PUBLIC REASON, DELIBERATION, AND JUSTIFICATION:

NEW MODELS OF LEGITIMACY

POL 460/2006 Thursday 2-4 UC 248

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Office hours: Wednesday 1-3, or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

How should citizens and politicians be talking to each other in the public sphere about public issues? Why is this question important indeed more important than how citizens and politicians vote? These are the core questions we will investigate in this course. We will begin with the philosophical answers to these questions and end with some practical challenges faced by all democratic publics. The work of John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas will serve as our philosophical starting point. From these two theorists we will reconstruct an ideal of public justification and democratic legitimacy that gives primacy to reason and reason giving. We will then move through some concrete cases, in particular we will investigate the appropriate place of religion, passion, rhetoric and the media in public debate as well as post colonial challenges to the idea of reason embedded in theories of public justification and deliberation.

CLASS FORMAT

Students will post questions on the readings on our blackboard site. Each week I will assign a certain number of students this task. Every student will be responsible for at least 3 weeks. These postings will not be graded but will contribute to a student's participation grade. I will begin each session with a short 30-35 minute lecture. We will then have a general seminar discussion about the material. The last 30-35 minutes we will go over the questions and see if there any that we have not answered.

REQUIREMENTS

Attendance is required. Each student is permitted 2 unexcused absences.

Undergraduates:

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Participation		15%
Review essay 1,500 words (March 1)		25%
Term paper	5,000 words	60%
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MA students

WIA students	4.507
Participation	15%
Research paper 7,500-8,000 words	85%

PhD students

Research paper 7,500-8,000 words 100%

Strict word limit will be enforced

READINGS

The following books have been ordered at the University of Toronto Book Store. Most other reading will be available on line or most on Blackboard.

John Rawls, *Political Liberalism. Expanded Edition*. Columbia University Press 2005.

Jürgen Habermas, Inclusion of the Other. MIT Press 2001

COURSE OUTLINE

- 1. January 12: Introduction.
 - Introductory stuff

2. January 19 Public Justification:

- John Simmons, "Justification and Legitimacy," Ethics 109 (4) 739-771
- Simone Chambers, "Theories of Political Justification," *Philosophy Compass*, Vol. 5.

3. January 26: Reasonable/Rational and the Problem of Pluralism

• Political Liberalism. Expanded edition (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005): pp. 1-80; 131-172

4. February 2: Rawls on Public Reason

- John Rawls, "The Idea of Public Reason," from *Political Liberalism*, pp 212-254.
- "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited," in *Political Liberalism*: 435-490

5. February 9: Public Reason as Discourse or Deliberation

• Habermas, Inclusion of the Other, chapters 9 and 10.

Recommended Reading:

 Political Communication in the Media Society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension. The impact of normative theory on empirical research. Communication Theory 15: 411-426 (2006)

6. February 16: Freestanding versus Post-metaphysical

- Jürgen Habermas, Inclusion of the Other. Chpaters 2 and 3.
- "A Genealogical Analysis of the Cognitive Content of Morality" In The Inclusion of the Other, pp. 3-48

Recommended Reading:

• "Communicative Action and the Detranscendentalized 'Use of Reason' in *Between Naturalism and Religion*, pp. 24-76.

FEBRUARY 20-24: READING WEEK

7. March 1: Public Justification Alternative models

 Rainer Forst, "The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification: A Reflexive Approach." *Ethics* 120 (July 2010): 711-740.

Recommended Reading:

- Bohman, James, and Henry Richardson. "Liberalism, Deliberative Democracy And "Reasons All Can Accept"." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 17, no. 3 (2009): 253-74.
- Joshua Cohen, "Truth and Public Reason." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 37 (2009) 1: 1-42.

8. March 8: Religion

- "Pre-political Foundations of the Constitutional State?" In *Between Naturalism and Religion*
- "Religion and the Public Sphere: Cognitive Presuppositions for the 'Public Use of Reason'" in *Between Naturalism and Religion*
- Cooke, Maeve. "A Secular State for a Post-Secualr Society?
 Postmetaphysical Political Theoryand the Place of Religion."
 Constellations 14, no. 2 (2007): 224-38.
- Walhof, Darren. "Habermas, Same-Sex Marriage, and the Problem of Religion in Public Life." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* Forthcoming (2010).

9. March 15: No Class

10. March 22: Religion continued

- Gaus, Gerald, and Kevin Vallier. "The Roles of Religious Conviction in a Publicly Justified Polity." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 35, no. 1-2 (2009): 51-76.
- Stephen Macedo, "Why Public Reason? Citizens' Reasons and the Constitution of the Public Sphere" MS
- Benjamin Hertzberg, Chapter I: "Religious Liberty and Democratic Citizenship. John Rawls, His critiques and Political Liberals." MS
- Benjamin Hertzberg, Chapter II: "Varieties of Religious citizenship: Religious Integrity and Justification of Political Liberalism" MS
- Symposium in Good Society on Secularism
- Richard Rorty. "Religion in the Public Square. A Reconsideration." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 31, no. 1 (2003): 141-49.

11. March 31: Passion/Rhetoric

- Yack, B. 2006. Rhetoric and Public Reasoning. An Aristotelian understanding of political deliberation. *Political Theory*, 34: 417-438
- Chambers S., "Rhetoric and the Public Sphere: Has deliberative democracy abandoned mass democracy?" *Political Theory* 37:6 (2009).

Recommended Reading:

- Garsten, B. 2006. Saving Persuasion. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Abizadeh, A. 2002. The passions of the wise: *phronêsis*, rhetoric, and Aristotle's passionate practical deliberation. *Review of Metaphysics* 56: 267-96.

12. March 29: Public Reason and Settler Societies

- Dale Turner, "Word Warriors," from This is Not a Peace Pipe
- Burke Hendrix, "Identity, Past Injustice, and Redress: Memory in Native American Land Claims," *Political Theory*, vol. 33 no.6 (Dec 2005) 763-785)