

THEORIES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY
POLSCI 757 / GLOBALST 741
Term 2, Winter 2022

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Course Description

This course is organized around key themes for political community with a special focus on the idea of 'the people' as 'constituent power,' meaning the author of law with the power to make or break the political order. It considers questions such as who are "the people"? Is law above the people, or are the people above the law? What happens when populism or political leadership becomes self-defeating? And is violence the beginning or end of politics?

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- deliver informed judgments on political events by placing them in a wider context of social, historical and normative developments, and to defend this position in written and verbal form;
- investigate a specific historical case using relevant questions about the role of political community derived from these theories; and
- Identify and anticipate challenges to political communities that arise with regard to issues of representative authority.

Required Materials and Texts

There are no required textbook(s). Students will have assigned readings as listed under the Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings Section.

Class Format

This course will adapt a seminar format.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Participation – 20%, ongoing
2. Class leadership – 10% date to be assigned
3. Weekly Reflection Papers – 20%, beginning January 20
4. Research Design – 10%, due March 3
5. Major Research Paper – 40%, due April 7

Course Evaluation – Details

Participation (20%), ongoing

Includes preparation for class by reading course materials, developing questions and insights for discussion, contributing meaningfully in a manner that deepens awareness of the themes of the reading or that week's topic, and maintaining a collegial environment of mutual respect and supportive learning.

Class leadership (10%), date to be assigned

On a date to be assigned, each student will lead the week's discussion. This includes opening the class with a brief statement of what they found useful or difficult about the readings, including at least three questions they felt that week's topic raised. They will then conduct a "blackboard" exercise where additional questions are gathered from the class and listed under rough headings, along with any other major concepts the class would like to address. This should then provide a rough framework for the discussion to follow, and in an ideal world, the class will work through the bulk of the questions in the course of the time available.

Reflection Papers (20%), beginning January 20

Submit a one-page, single-spaced (500 word) reflection paper on that week's course readings. Papers should be posted on Avenue no later than 10:00am on the day of class. Provided that all required papers are completed, at the end of the course the two best grades will be selected and used to calculate the final grade for the assignment.

Research Design (10%), due March 3

A two-page (minimum, there is no maximum) outline of the research topic that clearly identifies a primary research question and outlines a research plan for how to address it.

Major Research Paper (40%), due April 7

A 16-18 page paper that draws on a theoretical perspective from the class readings and develops it with regard to a specific case, or in light of a particular theoretical critique. I am happy to discuss with students how different theoretical approaches might work for their specific topic.

- Submission should be via Avenue to Learn or (in the case of the major paper) as paper copies handed in during class or to the Political Science department office. Submission should not be by email unless specifically requested.
- A consistent citation system is crucial. I recommend the **Chicago in-text** system. If you do not choose to follow that system, please indicate at the end of your paper what citation system you used for the paper.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Jan 13) Introduction

- No readings

Week 2 (Jan 20) Theology

Readings:

- Walter Benjamin “Critique of Violence” in *Reflections* Peter Demetz (ed.) New York: Schocken Books, pp. 277-300.
- Carl Schmitt (2005) Chapters 1-3 of *Political Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 5-53.

Week 3 (Jan 27) Sovereignty

Readings:

- Thomas Hobbes ([1651]) “Of Man” chapters 1-7, 11-15. *Leviathan*. New York: Penguin Books.
- James R. Martel (2007) “Introduction: Hobbes’ Conspiracy against sovereignty” in *Subverting the Leviathan: Reading Thomas Hobbes as a Radical Democrat* New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-19.
- Kinch Hoekstra (2004) “Disarming the prophets: Thomas Hobbes and predictive power” *Rivista di storia della filosofia* 59 (1): 97-153.

