

Power to the People?
Citizenship & Society in the United States
Fall 2020

“It is a dignified proposition with us—is it not?—that as is the majority, so ought the government to be.”
-Woodrow Wilson, “Leaders of Men,” June 17, 1890

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Popular sovereignty — the idea that the people rule themselves — has been heralded as one of the preeminent innovations of the modern world. And over the course of the last two hundred or so years, a rising tide of nations committed themselves to the principles of popular sovereignty. Yet in recent years, the inevitability, soundness, and very viability of “rule by the people” has come into question. On the one hand, popular uprisings around the globe have rejected the decisions and practices of governing elites on the grounds that they are out of touch with the people’s needs. On the other hand, these uprisings have resurrected and strengthened authoritarian practices and have facilitated the erosion of liberal rights long considered instrumental to preserving democracy. The result — turmoil, unrest, and uncertainty about what the future holds — is evident from Venezuela to England, Turkey to the United States. Can popular sovereignty survive? In what form will the people rule, and at what cost?

This class is an investigation into the idea and practice of popular sovereignty in the contemporary United States. We will explore this topic by actively consulting theory and empirical research in the social sciences. We will supplement this with our own research on the 2020 election, media coverage of issues, popular attitudes about democracy, and popular representation in government and by interest/advocacy groups. In other words, this class is part discussion seminar and large part hands-on active research.

Additionally, this class is organized as a collaboration between two first-year courses: one at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, the other at Williams College. Over the course of the semester, the two classes will meet frequently via videoconference to share research and discuss readings and ideas. This is intended to broaden the perspectives brought to bear on our investigation generally and, specifically, to allow each class to share real time research on the politics of the region in which their respective institutions are located.

One aim of this course is to introduce you to the concept of popular sovereignty in theory and practice. Another aim is to help you develop research skills and inclinations. This will help you if you pursue additional coursework, a major, or even a thesis in the social sciences. More than that, though, our aim is to encourage you, many of whom are just beginning your lives as rights- and responsibility-bearing participatory citizens, to think innovatively and creatively about the tasks, challenges, and opportunities of popular sovereignty. Our hope is to model forms of open-minded exploration, civil discussion, and creative investigation that we believe are necessary for citizens to rejuvenate popular governance in this moment.

Course Materials:

No books are required for the class. All materials will be made available electronically.

<p>UNC-Chapel Hill:</p> <p>We will be sharing a course site with our Williams colleagues on Glow: http://glow.williams.edu . You will be assigned an account on Glow for your use. Links will be provided from this course’s Sakai site (https://sakai.unc.edu) for convenience.</p> <p>In order to view some publications from off-campus locations, you may need to use the UNC Library’s Link Builder: https://library.unc.edu/support/reserves/link-builder/ This resources allows you to view articles and other materials via the library’s subscription using your ONYEN login.</p>	<p>Williams College:</p> <p>We will rely heavily on Glow to facilitate our class engagements with each other. The syllabus (with hyperlinks to readings) and all assignments will be posted there. All group projects and individual papers should be uploaded to Glow as well.</p> <p>In order to view some of the hyperlinked publications, you will need to sign in with your Williams log-in (search for Williams under the “search for your institution” prompt and then enter your student identification).</p>
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Course Requirements:

All readings should be completed by the day for which they are assigned. Please note that there is considerable variation in the reading load for any given day and/or week. Some weeks we will be reading quite a lot. In others, there will be much less as we will be focussed on other types of research and writing tasks. It is your job to plan your work accordingly. In addition, mindful of the challenging circumstances of this semester in particular as the result of the current pandemic, we have chosen to make the overall reading load somewhat lighter than we would have otherwise. We have done this with the expectation that you will read carefully and closely what we do assign. We are happy to recommend supplemental reading if you wish to investigate a topic in even greater depth.

