

Fachbereich Gesellschaftswissenschaften

Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Prof. Dr. Thomas Zittel

Democracy and Participation (Draft syllabus 6.10.18)

Winter 2018-19, Goethe-University Frankfurt
Fr. 10:00 bis 12:00 / PEG 1.G107

Modules: PW-BA-SP, PW-MA-2b, PW-MA-3b, PW-MA-4b, PW-MA-2a, PW-MA-3a, PW-MA-4a, PT-MA-3

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Office Hours: Tue, 12-13:30
(Please see list on my office door and register)

Course Description

Democracy is inconceivable without citizen participation. Consequently, democratic governance in established democracies currently appears to be in crisis. Turnout is declining, parties find it increasingly difficult to recruit candidates and members, and trust in public authorities is waning away. Many citizens have become indifferent about politics. In this seminar, we delineate those features of democratic governance that are designed to provide opportunities for participation and explore the cause for their decreasing abilities to secure citizen engagement. We furthermore ask about new institutional devices that are being discussed as cures to the problem and thus as means to re-connect citizens and the state and revitalize modern democracy. We also critically reflect about the relationship between democratic institutions and participation, and discuss how much and what kind of participation democracy might require.

Target Group

- You are enrolled in one of the degree programs the class contributes to;
- You wonder about the functioning of democratic governance, follow current debates on its perceived crisis and raise specific questions on this issue;
- You are interested in empirical questions and research approaches in political science;
- You successfully completed classes in Comparative Politics at the BA or MA level;
- You possess basic knowledge in scientific research.

Aims and Objectives

Assuming that you have read the material and participated regularly in class you will by the end of this class:

- have a good knowledge of participatory institutions that ought to facilitate political participation;
- have a good knowledge of the behavioural effects of participatory institutions and relevant mediating contextual factors;
- know basic concepts and theories for analysing political participation and participatory institutions;
- know main prescriptive models of democracy and how they perceive participation as an element of democracy;
- have improved your research and writing skills.

Readings

Our readings will predominantly involve texts published in visible international academic journals. They are available in electronic form and can be downloaded via our OLAT course site. Relevant useful books are put on reserve and can be found in the designated section in our departmental library in the PEG Building (Handapparat). Useful first references to the topic are the following books:

Brigitte Geissel und Kenneth Newton. 2012. Evaluating Democratic Innovations. Curing the Democratic Malaise? London und New York, NY: Routledge.

Thomas Zittel und Dieter Fuchs. 2007. Participatory Democracy and Political Participation. Can Participatory Engineering bring Citizens Back In? London und New York, NY: Routledge.

Bruce E. Cain, Russell J. Dalton, und Susan E. Scarrow. 2003. Democracy Transformed? Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies. Oxford: Oxford UP.

In case of questions about research techniques you might wish to consult one of the many publications on this topic. Useful references are:

Petra Stykow/Christopher Daase/Janet MacKenzie/Nikola Moosauer. 2010. Politikwissenschaftliche Arbeitstechniken. 2. Auflage. Stuttgart.

Klaus Schlichte/Julia Sievers. 2015. Einführung in die Arbeitstechniken der Politikwissenschaft. Wiesbaden.

Course Requirements

The weekly meeting will be devoted to the discussion of the assigned readings in a seminar like style. My role will be one of providing structure to the discussion if necessary and adding, where useful, additional information through short lecture elements. To earn 3 CP (Nachweis der aktiven Teilnahme), your role will be to introduce the assigned readings on one of the topics of the seminar in an oral presentation of about 30 minutes and to lead the discussion

on your presentation and the readings. Each participant will take on this responsibility once during the semester. The presentation should focus on the main themes in the readings and on the questions that need further discussion. You are expected to use handouts and/or Powerpoint to support your presentation. In addition to the oral presentation and to taking turns at leading the discussion, I expect each of you to attend regularly (= less than 3 missed classes), to participate in the discussion and to submit a research proposal of about 3 pages on the topic of your presentation by 8 February, 5pm. The proposals will be presented and discussed in class on our final session on 15 February. Those of you who wish to earn additional 5 CP to complete the class with a “Modulabschluss” are expected to write a term paper of about 20 pages in length. The paper is due on 30 March 2019, 5 pm. Submit an electronic version to zittel@soz.uni-frankfurt.de and deliver it in printed form to the secretarial office of the chair for comparative politics (PEG 3.G145). You are welcome to drop it in the mail box next to it if you are only able to visit PEG outside of the opening hours. You are also welcome to mail it to the mail address of my chair that you find on its Website. Ideally, the topic for the term paper results from your class presentation and the research proposal you submitted.

Research Ethics

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the University Code of Academic Integrity (<http://www.uni-frankfurt.de/59424245/Grundsatz-guter-wissenschaftlicher-Praxis.pdf>). Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student’s own work. If you have any questions about this policy, please ask or consult available information (see above) or under <http://www.fb03.uni-frankfurt.de/51575300/plagiate>.

