

Integrated Liberal Studies 275/ Community and Environment Sociology 375/ Sociology 496
Democracy and Expertise
Autumn 2014

Professor Daniel Kleinman
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Office Hours: By appointment

Class Sessions: Tues/Thurs 9:30-10:45AM
Location: 103 Meiklejohn House

As we move into a knowledge intensive economy, decisions about our social, economic, and political life are increasingly made by experts, and these decisions are often made on behalf of private and for-profit concerns. In this context, we need to ask questions like: When is it appropriate to cede decision-making authority to experts? Under what conditions can lay citizens intelligently participate in realms traditionally restricted to experts? Is participatory democracy possible in a knowledge intensive capitalist economy? If so, how and under what circumstances? Is it possible, in this context, to preserve or build a vibrant public sphere? Finally, what is the relationship between the increasingly specialized character of higher education and the problem of democracy and expertise? We will attempt to answer these questions in two ways. First, the bulk of course time will involve seminar-style discussion of readings about democracy, citizenship, and expertise. In addition, students will observe at two different democratic forums and write and re-write papers based on these observations. The semester will begin with a set of readings by Alexander Meiklejohn, the inspiration for this course and the founder of the UW's Integrated Liberal Studies program.

Requirements

1) **Absence policy:** You are entitled to *four absences* throughout the semester. Each absence beyond the limit of four will result in lowering your course grade by one half grade: i.e., 5 absences turns an A into an AB; 6 absences turns an A into a B. Since I do not distinguish between "excused" and "unexcused" absences, I suggest you keep your four absences on hold for illness or other unanticipated events that might interfere with your attendance. All of this said, should something dramatic in your life prevent you from doing a significant amount of work for the class, you should arrange to speak with me as soon as you are aware that you face substantial barriers to getting your work done in a timely fashion. I am sympathetic to students who approach life's challenges responsibly.

2) **Participation in class discussion** (10%): Although attendance is imperative, it is by no means sufficient. What you learn and the success of the course depends on your active engagement in class discussion. You need not always have something to say, but your consistent and informed participation in discussion is a course requirement.

3) **Five criticisms or brief assessments of readings** (“reactions”) (25%). These brief papers should be roughly two double spaced pages long and should illustrate your understanding and active engagement with the reading under consideration. Reactions must be emailed to me (dlkleinman@wisc.edu) by 5 p.m. the day before class meets to discuss the reading to which the reaction refers. These assignments will be graded across 3 dimensions: 1) Extent of understanding of the reading illustrated; often quoting from the relevant text or citing specific arguments in the reading is the best way to show understanding; (2) Extent and quality of engagement with arguments presented in the text. In this context, I will assess the degree to which you substantiate your agreements or disagreements with the author of our reading; (3) Quality of overall organization of the essay. You must space these papers out across the semester, writing two in September, one in October and either two in November or one in November and one in December. You may not write more than one paper for any given class session, and you may not write more than one paper per week. (You may not write any of your papers on the films we will see together.) To give you the opportunity to fully understand what I seek in these response papers, you may revise your first submission in light of my assessment. Your grade on the revised essay will be the one I use when calculating your final grade.

4) **Three two page papers (double-spaced) on key topics: democracy, citizenship, and expertise** (15%). The point of these papers is to get you to think about what you assume these terms mean. Since I am asking you to articulate your own understanding in advance of doing class reading, I will not evaluate what you write in terms of whether it is correct or incorrect. Instead, I will be assessing these papers in terms of the *care* with which you present your opinion and the *clarity and organization* with which you represent your perspective. We will discuss each assignment prior to beginning the unit on each topic. These are due to me via email on the morning of the date indicated on the syllabus. The details of each assignment are described in hand-outs with which I will provide you. You may rewrite one of these papers in light of my comments. Rewrites must be submitted no later than two weeks after I return the original paper. Your revised grade will be the one I count when calculating your final class grade.

5) **Citizenship Exercise** (10%). You will be provided with a sample of the questions used in the test given in the US for prospective citizens. You should “take the test,” and then write a brief (two pages double spaced) evaluation of it. Given the kind of person you think a US citizen should be, do the questions on this “test” adequately measure whether someone will be a good citizen? What is useful about the questions and what is problematic (provide examples of specific questions and evaluate them)? If you were developing a US citizenship test, what would it look like? What kinds of questions would you ask (provide examples) and why? These papers will be assessed according to the criteria I use on the topics essays (#4 above).