UNC-Chapel Hill:

In-Person Class Days: This semester, while we are in the midst of a global pandemic, you are required to wear a mask covering your mouth and nose at all times in our classroom. This requirement is to protect our educational community — your classmates and me – as we learn together. If you choose not to wear a mask, or wear it improperly, I will ask you to leave immediately, and I will submit a report to the [Office of Student Conduct](#). At that point you will be disenrolled from this course for the protection of our educational community. An exemption to the mask wearing community standard will not typically be considered to be a reasonable accommodation. Individuals with a disability or health condition that prevents them from safely wearing a face mask must seek alternative accommodations through the [Accessibility Resources and Service](#). For additional information, see [Carolina Together](#).

On days when the weather is suitable, we may meet outside in the grassy area just north of Hyde Hall. I will notify you by email no later than 10:30 am if we will be meeting outside.

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Please contact the Director of Title IX Compliance (Adrienne Allison – Adrienne.allison@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office

Williams College:

In-Person Class Days: For students who will not be physically present in the classroom on in-person days, arrangements will be made for you to join the class via Zoom. On days when class is in person, you must wear a suitable mask at all times and follow all of the campus safety protocols. If you are not wearing a mask, you will be required to leave. On days when the weather is suitable, we may meet outside.

<p>(reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvsc@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at safe.unc.edu.</p>	
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Remote Videoconference Days: On days when the entire class meets remotely, you will join the appropriate group or full class via a Zoom teleconference link provided on the Sakai and Glow websites. We ask that you have your camera on if you are able to do so, in order to best simulate a real conversation. Remember that you are in class even when joining remotely; please plan to focus your full attention on the class. Be mindful that you are bringing the full class into the room with you; please do not display images or wear clothes you would not feel comfortable displaying or wearing in person on campus.

Grading:

Active Class Participation (15 percent): One of your primary responsibilities for this class is active participation. This means that you come to class having completed the reading and any other assignments and that you actively engage in discussion and other activities with thoughtful and intelligent input. To facilitate this, you are required to post a question and/or comment on the day’s reading(s) at least 3 times during the semester on Glow. Think of these as very short blog posts or comments on a news article -- they can be written in a casual tone (though complete sentences and coherent thought are required). These are ungraded, but failure to do these or doing them in haste or thoughtlessly will impact your participation grade. They are intended to help you organize your thoughts in advance of our class discussion and to give me some sense of how students are responding to the readings so that we can direct discussion accordingly. Be prepared to present and defend your ideas in class. Additionally, you may occasionally be called upon to present the ideas in one of the day’s reading assignment. If you happen to be caught unprepared (it happens to all of us), you are allowed two passes in the semester before it impacts your participation grade.

Two essays (15% each): Essays will be assigned in class and due approximately two weeks later. These 4-page essays should be turned in via the Glow website. They are due no later than 5:00 pm on the due date.

<p>UNC-Chapel Hill:</p> <p>Essay 1: Visions of Democracy (due Sep. 20) Essay 2: The People (due Oct 11th)</p>	<p>Williams College:</p> <p>Essay 1: The People (due Oct 11th) Essay 2: Governing (due Nov 15th)</p>
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Three group presentations (10% each):

<p>UNC-Chapel Hill:</p> <p>Presentation 1: Visions of Democracy Presentation 2: The People Presentation 3: Constitutional Design</p>	<p>Williams College:</p> <p>Presentation 1: The People Presentation 2: Constitutional Design Presentation 3: Future Prospects</p>
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Final paper (25%):

