your contributions in this class.

Please note Columbia College’s policy on academic honesty, which will be strictly enforced in this class:

“The intellectual venture in which we are all engaged requires of faculty and students alike the highest level of personal and academic integrity. As members of an academic community, each one of us bears the responsibility to participate in scholarly discourse and research in a manner characterized by intellectual honesty and scholarly integrity.

“Scholarship, by its very nature, is an iterative process, with ideas and insights building one upon the other. Collaborative scholarship requires the study of other scholars' work, the free discussion of such work, and the explicit acknowledgement of those ideas in any work that inform our own. This exchange of ideas relies upon a mutual trust that sources, opinions, facts, and insights will be properly noted and carefully credited.

“In practical terms, this means that, as students, you must be responsible for the full citations of others' ideas in all of your research papers and projects; you must be scrupulously honest when taking your examinations; you must always submit your own work and not that of another student, scholar, or internet agent.

“Any breach of this intellectual responsibility is a breach of faith with the rest of our academic community. It undermines our shared intellectual culture, and it cannot be tolerated. Students failing to meet these responsibilities should anticipate being asked to leave Columbia.”

LECTURE SCHEDULE

- Sep. 4 Introduction to the course: What is citizenship, and who gets to have it? And what can political theory have to say about it?

I. Classical virtues of a citizen

- Sep. 6 Was Socrates a good citizen?

Plato, *Apology*; *Crito* in *The Trial and Death of Socrates* (Hackett)

Recommended:

Peter Riesenberg, *Citizenship in the Western Tradition*, ch.1

JGA Pocock, "The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times," in Beiner, *Theorizing Citizenship*, pp.29-52

- Sep. 11 The good man and the good citizen: Aristotle

Aristotle, *Politics*, Books **I** (pp.25-50 only); **II**, 1-4 (pp.54-67 only); **III** (entire)

Recommended:

Paul Magette, *Citizenship: History of an Idea*, pp.7-30

II. What kind of 'good' is citizenship?

Citizenship has been defined in terms of many different goods: as democratic self-rule, as a bundle of rights, as a status of equality, as a source of identity, to name a few. Are all these goods compatible? How do they affect who is included and who is excluded from the scope of membership?

- Sep. 13 Citizenship as participation: Rousseau and the general will

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book **I** (entire); Book **II** (1-4 and 10 only); Book **III** (15 only); Book **IV** (8 only)

- Sep. 18 Citizenship as equality: Sièyes and the estates

Abbé Sièyes, *What is the Third Estate?*, Chapters 1-3, 5-6.

- Sep. 20 Citizenship as rights: the liberal argument

Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns" (entire); "Principles of Politics Applicable to All Representative Governments," (Foreword, Ch.s 1, 6, 17).

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen [1789]

The Bill of Rights of the US Constitution [1791]

Recommended:

T.H.Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, pp.3-51
Peter Shuck, “Liberal Citizenship,” in Isin & Turner, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*

Sep. 25 Citizenship as participation: modern popular sovereignty

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., “Give Us the Ballot—We Will Transform the South” (1957)

Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*, pp.3-25 (Ch.1: “Politics as Zookeeping”), 213-233, 261-267

Recommended:

Barber, *Strong Democracy*, pp.267-286 (Ch.10: “Institutionalizing Strong Democracy”)

Sep. 27 Citizenship as identity and belonging

Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*, ch.3, pp.57-77

Anthony P. Cohen, “Personal Nationalism,” *American Ethnologist*, vol.23 (1996), no.4, pp.802-815

Recommended:

Bernard Yack, “Popular Sovereignty and Nationalism,” *Political Theory*, vol.29 (2001), pp.517-536

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.5-7, 37-46, 67-82

Sep. 30 *1st memo due:* What is the defining “good” of citizenship?

Oct. 2 Class discussion: What is the distinctive ‘value added’ of citizenship?

III. Denials of citizenship

The value of citizenship is defined just as much by who is not deemed eligible for citizenship as by who is. This portion of the class continues our inquiry into the nature of citizenship by examining different grounds on which individuals have been denied (or continue to be denied) full citizenship status.

Oct. 4 Citizenship and race

United States Supreme Court, *Dredd Scot v. Sandford* (1857), excerpt

Frederick Douglass, 1852, “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”

Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union”

Ian Haney López, *White by Law. The Legal Construction of Race*, ch. 1 (pp.1-34)

