



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

Academic Unit New College Department School of Social and Behavioral Sciences
Subject POS Number 446 Title Democracy Units: 3
Is this a cross-listed course? (Choose one)
If yes, please identify course(s)
Is this a shared course? No If so, list all academic units offering this course
Course description:

Requested designation: Humanities, Arts and Design-HU
Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact Phyllis.Lucie@asu.edu or Lauren.Leo@asu.edu.

Submission deadlines dates are as follow:

For Fall 2015 Effective Date: October 9, 2014 For Spring 2016 Effective Date: March 19, 2015

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

- Complete and attach the appropriate checklist
Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses (L)
Mathematics core courses (MA)
Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses (CS)
Humanities, Arts and Design core courses (HU)
Social-Behavioral Sciences core courses (SB)
Natural Sciences core courses (SQ/SG)
Cultural Diversity in the United States courses (C)
Global Awareness courses (G)
Historical Awareness courses (H)

A complete proposal should include:

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
Criteria Checklist for the area
Course Catalog description
Course Syllabus
Copy of Table of Contents from the textbook and list of required readings/books

Respectfully request that proposals are submitted electronically with all files compiled into one PDF. If necessary, a hard copy of the proposal will be accepted.

Contact information:

Name Amit Ron Phone 3-3002
Mail code 3051 E-mail: amit.ron@asu.edu

Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)

Chair/Director name (Typed): Jeffrey W. Kassing Date: 3/6/15
Chair/Director (Signature): [Signature]

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for
HUMANITIES, ARTS AND DESIGN [HU]

Rationale and Objectives

The humanities disciplines are concerned with questions of human existence and meaning, the nature of thinking and knowing, with moral and aesthetic experience. The humanities develop values of all kinds by making the human mind more supple, critical, and expansive. They are concerned with the study of the textual and artistic traditions of diverse cultures, including traditions in literature, philosophy, religion, ethics, history, and aesthetics. In sum, these disciplines explore the range of human thought and its application to the past and present human environment. They deepen awareness of the diversity of the human heritage and its traditions and histories and they may also promote the application of this knowledge to contemporary societies.

The study of the arts and design, like the humanities, deepens the student's awareness of the diversity of human societies and cultures. The arts have as their primary purpose the creation and study of objects, installations, performances and other means of expressing or conveying aesthetic concepts and ideas. Design study concerns itself with material objects, images and spaces, their historical development, and their significance in society and culture. Disciplines in the arts and design employ modes of thought and communication that are often nonverbal, which means that courses in these areas tend to focus on objects, images, and structures and/or on the practical techniques and historical development of artistic and design traditions. The past and present accomplishments of artists and designers help form the student's ability to perceive aesthetic qualities of art work and design.

The Humanities, Arts and Design are an important part of the General Studies Program, for they provide an opportunity for students to study intellectual and imaginative traditions and to observe and/or learn the production of art work and design. The knowledge acquired in courses fulfilling the Humanities, Arts and Design requirement may encourage students to investigate their own personal philosophies or beliefs and to understand better their own social experience. In sum, the Humanities, Arts and Design core area enables students to broaden and deepen their consideration of the variety of human experience.

Revised April 2014

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU - [HU] CRITERIA			
HUMANITIES, ARTS AND DESIGN [HU] courses must meet <i>either</i> 1, 2 or 3 <i>and</i> at least one of the criteria under 4 in such a way as to make the satisfaction of these criteria A CENTRAL AND SUBSTANTIAL PORTION of the course content.			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Emphasizes the study of values; the development of philosophies, religions, ethics or belief systems; and/or aesthetic experience.	Course syllabus.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Concerns the interpretation, analysis, or creation of written, aural, or visual texts; and/or the historical development of textual traditions.	Class assignments.
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	3. Concerns the interpretation, analysis, or engagement with aesthetic practices; and/or the historical development of artistic or design traditions.	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. In addition, to qualify for the Humanities, Arts and Design designation a course must meet one or more of the following requirements:	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Concerns the development of human thought, with emphasis on the analysis of philosophical and/or religious systems of thought.	Class assignments.
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	b. Concerns aesthetic systems and values, especially in literature, arts, and design.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	c. Emphasizes aesthetic experience and creative process in literature, arts, and design.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	d. Concerns the analysis of literature and the development of literary traditions.	
		THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF COURSES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE [HU] DESIGNATION EVEN THOUGH THEY MIGHT GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO THE HUMANITIES, ARTS AND DESIGN:	
		• Courses devoted primarily to developing skill in the use of a language.	
		• Courses devoted primarily to the acquisition of quantitative or experimental methods.	
		• Courses devoted primarily to teaching skills.	

Course Prefix	Number	Title	General Studies Designation
POS	446	Democracy	

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the **specific** designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checklist)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
1	<p>The course studies democratic theory. The main question that it poses is what makes democratic arrangements legitimate (and what is the meaning of legitimacy in this context). Put differently, it asks students to reflect on the value of different forms of social cooperation. The course addresses the question of the legitimacy of democracy and the dimensions of democratic legitimacy in three ways. First, it offers a historical survey of the different intellectual traditions that inform our contemporary understanding of democracy (the Greek, Roman-republican, liberal, and socialist traditions) and discusses the way citizens' participation was conceptualized in the context of each of these traditions. Second, the course offers a survey of main issues in contemporary democratic theory with particular emphasis on the way in which the philosophical and normative questions that are discussed have real-life implications in the areas of international relations, institutional design, and education. Finally, throughout the semester and particularly in their final projects, students discuss different democratic innovations -- citizens' assemblies, participatory budgeting, Citizens' Initiative Reviews, deliberative polls, and others -- and by doing so they reflect on possible ways to have political and democratic institutions that are very different from our own.</p>	<p>Documents 1 and 2 (the syllabi) present the overall structure of the course. The structure of the course can be found on pages 4-7 and 20-21. The first unit takes a philosophical-historical approach and the second unit offers a more contemporary - analytic - philosophical approach.</p> <p>The overall approach to the course is presented in page 2. The final paper project which addresses the meaning of democratic legitimacy and focuses on democratic innovations is described on pages 7-10.</p>

Humanities and Fine Arts [HU]

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2	As discussed above (criterion 1), the first part of the course discusses four textual traditions within which the notions of democracy and citizens' participation are discussed. Students examine key texts in each of these traditions and reflect on the way each of these texts is situated and engages in a dialogue with other texts within the tradition and with other traditions. Students read texts written by Aristotle, Machiavelli, Tocqueville, J.S. Mill, Kant and other philosophers.	Items 3, 6, 8, 10, and 12 are examples for ways in which philosophical texts respond to contemporaneous political problem and the way the argument presented in them can be deployed in a dialogue with our own political concerns.
4a	As explained above, the development of human thought is at the core of this course. Its very basic approach to democratic theory is that the meaning of the term "democracy" is not fixed but that our understanding of what democracy means is shaped by different traditions and the historical and conceptual problems that are at the center of each tradition.	Items 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11 focus on how ideas about democracy have developed.



Course Catalog Description

POS 446 – Democracy

Catalog Description: “Issues and problems in democratic theory, e.g., the nature of democracy, majority rule, representation, equality, and the value of political participation. “

Important note: POS 346 – Problems of Democracy is currently taught by the College of Liberal Arts and the College of Arts and Sciences. The course catalog description is very exactly identical to the course description of POS 446. POS 346 has a HU designation.