<p>UNC-Chapel Hill: Due Friday, November 20</p>	<p>Williams: Due Friday, December 11</p>
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<p>UNC-Chapel Hill:</p> <p>Completing these requirements fully and adequately will earn you a B in the course. Completing them exceptionally well will earn you a B+, A-, or A, depending on the quality of work. Not completing them, or completing them less than adequately, will earn you a B- or below.</p> <p>Your participation in this course is covered by the UNC Honor Code (see http://studentconduct.unc.edu/students). I take academic dishonesty—including, but not limited to, plagiarism—very seriously. There will be no excuses or second chances; if you have plagiarized the ideas or words of someone else without giving credit, or if you have cheated in other ways, you will be referred to the Student Attorney General. If you have questions as to what constitutes academic dishonesty, check http://www2.lib.unc.edu/instruct/plagiarism or consult me.</p>	<p>Williams:</p> <p>Completing these requirements fully and adequately will earn you a B in the course. Completing them exceptionally well will earn you a B+, A-, or A, depending on the quality of work. Not completing them, or completing them less than adequately, will earn you a B- or below.</p> <p>Your participation in this course is covered by the Williams Honor Code. I take academic dishonesty—including, but not limited to, plagiarism—very seriously. There will be no excuses or second chances; if you have plagiarized the ideas or words of someone else without giving credit, or if you have cheated in other ways, you will be referred to the Honor and Discipline Committee. If you have questions as to what constitutes academic dishonesty, check here and/or see me.</p>
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Course Schedule:

<p>UNC-Chapel Hill:</p> <p>UNIT 1: Visions of Democracy</p> <p><i>August 11:</i> In-Person. Introductions, welcome, course terms and expectations</p> <p><i>August 13:</i> In-Person. Difficult Dialogues: How to talk about hard subjects. Assignments for Presentation 1 and Essay 1 distributed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Andrew Perrin. “How to Argue Online.” IAH Blog, August 12, 2019.• “A Letter on Justice and Open Debate.” <i>Harpers</i> July 7, 2020. <p>Presentation 1 Group Topics:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The Sharon Statement and Port Huron Statement2. The Sharon Statement and Port Huron Statement3. Black Lives Matter Statement of Purpose https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/what-we-believe/ and Tea Party Patriots Mission Statement https://www.teapartypatriots.org/ourvision/4. Black Lives Matter Statement of Purpose https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/what-we-believe/ and Tea Party Patriots Mission Statement https://www.teapartypatriots.org/ourvision/5. Federalist 10, Federalist 516. Federalist 10, Federalist 517. Tocqueville, “On the Principle of Popular Sovereignty in America.” Volume 1, Part 1, Chapter 4 in <i>Democracy in America</i>. (GLOW) <p><i>August 18:</i> Remote. Group Discussion.</p> <p><i>August 20:</i> Remote. Group presentation preparations with faculty</p>	<p>Williams:</p> <p>The UNC semester starts one month before ours does. Please scroll down this course outline to September 10th, our first day of class.</p>
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August 25: Class Cancelled.

August 27:

- [Declaration of Independence](#).
- Thomas Jefferson. [Deleted antislavery passage from a draft of the Declaration of Independence](#).
- Danielle Allen. "[The Declaration's dual traditions: Broad equality, and equality for whites](#)." *Washington Post*, July 2, 2015.

September 1: In-Person Discussion: Problems and Limits of Popular Sovereignty.

- Alexander Hamilton. [Federalist 23](#).
- James Madison or Alexander Hamilton. [Federalist 55](#).

September 3: In-Person Discussion:

- Thomas Edsall. "[The Whole of Liberal Democracy Is in Grave Danger at This Moment](#).'" *New York Times* July 22, 2020.
- Crispin Hull. "[We are witnessing the fall of a great power](#)." *Canberra Times* July 11, 2020.
- Daniel Henninger. "[Trump's Leadership: Rallying the United States through the coronavirus crisis is this president's path to greatness](#)." *Wall Street Journal* March 25, 2020.

September 8: Remote. Group presentation preparations with faculty

September 10: In-Person Discussion.

- Samuel Huntington, "[One Nation Out of Many: Why 'Americanization' of Newcomers is Still Important](#)," *American Enterprise Institute*, 2004
- Tocqueville, "On the Philosophical Method of the Americans." Volume 2, Part I, Chapter 1, *Democracy in America*. (GLOW)

September 10: Remote. Introductions, welcome, course expectations.