Class Schedule

I Introduction

1. Session 19.10.2018: Organizational session

Content: This session is devoted to introducing ourselves, to mutually communicating expectations, and to engaging in an open discussion about the topic of the seminar and the research questions that it involves. Also, the instructor will clarify course requirements and organization and answer questions in this regard.

2. Session 26.10.18: No session. Organizational week

You took a decision until 25.10.18, 5pm as to whether you wish to participate in this class. If you wish to participate, you are now expected to pick a topic that you wish to do a presentation on. Please mail three preferences to zittel@soz.uni-frankfurt.de until 25.10.18, 5pm. The instructor will communicate the final distribution of class presentations until 29.10.18, by noon latest. Visit me in my office hour during this week in case of questions. Closely consult the syllabus and some of the readings and reflect upon whether you wish to take the class with what goal in mind.

II Models of democracy: How much and what kind of participation on the basis of what kind of institutions?

It is our intuition to perceive participation and democracy as synonyms. But in classic theories of democracy, they rather are not. This section is devoted to facilitate a better understanding about relevant prescriptive models of democracy and how they conceptualize participation as a component of democratic governance. Specifically, we focus on two schools of democratic theory that involve quite different theories of political participation, namely the participatory and the pluralistic models of democracy.

3. Session 2.11.2018: Participatory democracy

Readings:

- 📖 Carole Pateman. 1970. Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, Kapitel 1–3.
- 📖 Manfred G. Schmidt. 2010. Demokratietheorien. 5. Auflage. Opladen, S. 236–254.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 C.B. Macpherson. 1977. The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy. Oxford und New York, NY.
- 📖 Carole Pateman. 1970. Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, Kapitel.

4. Session 9.11.2018: Pluralistic democracy

Readings:

- 📖 Robert A. Dahl. 1998. On Democracy. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, Teil III (S. 83–129)
- 📖 Manfred G. Schmidt. 2010. Demokratietheorien. 5. Auflage. Opladen, S. 210–225.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Robert A. Dahl. 1989. Democracy and its Critics. New Haven/London

5. Session 16.11.2018: No session because of a professional responsibility

III Participation in comparative perspective: Types and explanations

Research on political participation is theoretically and empirically a far advanced field of research in political science. In this step we aim to better understand what is meant by “political participation” and what the key explanations are for whether individuals are politically active or not. Since this class aims to facilitate knowledge about the institutional prerequisites of political participation, we critically explore the role of democratic institutions as a source of participation in traditional theories of political participation.

6. Session 23.11.2018: The SES model of political participation

Readings:

- 📖 Henry Brady/Sydney Verba/Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation", American Political Science Review 89: 271-294.
- 📖 Grant Jordan und William A. Maloney. 2007. Explaining low Participation Rates. Collective Action and the Concerned Unmobilized. In: Thomas Zittel und Dieter Fuchs. 2007. Participatory Democracy and Political Participation. Can Participatory Engineering bring Citizens Back In? London und New York, NY: Routledge, S. 127 – 151.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, und Henry E. Brady. 1995. Voice and Equality. Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. Cambridge, MA und London: Cambridge University Press.
- 📖 Samuel H. Barnes u.a. 1979. Political Action. Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies. Beverly Hills/London.
- 📖 Yannis Theocharis und Jan van Deth. 2017. Political Participation in a Changing World: Conceptual and Empirical Challenges in the Study of Citizen Engagement. Abington: Taylor and Francis.

7. Session 30.11.2018: No session because of a professional responsibility

IV The institutional sources of political participation

This part is in the center of or class. It asks about distinct institutional opportunities for participation in established democracies. Our aim is to acquire a differentiated understanding about their structure from a comparative perspective and their behavioral consequences.

8. Session 7.12.2018: Electoral systems and turnout

Readings:

- 📖 Robert W. Jackman/Ross A. Miller. 1995. Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies during the 1980s. Comparative Political Studies 27: 467–492.
- 📖 Bart Engelen. 2007. Why Compulsory Voting can Enhance Democracy. Acta Politica 42: 23–39.
- 📖 Tak Wing Chan und Matthew Clayton. 2006. Should the Voting Age be Lowered to the Age of Sixteen? Normative and Empirical Considerations. Political Studies 54: 533–558.
- 📖 Peter Soderlund. 2017. Candidate-cantered electoral systems and voter turnout. West European Politics 40(3): 516-533.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Mark Franklin. 2004. Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945. Cambridge University Press.