Table of Contents - Course Syllabus and Supporting Documents -:

No.	Pages (page numbers on bottom right corner)	Document	Comments
1	2-11	Syllabus fall 2013, face to face	
2	12-23	Syllabus spring 2015, icourse	The icourse and the face-to-face courses are very similar in the overall structure and the approach to the topic (and they have the same textbooks). The differences are related to the mode of delivery.
3	24	"Democracy as a Fighting Word."	Activity from the unit on the Greek tradition. Students read and discuss Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> .
4	25-6	"Republicanism and the Institutions of Rome."	Activity fro the unit on the republican tradition. Students analyze Cicero's interpretation of the political institutions of Rome.
5	27-8	"Civic virtue and the 2 nd amendment."	Activity from the unit on the republican tradition. The activity asks students to reflect about the way the meaning of civic virtue is related to social institutions and conventions.
6	29 – 31	"Civic Virtues"	Part of the unit on the republican tradition. Using Machiavelli, students are asked to reflect about the meaning of civic virtue in our own society.
7	34-34	Liberalism and the idea of consent	Part of the unit on the liberal tradition. Students discuss the ideas of the social contract and the state of nature. The assignment also allows student to reflect on the historical situation in which the liberal idea of the social contract has emerged and the political problem-situation it was expected to address.

8	35-36	Political Inequality	Part of the unit on the socialist tradition. Students are asked to reflect on a philosophical debate about the idea of political equality engaging the philosophers John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Ronald Dworkin, and David Estlund, as well as the economist Milton Friedman.
9	37-38	Einstein's Why Socialism?	Part of the unit on the socialist tradition. Students read excerpts from Albert Einstein's essay on "Why Socialism?" and discuss his views about the relationship between capitalism and democracy.
10	39-41	Tocqueville and Civic Associations	Part of the unit on Citizenship. Students read excerpts from Tocqueville's discussion about the role of civic association in the American political culture and discuss the relevance of his views to our own days.
11	42-44	Introduction to the unit on Democracy Beyond the Nation State	This introduction is an example for how students are introduced to a discussion of how the different philosophical traditions that we study in the course engage the question of democracy beyond the level of the nation state.
12	45-47	Cosmopolitan Democracy	Part of the unit on democracy beyond the nation state. Students read excerpts from Kant and discuss how his ideas about cosmopolitanism are related to current proposals to revise the structure of the United Nations.

Democracy
POS 446
Fall 2013

Time: W 6:00-8:45pm.
Location: SANDS 235.

Contact information:

Instructor: Amit Ron
Office Location: FAB S170-B
Email: amit.ron@asu.edu
Phone: 602-543-3002
Wednesday 5:00 - 5:45pm or by appointment

Course Description

The purpose of the seminar is to provide a general introduction to the foundations of modern democratic theory and to current issues in it. The seminar seeks to explore the borderlines between political theory and different sites and practices of democratic governance. Our focus in the course will be on democratic institutions and practices in countries where democracy is fairly established (mainly the US). We will not focus on questions related to the process of democratization.

The first and second units of this course offer a general overview of the history of democratic theory followed by a discussion of main themes in it. The third unit is devoted to research presentation of students' own research. The research that students conduct in this class is primarily a theoretical and philosophical one. Our main task would not be to describe or explain how democratic institution work but to explain what makes democratic decision-making legitimate.

I see 400 level classes as an opportunity for the students to learn to engage in primary research and to come to develop their own voice in regard to the subject matter. Students are expected not only to be able to understand and summarize arguments that other people make but also to present their own views in a way that integrates what they learned from others. The expectation is that by the end of the course, students will be able to discuss and evaluate the legitimacy of democratic institutions and practices from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

General Policies:

- a. The grade Incomplete will be given only in exceptional circumstances. No incomplete will be given unless you have a prior written agreement with the instructor or the grader

- b. Students who need academic accommodations due to a disability should speak with me directly. Please be reminded that students requesting accommodation for a disability that they must be registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC) and submit appropriate documentation from the DRC. However, if you have any problem or difficulty that you think that might negatively affect your success in the course, please let me know about it even if it does not meet any threshold of disability.
- c. Students are expected to maintain academic integrity and honesty. Plagiarism will be punished according to the guidelines provided in the Student Handbook <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity/policy>. *Any act of academic dishonesty of plagiarism will lead to a fail grade in the assignment and possibly in the entire course.*
- d. Keep printed copy and an electronic copy of all your papers and coursework until you receive your grade for the course.
- e. The course outline and reading schedule is subject to change at the instructor's discretion.
- f. If you need to be absent from a class meeting or an activity for a reason that is related to religious observances/practices or due to participation in to university sanctioned events / activities (that are in accord with ACD 304–02) please let the instructor know (via email) and arrangements will be made for re-submitting the missing activities.
- g. Interfering with the peaceful conduct of university-related business or activities or remaining on campus grounds after a request to leave may be considered a crime (see *Student Services Manual*, SSM 104–02).
- h. Course/Instructor Evaluation: The course/instructor evaluation for this course will be conducted online 7-10 days before the last official day of classes for any given semester. The use of a course/instructor evaluation is an important process that allows our college to (1) help faculty improve their instruction, (2) help administrators evaluate instructional quality, (3) ensure high standards of teaching, and (4) ultimately improve instruction and student learning over time. Completion of the evaluation is not required for you to pass this class and will not affect your grade, but your cooperation and participation in this process is critical. About two weeks before the class finishes, watch for an e-mail with "ASU Course/Instructor Evaluation" in the subject heading. The email will be sent to your official ASU e-mail address, so make sure ASU has your current email address on file. You can check this online under the "computer accounts" section of "my profile" (<https://webapp4.asu.edu/myprofile/>) or by clicking the "my profile" tab at <http://my.asu.edu>).

Grading:

Attendance and participation: 35%; final paper project: 65%.

Textbooks:

These textbooks are required and are available in the bookstore:

- Bernard Crick, *Democracy: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
- April Carter & Geoffrey Stokes (eds.), *Democratic Theory Today: Challenges for the 21st Century*, Polity

Additional reading material is available on or through Blackboard.

Course Outline and Reading Schedule:

Introduction:

Week 1 8/28

No class meeting: instructor will be presenting original research the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, IL).

Online Activities: Course and Syllabus overview

Week 2 (9/4)

No class meeting due to a religious holiday (the Jewish New Years Eve).

Online Activities: Initial Research Week

Part I: History of Democratic Theory:

Week 3 (9/11)

Topics: The Greek and Republican Traditions.

Readings: Crick 1-31, 35-8, 42-57.

Week 4 (9/18)

Topics: The Liberal Tradition: social contract, rights, and the tyranny of the majority.

Readings: Crick 58-68. David Beetham, “Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization” (online)

Week 5 9/25

Topics: Democracy, Capitalism, and Economic Inequality: Theory and the US case.

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*: chapter 2, 10. Bertell Ollman, “The Philosophy of Basketball, or the Relation between Capitalism, Democracy and Socialism” (online), Robert B. Reich, “How Capitalism Is Killing Democracy” (online), Jeffrey A. Winters and Benjamin I. Page, “Oligarchy in the United States?” (online).

Week 6 (10/2)

Topics: Democracy, Bureaucracy, and mass society: the early 20th century debate

Readings: Crick 69-90, Richard Bellamy, “The Advent of the Masses and the Making of the Modern Theory of Democracy” (online).