September 15: Remote. Introduce UNC/Williams classes to one another. UNC Group presentations (Groups 1, 2, 3). Readings:

- James Madison. [Federalist 10](#).
- [The Sharon Statement](#).
- [Port Huron Statement](#)

September 17: Remote. UNC Group presentations (Groups 4, 5, 6, 7)

UNIT 2: The Public

September 22: Remote. Group presentation assignments received; group presentation preparations with faculty.

Reading:

- Edmund S. Morgan. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America*. New York: WW Norton, pp. 13-15, 55-77, 263-287. **(GLOW)**

Presentation Group Topics

1. Comparative Constitutions: North Carolina, Massachusetts, US

Readings:

- Massachusetts Constitution. <https://malegislature.gov/laws/constitution>
- North Carolina State Constitution. <https://www.ncleg.gov/EnactedLegislation/Constitution/NCCConstitution.html>
- Constitution of the United States. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>
- Gary Jacobsohn, “[Rights and American Constitutional Identity](#)” *Polity*, October 2011

2. Comparative Constitutions: US, South Africa, Brazil

Readings:

- Constitution of the United States. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. <https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>
- Constitution of Brazil. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Brazil_2017.pdf?lang=en
- Anthony Marx, “[The Nation-State and Its Exclusions](#),” *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 2002

3. Media and Information in the US Public

Readings:

- “[Elusive Consensus: Polarization in Elite Communication on the Covid Pandemic](#)” *Science Advances*, July 10, 2020
- Sarah Sobieraj and Jeffrey M. Berry. “[From Incivility to Outrage: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News](#).” *Political Communication* 28:1 (2011): 19-41

- Andrew Guess, Brendan Nyhan, and Jason Reifler, "[Selective Exposure to Misinformation: Evidence from the consumption of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign](#)," *European Research Council*, 1/September 2018
4. Media and Information in the US Public
- Readings:
- "[Elusive Consensus: Polarization in Elite Communication on the Covid Pandemic](#)" *Science Advances*, July 10, 2020
 - Sarah Sobieraj and Jeffrey M. Berry. "[From Incivility to Outrage: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News](#)." *Political Communication* 28:1 (2011): 19-41
 - Andrew Guess, Brendan Nyhan, and Jason Reifler, "[Selective Exposure to Misinformation: Evidence from the consumption of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign](#)," *European Research Council*, 1/September 2018
5. Protest and Social Movements: BLM and Women's March
- Readings:
- Sidney Tarrow, "[Contentious Politics and Social Movements](#)," *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
 - Tim Bower, "[The #MeToo Backlash](#)," *Harvard Business Review*, Sept/Oct 2019
 - Candis Watts Smith, Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, and Jasmine Carrera Smith, "[Linked fate over time and across generations](#)," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7:3 (2019)
 - Dana R. Fisher, Dawn M. Dow, and Rashawn Ray. "[Intersectionality takes it to the streets: Mobilizing across diverse interests for the Women's March](#)." *Science Advances* September 20, 2017.
6. Protest and Social Movements: TPM and #ReOpen
- Readings:
- Sidney Tarrow, "[Contentious Politics and Social Movements](#)," *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
 - Vanessa Williamson, with Theda Skocpol, and John Coggin. 2011. "[The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism](#)." *Perspectives on Politics*. 9(1):25-43
 - Lisa Graves, "[Who's Behind the 'Reopen' Protests?](#)" NYT, April 22, 2020.
7. Social Divisions in the American Public
- Readings:
- [Vox interview](#) with Ashley Jardina, author of *White Identity*
 - Bill Bishop, *The Big Sort* (2008) [excerpt on NPR](#), 2008
 - "[The 9.9% is the New American Aristocracy](#)," *The Atlantic*
 - Shawn Gude and Matt Karp, "[What Bernie Supporters Want](#)," *Jacobin*, June 2016
 - Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux. "[Republicans And Democrats See COVID-19 Very Differently. Is That Making People Sick?](#)" *FiveThirtyEight* JUL. 23, 2020.