5) **Two Papers on Democracy in Action** (20% each). Outside of class time you will observe some variety of democratic process in action. You must select from the list below, unless you get prior approval me to observe some other event. When you observe your cases of democracy in action, you will need to take notes on what you observe. You will use this “data” to provide

illustrations in your paper. Each paper must be based on observing a different forum. You must observe for a minimum of two hours, unless the forum you select for observation runs for less than two hours (in which case observing from the beginning to the end is adequate). Your paper should answer two questions: (1) what type of, or elements of, democratic practice is illustrated in the forum you observed (e.g. consensus formation, log-rolling, majority rule)? (2) How would you evaluate the quality of democratic practice in your case (e.g. are participants listening to one another)? The measures against which you evaluate the forum in answering these questions should be derived from course readings. Each of your papers must engage at least one of the course readings (different readings for each paper). You will use examples from the case of democracy in action you observed to illustrate your answers to these questions.

Your papers should be three to four double-spaced pages long. They should begin with a description of the event you attended followed by your effort to answer the two questions. You will need to complete the paper with some form of wrap-up discussion (e.g. a summary or broad conclusions or both). These papers will be graded across three dimensions: (1) Organization and writing quality; (2) Facility in use of course reading. I will be considering whether the reading you deploy is relevant to the discussion in your paper and how well you utilize the ideas from the reading; (3) Evidence from your observation. I will assess whether the examples you use speak to the two questions I ask you to answer.

See below for due dates.

Here are the possibilities from which I would like you to select:

- 1) [UW Faculty Senate](#): this is an elected body of university faculty who debate such questions as whether professors can [require course attendance](#), who should [review course changes](#), and makes resolutions in support of [domestic partnerships](#), [academic freedom](#), and [good sports fan behavior](#).
 - a. Location: 272 Bascom Hall (unless otherwise indicated)
 - b. Dates: The Faculty Senate meets during the academic year on the first Monday of each month, except September and January.
 - c. Time: 3:30 p.m.
- 2) [Dane County Board of Supervisors](#): The Dane County Board of Supervisors is a body of government comprising 37 elected supervisors from each of the districts in the county.¹ This organization debates [whether bars can stay open](#), makes resolutions urging the Department of natural resources to [revoke oil pipe permits](#), and manages the [Dane County 911 center](#).
 - a. Time 7:00pm unless otherwise noted
 - b. Location: 210 Martin Luther King Jr Blvd Room #106 B, Madison, WI 53703
 - c. Dates: The County Board typically meets twice a month
<https://www.countyofdane.com/board/schedule.aspx?time=2014>

¹ The Board acts similarly to the state legislature in that it is the policy-making body of the County government. It establishes county ordinances, levies taxes, passes laws concerning law enforcement and appropriates money for services

- 3) *Madison City Council:* The Council adopts the City budget and passes laws, policies and regulations that govern the City. They debate whether the city should subsidize hotels, whether city organizations can house the home-less, and whether ride-share companies are legal.
- a. Time: 5:30 or 6:30pm
 - b. Location: Room 201, City-County Building 210 Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.
(unless otherwise noted)
 - c. Dates: Twice a month
<http://www.cityofmadison.com/council/calendar/meetings.cfm>
- 4) *Madison School Board:* The Madison Board of Education² is a seven-member policymaking body, elected by voters in Madison and Fitchburg. They debate whether Madison should have charter schools, how new teachers should be hired, and how to spend the budget.
- a. Time: 6pm typically
 - b. Location: McDaniels Auditorium in the Doyle Administration Building 545 W. Dayton St. Madison
 - c. Dates: Regular monthly meetings of the board are typically held on the last Monday of the month <https://boeweb.madison.k12.wi.us/calendar>
- 5) *WI State Assembly:* this is the legislative branch of the Wisconsin state government. This body debate such questions as whether gay marriage should be legal in Wisconsin, whether franking should be allowed in Wisconsin, how much taxes Wisconsin resident should pay, and whether marijuana should be legal, and whether motorcyclist should wear helmets while driving in Wisconsin.
- a. General debate
 - i. Time: multiple
 - ii. Location: State Capital
 - iii. Dates <http://legis.wisconsin.gov/Pages/session.aspx>
 - b. Specific Committee hearings
 - i. Time: multiple
 - ii. Location: State Capital
 - iii. Dates: <http://committeeschedule.legis.wisconsin.gov/>
- 6) *WI State Senate:* like the Wisconsin state assembly, the Wisconsin state Senate debate such questions as whether gay marriage should be legal in Wisconsin, whether franking should be allowed in Wisconsin, how much taxes Wisconsin resident should pay, and whether marijuana should be legal, and whether motorcyclist should wear helmets while driving in Wisconsin.
- a. General debate
 - i. Time: multiple