Week 4 (Feb 3) Constituent Power

Readings:

- Abbé Sieyès (1798), “What is the third estate?” in *University of Chicago readings in Western civilization*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, pp. 154-79
- Andreas Kalyvas (2005) “Popular sovereignty, democracy and the constituent power,” *Constellations* 12 (2): 223-44.
- Martin Loughlin (2014) “The concept of constituent power” *European Journal of Political Theory* 13 (2): 218-37.
- Emiliios Christodoulidis (2007) “Against substitution: The constitutional thinking of dissensus” in *The paradox of constitutionalism*, Martin Loughlin and Neil Walker (eds). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 189-208

Week 5 (Feb 10) Founding

Readings:

- Hannah Arendt (1963) “Foundation II: Novus Ordo Saeclorum,” *On Revolution*. New York: Viking Press, pp. 171-206.
- Jacques Derrida (1986) “Declarations of Independence” *New Political Science* 15: 7-15.
- Bonnie Honig (1991) “Declarations of Independence: Arendt and Derrida on the Problem of Founding a Republic” *American Political Science Review* 85(1): 84-113.
- Melissa Matthes (2000) “A Conversation Between Republicanism and Feminism” and “Livy and the Repetition of Republican Foundations” in *The Rape of Lucretia and the Founding of Republics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 23-50.

Week 6 (Feb 17) Populism

Readings:

- Cas Mudde (2004) "The populist zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 541-63.
- Hannah Arendt (1958) "A classless society" and "The totalitarian movement in *The origins of totalitarianism*. New York: Meridian, pp.305-88.
- Nadia Urbinati (2019) "Political theory of populism" *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 111-27.

Week 7 (Feb 24) Winter mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 8 (Mar 3) Voice

Readings:

- Aletta Norval (2009) Democracy, pluralization, and voice. *Ethics & Global Politics* 2 (4): 297-320.
- Michael Saward (2006) "The representative claim." *Contemporary Political Theory*, 5, 297–318.
- Lisa Disch (2015) "The 'constitutive turn' in democratic representation: A normative dead-end?" *Constellations*, 22 (4), 487–99.
- Notes: Research Design due

Week 9 (Mar 10) Ventriloquism

Readings:

- Steven Connor (2000) "What I say goes" in *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-51.
- Mark Reinhardt (2002) "Who speaks for Margaret Garner? Slavery, Silence and the Politics of Ventriloquism" *Critical Inquiry* 29 (1): 81-119.
- Elizabeth Wingrove (2016) "blah blah WOMEN blah blah EQUALITY blah blah DIFFERENCE" *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 49 (4): 408-19.
- Heidi Lourens (2018) "Driving in unheard silence: Disability and the politics of shutting up" *Journal of Health Psychology* 23 (4): 567-76.

Week 10 (Mar 17) Thinking

Readings:

- Linda Zerilli (2005) "Feminists Know Not What They Do: Judith Butler's Gender Trouble and the Limits of Epistemology" in *Feminism and the Abyss of Freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 33-65.

- Thomas Donahue & Paulina Ochoa Espejo (2016) "The analytical-continental divide: Styles of dealing with problems," *European Journal of Political Theory* 15 (2): 138-54.
- Bonnie Honig (2007) "Between decision and deliberation: Political paradox in democratic theory" *American Political Science Review* 101 (1): 1-17.

Week 11 (Mar 24) Paper workshop

Readings:

- No readings, circulate paper draft outline via Avenue

Week 12 (Mar 31) Theorizing

Readings:

- William Galston (2010) "Realism in political theory," *European Journal of Political Theory* 9(4): 385-411.
- Matthew Longo and Bernardo Zacka (2019) "Political theory in an ethnographic key," *American Political Science Review* 113 (4) 1066-70.
- Chris Brown (2017) "Political thought, international relations theory and international political theory: An interpretation" *International Relations* 31 (3): 227-40.
- Toby Rollo (2018) "Back to the rough ground: Textual, oral and enactive meaning in comparative political theory" *European Journal of Political Theory* 2021 20 (3): 379-97.

Week 13 (Apr 7) Cruelty

Readings:

- Simon Stow (2007) "Pericles at Gettysburg and Ground Zero: Tragedy, Patriotism, and Public Mourning," *American Political Science Review* 101 (2): 195-208.
- Kamila Stullerova (2019) "Cruelty and international relations" in *Between Utopia and realism: The political thought of Judith N. Shklar*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 67-85.

Notes: Major Research paper due.

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

- Students are expected to complete the assignments on schedule, except in cases of illness or immediate personal emergency.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

- Late penalties of 10% per day (including weekends) will be assigned to work that arrives after the assignment deadline.
- Grade appeals should be made no sooner than 24 hours after the work is returned. If sufficient grounds exist, an assignment will be re-evaluated. Please note that re-evaluation may also result in a grade being lowered.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons please contact me in advance or as soon as possible via email if you are going to be absent.

Courses With An On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be

expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to

www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or

suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online**.

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.