

**European University Institute**  
**Department of Political and Social Sciences**  
**Prof. Donatella della Porta**

**SEMINAR January to March 2006**  
**Tuesdays, 3-5 pm**

(Register with Eva Breivik [eva.breivik@iue.it](mailto:eva.breivik@iue.it))

**Transformations in democracies: An introduction to political sociology**  
**(draft)**

The seminar will address some of the central concepts for contemporary research in political sociology. In each session, the discussion will start from the classical approach to the specific concept under analysis, moving then to more recent theoretical innovations. Attention will focus on to the way in which in social science approaches address (and reflect) transformations in democracies. Each session will be opened by an introductory talk, followed by an open discussion that will move from the assigned readings (references are to text in English, when available in the EUI library).

**Session 1: Conception of Politics, Conception of Democracy**

This session addresses the issue of the definition of politics, moving from the classical analysis of the (specialized) political system to the attention to power and individual motivations. Attention will focus on the tension not only between system and action, but also between an apparently dominant conception of politics as the specialized activity of professionals to a (re)emerging conception of politics as parts and parcels of every citizen's life. This session shall discuss the traditional tensions between participation and representation as basic mechanisms of democracy. Focusing on recent changes in representative democracy—in particular, the transformation of the characteristics and role of political parties—the discussion will address recent developments in the reflection upon democracy, with particular attention to deliberative conceptions of public decision making.

*Assigned Readings:*

Cohen, Joshua and Charles Sabel, 1997, *Directly-Deliberative Polyarchy*, in “European Law Journal”, vol. 3, pp. 312-342.

Manin, B., 1995, *Principes du gouvernement représentatif*, Paris, Calman-Lévy, cap. 6, pp. 247-303.

Della Porta, Donatella, 2005, *Making the Polis: Social Forums and Democracy in the Global Justice Movement*, in “Mobilization”, vol 10., n. 1, pp. 73-94.

*Additional suggested readings:*

Poggi, Gianfranco, 2001, *Forms of Power*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 29-57 (LIB 303.3POG)

## **Session 2: Citizenship rights: The Challenges of the Exclusion**

This session analyses the concept of citizenship, as a base for the attribution of rights. As such, conceptions of citizens moved from a positive understanding of citizens' rights as a by-product of the nation-state to a focus on the exclusionary nature of citizenship.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Marshall, T.H., 1992, *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), in T.H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Pluto Press, London, pp. 3-51.

Soysal, Yasemin, 2001, *Postnational Citizenship: Reconfiguring the Familiar Terrain*, in Kate Nash and Alan Scott (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 333-341.

### *Additional readings:*

Bendix, R., 1964, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, Berkeley, The University of California Press (from edition 1996, pp. 66-126) (LIB 301.592BEN).

Brubaker, Rogers, 1992, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, cap. 1.

## **Session 3: Power and Resources of Power: The Challenges from the Market**

This session starts from the traditional opposition in classical research on community power between a unidimensional approach to power as based upon economic resources and a multidimensional approach to power as based upon dispersedly distributed resources. The "hidden sides" of power shall be discussed, looking also at the re-emergence of the debate on the interaction between economic and political power in global cities.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Bachrach, P. and M. Baratz, 1970, *Power and Poverty*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 3-63 (LIB 362.5BAC).

Foucault, M., 1982, The Subject and Power, in H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Crouch, Colin, *Postdemocracies*, London, Polity Press, chap. 1 and 5.

### *Additional readings:*

Dahl, Robert A., *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 115-140.

Hunter, Floyd, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. 1-8; 60-113.

## **Session 4: Participation, Inequalities and Protest: The Challenge of the Voice**

This session develops from the traditional empirical research on political participation, revealing differential patterns of participation for social groups and the risk of increasing inequalities, to more recent studies, emphasizing the emergence of new repertoires of political participation. The role of the "voice" as democratic mechanism will be addressed.

*Assigned Readings:*

Hirschman, A.O., 1970, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, pp. 1-43 (LIB 301.1832HIR).

McAdam, D. S. Tarrow and C. Tilly, 2003, *The Dynamics of Contention*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chap. 1.

Della Porta, Donatella, 2005. "Multiple Belongings, Tolerant Identities and the Construction of Another Politics: Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora." In *Transnational Movements and Global Activism*, eds. D. della Porta and S. Tarrow. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

*Additional suggested readings:*

Barnes, S. et al., 1979, *Political Action: Mass Participation in five Democracies*, London, Sage, pp. 137-156; 523-536.

Norris, Pippa, 2002, *Democratic Phoenix. Reinventing Political Activism*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

**Session 5: Interest/Interested: The Challenge of Identities**

The session addresses the role of interests and identities in politics. It departs from the analysis of the individual citizen as "homo oeconomicus", and the traditional olsonian paradox of collective action, moving towards a more sociological conception of "interested" individuals and the concept of identity. Attention move from the role of political mass parties in the production of shared identities and the promotion of recognition of these identities to today tensions between growing individualization and the search for new, multiple collective identities.