Week 7 (10/9)

Topic: Money, Politics, Clean Elections, and Arizona Voting Laws – a special presentation and discussion by Arizona Advocacy Network

Readings: Jason Brennan, *The Ethics of Voting* (2011), Introduction (online), Ronald Dworkin, “The Decision that Threatens Democracy,” *New York Review of Books*, April 15, 2010 (online), Stanley Fish, “What is the First Amendment For?” *New York Times* online, February 1, 2010 (online).

Week 8 (10/16)

Topic: Civil Society and Deliberative Democracy.

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*: chapters 7 and 8.

Part II: Democracy – Key Issues and Ideas

Week 9 (10/23)

Topic: Citizenship and Participation.

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*: chapter 1. Amit Ron, “Citizenship” (online).

Week 10 (10/30)

Topic: “We the People:” Nationalism, Culture, and Democracy.

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*: chapters 4 and 6.

Week 11 (11/6)

Topic: Representation: Introduction, electoral representation.

Readings: Hanna Pitkin, “Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance” (online); Pippa Norris, “Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems” (online).

Week 12 (11/13)

Topic: Representation – Descriptive Representation.

Readings: Jane Mansbridge, “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ‘Yes’.” (online).

Week 13 (11/20)

Topic: Democracy Beyond the Nation State

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*: chapter 11.

Part III: Research Project

Week 14 (11/27)

This week, we will substitute the meeting with online activities. The evening of November 27 is a Jewish holiday (the first candle of *Hanukkah*). It is also a day before Thanksgiving, so many students will be travelling.

Online Activities: Writing week and writing related activities,.

Week 15 (12/4)

Topic: Research presentations.

Wednesday, Dec 11, 6:00 – 7:20 PM: this is the time allotted for the final exam. There is no final exam for this class. Instead, on this date, I will schedule meetings (in person or online) with students who are interested to return in person their final paper and discuss my comments of it.

Participation Component:

The participation component (35%) is intended to provide incentives for active learning throughout the semester. This component allows hard-working students to get a “safety-net” of 35 points. More importantly, reading the required texts in a timely manner, attending class meetings, and participating in class discussions are crucial to writing a good research paper.

The participation component consists of two types of assignments:

1. Reflection papers: For each of the class sessions where reading is assigned, write a one page (single spaced) reflection on the reading (400 - 600 words). The reflection paper has to discuss how the readings for the week can help you think about the topic you research for your final paper. Your reflection paper has to discuss the specific arguments that are made in the readings (and include page numbers). It is also recommended that you identify specific quotes from the readings that you might be able to use in the final paper (and use these quotes in your reflection). The expectation is that the reflection papers will provide you with foundations upon which you can develop a more sophisticated and informed argument for the final paper.

The reflection paper has to be submitted online. It is due before the class meeting for which the readings are assigned. The assignment will automatically close once the class begins (Wednesday, 6pm). No late submissions will be accepted without prior approval of the instructor or in exceptional circumstances.

Each reflection paper will receive a score of 0 to 10. There are 10 weeks for which a reflection paper is due. However, you are required to submit only seven of them. This means that I will calculate the total number of points out of 70 (but you cannot get more than 70 points even if you submit more than seven reflection papers). It is your choice which of the reflection papers to submit.

2. Occasional homework assignments. In addition, there will be few occasional homework assignments. The weight of each homework assignment will be specified in the assignment.

3. Activities related to the research projects (40 points). For details, see below.

Research Projects:

One of the central learning activities of the seminar is a research project in which each student will examine – based on the theories that we learn in class – the legitimacy of one democratic institution or practice. Students can choose from the following list or suggest an alternative to the instructor (by the beginning of the third week).

List of institutions:

- Arizona: Citizens Clean Elections Act.
- Arizona: the legislative branch (advantages and disadvantages of one house vs. two houses of representatives).
- The Electoral College of the United States.
- The European Parliament (and democracy in the EU).
- Citizens Assembly on Electoral Reform (Ontario and BC, Canada).
- Deliberative polling.
- Participatory Budgeting.
- Compulsory Voting.

The students are asked to write an academic research paper that discusses various aspects of the legitimacy of the institution of their choice. The paper has to describe the origins of the institution and the way it operates. Based on this description, the paper has to evaluate whether the institution or the practice is legitimate as a democracy institution and what improvements can be made to make the institution more legitimate. The paper has to be written in academic format and engage in a dialogue with other relevant academic works.

One way to think about the final paper is in the following way: suppose that someone (the President, the Governor) commissioned you to write a report on whether your institution strengthens democracy in the relevant society (US, AZ, Europe, Glendale, depends on the institution). To make a cogent recommendation, your report must offer a survey of the relevant argument on the topic. However, the report cannot simply present relevant arguments. It should also help the reader to evaluate the different arguments and to present your conclusions. Obviously, if your reader is intelligent and has some familiarity with the topic, ignoring or distorting inconvenient arguments would not make your own claims more convincing.

The academic paper is the final product of a research *project*. Throughout the semester, students will conduct the research that is needed for producing the final project in a number of stages.

Assignment of topic: on Monday, September 2nd, each student will be assigned a topic taking into account his or her preferences. At that time students will be “locked” into their institution and changes will be allowed only in exceptional circumstances.

Initial scholarly analysis: during the second week, and in lieu of the class meeting on September 4, you will write a short paper that contains two elements: 1) a description of the institution / topic that you are studying. At this stage, you are not asked to engage in any evaluation of the legitimacy of the institution but a simple description of what the institution is, when it came into being, and how it works. The summary should be based on at least two credible web resources. One of the resources has to be the official website of the institution when such a site exists (links will be available on Blackboard). 2) Initial scholarly background: on Blackboard, you will find initial bibliographic list with two items relevant for each organization (these are the items that have an asterisk (*) before them). You have to read the two items in the bibliographic list and explain the main argument of the each article. Additional instructions will be provided. The assignment has to be submitted online by Wednesday, September 11, at 6pm.

Preliminary bibliographic list: identify a list of eight academic books, book chapters, or journal articles that discuss relevant aspects of the institution you chose. The piece does not have to be exclusively on the institution (for example: it can be one that compares the institution of your choice to other institutions). By Wednesday October 16 6pm, you need to submit a bibliographic list of these items. For each item, you need to provide a short (2-3 sentences) explanation of why the item appears to be relevant.

Literature Review and tentative main thesis: By Wednesday November 6 6pm, for four of the academic items you identified in the preliminary bibliographic list, write a two paragraph summary that includes a more elaborate summary of the main argument and your thoughts on the argument. At the end, write a paragraph with a tentative main thesis of the argument that you want to make in your paper.

First draft: write a first draft of the paper. The paper has to include an introduction, a literature review, a discussion, conclusions, and bibliographic list. The expected length

of the paper in its final form is 8-10 pages (font size 12, double spaced). The first draft should be submitted by Wednesday November 20.

Group presentation: on the last week of class, students will be asked to create a short group presentation that will describe each institution and discuss the questions related to its democratic legitimacy.

Final paper: a revision of the first draft. Due, the last meeting of the class, Wednesday December 4.

The work submitted for the initial scholarly analysis, the initial bibliographic list, the literature review, and the group presentation will be graded 0 to 10 points. Like the reflection papers, this work will be graded based on the effort and not on the quality of the work. Students who do serious work will receive a grade of 9 or 10 for their work. These four assignments will be calculated as part of the participation component.

The first draft will be graded 0 to 100 and will constitute 25% of the grade for the final paper project, and the final paper will be graded 0 to 100 and will constitute 75% of the grade for the final project.

