

PAPM 2001A
Foundations of Public Policy: Political Thought
Fall 2024
Arthur Kroeger College

Dr. Lisa Mills

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D199D Loeb Building

(Arthur Kroeger College space)

Office hours: Mondays, 2-4 p.m. or by appointment

Brightspace page: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/291117>

TA:

Isaac Macpherson

isaacmacpherson@cmail.carleton.ca

Office hours and location: TBA

1. Course Description

Calendar Description:

Foundations of Public Policy: Political Thought

Theoretical, philosophical and ethical foundations for the study of public affairs and policy management. Drawing from classic and contemporary texts in political philosophy and theory, students consider issues relating to the nature of democracy, civic society and social organizations, the public, public affairs, public interest.

Course description:

This year, elections are taking place in countries home to almost half the world's population, meaning that 2024 is sometimes called "the year of elections." While elections are not the only component of democracy, this year seems like an appropriate time to focus on the question of what political theory, past and present, has to say about democracy. We will explore the following questions (among others):

- What is democracy?
- How did ancient democracy differ from its more recent, liberal variant?
- What are the current threats or challenges to liberal democracy, and why have they arisen at this time?

The course will consider classic texts on democracy in the first half of the semester. In the second part of the semester we will move to more recent literature to consider the challenges to liberal democracy, particularly from theorists who are concerned about the gendered and racialized nature of liberal democracy, as well as the rise of phenomena such as populism, the spread of dis- and mis-information, and fascism.

2. Precludes additional credit for PAPM 1000.

3. Learning Outcomes

At the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Describe the key features of classical democracy
- Describe the key features of liberal democracy
- Explain the anti-racist and feminist critiques of liberalism
- Explain the debate about the rise of populism and to what extent it threatens liberal democracy

4. Texts & Course Materials

All course readings are available via Ares on Brightspace.

I recommend buying or borrowing John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, and J.S. Mill's *On Liberty*, both of which are quite inexpensive to buy. However, the relevant chapters will be on Ares.

5. Course Calendar

First essay due:	Friday, October 4 th , 2024
In-class test:	Monday, October 28 th , 2024
Second essay due:	Friday, November 15 th , 2024
Final exam:	Date determined via exam scheduling

Please note also that there will not be a tutorial during the week of October 28th.

6. Evaluation

a. *List of Evaluation Elements*

- Tutorial attendance 5%
- Tutorial participation 5%
- Lecture attendance 5%
- In-class test 20%
- First paper 15%
- Second paper 30%
- Final exam 20%

b. Assessment policies

- Written assignments are to be submitted through Brightspace. **Please upload Word documents**, rather than .pdf.
- In order to pass the course, **all written elements of the class – including the in-class test and final exam – must be completed**. Students must also attend a **minimum of five tutorials** to pass the course.
- Extensions
 - Written assignments are to be submitted by 11.59 p.m. on the due date.
 - Late penalties of **3 marks per day** will be applied to assignments submitted after 11.59 p.m. on the due date.
 - Extensions will **not** be granted except in case of extenuating circumstances. Extenuating circumstances are:
 - beyond a student's control;
 - have a significant impact on the student's capacity to meet their academic obligations; and
 - could not have reasonably been prevented.Extenuating circumstances may include sudden illness or incapacitation, including mental health and compassionate circumstances. Experiencing diverse challenges and stressors is considered typical within the university experience and are not considered extenuating circumstances; for example, managing workload, competing deadlines, inclement weather, amongst others.
 - Extension requests must be directed to Dr. Mills, preferably before the due date of the assignment, and **no later than 24 hours after the due date**. If you contact me on a weekend, and I don't reply immediately, please don't panic; I will be in touch on Monday. I will take your circumstances into consideration in setting another deadline. **Please note that in the case of final exams, you must apply for a deferral through the Registrar's Office, no later than three (3) working days after the original final examination.**
 - If an extension is required, it should not be for more than 5 days. If you need an extension for longer than that time, please submit a long-term academic consideration request form and email supporting documentation to academicconsideration@cunet.carleton.ca
 - Further information on short- and long-term extensions can be found at <https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/Procedure-for-Academic-Consideration-for-Students.pdf>
 - (The document above is also on Brightspace).

c. Grading System:

• Grade	• Point Equivalence	• Percentage Conversion
• A+	• 12	• 90-100
• A	• 11	• 85-89
• A-	• 10	• 80-84
• B+	• 9	• 77-79
• B	• 8	• 73-76
• B-	• 7	• 70-72
• C+	• 6	• 67-69
• C	• 5	• 63-66
• C-	• 4	• 60-62
• D+	• 3	• 57-59
• D	• 2	• 53-56
• D-	• 1	• 50-52
• F	• 0	• less than 50