- Oct. 9 Citizenship and crime
 Khalilah Brown-Dean, “Permanent Outsiders: Felon Disenfranchisement and the Breakdown of Black Politics,” in Georgia Persons, *The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics*
- Oct. 11-12 Lecture & sections cancelled
- Oct. 16 Citizenship, gender and sexuality
 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, *Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments* (1848)
 Jane Addams, “Why women should vote,” 1915
 Ursula Vogel, “Marriage and the Boundaries of Citizenship,” van Steenberg (ed.), *The Condition of Citizenship*, pp.76-88
Recommended:
 David Bell and Jon Binnie, *The Sexual Citizen*, ch.3, pp.53-66
 Jacqueline Bhabha, “The ‘Mere Fortuity of Birth’? Children, Mothers, Borders, and the Meaning of Citizenship,” in Benhabib and Resnik (eds), *Migrations and Mobilities* (NYU Press, 2009), pp.187-220
- Oct. 18 Citizenship and socioeconomic class
 Margaret Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship*, pp.63-73, 118-143
 William Julius Wilson, “Citizenship and the inner-city ghetto poor,” van Steenberg (ed.), *The Condition of Citizenship*, pp.49-60
- Oct. 23 Citizenship and group representation
 Will Kymlicka, “Multicultural Citizenship,” in Gershon Shafir, *The Citizenship Debates*, pp.167-188
 Iris M. Young, “Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship,” *Ethics*, vol.99 (1989), no.2, pp. 250-274
- Oct. 25 Citizenship and faith
 Malise Ruthven, “The Big Muslim Problem!” *The New York Review of Books*, Dec 17 2009. Available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/dec/17/the-big-muslim-problem/>
 Ayaan Hirsi Ali, “The Trouble is the West,” *Reason Magazine*, Nov. 2007; interview by Rogier van Bakel
 Cecile Laborde, “Secular Philosophy and Muslim Headscarves in Schools,” *Journal of Public Philosophy*, vol.13 (2005), pp. 305-329

IV. Citizenship and alienage

Are aliens really outside the body politic? In this section of the course, we will focus on the problem of delineating the external boundaries of the nation, and consider role that aliens and the idea of alienage plays in constituting the meaning of citizenship in modern democratic societies.

- Oct. 28 **Take-home midterm questions given out**
- Oct. 30 *Take-home midterm essays due in class by 1:15 pm.***
- Oct. 30 Citizenship and the boundary problem: Is it possible to define the *demos* democratically?
Frederick Whelan, “Democratic theory and the boundary problem” in Pennock and Chapman, *Liberal Democracy*, pp. 13-42
- Nov. 1 Borders and migration
Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, ch.3, pp.31-63
Joseph Carens, “Aliens and citizens: the case for open borders,” *Review of Politics*, vol.49 (1987), no.2, pp.251-273
Recommended:
Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Citizens, and Residents*
Ayelet Shachar, *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality*, ch.1-3
- Nov. 6 Election day, no class: go exercise your citizenship right!
- Nov. 8 Aliens and the nation
Woodrow Wilson’s statement vetoing the immigration bill, January 28 1915
Bonnie Honig, “Immigrant America? How foreignness ‘solves’ democracy’s problems,” *Social Text*, no.56 (1998), pp.1-27
Linda Bosniak, “The Citizenship of Aliens,” *Social Text*, no.56 (1998), pp.29-35
- Nov. 11 2nd class memo due:** Should democracies grant voting rights to all residents?
- Nov. 13 Class discussion: democratic participation for non-citizens
Sarah Song, “Democracy and Noncitizen Voting Rights,” *Citizenship Studies*, vol.13 (2009), pp.607-620
Rainer Bauböck, “Expansive Citizenship – Voting beyond territory and membership” in *PS Online*, vol.38 (2005), pp.683-7
Phil Triadafilopoulos, “Non-citizen voting in Toronto: A case of too little, too soon?” Available at <http://mowatcentre.ca/opinions.php?opinionID=18>

Nov. 14 **Field trip** to US District Court, Southern District of New York, exact date and time TBC.

V. Citizenship beyond the state?

In the final part of the course, we will consider whether existing and projected forms of citizenship beyond the state are feasible or desirable, and whether they show exclusionary tendencies of their own.

Nov. 15 Statelessness and “the right to have rights”

Hannah Arendt, “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man,” in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, pp.341-384

Recommended:

Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others*, ch.2

Nov. 20 Catch-up lecture

Nov. 22 Happy Thanksgiving!

Nov. 27 Cosmopolitan citizenship I: Promises

Martha Nussbaum, *For Love of Country?* pp.ix-xiv, 3-17, 131-144

Derek Heater, *World Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Thinking and Its Opponents*, pp.130-153

Nov. 29 Cosmopolitan citizenship II: Limitations

David Miller, “Bounded Citizenship,” in *Citizenship and National Identity*, pp.81-96

Gertrude Himmelfarb, “The Illusions of Cosmopolitanism,” in *For Love of Country?*, pp.72-77

Nathan Glazer, “The Limits of Loyalty,” in *For Love of Country?* pp. 61-65

Dec. 2 *3rd class memo due*: Is citizenship beyond the state possible or desirable?

Dec. 4 Class discussion: The possibilities and limitations of citizenship beyond the state

Dec. 6 Conclusion

Dec. 14 **Take-home final exam questions given out**

Dec. 17 12 pm: Take-home final exam essays due