All papers should be submitted in class. Late submissions will be penalized with one point for each day the paper is late (the weekend counts as one day). Papers will be considered late if the student does not attend class or if the student attends the class without the paper (put differently, papers can get the full grade only if they are submitted as a hard copy in person in class). Late papers and the final paper should be submitted via email.

A Note on Writing and Writing Center Support:

The belief that motivates the way the course is structured is that writing a good academic paper is a process that takes time and requires sustained reflection (at times, it can be a frustrating process). Good academic papers are rarely the product of a one-shot writing marathon. They require a longer process of thinking, planning, writing, and rewriting as a way to articulate and hone your ideas.

One of the greatest obstacles that people face in writing academic papers is the expectation that everything that you put down on paper will be perfect. This is not how academic (and also creative) writing is done. Part of the process of learning to write is learning to put down thoughts on paper even when they are not perfect. High quality writing takes place through writing and rewriting (oftentimes many rewrites). One of the difficulties of inexperienced writers stems from that they think that writing is a simple process in which you put the thoughts that you already have in your head on paper. In reality, this is a much more difficult process.

The goal of the weekly reflection papers is to give you the opportunity to write without the fear that you will be wrong. It is an opportunity to practice thinking about the

material that we study in writing so by the time that you write the final paper you have some of your thoughts are already developed.

In many cases, you will need a writing sample in the future. For example, when you apply to graduate school, or when you put together a portfolio for applying for some jobs that require writing skills. This is one of the few opportunities that you get in your undergraduate studies to write your own paper. Try to write a paper that you will be proud to include in your future portfolio.

I encourage students to seek the support of ASU's Writing Center (for information: <https://studentsuccess.asu.edu/writingcenters>). The tutors at the West campus and the online Writing Center are familiar with the expectations for the final paper. The Center provides both in-person and online sessions. It is best to use the support of the tutors throughout the semester as part of the process of writing and rewriting. Tutoring will be far less effective if they are done in the last moment or if the student did not conduct the relevant research that is needed to support the writing.

How the Final Grade is Calculated and Determined?

Participation component: [the number of points for the reflection papers (up to 70) + grade for homework assignments website analysis + initial scholarly background + preliminary bibliographic list + literature review + group presentation)] / [total number of possible points 100]

Final paper project grade = first draft * 0.25 + final paper * 0.75

Final Score = Participation component * 0.35 + final paper project * 0.65

The final grade will be calculated based on the following table (below):

A+	100 – 97
A	96 – 94
A-	93 – 90
B+	89 – 86
B	85 – 83
B-	82 – 79
C+	78 – 76
C	75 – 69
D	68 – 59
E	58 and below

Course Information

POS 446
Democracy
Spring 2015 Session C (1/12/15 - 5/1/15)
3 Credit Hours

Instructor Information

Amit Ron

New College of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences
Arizona State University

Communicating With the Instructor

This course uses a “three before me” policy in regards to student to faculty communications. When questions arise during the course of this class, please remember to check these three sources for an answer before asking me to reply to your individual questions:

1. Course syllabus
2. Announcements in Blackboard
3. The “Water Cooler” discussion board

This policy will help you in potentially identifying answers before I can get back to you and it also helps your instructor from answering similar questions or concerns multiple times.

If you cannot find an answer to your question, please first post your question to the “Water Cooler” discussion board. Here your question can be answered to the benefit of all students by either your fellow students who know the answer to your question or the instructor. You are encouraged to answer questions from other students in the discussion forum when you know the answer to a question in order to help provide timely assistance.

If you have questions of a personal nature such as relating a personal emergency, questioning a grade on an assignment, or something else that needs to be communicated privately, please do not hesitate to contact me. In general, you need to contact me via email (amit.ron@asu.edu). In emergency situations, you can also contact me by phone or text message (623-252-5766). I will usually respond to email and phone messages from 9am to 6pm (AZ time) on weekdays, please allow 24 hours for me to respond.

The fact that this course is an online course does not and should not mean that the instructor is less available in person. While we cannot chat after class, we have multiple other ways to engage in shorter or longer conversations. Students are strongly encouraged to have prolonged one-on-one conversations with the instructor, in the form of virtual or face-to-face office hours. If you want to have such a conversation, please send me an email so that we can set the time and the format.

If you have a question about the technology being used in the course, please contact the UTO Help Desk for assistance. The helpline is operated 24 hours a day, 7 days a week and can be approached via online chat or email (help.asu.edu) or phone (480-965-6500).

Course Catalog Description

Issues and problems in democratic theory, e.g., the nature of democracy, majority rule, representation, equality, and the value of political participation.

Course Overview

The purpose of the course is to provide a general introduction to the foundations of modern democratic theory and to current issues in it. The course seeks to explore the borderlines between political theory and different sites and practices of democratic governance. Our focus in the course will be on democratic institutions and practices in countries where democracy is fairly established (mainly the US). We will not focus on questions related to the process of democratization.

I see 400 level classes as an opportunity for the students to learn to engage in primary research and to come to develop their own voice in regard to the subject matter. Students are expected not only to be able to understand and summarize arguments that other people make but also to present their own views in a way that integrates what they learned from others. The expectation is that by the end of the course, students will be able to discuss and evaluate the legitimacy of democratic institutions and practices from a variety of theoretical perspectives.

Therefore, at the core of the learning experience is a research paper that students will write throughout the semester. The research is primarily a theoretical and philosophical one – students will be asked to study not only how the institution they research work but also to discuss the extent to which it can be considered legitimate. Throughout the semester, students will work in small learning groups in which each student will work on a different institution. In the second week, students will learn about their institution and present it to the other members of their group. Then, in the process of learning about the history of democratic theory and about various topics in contemporary democratic theory, they will reflect on how these themes relate to the institution they study. Finally, students will present their findings to the members of their group.

Course Textbook

Bernard Crick, *Democracy: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

April Carter & Geoffrey Stokes (eds.), *Democratic Theory Today: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Polity, 2002).

Both textbooks are required.

Course Requirements

Online Course

This is an online course and therefore there will not be any face-to-face class sessions. All assignments and course interactions will utilize internet technologies.

Computer Requirements

This course requires that you have access to a computer that can access the internet. You will need to have access to, and be able to use, the following software packages:

- A web browser (Internet Explorer or Mozilla Firefox)
- Adobe Acrobat Reader (free)
- Adobe Flash Player (free)
- Microsoft Word or any other word processor.

You are responsible for having a reliable computer and internet connection throughout the course.

Email and Internet

You must have an active ASU e-mail account and access to the Internet. *All instructor correspondence will be sent to the Messages section in Blackboard or to your ASU e-mail account.* Please plan on checking your ASU email account regularly for course related messages.

This course uses Blackboard for the facilitation of communications between faculty and students, submission of assignments, and posting of grades. The *myASU/Blackboard Course Site* can be accessed at <http://my.asu.edu>

Campus Network or Blackboard Outage

Ordinarily, you can access the blackboard course webpage via <http://my.asu.edu>. However, if ASU network fails, you will be able to access the Blackboard services directly via <http://myasucourses.asu.edu>. Add this webpage to your bookmark.

When access to Blackboard is not available for an extended period of time (greater than one entire evening - 6pm till 11pm) you can reasonably expect that the due date for assignments will be changed to the next day (assignment still due by midnight).

Attendance/Participation

Preparation for class means reading the assigned readings & reviewing all information required for that week. *Attendance* in an online course means logging into the Blackboard and on a regular basis and *participating* in all the activities that are posted in the course.