- Grading rubrics, outlining the grading criteria, are posted on Brightspace.
- Grade appeals. Any concerns about your grade should initially be directed to your TA. If the concern is not resolved, please contact Dr. Mills. For further information on how to appeal a grade, please see <https://carleton.ca/registrar/appeal-of-grade/>.
- You may not re-use the same piece of work previously submitted for credit in another course, except where you have used an example in an assignment in another course, which is relevant to this course; in that case, you may re-use the discussion of that example. I imagine this is unlikely to occur, however!
- If it is appropriate for the essay topic and your argument, you may use part of the first paper in the second paper.
- Use of generative AI tools (e.g., Chat GPT) are not permitted in this class. See the [Academic Integrity and Academic Offences section](#) of the Faculty teaching regulations for further information.

d. *Forms of assessment*

- **The first paper**
 - Should be between two and three double-spaced pages.
 - You will write on **one** of the following, from the readings in Weeks 2, 3, or 4:
 - The Ober chapter, or
 - One of the Aristotle chapters, or
 - One of the Locke chapters, or
 - One of the Federalist papers, or
 - One of the Tocqueville chapters.
 - In the paper, you will:
 - Explain what the author is arguing in the chapter
 - How he argues it – e.g. what are the major points he makes in support of the argument, what evidence does he bring in support of the argument
 - Your response to the argument. This could take the form of:
 - Explaining how or why the argument is relevant today
 - Explaining how or why the argument is *not* relevant today
 - Explaining how or why the argument fails – e.g. the evidence does not support the argument, the author makes contradictory statements – or critiquing the author’s perspective, e.g. what the author’s perspective does not take into consideration
 - Your paper should include an introduction – which provides a brief overview of the issue that the reading introduces, and outlines your evaluation of the reading – and a conclusion, which sums up your evaluation. For example, in the introduction you may say something like, “this chapter demonstrates that Locke’s main concern was with the safeguarding of private property..”

It is OK to use the word “I” as in, “I will argue...”

- **The second paper**
 - Should be between five and seven double-spaced pages
 - **Must be based on the course readings**
 - The questions for the second paper will be available on Brightspace from **Friday, November 1st**.

I may direct you to additional readings, such as those included in the “further readings” list, if it would be helpful for answering the question – however, the reflection papers **do not require additional research, but reflection on the readings required for the course**. Depending on the question, you may wish to refer to one or more of the “further readings” in the course schedule.

Each essay should be between 5-7 double-spaced, typed pages, with no more than 12 point, Times New Roman font, one-inch margins, and no fancy lettering or designs to take up space. Clearly identify the date of your tutorial, your name, and your TA’s name.

The grading rubric for the reflection papers is available on the Brightspace page. Assignments will be returned within two weeks of their submission.

- **The in-class test**
 - Will be comprised of several short-answer questions. More details will be announced on **October 16th**.
- **The final exam**
 - Will also be comprised of several short-answer questions. More details will be announced on **December 2nd**.
- **Tutorial attendance, tutorial participation, and lecture attendance**

Tutorials begin on the week of Monday, September 9th, and end the week of November 25th. Tutorial attendance will count for 5% of your grade. It is okay to miss one tutorial – but if you miss more than one, in addition to contacting your TA, your attendance grade may be reduced. Tutorial participation will count for 5% of your grade, and will be based on the quality rather than the quantity of your contribution. Questions to guide your reading, and the tutorial discussion, will be posted on Brightspace by 11.59 p.m. on the Wednesday before your tutorial e.g. if your tutorial is on Wednesday September 18th, then the questions for that tutorial – and the Friday tutorial – will be posted on Wednesday September 11th.

Your participation should demonstrate that you have done the readings, and reflected upon them. Your participation may include:

- A comment or question that relates to the readings
- A response to another student (or TA's) question or comment

The comment or question:

- Should relate to the readings – it may expand on the reading, or connect other ideas or examples not in the reading, but it shouldn't be a random or disconnected comment. It's also ok to ask about something you didn't understand in the reading or lecture.
- Should be respectful of others in the class

I realize that some students may not feel comfortable speaking in front of others in class. If this is an issue for you, please speak to me or your TA about how we may help you with this.

Please note that in order to pass the course, in addition to achieving the required final grade, you must submit all assignments and sit the final exam, and attend a minimum of five tutorials, unless other accommodations have been made due to extenuating circumstances.

e. Reference Style for Written Work

You are required to use proper citations for all your written work. More details on academic integrity are provided below.

Referencing style: You may use any citation style you wish, provided that it is consistent. I recommend that references for all assignments be in the Chicago, Author-Date system. Please note that you should reference the page number when citing your source, not only for quotes, but for ideas or evidence derived from the source.

