

## **CHILDREN'S CITIZENSHIP: JUSTICE ACROSS GENERATIONS**

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Political Science 131  
Office: Encina Hall, 420

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Spring 2005-06  
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This course is cross-listed in CSRE, Ethics in Society, and Human Biology.

Course Website: <http://coursework.stanford.edu> (Enroll in Political Science 131)

### **Course Overview:**

This course considers the notion of children's citizenship. The focus will be on three major social institutions that assume responsibility for the civic education of children: schools, families and communities, and civil society. How does each institution develop citizenship? What is the relationship between civic education in its current forms and the reproduction of social equality and/or inequality? Do children's rights as citizens differ from the rights of adult citizens? Readings include political theorists on justice, feminist theorists on the family and children, several court cases on the tensions between the state's interests and communities' interests in education, and social critics on the practice of civic education.

### **Course Requirements:**

#### Class participation

It is crucial that you come to class having done the reading, prepared to talk and engage your fellow classmates. To that end, we have identified key questions for each class session in order to facilitate and focus your reading. These questions will be available on the website for the class; they will also be mailed to you a few days before each class.

#### Writing

Each student is expected to complete two papers, an initial 4 pager and a larger paper of 12-15 pages.

We will comment at length upon your papers. Your grade will be determined by the clarity, cogency, conciseness, and creativity with which you make your argument. We believe that the style of your writing merits as much attention as the content. Before writing, we strongly encourage you to read George Orwell's "Politics and the English Language" included at the front of the reader. Please also consult the guide to writing political theory papers that will be distributed and is available on website for the class.

We suggest that you share your written work with your peers and a writing tutor. Your final paper may be re-written and re-submitted, though doing so does not guarantee receiving an improved grade.

*Please note that late assignments will be accepted only if prior arrangements have been made with the instructor.*

#### Exams

There will be one take-home mid-term, for which you are free to use any materials, texts or notes, from the class. No final exam.

### CourseForum

Class participation will include making regular postings on a CourseForum discussion board. Details will be made available in class and on the course website.

### **Grading**

The pass/no credit option is not available for this class.

Grades will be computed on the following basis:

4 page paper:	20%
Take-home midterm:	15%
Final paper:	50%
Class and section participation:	15%

### **Graduate Students**

Graduate students in the course may choose to fulfill the requirements of the course as listed above. They may also opt to write a seminar paper in lieu of the take-home midterm and final paper. Please come see me to discuss this.

### **Readings:**

Course readings will be available online at the website. The following books are required texts and are available for purchase at the Stanford Bookstore:

Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*. Harper Collins, 1992.

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford University Press, 1995.

Stephen Macedo, et al. *Democracy at Risk: How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation and What We Can Do About It*. Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Touchstone Books, 2001.

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, revised edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

## COURSE OUTLINE

Wednesday, April 5:  
Introduction

### **Part I: Education and Democracy: Formal Education**

*“If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization,  
it expects what never was and never will be.”*

*Thomas Jefferson*

Monday, April 10:

Liberalism and education.

*Why is formal schooling considered necessary in a liberal democracy? What is the difference between schooling and education? What is the place of formal education in contemporary liberal political theory?*

John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916) (chs. 1-2) [READER]

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (2nd edition, 1999), (Sections 1-5; pp. 3-24; Sections 11-15; pp. 52-81).

Recommended Reading:

Confused about what liberalism is? See the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy entry on “Liberalism” at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>

Wednesday, April 12:

Applying liberal political theory to political practice.

*What is the place of formal education in contemporary liberal political theory?*  
*Rawls, part 2.*

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (2nd edition, 1999), Section 17, pp. 86-93; Section 77; pp. 441-449.

Recommended Reading:

For many resources on John Rawls, see The John Rawls Resource Page at: <http://www.policylibrary.com/rawls/index.htm>

Monday, April 17:

Applying libertarian political theory to political practice.

*What is the place of formal education in contemporary libertarian political theory?*

Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), selections (Preface and pp. 149-82) [READER]

Milton Friedman, “The Role of Government in Education” from *Economics and the Public Interest* (1955). Available online at:

<http://www.schoolchoices.org/roo/fried1.htm>

Recommended Reading:

For many resources on Robert Nozick, see The Nozick Resource Page at: <http://www.policylibrary.com/nozick/index.htm>

Wednesday, April 19:

Applying communitarian political theory to political practice.

Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (1983), "Preface", "Complex Equality" (Ch. 1) and "Education" (Ch. 8)

Amitai Etzioni, "[A Communitarian Approach on Character Education.](#)" (2002)

[READER]

**First paper assignment distributed; paper due Friday, April 28 at 10am.**

Monday, April 24:

Applying multicultural political theory to political practice.

*What is the place of formal education in contemporary multicultural political theory?*

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995), Chs. 1, 2, 5, 8.

Wednesday, April 26:

Successes and failures of modern day public schools in the United States, part 1.