Studying and Preparation Time

The course requires you to spend time preparing and completing assignments. A three-credit course requires 135 hours of student work. Therefore expect to spend approximately eight to nine hours a week preparing for and actively participating in this course.

Group Work

While online classes do not allow for the same type of face-to-face interaction that exists in a traditional classroom, they can provide a setting for meaningful collaboration in the learning process. In order to create a more intimate learning environment in which students will be able to get to know their classmates, most of the work in the class will be conducted in small groups.

The allocation into groups will be made by the instructor (randomly). At the beginning of the semester, I will post an announcement with the members of each group for the first half of the semester. Then at the beginning of the second half of the semester, I will re-assign groups – again, randomly -- for the remainder of the semester. The purpose of changing the groups is to allow students to get to know and learn from more of their peers.

As I indicated above, in each group students will be assigned different institutions to study. Each student will get a number (based on the institution he or she studies). These numbers will also be used to structure other group activities (for example, I can say: students number 1, 3, and 5 have to defend a thesis while students 2, 4, and 6 have to criticize it).

You will be asked to introduce yourself to the members of the group. You can feel free to share any personal information you wish (hobbies, plans for the future, your facebook page, etc.) or to share only the bare minimum. Members of the group can decide, if they wish, to communicate by other means (chats,

messenger, facebook, phone, email) to facilitate collaborative learning.

Types of Assignments, Activities, and their Evaluation

This course has four types of assignments.

- Ongoing class activities: these are activities that facilitate the learning process and are expected to yield better understanding of the material. In this course, we learn material that requires depth understanding, which cannot be gained simply by reading but require processing, reflection, and discussion.

To facilitate these processes, class activities would require low-stakes writing. Low-stakes writing assignments ask that students will write their ideas for themselves and for members of their group, and not to be evaluated by the instructor. This means that in these assignments, you can get the full credit for the assignment even if the answer you provide is incorrect. The purpose is to create an environment that would allow you to think on the material through writing without the pressure of “getting it right” or “figuring out what the instructor wants.” You are expected to think about the material, to write about it, to discuss, and sometimes to argue about it with other members of your group.

Each class activity will be graded on a scale of typically 0-3 or 0-2 points. Ordinarily, getting the highest points available for the assignment means that the assignment meets the standard. Students who fill in the assignments should expect to receive the full number of points if their writing testifies that they took the assignment seriously and invested thought in their answer. If the assignment was submitted but the quality of the work does not meet the bar (for example: writing only one sentence; answer that does not respond to the question) the assignment will get only portion of the credit or no credit at all. Students who did not submit the assignment at all will not get any points.

Notice: since the assignments are part of the learning process and students are not expected to provide correct or complete answers, getting the highest number of points does not mean that the answer is correct. The grade is given for filling out the assignment, not for the quality of the answer. Also, some of the questions that we discuss in this class would be intentionally provocative (to some extent) and intentionally personal. I believe that bringing the issues “close to home,” so to speak, would allow us to see that the topics that we study are not just abstract philosophical meditations but that they deal with issues that we encounter in our everyday life. When discussing controversial issues, do not forget that the purpose of our discussion is not to come to a resolution or to convince one another. Rather, the purpose of our discussion is pedagogical - we discuss to better understand the topics that we study.

The class activities are 35% of the final grade. The score for this component of the final grade will be calculated based on the portion of the points earned to the total points possible (number of points for class activities = $35 \times \text{points earned} / \text{total points possible}$).

Two important notes:

a) Most class activities can be accessed directly from the Discussion Boards link on the main page. You can use this link to see what is going on and how discussions progress. However, when you do the actual learning, do not go directly to the Discussion Boards but follow the activities as they appear in the different learning modules.

b) for most class activities, the instructions provide the number of posts and replies that students are expected to submit. However, you are welcome to submit more post than the minimal requirement.

While you would not get extra credits for these the additional posts, they can make sure that you will get the full credit for the assignment if one of the other posts are weak. They will also be in line with the conversational nature of our discussions.

- Final Paper Project:

One of the central learning activities of the course is a research project in which each student will examine – based on the theories that we learn in class – the legitimacy of one democratic institution or practice. At the beginning of the second week of the semester, students will be (randomly) assigned one institution from the list below. In each of the discussion groups, one student will be assigned to each institution (there will be a limited option to switch if both students wish to switch).

List of institutions:

1. Arizona: Citizens Clean Elections Act.
2. Arizona: Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission .
3. The Electoral College of the United States.
4. The European Parliament (and democracy in the EU).
5. Citizens Assembly on Electoral Reform (Ontario and BC, Canada).
6. Deliberative polling.
7. Participatory Budgeting.
8. Compulsory voting.

Students are asked to write an academic research paper which discusses various aspects of the legitimacy of the institution of their choice. The paper has to describe the origins of the institution and the way it operates. Based on this description, the paper has to evaluate whether the institution or the practice is legitimate as a democracy institution and what improvements can be made to make the institution more legitimate. The paper has to be written in academic format and engage in a dialogue with other relevant academic works.

One way to think about the final paper is in the following way: suppose that someone (the President, the Governor) commissioned you to write an academic report on whether your institution strengthens democracy in the relevant society (US, AZ, Europe, Phoenix, depending on the institution). To make a cogent recommendation, your report must offer a survey of the relevant argument on the topic. However, the report cannot simply present relevant arguments. It should also help the reader to evaluate the different arguments and to present your conclusions. Obviously, if your reader is intelligent and has some familiarity with the topic, ignoring or distorting inconvenient arguments would not make your own claims more convincing.

The academic paper is the final product of a research project. Throughout the semester, students will conduct the research that is needed for producing the final project in a number of stages.

Choice of organization: on Monday, January 19, each student will be assigned an institution. Students will be allow to “trade” institutions within their group up until the end of day Wednesday (11:55pm. AZ time). At that time students will be “locked” into their institution and changes will be allowed only in exceptional circumstances.

Website analysis and Initial Scholarly Background: during week 2, you will have to prepare a presentation (using google drive) that contains two elements: 1) a description of the institution / topic that you are studying. At this stage, you are not asked to engage in any evaluation of the legitimacy of the institution but a simple description of what the institution is, when it came into being, and how it works. The summary should be based on at least two credible web resources. One of the resources has to be the official website of the institution when such a site exists (links will be

available on Blackboard). 2) Initial scholarly background: on Blackboard, you will find initial bibliographic list with two items relevant for each organization (these are the items that have an asterisk (*) before them). You have to read the two items in the bibliographic list and explain the main argument of the each article in a way that they will be able to understand. Additional instructions will be provided.

Preliminary bibliographic list: identify a list of eight academic books, book chapters, or journal articles that discuss relevant aspects of the institution you chose. The piece does not have to be exclusively on the institution (for example: it can be one that compares the institution of your choice to other institutions). By Sunday, 2/15, you have to submit a bibliographic list of these items. For each item, you need to provide a short (2-3 sentences) explanation of why the item appears to be relevant (further instructions will be provided).

Literature Review and tentative main thesis: By Sunday 3/8, for four of the academic items you identified in the preliminary bibliographic list, write a two paragraph summary that includes a more elaborate summary of the main argument and your thoughts on the argument. At the end, write a paragraph with a tentative main thesis of the argument that you want to make in your paper. Your literature review will be evaluated by two of your peers so make sure to write in a way that your peers will be able to understand and follow the main thesis.