<https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/turabian/turabian-author-date-citation-quick-guide.html>

f. Final Grade Approval

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

7. Statement on Academic Integrity

- a. As noted above, you are not permitted to submit substantially the same piece of work (that is, where large parts of the assignment are the same as work you have submitted elsewhere) more than once for academic credit. You may, however, do the following:
 - o Use one or two paragraphs from another assignment (whether from this course or another course) to explain an example in this class. The example must be relevant to the assignment, however.
 - o Use sections of your first essay for this class in your second essay for the class. The sections must be relevant to your choice of essay topic and question, however, and must be integrated into your answer.
- b. The use of **generative artificial intelligence tools (e.g. ChatGPT) is not permitted.**
- c. **Statement on plagiarism:**

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT)
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own
- failing to acknowledge sources with proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks."

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor.

The Associate Dean of the Faculty follows a rigorous [process for academic integrity allegations](#), including reviewing documents and interviewing the student, when an instructor suspects a violation has been committed. Penalties for violations may include a final grade of "F" for the course.

8. Statement on Student Mental Health

As a student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. For more information, please consult <https://wellness.carleton.ca/>

Emergency Resources ([on and off campus](#))

- Suicide Crisis Helpline: call or text 9-8-8, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- For immediate danger or urgent medical support: call 9-1-1

Carleton Resources

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: call 613-238-3311, text 343-306-5550, or connect online at <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: call 613-722-6914 or toll-free 1-866-996-0991, or connect online at <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me Counselling Service: call 1-844-741-6389 or connect online at <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: call 1-866-925-5454 or connect online at <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: for online or on-site service <https://walkincounselling.com>

9. Requests for Academic Accommodations

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website (students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

Pregnancy obligation:

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please review the [Student Guide to Academic Accommodation \(PDF, 2.1 MB\)](#)

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please review the [Student Guide to Academic Accommodation \(PDF, 2.1 MB\)](#)

Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, visit the [Paul Menton Centre website](#).

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit the [Equity and Inclusive Communities website](#).

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, see the [Senate Policy on Accommodation for Student Activities \(PDF, 25KB\)](#).

Academic Consideration for Medical and Other Circumstances

Due to medical and other extenuating circumstances, students may occasionally be unable to fulfil the academic requirements of their course(s) in a timely manner. The University supports the academic development of students and aims to provide a fair environment for students to succeed academically. Medical and/or other extenuating circumstances are circumstances that are beyond a student's control, have a significant impact on the student's capacity to meet their academic obligations, and could not have reasonably been prevented. Students may request Academic Consideration for Coursework or Other Academic Deliverable. For further information please review the [Procedure for Academic Consideration](#) and the [FAQ page](#).

Scheduling and Examination Support

Scheduling and Examination Services provides various supports for both in-term and end-of-term tests and exams. Details can be found on the [Exam Support website](#).

10. Student rights and responsibilities

Carleton University strives to provide a safe environment conducive to personal and intellectual growth, free of injustice and characterized by understanding respect, peace, trust, and fairness.

In exercising these rights, the University expects that community members act with a high level of responsibility in order to preserve a safe, respectful and inclusive academic environment and promotes the safety and well-being for the community, on and off campus. The Office of Student Affairs provides assistance to members of the community when there is conflict between the exercise of the above rights and the responsibility of all students to act with respect for others safety and wellbeing.

For further details of these policies, please see: <https://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/student-rights-and-responsibilities/>

Course Schedule

1. September 9: Introduction

2. September 16: Democracy before Liberalism: Ancient Athens

Ober, Josiah. 2017. *Demopolis: Democracy Before Liberalism in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, “The Meaning of Democracy in Classical Athens.” 18-33

Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, Chs. 1-III; Book III, Chs. VI-X; Book IV, Ch. IV; Book VII, Chs. I-III.

Further reading – optional

Meiksins Wood, Ellen. 2008. *Citizens to Lords: A Social History of Western Political Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. London and New York: Verso. Ch 2, “The Ancient Greek Polis,” 28-98.

3. September 23: Liberal Democracy

Held, David. 2006. *Models of Democracy: Third Edition*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press. Ch 3 “The Development of Liberal Democracy: For and Against the State.” 56-95

Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Book II, Chs. I & II, V, VIII-XII.

4. September 30

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, Nos. 1, 9, 10, 49, 51.

Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, Chs. 7-9.

Further reading – optional

U.S. Bill of Rights, Amendments I-XIX (1789-1919), available at <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/bill-of-rights-transcript>.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), available at https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/declaration_of_the_rights_of_man_1789.pdf.

Olympe de Gouges, Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen (1791), available on Brightspace.

Constitution of Haiti (1805), available at <https://wp.stu.ca/worldhistory/wpcontent/uploads/sites/4/2015/07/Constitution-of-Haiti-1805.pdf>.

First essay due Friday, October 4th!