September 24: In-Person/Hybrid. Separate-campus discussions: What is Required to be “a People?”

Readings:

- Melvin Rogers, “[Democracy Is a Habit: Practice It.](#)” Boston Review July 25, 2018.
- Sarah Song, “[What Does it Mean to be an American?](#)” *Daedalus*, Spring 2009,
- Ali Khan, et al., “[Be a Patriot: Wear a Mask.](#)” MedPage Today, July 17, 2020

September 29: Remote. Group presentation preparations with faculty

October 1: In Person/Hybrid. Separate-campus discussions. The People Divided.

Readings:

- Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, “[Democratic Ideals and Realities.](#)” *Democracy for Realists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), ch 1.
- Lilliana Mason, “[Trump’s ‘Winning’ is America’s Losing.](#)” *NYT*, 6/6/18.
- Oliver Hahl, Minjae Kim, and Ezra Zuckerman Savan, “[The Authentic Appeal of the Lying Demagogue.](#)” *American Sociological Review*, 88:1 (2018)

October 6: Remote. Presentations from groups 1, 2, 3, 4

October 8: Remote. Presentations from groups 5, 6, 7

UNIT 3. Rule/Sovereignty

UNC-Chapel Hill: <i>October 13:</i> In-Person. Discussion; reading to be determined.	Williams College: <i>October 13: Reading Day</i>
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October 15: Remote. Group assignments; break-out group discussions of the Constitutional Design Exercise: What Is a Constitution, What Does it Do, What Should it Do?

Readings:

- Will Harris, “[Domains of Civic Engagement in a Constitutional Democracy.](#)” read pp 6-8, “The Fundamental Concepts” and “The Model of the Citizen”
- Philippe-Joseph Salazar. “[Compromise and Deliberation: A Rhetorical View of South Africa’s Democratic Transformation.](#)” *Social Science Information* 43:2 (2004).
- Anne Norton, “[Transubstantiation: The Dialectic of Constitutional Authority.](#)” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 55:2 (Spring 1988))

Presentation Group Topics

1. Elections and Representation

Readings:

- Hannah F. Pitkin, “On Representation,” pp. 8-12 (as excerpted);

- Keith Bentele and Erin O'Brien, "[Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies](#)," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11:4 (Dec 2013);
- Benjamin Page and Martin Gilens, "[Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens](#)," *Perspectives on Politics* (Fall 2014);

2. Elections and Representation

Readings for groups 1 and 2:

- Andrew J. Perrin and Katherine McFarland. "[The Sociology of Political Representation and Deliberation](#)." *Sociology Compass* 2008.
- Jane Mansbridge. "[Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'](#)" *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 3. (Aug., 1999), pp. 628-657.
- Andrew S. Reynolds. "[Constitutional Design: Promoting Multi Ethnic Democracy](#)." *Harvard International Review* Winter, 2007.

3. Legislation/Checks & Balances

4. Legislation/Checks & Balances

Readings for groups 3 and 4:

- Sarah Binder, "[The Dysfunctional Congress](#)," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2015.
- Ezra Klein (on Frances Lee's *Insecure Majorities* argument), "[The political scientist Donald Trump should read](#)," *Vox*, 1/24/2019
- Norman J. Ornstein. "[The Republicans Broke Congress. Democrats Can Fix It](#)." *The New Republic* November 9, 2018.

5. Rights and Protections

6. Rights and Protections

Readings for groups 5 and 6:

- David Cole, "[Keeping Up Appearances](#)," *New York Review of Books*, 8/15/19 .
- George Lovell, Michael McCann, Peri E. Arnold, and Rodney Hero, "[A Tangled Legacy: Federal Courts and the Struggle for Democratic Inclusion](#)," in Christine Wolbrecht et al., *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion* (PA: Temple University Press, 2005)
- Stephanie DeGooyer and Alastair Hunt. "[The Right to Have Rights](#)." *Public Books* 2018.