Detailed Outline and Introductory Paragraph: By Sunday 3/29, submit a detailed outline of your paper (additional guidance will be provided).

Presentation: on week 15, students will create a short presentation for their group member that will describe the argument that they are presented in their paper. Group members will watch each other's presentations and provide feedback.

All assignments up to this point are part of the ongoing class activities and they will be graded as part of the class activities portion of the final grade. It is important to understand that writing a good academic paper is a process, and often a messy one. It is unrealistic to expect a good paper to be written in one shot. The purpose of these assignments is to get you started on the *process*. Therefore, at these steps, the focus should be on the writing itself and on struggling with the different arguments. Most of these activities will be assessed by peers (with the instructor overlooking the peer-assessment) so that students can learn from each other (and observe and learn both from what they do right and what they do wrong).

The first draft and the final draft are part of the "final paper project" portion of the final grade.

First Draft: the first draft is due by Tuesday April 21 11:55pm (AZ time). The paper has to include an introduction, a literature review, a discussion, conclusions, and bibliographic list. The expected length of the paper in its final form is 8-10 pages (font size 12, double spaced). The first draft will graded on a scale of 0 – 100. The weight of the first draft is 15% of the final grade (points for first draft = 15* point earned/100).

Final paper: a revision of the first draft, responding to the feedback provided by the instructor. Notice that the grade for the first draft is given to the paper as a first draft. This means that the a student that will resubmit for the final draft the same paper as the first draft or a very similar paper will receive a grade that is substantively lower than the grade for the first draft. The final paper is due by Sunday 5/1 11:5pm (AZ time). The final paper will graded on a scale of 0 – 100. The weight of the final draft is 35% of the final grade (points for final paper = 35* point earned/100).

- Re-inventing American Democracy activity: this is a summary assignment for the class. In this assignment you will be asked to portray the broad outline of your ideal version of American

democracy and the kind of reforms that you believe are necessary to move the US towards the ideal (details instructions to be provided).

In the first part of the assignment, which is due by Sunday 4/26 by 11:55pm (AZ time), you will have to submit a short essay describing your ideal society. This part will be graded on a scale of 0-10. The essay should be submitted to your group's discussion board.

Then, by Wednesday, April 29 11:55pm (AZ time), you have to "visit" two of the ideal democracies of your group members and – by replying to their original posting -- write 2-3 paragraphs explaining why you would or would not want to live in their ideal democracy. Each entry will be graded on a scale of 0-3.

Finally, by Friday, May 1, 11:55pm (AZ time), you have to write a 2-3 paragraph reply to your original posting in which you reflect on your original submission following what you read in your peers' essays and following the reviews of your ideal society. Did any of these make you change your mind? This entry will be graded on a scale of 0-3.

The "Re-inventing American Democracy" assignment is worth 15% of the final grade. The score for this component of the final grade will be calculated based on the portion of the points earned to the total points possible, which is 19 (number of points for class activities = $15 \times \text{points earned} / 19$).

Late or Missed Assignments

Class Activities: Because of the dynamic and interactive nature of the course, assignments should be submitted on time. Each assignment is only a small portion of the final grade, so it is recommended that students who miss an assignment will focus on getting the next assignments on time instead of trying to catch up. Late assignments will be accepted only for a valid reason and with a permission of the instructor.

Final Paper: Writing a paper can be difficult process. It is very easy to underestimate the amount of work that is required to write a paper. I designed the course in a way that the writing process will be gradual and distributed over the entire semester. Still, there is a lot of writing towards the end of the semester. Students are expected to write a first draft by the Tuesday 4/21, and then, after getting my feedback, have roughly a week to revise the first draft into a final draft. This way, students will be done with your course assignments by the last day of the semester. I strongly recommend adhering to this schedule.

At the same time, I know from my experience that few of you will encounter difficulties. Therefore, I do not take points off for late submissions of the first or final draft. The final dates for submitting the first draft is Sunday May 3 and the final date for submitting the final paper is Sunday May 9. Keep in mind that these are not the deadlines (which are April 21 and May 1 respectively) but the absolute last days in which I can accept an assignment. After May 9, I need to submit the final grades. At this point, I do not have any flexibility. I am required to submit the grades for the class. Since I need some time to read and write comments on the first draft and you need time to revise the first it, I will not accept any first draft after May 3. Any work that will be submitted beginning from May 4 will be counted as the final paper. If you have not submitted any draft before this date, it will receive 0 points (which are 15% of the final grade). Not submitting a first draft can have a significant effect on your grade for the class. It is far better to submit a not good first draft than not submitting one at all!

The flexible deadline applies only to the final paper. The presentations and the final assignments should be submitted on time (since they involve group discussion).

Submitting Assignments

All assignments, unless otherwise announced by the instructor, MUST be submitted via Blackboard. Each

assignment will have a designated place to submit the assignment.

Drop and Add dates

If you feel it is necessary to withdraw from the course, please see <http://students.asu.edu/drop-add> for full details on the types of withdrawals that are available and their procedures.

Subject to change notice

All material, assignments, and deadlines are subject to change with prior notice. It is your responsibility to stay in touch with your instructor, review the course site regularly, or communicate with other students, to adjust as needed if assignments or due dates change.

Academic Integrity

ASU expects and requires all its students to act with honesty and integrity, and respect the rights of others in carrying out all academic assignments. For more information on academic integrity, including the policy and appeal procedures, please visit <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity> and the *Student Conduct Statement* below.

Course Grading

Grades and Grading Scale

Assignment of letter grades is based on a percentage of points earned. The letter grade will correspond with the following percentages achieved. Course requirements which are not submitted will receive a grade of 0.

Course grade = $35 * (\text{points earned in class activities} / \text{total points possible in class activities}) + 15 * (\text{score for first draft} / 100) + 35 * (\text{score in final paper} / 100) + 15 * (\text{points earned for reimagining American democracy activity} / 19)$

A+	100 – 97
A	96 – 94
A-	93 – 90
B+	89 – 86
B	85 – 83
B-	82 – 79
C+	78 – 76
C	75 – 69
D	68 – 59
E	58 and below

Weekly Course Schedule

Week	Learning Modules	Activities
Week 1 1/12 – 1/18	Warm Up Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing class activities.
Week 2 1/19 – 1/25	Final Paper Project: Initial work on the topic.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing class activities.
Week 3 1/26 – 2/1	The Greek Tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing class activities. • Read: <i>Democracy</i>, Introduction, chapter 1, and chapter 2.
Week 4 2/2 – 2/8	The Roman / Republican tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing class activities. • Read: <i>Democracy</i>, chapter 3.
Week 5 2/9 – 2/15	The Liberal Tradition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing class activities. • Read: <i>Democracy</i>, chapter 4. • Submit Preliminary Bibliographic List.
Week 6 2/16 – 2/22	The Socialist Tradition.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing Class Activities • Read: <i>Democracy</i>, Chapter 5. <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapters 2 and 10.
Week 7 2/23 – 3/1	Citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing Class Activities • Read: <i>Democracy</i>, Chapter 7, <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapters 1 and 3.
Week 8 3/2 – 3/8	The boundaries of the <i>Demos</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing Class Activities • Read: <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapters 4, 5, and 6. • Submit Literature Review. • Change of working groups.