² The school board establishes policies for the Madison Metropolitan School District, approves and oversees the school district budget, serves as good stewards of taxpayer funds, and levies taxes as needed, hires and supervises the Superintendent of Schools, establishes board committees and votes on board executives, lobbies lawmakers and advocates on behalf of the Madison schools, represents constituents, solicits input on key decisions and listening to concerns and needs of the community.

- ii. Location: State Capital
 - iii. Dates: <http://legis.wisconsin.gov/Pages/session.aspx>
 - b. Specific hearings
 - i. Time: multiple
 - ii. Location: State Capital
 - iii. Dates: <http://committeeschedule.legis.wisconsin.gov/>
- 7) Rallies/ Protests
- a. This is highly variable week to week. Look in the Wisconsin State Journal, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, the Isthmus, or the Capital Times to find information on rallies and debates planned in any given week.
- 8) Candidate debates on TV or in person
- a. TV debates are most likely to occur during election time when competing candidate compete for the public's attention. Look in the Wisconsin State Journal, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, the Isthmus, or the Capital Times to find information on rallies and debates plan in any given week.
- 9) Associated Students of Madison: ASM is the official student government of UW-Madison, representing over 42,000 students.³ They debate the UW Bus budget, how to spend student seg fees, and various other budget issues.
- a. Location: the Hearing Room, 4th Floor, Student Activity Center.
 - b. Dates: every other Wednesday at 6:30 pm
 - i. http://www.asm.wisc.edu/index.php?option=com_jevents&task=month.calendar&Itemid=100272&year=2014&month=10

6) **On all writing assignments.** Papers should be double spaced, and pages should be numbered. Your name and the date of submission should appear prominently on the paper. Quotations or other references to readings should be followed by citations (e.g. Barns, p. 201). Careful editing is imperative. You should proofread for typos. More than three misspellings or three typos on any paper will lower your grade by one half grade (e.g. A to AB). Grammatical errors that I note on one of your submissions should not appear on subsequent assignments.

7) **Improving your writing.** Writing is one of the most important skills with which you will leave the University. You should take your writing seriously and work hard to improve it. The University has a Writing Center where trained graduate students and professionals will work with you on your papers and help you to make them better. I urge you to take advantage of this resource. The Writing Center is at 6171 Helen C. White (263-9305). You are advised to make an appointment in advance of your desire to meet with a member of the Writing Center. This is

³ It is a hybrid-model government composed of both a highly active grassroots, volunteer-driven element that advocates for student issues and concerns and a parliamentary structure which facilitates the administrative side of the organization. ASM also actively works with campus administrators on students' behalf, ensuring that the student voice is heard in Bascom Hall.

especially important at the end of the semester.

8) Academic honesty. You are responsible for understanding the University's standards for academic honesty. These are described on the University's website at <http://students.wisc.edu/saja/misconduct/UWS14.html>.

9) Grading. Sometimes the end of the semester comes and students indicate to me that they are not clear about how each course requirement figures into their final grade and/ or how I grade individual assignments. I believe that the description above is exceedingly clear. Indeed, drawing on what I say above, you should be able to determine your grade at any point during the semester. If there is something you are unsure about, it is your responsibility to talk to me. I am always available.

Course Readings

The books from which we will read substantial parts are available for purchase at Room of One's Own (315 W Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 257-7888). (They are marked below with an asterisk.) I will also try to have these books on reserve at College Library in Helen C. White. Most of the readings do not come from books. They are available in the form of a course reader available at the Social Sciences Copy Center in the Sewell Social Sciences Building, 1180 Observatory Drive, Room 6120.

Calendar

September 2

Introduction to Course

September 4

Education for Citizenship

Required Reading

Alexander Meiklejohn. 1981. "The American College and American Freedom@ and "Adult Education: A Fresh Start." In *Alexander Meiklejohn: Teacher of Freedom*, edited by Cynthia Stokes Brown. Berkeley, CA: Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute.