7. Amendment

Readings:

- Donald Lutz, "[Toward a Theory of Constitutional Amendment](#)," in *Responding to Imperfection: The Theory and Practice of Constitutional Amendment*, Sanford Levinson, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
- Paul Blokker, "Populist Constitutionalism." Chapter 7 in Carlose de la Torre, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*. London: Routledge, 2018. (GLOW)
- David E. Kyvig. "Refining or Resisting Modern Government? The Balanced Budget Amendment to the US Constitution." *Akron Law Review* 28 (1994). (GLOW)
- Catharine MacKinnon. "[Unthinking ERA Thinking](#)." *University of Chicago Law Review* 1987.

- **Recommended:** Donald T. Critchlow and Cynthia L. Stachecki. “[The Equal Rights Amendment Reconsidered: Politics, Policy, and Social Mobilization in a Democracy.](#)” *Journal of Policy History* 20:1 (2008).

October 20: In Person/Hybrid: Single-Campus discussions. Practical considerations of constitutional issues.

Readings:

- Jamal Greene. “[Americans are obsessed with ‘rights.’ In the pandemic, that’s killing us.](#)” *Los Angeles Times* July 2, 2020.
- Sanford Levinson, with Robert Post and Barney Frank, “[Our Undemocratic Constitution.](#)” exchange in the *Bulletin of the American Academy of the Arts and Sciences*, Winter 2007
- Andrew Reynolds, “[North Carolina is No Longer a Democracy](#)” and “[North Carolina’s democracy was bad at the start of 2017. A year later it’s much worse.](#)”
- Susan Myrick. “[‘Nonpartisan’ Redistricting Is Just a Fantasy.](#)” NC Civitas, January 20, 2017.
- NYT Editorial, “[Vote for me! For second place at least.](#)” NYT, 6/09/18

October 22: Remote: Presentations from groups 1-4

October 27: Remote: Presentations from groups 5-7

October 29: Remote: Full group discussion: evaluating the constitution we’ve developed

November 3: ELECTION DAY. No class; students should vote; consider opportunities for participating and observing such as working as a poll worker, campaigning, etc.

November 5: Remote: Full-group discussion of the election; Profs. Mellow and Perrin as panelists.

November 10: In-Person/Hybrid: The Our Common Purpose report and recommendations (single campus).

Reading: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, [Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century](#) (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2020).

November 12: Remote: Our Common Purpose report and recommendations (full group)

UNC-Chapel Hill:

Williams' semester ends after ours, so they will continue after we have wrapped up.

November 17: In-Person: Wrap up: The State of American Popular Sovereignty

November 25: Final paper due

Williams:

UNIT 4: The Popular Sovereignty Agenda and Challenges for the Next Administration*

***note that this last section is subject to modification depending on changing political circumstances this fall**

November 17 (In-person/hybrid): Is populism democracy at its finest or does it harm the democratic community?

Readings:

- Jan Werner Muller, "[Democracy for Losers](#)," *Boston Review*, Aug 6, 2020
 - Russ Muirhead and Jeff Tulis, "[Will the Election of 2020 be the End or a New Beginning?](#)" *Polity*, Summer 2020
- GLOW

November 19 (In-person/hybrid):

Wrap-up/transition preparation/group assignments

Final group project: Creating a Program of Action to Nurture a Robust Democracy

Group 1: The economy

Group 2: Health

Group 3: Climate

Group 4: Social justice

November 24 (Remote): Democratic Challenge

Readings:

- Rogers Smith, "[Toward Progressive Narratives of American Identity](#)," *Polity*, Summer 2020
- Alex Gourevitch and Corey Robin, "[Freedom Now](#)," *Polity*, Summer 2020

December 1 (Remote): Group project work

	December 3 (Remote): Group project work December 8 (Remote): Group presentations December 10 (Remote): Group presentations December 11: Final paper due
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January, 2021: Class reunion conversation: What did we learn? What's going to happen now?