Week 9 3/9 – 3/15	Spring Break	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No activities: enjoy the break!
Week 10 3/16 – 3/22	Civil Society and Associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ongoing Class Activities Read: <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapters 8, 9.
Week 11 3/23 – 3/29	Deliberative Democracy I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ongoing Class Activities Read: <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapter 7
Week 12 3/30 – 4/5	Writing week.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guided writing activities towards the final paper project. Submit Detailed Outline and Introductory Paragraph.
Week 13 4/6 – 4/12	Deliberative Democracy II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ongoing class activities.
Week 14 4/13 – 4/19	Democracy beyond the Nation State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ongoing class activities. Read: <i>Democratic Theory Today</i>, chapter 11.
Week 15 4/20 – 4/26	Presentations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First draft of final paper project due (Tuesday, 4/21). Presentations for research project.
Week 16 4/27 – 5/1	Final Assignment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-imagining American Democracy activity. Submit course evaluation (optional, but important). Final paper is due by Friday 5/1 11:55pm (AZ time).

How to Succeed in this Course

- Check your ASU email regularly
- Log in to the course web site daily; check your virtual mailbox regularly.
- Communicate with your instructor
- Create a study schedule so that you don't fall behind on assignments

Student Conduct Statement

Students are required to adhere to the behavior standards listed in Arizona Board of Regents Policy Manual Chapter V – Campus and Student Affairs: Code of Conduct (<http://www.azregents.edu/policymanual/default.aspx>), ACD 125: Computer, Internet, and Electronic Communications (<http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/acd/acd125.html>), and the ASU Student Academic Integrity Policy (<http://provost.asu.edu/files/AcademicIntegrityPolicyPDF.pdf>).

Students are entitled to receive instruction free from interference by other members of the class. If a student is disruptive, an instructor may ask the student to stop the disruptive behavior and warn the student that such disruptive behavior can result in withdrawal from the course. An instructor may withdraw a student from a course when the student's behavior disrupts the educational process under USI 201-10 (<http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/usi/usi201-10.html>).

Appropriate classroom behavior is defined by the instructor. This includes the number and length of individual messages online. Course discussion messages should remain focused on the assigned discussion topics. Students must maintain a cordial atmosphere and use tact in expressing differences of opinion. Inappropriate discussion board messages may be deleted if an instructor feels it is necessary. Students will be notified privately that their posting was inappropriate.

Student access to the course Send Email feature may be limited or removed if an instructor feels that students are sending inappropriate electronic messages to other students in the course.

Syllabus Disclaimer

The instructor views the course syllabus as an educational contract between the instructor and students. Every effort will be made to avoid changing the course schedule but the possibility exists that unforeseen events will make syllabus changes necessary. The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus as deemed necessary. Students will be notified in a timely manner of any syllabus changes face-to-face, via email or in the course site Announcements. Please remember to check your ASU email and the course site Announcements often.

Technical Support Contact Information

For technical assistance 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, please contact the University Technology Office Help Desk:

Phone: 480-965-6500
Email: helpdesk@asu.edu
Web: <http://help.asu.edu/>

For information on systems outages see the ASU systems status calendar, please visit <http://syshealth.asu.edu/> and <http://systemstatus.asu.edu/status/calendar.asp>

Course/Instructor Evaluation

The course/instructor evaluation for this course will be conducted online 7-10 days before the last official day of classes of each semester or summer session. Your response(s) to the course/instructor are anonymous and will not be returned to your instructor until after grades have been submitted. The use of a course/instructor evaluation is an important process that allows our college to (1) help faculty improve their instruction, (2) help administrators evaluate instructional quality, (3) ensure high standards of teaching, and

(4) ultimately improve instruction and student learning over time. Completion of the evaluation is not required for you to pass this class and will not affect your grade, but your cooperation and participation in this process is critical. About two weeks before the class finishes, watch for an e-mail with "**ASU Course/Instructor Evaluation**" in the subject heading. The email will be sent to your official ASU e-mail address, so make sure ASU has your current email address on file. You can check this online under the "computer accounts" section of "my profile" (<https://webapp4.asu.edu/myprofile/>) or by clicking the "my profile" tab at <http://my.asu.edu>). Course evaluations can be submitted via www.asu.edu/evaluate.

Accessibility Statement

In compliance with the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Section 504, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, professional disability specialists and support staff at the Disability Resource Centers (DRC) facilitate a comprehensive range of academic support services and accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. DRC staff coordinate transition from high schools and community colleges, in-service training for faculty and staff, resolution of accessibility issues, community outreach, and collaboration between all ASU campuses regarding disability policies, procedures, and accommodations.

Students who wish to request an accommodation for a disability should contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) for their campus.

Tempe Campus

<http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc/>

480-965-1234 (Voice)

480-965-9000 (TTY)

West Campus

<http://www.west.asu.edu/drc/>

University Center Building (UCB), Room 130

602-543-8145 (Voice)

Polytechnic Campus

<http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc/>

480.727.1165 (Voice)

480.727.1009 (TTY)

Downtown Phoenix Campus

<http://campus.asu.edu/downtown/DRC>

University Center Building, Suite 160

602-496-4321 (Voice)

602-496-0378 (TTY)

For us, it is sometimes hard to understand that democracy was not conceived as an ideal form of government. Throughout the most of Western history “democracy” was used as a derogatory term for a disorganized, unstable, and chaotic form of government. The Greek experience is interesting because it allows us to see the arguments of the supporters of democracy and those who opposed it.

The chapter and the film details some of the arguments that were made by anti – democrats. Let us try to look closer at some of these arguments and discuss their merits. We will do this by reading few sections from Aristotle’s Politics.

1. Read section VI of Book 3 of the Politics ([here](#), scroll down to the relevant section). In this section, Aristotle makes a distinction between different types of authority, the authority of the master over the slave, the authority of the husband over the wife and the children, and the authority of experts (physicians, trainers) in their field of expertise. Make sure that you understand how Aristotle uses these distinction to articulate the meaning of political authority (clue: the central question here is whether the authority is exercised for the interest of those who have the authority or the interest of those who are subject to it).

Also notice that in this section Aristotle compares the situation in the past (the sentence that begins with “formerly”) and the situation in his own days (“nowadays”). Which one refers to the Athenian democracy?

2. Now, let’s look at Aristotle's classification of regimes. Continue to read sections VI and VII. Aristotle classifies regimes based on the number of people who run government (one, few, and many) and whether it is a true form or a corrupt one. See which type of regime falls into each category (notice: 1) that the translation that you are reading form translates *politeia* as “constitution” while Crick, on page 22, uses the term “polity, 2. that the term “democracy” is used to describe the degenerate form of rule by the many).

Also, read the first few sentences of section XI. Make sure that you understand the analogy that Aristotle makes between “ a feast to which many contribute” and democratic government.

3. Now, for the purpose of this assignment, members of each group with numbers 1, and 2 will be advocates of monarchy, numbers 3, 4, and 5, will be advocates of aristocracy, and numbers 6, 7, and 8 advocates of democracy.

For Thursday, January 29 11:55pm (AZ time), write a post for your group’s thread in the discussion board “democracy as a fighting word” in which you justify the type of regime to which you were assigned. For example, if you were assigned to monarchy, you have to explain why monarchy is the best regime and why it is better than aristocracy and democracy. You need to rely on the material in Crick’s book, the Greek historical experience (based on the film), and on Aristotle’s writing to make your argument. You can also rely on examples from later experience and from our own period (but you have to rely on the Greek experience as well). You will receive 3 points for this post.