*How do schools contribute to children's civic education? In what ways do they ameliorate inequality? In what ways do they perpetuate inequality?*

*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) [READER]

Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities* (1991), "Other People's Children" (Ch. 2) and "The Savage Inequalities of Public Education in New York" (Ch. 3), and "The Dream Deferred, Again, in San Antonio" (Ch. 6).

**First paper assignment due Friday, April 28.**

Monday, May 1:

Successes and failures of modern day public schools in the United States, part 2.

*How do schools contribute to children's civic education? In what ways do they ameliorate inequality? In what ways do they perpetuate inequality?*

*San Antonio v. Rodriguez* (1973) [READER]

Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities* (1991), "The Dream Deferred, Again, in San Antonio" (Ch. 6).

**Mid-term distributed on May 1; due on Friday, May 5.**

**Part II: Local Civic Socialization: Family and Community as Educators**

*"Till society be differently constituted, much cannot be expected from education."*

*Mary Wollstonecraft*

Wednesday, May 3:

American ABC.

A Visit to the Cantor Arts Museum, with a guided tour of the exhibition American ABC, Childhood in 19th Century America.

**Mid-term distributed on May 1; due on Friday, May 5.**

Monday, May 8:

Civic education in the family.

*Does the family have a civic and political role in Walzer's theory? How is the family educative for Rawls? What assumptions do Walzer and Rawls make about the family and its educative role*

Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, "Kinship and Love" (Ch. 9, pp. 227-242)

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Sections 69-72; pp. 397-419)

Wednesday, May 10:

The consequences of economic and racial inequality in families and communities.

*How do economic and racial inequalities affect the educative role of the family as envisioned by Walzer and Rawls? How do gender roles in the family influence children's development of civic values? Compare adult citizenship and the developing citizenship of children: In what ways are children citizens? What civic knowledge do the kids in the readings and other children you know have?*

LeAlan Jones and Lloyd Newman, National Public Radio, "Remorse: The 14 Stories of Eric Morse"; available online at <http://www.soundportraits.org/on-air/remorse/>

Alex Kotlowitz, "It Takes a Village to Destroy a Child," *NY Times op-ed* [READER]

Recommended: Annie E. Casey Foundation, *Kids Count Data Book* 2005 available online at [http://www.aecf.org/publications/data/05\\_pocketguide.pdf](http://www.aecf.org/publications/data/05_pocketguide.pdf)

Annette Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods* (2004).

Monday and Wednesday, May 15 and 17:

Tensions between the state's interests versus parents' and communities' interests.

*To what extent is the liberal democratic state responsible for equipping its citizens through public schools with the capacity to question and revise the values and ends of the communities into which they are born? What are the limits of "opting-out" of education? The Yoder case and the Mozert case.*

*Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972) 406 U.S. 205 [READER]

*Mozert v. Hawkins County Board of Education* (1987) 827 F.2nd 1058 (6th Circuit).

[READER]

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Sections 33-35; pp. 180-194)

Monday, May 22:

Connecting *Mozert* with political theory.

*How would Rawls decide the Mozert case? Under what circumstances should intolerant groups be tolerated? Are the Mozert plaintiffs an intolerant group? How does Macedo define liberalism differently than Galston?*

Stephen Macedo, "Liberal Civic Education and Religious Fundamentalism: The Case of *God v. John Rawls*," *Ethics*, Vol. 45, No. 3, April 1995 (pp. 468-496).

William Galston, "Two Concepts of Liberalism," *Ethics*, Vol. 45, No. 3, April 1995 (pp. 516-535).

Recommended reading

Richard Arneson and Ian Shapiro, "Democratic Autonomy and Religious Freedom: A Critique of *Wisconsin v. Yoder*" in *Political Order: NOMOS XXXVIII* (New York: New York University Press, 1996)

Shelley Burtt, "In Defense of *Yoder*: Parental Authority and the Public Schools" in *Political Order: NOMOS XXXVIII* (New York: New York University Press, 1996)

Rob Reich, "Testing the Boundaries of Parental Authority Over Education: The Case of Homeschooling" from *Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

### **Part III: Civil Society and the Future of Citizenship**

*"It is hard for someone to be trained correctly for virtue from his youth if he has not been brought up under correct laws. . . . Hence laws must prescribe [children's] upbringing and practices; for they will not find things painful when they get used to them."*  
Aristotle

#### Wednesday, May 24

Civic Engagement in the United States

*What are the arguments for and against a decline in civic engagement? How does social capital or civic engagement matter to citizenship more generally? What are the supposed causes of civic decline?*

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (2000), Selections (Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-64; Ch. 17, pp. 296-306; Ch. 24, pp. 402-414).

Stephen Macedo, et al, *Democracy at Risk* (2005), Selections (Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 4).