5. October 7 On Liberty – John Stuart Mill

Kitcher, Philip. 2023. *On John Stuart Mill*. New York: Columbia University Press. Ch 3, Democracy

John Stuart Mill. *On Liberty*. Ch. I, Introductory and Ch. II, Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion

Further reading – optional

Harris, Abram L. 1964. John Stuart Mill: Servant of the East India Company. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 30 (2) 185-202

6. October 14 Thanksgiving – No Class

7. October 21 Fall break – No Class

8. October 28 - In-class test

Please note there will be no tutorials this week.

9. November 4 – Critique of Liberalism – Racism

Mills, Charles W. 2017. *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. Ch. 3, Racial Liberalism, 28-48. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190245412.001.0001>

Further readings – optional:

Tyler Stoval. *White Freedom: The Racial History of an Idea*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Harris, Abram L. 1964. John Stuart Mill: Servant of the East India Company. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 30 (2) 185-202

Brewer, Holly. 2017. "Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery." *The American Historical Review*, Volume 122, Issue 4, October 2017, Pages 1038–1078, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/122.4.1038>

Richter, Melvin. 1963. "Tocqueville on Algeria." *The Review of Politics* 25 (3), 362-98.

10. November 11 – Critique of Liberalism – Gender

Tronto, Joan. 2013. *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality and Justice*. New York: New York University Press. Ch 1, Redefining Democracy as Settling Disputes About Care Responsibilities, 17-45.

Schouten, Gina. 2019. 'Flexible' Family Leave is Lousy Feminism. *Boston Review*, October 10, 2019,

<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/gina-schouten-case-inflexible-family-support/>

Further reading – optional

Ducat, Stephen. 2016. *The Wimp Factor: Gender Gaps, Holy Wars, and the Politics of Anxious Masculinity* (Chapter 6)

Yuval-Davis, N. 1997. Women, citizenship and difference. *Feminist review*, 4-27.

Schouten, Gina. 2019. *Liberalism, Neutrality and the Gendered Division of Labour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Second essay due Friday, November 15th!

11. November 18 – Threats to Liberal Democracy? Populism

Müller, Jan-Werner. 2019. Populism and the People. *London Review of Books*, 41(10) May 23, 2019

Urbainati, Nadia. 2019. *Me the People: How Populism Transforms Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. "Introduction: A New Form of Representative Democracy." 1-39

Further readings – optional

Weyland, Kurt. *Democracy's Resilience to Populism's Threat: Countering Global Alarmism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1. The Populist Threat to Democracy.

Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Berman, Sheri. 2017. [“The Pipe Dream of Undemocratic Liberalism.”](#) *Journal of Democracy* 28(3): 29-38.

Kendall-Taylor, Andrea and Erica Frantz. [“How Democracies Fall Apart: Why Populism is a Pathway to Autocracy.”](#) *Foreign Affairs*. December 5, 2016.

Pita, Adrianna. 2016. [“The Rise of the Right: Right-wing Populism in the US and Europe.”](#) *The Brookings Institution*. April 19, 2016.

12. November 25 – Threats to Liberal Democracy? Lies & Disinformation

Mercieca, Jennifer R. 2019. [“Dangerous Demagogues and Weaponized Communication.”](#) *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 49(3): pp. 264-279.

Azari, J.R. 2016. “How the News Media Helped to Nominate Trump.” *Political Communication* 33 (4) pp.667-680.

Klee, Miles. 2024. “How Elon Musk and X became the Biggest Purveyors of Online Disinformation.” *Rolling Stone*, August 9, 2024.
<https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/elon-musk-twitter-misinformation-timeline-1235076786/>

Further reading:

Michiko Kakutani. 2018. “The death of truth: How we gave up on facts and ended up with Trump.” *The Guardian* online, July 14, 2018.
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/jul/14/the-death-of-truth-how-we-gave-up-on-facts-and-ended-up-with-trump>

Arendt, Hannah. “Truth and Politics.” *Between Past and Future*, Penguin, Ch. 7

Arendt, Hannah. *On Lying and Politics*, Penguin Random House.

Jay, Martin. 2010. *The Virtues of Mendacity: On Lying in Politics*. University of Virginia Press.

13. December 2 – Fascism

Paxton, Robert O. 2005. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Vintage Books. Ch. 8. “What is Fascism?” 206-220.

Enzo Traverso. 2003. *Origins of Nazi Violence*. New Press. Ch 1. Discipline, Punishing, Killing.

Further readings – optional

Hannah Arendt. *Origins of Totalitarianism*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Alberto Toscano. 2023. *Late Fascism: Race, Capitalism and the Politics of Crisis*. London and New York: Verso.

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. Crown.

Kurt Weyland. 2021. *Assault on Democracy: Communism, Fascism and Authoritarianism During the Inter-War Years*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

14. December 6 (Friday!) – Review