Derek Bok. 2006. "Preparation for Citizenship." In *Our Underachieving Colleges*.

September 9

Democracy

short paper due: What is democracy? I will provide a handout on this assignment.

NO CLASS ON SEPTEMBER 25 (Rosh HaShannah)

September 11**Democracy 1: Reading and Discussion**Required Reading

Robert Dahl. 1998. *On Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.* Parts 2 and 3 are required. Part 4 is highly recommended.

September 16**Democracy 2: Reading and Discussion**

John Gastil and William Keith. 2005. "A Nation that (Sometimes) Likes to Talk: A Brief History of Public Deliberation in the United States." In John Gastil and Peter Levine (eds.), *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. Jossey-Bass.

Mark Button and David Rayfe. 2005. "What Can We Learn from the Practice of Deliberative Democracy?" In John Gastil and Peter Levine (eds.), *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. Jossey-Bass.

Joshua Cohen. 1999. "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy." In James Bohman and William Rehg, eds. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997),

September 23**Democracy 3: Reading and Discussion**

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright. 2003. "Thinking About Empowered Participatory Governance." Pages 3-42 in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.). 2003. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso.

Cornell West. 2004. *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight against Imperialism*. New York: The Penguin Press. Chapter 3.

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers. 2003. "Power and Reason." Only pages 241-255 in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.). 2003. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso.

September 30**Democracy 4: Reading and Discussion**

Caroline Levine. 2007. *Provoking Democracy*. Chapter 1, pages 1-35. Blackwell Publishers

Lyn Sanders. 1997. "Against Deliberation," *Political Theory*, 25:3.

Optional Reading

Benjamin Barber. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Selected chapters available on reserve.

Michael P. Brown. 1997. *Replacing Citizenship: AIDS Activism and Radical Democracy*. Guilford.

John S. Dryzek. 2000. *Deliberative democracy and beyond: liberals, critics, contestations*. New York : Oxford University Press.*

Jon Elster (ed.). 1998. *Deliberative Democracy*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction (pages 1-18) and Chapter 1 (Diego Cambetta, "Claro! An Essay On Discursive Machismo" (pages 19-43).

David Held. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Pages 143-204.

Richard E. Sclove. 1995. *Democracy and Technology*. New York: Guilford Press.

October 2

Deliberative Polling

Required Reading

James Fiskin and Cynthia Farrar. 2005. "Deliberative Polling: From Experiment to Community Resource." In John Gastil and Peter Levine (eds.), *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. Jossey-Bass.

October 7

Consensus Conferences: A Mode of Deliberation

Required Reading

Maria Powell and Daniel Lee Kleinman. 2007. "Building Citizen Capacities for Participation in Technoscientific Decisionmaking: The Democratic Virtues of the Consensus Conference Model." *Public Understanding of Science*.

Kleinman, Daniel Lee, Jason Delborne, Ashley Anderson. 2011. "Engaging Citizens: The High Cost of Citizen Engagement in High Technology." *Public Understanding of Science*. 20:2: 221-240

October 9, 14

A Dramatic Portrait of Deliberation

Film: "12 Angry Men"

Followed by Discussion

Democracy Observation 1 Paper Due October 14

October 16

Discussion of Democracy Observations

October 21

Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Your Views

short paper due: What is citizenship? What does it mean to participate in civic life? I will provide a handout on this assignment.

October 23

Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Discussion of Readings

Required Reading

Robert Putnam. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy*, 6.1: 65-78.

Robert Putnam. 1995. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, @ 28: 4: 664-683.

Frederick Solt. 2008. Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52: 1: 48-60.

Optional Reading

Theda Skocpol and Morris Fiorina (eds.). 1999. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

October 28

Citizenship and Civic Engagement: The Government View

Your paper on the citizenship test will be due in class. See #5 above for an explanation of the assignment. We will discuss the government test and your reaction to it.

October 30

The Status and Roles of Experts

short paper due: What is an expert? What should the role of experts be in contemporary society? I will provide a handout on this assignment.

November 4 and 6

The Role and Status of Experts: Reading and Discussion

Required Reading

Harry M. Collins and Robert Evans. 2002. "The Third Wave of Science Studies: Studies of Expertise and Experience," *Social Studies of Science* 32: 2: 235-296.