#### Monday, May 29: [MEMORIAL DAY]

No class

**Paper Proposals due Monday, May 29 at 3pm via email.**

#### Wednesday, May 31

The Civic Engagement of Youth

*What are the indicators of civic health or decline for the current generation of youth? Why is "public service" at a record high when civic engagement is in decline?*

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, Chapter 14, pp. 247-276.

David Brooks, "The Organization Kid," from *The Atlantic Monthly* (2001) [READER]

David Brooks, "Making It: Love and Success at America's Finest Universities" (2002) [READER]

#### Monday, June 5

The Civic Lessons of Civil Society

*What role do public and private organizations such as sports leagues, religious organizations, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts play in civic education? Should the state interfere under any circumstances with the internal organization, especially membership criteria, for these groups?*

*Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (2000) [READER]

Wednesday, June 7:

Other civic educators: pop culture and the media.

*What do the schools, parents, communities, or the state matter in the face of pop culture?*

David Denby, "Buried Alive: Our Children and the Avalanche of Crud," *The New Yorker*, July 15, 1996 (pp. 48-58). [READER]

**12-15 page paper due Friday, June 9 at 10am.**

## SECONDARY READINGS

I have compiled the following list along with previous teaching assistants. It is intended to permit you easy access to recommended readings that explain certain topics in greater detail. This can be especially helpful for researching your final papers.

### Liberalism and Communitarianism

#### **Communitarians:**

Amitai Etzioni, *Rights and the Common Good* (edited volume that deals with theory along with concrete policy applications – e.g. AIDS prevention, checkpoints, campus free speech, pornography, L.A. gated communities, and community policing)

Alasdair McIntyre, *After Virtue*

Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent*

### Liberal Critiques/Analysis of Rawls/Liberalism and Walzer/Communitarianism

Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family* (feminist perspective). Chapters 3, 5, & 6

Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*- Chapters 3 & 6

#### **General book describing the main disagreements:**

Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift, eds – *Liberals and Communitarians* (1996)

### Secondary Reading: Libertarianism and Multiculturalism

#### **On Nozick/Libertarianism:**

Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family*, Chapter 4 “Libertarianism: Slavery, Matriarchy, and Dystopia”

Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, Chapter 4 “Libertarianism”

#### *On Multiculturalism:*

**Susan Moller Okin, Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women? Okin and 15 respondents**

Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the “Politics of Recognition”*

Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*

Rob Reich, *Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education*

#### **On Milton Friedman:**

Harry Brighouse: *School Choice and Social Justice*, especially chapters 2, 8, and 9. This is a liberal defense of Friedman’s argument for vouchers.

### **Secondary Readings: Kozol and Damon:**

#### Race and Public Policy

Shelby Steele, *The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America*

John E. Schwarz, *The Forgotten Americans: Thirty Million Working Poor in the Land of Opportunity*

Nathan Glazer, *We’re All Multiculturalists Now*

Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*

Jonathan Kozol, *Amazing Grace: The Lives of Children and the Conscience of a Nation*

#### Moral Education

Eamonn Callan, *Creating Citizens: Political Education and Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Rosemary Salomone, *Visions of Schooling: Conscience, Community, and Common Education* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

### *Secondary Readings on Children's and Parent's Rights*

David Archard, ed., *Children: Rights and Childhood* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Hugh LaFollette, "Licensing Parents," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Volume 9 (1980), pp. 182-197.

Martha Minow, "What Ever Happened to Children's Rights?" 80 *Minnesota Law Review* 267.

Ferdinand Schoeman, "Rights of Children, Rights of Parents, and the Moral Basis of the Family," in *Ethics*, Volume 91(1980), pp. 6-19.

Ian Shapiro, *Democratic Justice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); See especially Ch. 4, "Governing Children".

James G. Dwyer, *Religious Schools v. Children's Rights* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Terence McLaughlin, "Parental Rights and the Religious Upbringing of Children," *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Volume 18 (1984), pp. 75-82.

Stephen G. Gilles, "On Educating Children: A Parentalist Manifesto," 63 *University of Chicago Law Review* 937 (1996): pp. 937-1034.

### Civic Education

Meira Levinson, *The Demands of Liberal Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Yael Tamir, "Whose Education Is It Anyway?" *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Volume 24 (1990), pp. 161-70.

Stephen Macedo, *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

### **The Amish/Yoder and the Fundamentalist/Mozert Case:**

Nomi Maya Stolzenberg, "He Drew a Circle That Shut Me Out: Assimilation, Indoctrination, and the Paradox of a Liberal Education," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 106, 1993, pp. 581-667.

John Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 4th Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Donald B. Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Richard Arneson and Ian Shapiro, "Democratic Autonomy and Religious Freedom: A Critique of Wisconsin v. Yoder," in *Political Order: NOMOS XXXVIII*, Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin, eds (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

Shelley Burt, "In Defense of Yoder: Parental Authority and the Public Schools," in *Political Order: NOMOS XXXVIII*, Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin, eds. (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

Rob Reich, "Opting Out of Education: Yoder, Mozert, and the Autonomy of Children", *Educational Theory* 2003.