9. Session 14.12.2018: Political parties

Readings:

- 📖 Robin T. Pettitt. 2012. Exploring Variations in Intra-party Democracy: A Comparative Study of the British Labour Party and the Danish Centre-Left. British Journal of Politics & International Relations (4) 14: 630 – 650.
- 📖 Gideon Rahat/Reuven Y. Hazan. 2007. Political Participation in Party Primaries: Increase in Quantity, Decrease in Quality. In Thomas Zittel/Dieter Fuchs. Hg. Participatory Democracy and Political Participation. London/New York, NY, S. 57–72.
- 📖 William P. Cross und André Blais. 2012. Who Selects the Party Leader? Party Politics (2) 18: 127 – 150.
- 📖 William P. Cross und Lisa Young. 2002. The Rise of Plebiscitary Democracy in Canadian Political Parties. Party Politics (6) 8: 673 – 699.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 William P. Cross und Richard S. Katz. Hg. 2013. The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 📖 Anika Gauja. 2017. Party Reform: The Causes, Challenges, and Consequences of Organizational Change. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

10. Session 21.12.2018: Direct democracy

Readings:

- 📖 Peter Graf Kielmansegg. 2001. Soll die Demokratie direkt sein? In Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 25. April, Nr. 96, S. 14.
- 📖 Hanspeter Kriesi. 2012. Direct Democracy: The Swiss Experience. In: Brigitte Geissel und Kenneth Newton. Evaluating Democratic Innovations Curing the Democratic Malaise? London und New York, NY, S. 39 – 55.
- 📖 Manfred G. Schmidt. 2010. Demokratietheorien. 5. Auflage. Opladen, S. 355–374.
- 📖 Anna Kern und Marc Hooghe. The effect of direct democracy on the social stratification of political participation: Inequality in democratic fatigue? Comparative European Politics 16(4): 724-744.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 David Butler und Austin Ranney. Hg. 1994. Referendums around the World. The Growing Use of Direct Democracy. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press.
- 📖 Shaun Bowler und Todd Donovan. 2000. Demanding Choices. Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

11. Sitzung am 18.01.2019: Democratic innovations

Readings:

- 📖 John Gastil und Erik Olin Wright. 2018. Legislature by lot: Envisioning sortition within a bicameral system. Politics & Society 46(3): 303 – 330.
- 📖 James S. Fishkin. 2012. Deliberative Polling: Reflections on an Ideal made Practical. In: Brigitte Geissel und Kenneth Newton. Evaluating Democratic Innovations Curing the Democratic Malaise? London und New York, NY, S. 71 – 89.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Graham Smith. 2009. Democratic Innovations. Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 📖 James Fishkin. 1991. Democracy and Deliberation. New Directions for Democratic Reform. New Haven, CT und London: Yale UP.
- 📖 Bruce Ackerman und James Fishkin. 2005. Deliberation Day. New Haven, CT.

12. Sitzung am 25.01.2019: Social institutions and democracy

Readings:

- 📖 Neil Carter. 2007. Workplace Democracy: Turning Workers into Citizens. In: Thomas Zittel und Dieter Fuchs. 2007. Participatory Democracy and Political Participation. Can Participatory Engineering bring Citizens Back In? London und New York, NY: Routledge, S. 167 – 183.
- 📖 Tom Malleson. 2013. Making the Case for Workplace Democracy: Exit and Voice as Mechanisms of Freedom in Social Life. Polity (4) 45: 604 – 629.
- 📖 Per Adman. 2008. Does workplace experience enhance political participation? A critical test of a venerable hypothesis. Political Behavior (1) 30: 115 – 138.
- 📖 TBA – text on associational democracy

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Edward Greenberg. 1986. Workplace Democracy. The Political Effects of Participation. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.
- 📖 Carole Pateman. 1970. Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

V The changing context of democracy

The context of democratic institutions is changing in most dynamic and dramatic ways. Globalization is on issue in this regard, the revolution in media technology concerns a second major issue in this debate. In this last part in our class we ask about the role of new media environments and how it affects the relationship between democratic institutions and political participation. Are new media a factor that might contribute to re-connecting citizens and the state or are they rather a problem in this regard?

13. Session 1.02.2019: Media

Readings:

- 📖 Graham Smith. 2009. Democratic Innovations. Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation. Cambridge, Kapitel 5.
- 📖 TBA
- 📖 TBA
- 📖 J. Svensson/A. Leenes. 2003. E-Voting in Europe. Divergent Democratic Practice. Information Polity 8: 3 – 15.

Classics for further reading:

- 📖 Pippa Norris. 2001. Digital Divide. Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- 📖 TBA.

VI Conclusion

14. Session 8.02.2019: No session. Final opportunity to write research proposal

This week offers the final opportunity to write the research proposal that you are expected to submit by 8 February 2019, 5pm and that will be presented in the class on 15 February 2019. Please mail the proposal to zittel@soz.uni-frankfurt.de by 8 February, 5pm latest. Visit my office hour during the week in case of questions.

15. Session 15.02.2019: Discussion of research proposals and conclusions

Deadline for term papers: 30.03.2019 (electronically to zittel@soz.uni-frankfurt.de and in printed form submitted to secretarial office in PEG 3.G145. You might either drop your copy in the mail box next to the secretarial office of the chair or mail it to its postal address)