Suryanarayanan, Sainath and Daniel Lee Kleinman. 2013. "Be(e)coming Experts: The Controversy Over Insecticides in the Honey Bee Colony Collapse Disorder." *Social Studies of Science*. 43 (2): 215-40 (April)

Optional Reading

Alvin J. Goldman. 2006. "Expertise: Which Ones Should You Trust? Pages 14-38 in Evan Selinger and Robert P. Crease (eds.), *The Philosophy of Expertise*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Michael Schudson. 2006. "The Trouble with Experts—and Why Democracies Need Them." *Theory and Society* 35: 491-506.

Mark Brown, Justus Lentsch, and Peter Weingart. 2005. "Representation, Expertise, And the German Parliament: A Comparison of Three Advisory Institutions." Pages 81-100 in Sabine Maasen and Peter Weingart (eds.), *Democratization of Expertise? Exploring Novel Forms of Scientific Advice in Political Decision-Making—Sociology Of the Sciences, vol. 24*. The Netherlands: Springer.

Harry Collins and Robert Evans. 2007. *Rethinking Expertise*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thomas Gieryn. "Boundaries in Science." In Sheila Jasanoff, et al (eds.). 1995. *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. E-reserve.

Steven G. Brint. 1994. *In an Age of Experts: The Changing Role of Professionals in Politics and Public Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Frank Fischer. 1990. *Technocracy and the Politics of Expertise*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thomas Haskell (ed.). 1984. *The Authority of Expertise: Studies in History and Theory*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press. Selections on electronic reserve.

Brian Martin (ed.). 1996. *Confronting the Experts*. SUNY.

Raphael Sassower. 1993. *Knowledge without Expertise: On the Status of Scientists*. SUNY.

November 11

Science and Technology in a Democracy 1

Required Reading

David Waddington. 2010. "Scientific Self-Defense: Transforming Dewey's Idea of Technological Transparency," *Educational Theory* 60:5: 621-638

Noah Feinsein. 2010. "Salvaging Science Literacy," *Science Education Online*, 1-18.

November 13

Science and Technology in a Democracy 2

Richard Sclove. 1995. *Democracy and Technology*. New York: Guilford. Chapters 1 and 3.

Sandra Harding. 2000. "Should Philosophies of Science Encode Democratic Ideals?" In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

November 18

Science and Technology in a Democracy 3

Daniel Sarewitz. 2000. "Human Well-Being and Federal Science: What's the Connection?" In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

Optional Reading

Yaron Ezrahi. 1990. *The Descent of Icarus: Science and the Transformation of Contemporary Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. *

November 20

Democratic Participation in Expert Realms: Case Studies

Required Reading

Steven Epstein. 2000. "Democracy, Expertise, and AIDS Treatment Activism." In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

Neva Hassenian. 2000. "Democratizing Agricultural Knowledge Through Sustainable Farming Networks." In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

Optional Reading

Phil Brown and Edwin J. Mikkelsen. 1990. *No Safe Place: Toxic Waste, Leukemia, and Community Action*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Alan Irwin. 1995. *Citizen Science: A Study of People, Expertise, and Sustainable*

Development. New York: Routledge.

Louis Kaplan. 2000. "Public Participation in Nuclear Facility Decisions: Lessons from Hanford." In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

Steve Kroll-Smith, Phil Brown, and Valerie J. Gunter (ed.).2000. *Illness and the Environment: A Reader in Contested Medicine*. New York: New York University Press.

November 25

Democratic Participation in Expert Realms: Case Studies

Required Reading

Phil Brown. 1987. "Popular Epidemiology: Community Response to Toxic Waste-Induced Diseases in Woburn, Massachusetts and Other Sites." *Science, Technology and Human Values* 12: 3-4: 76-85.

Brian Wynne. 1992. "Misunderstood Misunderstandings: Social Identities and Public Uptake of Science." *Public Understanding of Science* 1:3: 281-304.

November 27—Thanksgiving

December 2

Science and Technology in a Democracy: What's at Stake?

Required Reading

Daniel Lee Kleinman. 2000. "Democratizations of Science and Technology." In Daniel Lee Kleinman (ed.). *Science, Technology, and Democracy*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.*

December 4 and 9 (Council of Grad Schools)

Democracy and Expertise in Film

Viewing and Discussing "Lorenzo's Oil"

December 11 (Lyon)

TBA. Possible Discussion of Second Democracy Observation

December 12—Last Day of Classes

December 14

Democratic Observation 2 Paper Due