*Assigned Readings*

Bourdieu, Pierre, 1998, *Practical Reason*, Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 75-94 (*Raison pratique. Sur la theorie de l'action*, Paris, Seuil, 1992, pp. 149-167, LIB 301.2.BOU).

Melucci, Alberto, 1989, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movement and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, pp. 38-57 (LIB 301.242MEL).

Pizzorno, Alessandro, 1981, *Interests and Parties in Pluralism*, in Susan Berger (eds.), *Organizing Interests in Western Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 247-284 (LIB 322.094BER).

*Additional suggested readings:*

Downs, Anthony, 1957, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York, Harper and Row, pp. 3-50 (LIB 321.8DOW).

Olson, Mancur, 1970, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, pp. 5-52 (LIB 301.15OLS).

## **Session 6: Trust and Associations: The Challenges of a Civil Society**

The session moves from the conception of social capital, as bridging traditional approaches to (civic) political cultures to recent attention to trust. It shall then discuss the interaction between norms of reciprocity and the development of a “civil society”.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Portes, A 1998, *Social Capital: Its origins and Application in Modern Sociology*, in *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, pp. 1-24.

Putnam, R.D., 1993, *Making Democracy Work. Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 83-120 and 163-186 (LIB 320.445PUT).

Tarrow, Sidney, 1996, *Making Social Science Work Across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work*, “*American Political Science Review*”, 90, pp. 389-397.

### *Additional suggested readings:*

Della Porta, Donatella, 2000, *Social Capital, Beliefs in Government and Political Corruption*, in S.J. Pharr and R.D. Putnam (eds.), *Disaffected Democracies. What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 202-229.

## **Session 7: Discursive Democracy and/in the Public Sphere: The Challenge of Communication**

This session addresses the role of communication in politics, with particular attention to the conception of the public sphere in democratic governance. From the traditional approach to the bourgeois public sphere attention shifts—following Habermas’s contribution—to the role of discourse and discursive strategies in contemporary democracy. Attention will focus on old and new media of communication.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Habermas, Juergen, 1991, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into the Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press (original german version 1962), pp. 14-26; 57-72; 181-211 (LIB 300.1HAB).

Thompson, John B. 1995. *The Media and Politics*, in Kate Nash and Alan Scott (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 173-182.

Donatella della Porta and Lorenzo Mosca, *Global-net for Global Movements? A Network of Networks for a Movement of Movement*, in “*Journal of Public Policy*”, 2004, 25, pp. 165-190.

### *Additional suggested readings:*

Habermas, Juergen, 1981, *Theorien des Kommunikativen Handelns*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, chap I.3, pp. 114-151 (LIB 300.1HAB).

Castells, M. (2001), *The Internet Galaxy. Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

## **Session 8. Political Violence and Terrorism: Challenging the State Monopoly of Force**

The XX. Century has been characterized by various waves of violence and terrorism, that have in different ways affected politics. This session will discuss typologies of political violence, as well as its causes and effects.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Tilly, Charles, 2003, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chap. 1 and 3.

Della Porta, Donatella, 1995, *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chap. 1 and 8.

### *Additional Suggested readings:*

Walton, John and David Seddon, 1994, *Free Markets and Food Riots. The politics of Global Adjustment*, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 23-54

Piven, F. Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People Movements. When They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage.

Donatella Della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*, Greenwich, JAI Press, 1992, pp. 237-254.

## **Session 9: Globalization: Challenging territorial borders**

This session focuses on the effects of globalization—as an economic, cultural and political phenomenon—on contemporary democracies. It stresses the challenges that globalization represents for traditional model of democracy.

### *Assigned Readings:*

Held, David and Andrew McGrew, 2000, *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Cambridge, Polity Press, Chapter 1.

Donatella della Porta, 2005, *Globalization/s and democracy*, special issue of “Democratization”, forthcoming.

### *Additional suggested readings:*

Della Porta, D. and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Movements and Global Activism*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Giddens, Anthony, 1990, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-54 (LIB 300.1GID).

## **Session 10: Europeanization and the Challenges of Reconstructing Borders**

The challenges and opportunities of the strengthening of global mechanisms and frames will be discussed in this session with a focus on Europeanization as a trend connected with, but different from globalization.

*Assigned readings:*

Bartolini, Stefano, 2006, *Restructuring Europe. Centre formation, System Building and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Chap. 1.

Marks, G. and Steenberger, M. 2002, *Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union*, in "Comparative Political Studies", 35, n. 8, pp.: 879-892.

Della Porta, Donatella and Manuela Caiani, 2005, *Europeanisation and the Civil Society in the Public Sphere: Some results from a research on claims-making in Italy*, in *European Union Politics*, forthcoming.

*Additional Readings.*

Marks, G. and Steenberger, M., eds., 2004, *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Imig, D. and Tarrow, S. (eds.), 2001, *Contentious Europeans. Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 3-26.