Then, by Sunday, February 1, 11:55pm (AZ time), still advocating for your regime, write replies to two posts that advocate different types of regimes (if you are advocating democracy, write replies to posts that advocate monarchy and aristocracy). In your post, response to the specifics of their argument and explain why their regime is not as good as they present and why your regime is not as bad as they argue. You will receive 2 points for each reply.

Tables of Contents for POS 446 - Democracy Textbooks

- Bernard Crick, *Democracy: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
- April Carter & Geoffrey Stokes (eds.), *Democratic Theory Today: Challenges for the 21st Century*, Polity.

Bernard Crick

DEMOCRACY

A Very Short Introduction

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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EDITED BY
APRIL CARTER & GEOFFREY STOKES

DEMOCRATIC THEORY TODAY

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Part II Theoretical Responses

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Read again the description of the political institutions of Rome on pages 24-31.

Supporters of the Roman republic developed a philosophical justification for why the institutions of Rome are the best.

Let's look at some quotes from Book I of Cicero's *Republic*:

"Thus the power is like the ball which is flung from hand to hand: it passes from kings to tyrants, from tyrants to the aristocracy, from them to democracy, and from these back again to tyrants and to factions; and thus the same kind of government is seldom long maintained."

This quote makes the claim that each of the simple forms of government is inherently unstable. Factions tend to take over aristocracies and turn them into oligarchies, in which these factions fight among themselves until the people are fed up and take over. But the rule by the people is not stable and democracy can lead to chaos, which then leads to a rule by one strong person, who can then easily become a tyrant.

So, Cicero continues:

"Since these are the facts of experience, royalty is, in my opinion, very far preferable to the three other kinds of political constitutions. But it is itself inferior to that which is composed of an equal mixture of the three best forms of government, united and modified by one another. I wish to establish in a commonwealth a royal and pre-eminent chief. Another portion of power should be deposited in the hands of the aristocracy, and certain things should be reserved to the judgment and wish of the multitude. This constitution, in the first place, possesses that great equality without which men cannot long maintain their freedom; secondly, it offers a great stability, while the particular separate and isolated forms easily fall into their contraries; so that a king is succeeded by a despot, an aristocracy by a faction, a democracy by a mob and confusion; and all these forms are frequently sacrificed to new revolutions. In this united and mixed constitution, however, similar disasters cannot happen without the greatest vices in public men. For there can be little to occasion revolution in a state in which every person is firmly established in his appropriate rank, and there are but few modes of corruption into which we can fall....

And in these matters I believe, I feel, and I affirm that of all governments there is none which, either in its entire constitution or the distribution of its parts, or in the discipline of its manners, is comparable to that which our fathers received from our earliest ancestors, and which they have handed down to us. And since you wish to hear from me a development of this constitution, with which you are all acquainted, I shall endeavor to explain its true character and excellence. Thus keeping my eye fixed on the model of our Roman Commonwealth, I shall endeavor to accommodate to it all that I have to say on the best form of government."

The solution of the Roman republic according to this tradition is the mixed constitution. Instead of having one type or regime, the Roman republic distributed the decision-making power across different regimes in a way that maintain the strength of each of the simple forms of government and cancel out the weaknesses.

For this assignment, you need to write a paragraph in the box below that briefly describes

how the institutions of the Roman republic represented the three simple forms of government and in what ways they balanced each other. You will get 3 points for submitting this assignment. The due date for this assignment is Sunday, February 8, 11:55pm (AZ time).

Deadlines and points:

Main post - Thursday, February 5, 11:55pm (3 points).

Replies - Saturday, February 7, 11:55pm (4 points - 2 points for each reply)

Summary - Sunday, February 8, 11:55pm (3 points).

One of the interesting places where the history and meaning of the republican tradition is invoked is in the debate about the original meaning of the 2nd amendment (“A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.”)

Why does the way we interpret the 2nd amendment matter? What is the difference between a republican and a liberal interpretation of the 2nd amendment (we will discuss liberalism in some more details next week)? If we follow a liberal interpretation, 2nd amendment rights are individual rights that allow people to do what they choose. In the republican interpretation, they are rights of the *people* collectively to organize and bear arms *against* oppressive government. The question of which interpretation is adopted might be important when discussing whether government can regulate the use of arms. If the right to bear arms is an individual right, then it can be argued that it can be regulated based on the public interest. For example, we all have rights to drive a car but our right is heavily regulated by the government: we are required to have license and to renew it, to have insurance, and so forth.

However, if we understand the right to bear arms as a right *against* government, then any government regulation, such as a national registry of gun permits, may undermine the very purpose of having this right in the first place.

Let’s read and discuss some of these issues, with the help of the following [article](#): David C. Williams, “Civic Republicanism and the Citizen Militia: The Terrifying Second Amendment,” *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 101 (1991-2): 551-615.

Read the following pages of the [article](#) (right click on the link to open the article in a new tab): 551-563, 572-7, 579-584, 614-5 (skim through the other parts of the article).

- a. If you are student #1, 2, or 3, you will be defending the position of Sanford Levinson (described on pages 551-2 and 559-560).
- b. If you are student #4, 5, or 6, you will be defending the position of Wendy Brown (described on pages 552 and 560-2).
- c. If you are student #7 or #8, you will be defending the position of the author of the article, David Williams (described on pages: 555-6. 614-5)

Remember: we are discussing this controversial issue not for the sake of controversy but to help us understand the republican tradition in democratic theory and to think about its relevance for our days. This is a learning exercise. Make sure to focus on the topic and to be respectful to people who hold or present views that are different from yours.

1. By Thursday, February 5, 11:55pm (AZ time), write a post to the discussion board with the topic “civic virtue and the 2nd amendment” in which you explain in your own words the position of the person you are representing (see above, a, b, or c) regarding the question of whether and how the republican tradition should be relevant for the way we understand the 2nd amendment. You will get 3 points for submitting the main post.

2. Then, by Saturday, February 7 11:55pm (AZ time), still representing the same position you held above, write two replies to two group members advocating a different position (that is, if you are representing Wendy Brown you can write replies to a group member who represent Levinson and to another group member who represent Williams). You will get 2 points for each reply (total of 4 points).

3. Finally, by Sunday, February 8 11:55pm (AZ time), write your own views about whether the 2nd amendment should be interpreted via the republican tradition and what does it say about the scope of the right to bear arms. You will get up to three points for submitting the summary.

Main post: Thursday, February 5, 11:55pm (AZ time), 3 points.

Reply: Sunday, February 8, 11:55pm (AZ time), 2 points (reply to one post).

It is possible to identify two strands of republican thought. In the conservative aristocratic strand of republicanism, the emphasis is on the balance of power between the power of the “one” and the power of the “few” -- that is, between monarchy and aristocracy. The claim is that the power of the executive should be restrained by a parliament that represents more varied social interests. However, in this strand, there is no particular emphasis having *all* social interests being represented let alone being represented equally. In fact, conservative republicans fear the power of the “many” and they emphasize the need to limit the political power of ordinary people. The need to have checks and balances is often presented as a way to limit the power of the ordinary people, which, if left unchecked, can lead to chaos and tyranny. In this strand, it is often argued that the elite (kings and aristocrats) can know better than ordinary people what is in their interest, in the same way that a parent claim to know better than a child what is in the child’s best interest (now, re-read pages 43-44 to see how this argument was invoked in the context of the American revolution).

This kind of republicanism was deployed by the class of property-owners and by the aristocracy against monarchy (“hey, it is not fair that you are not listening to us, we are important too,” or “we pay money; no taxation without representation”).

The other strand of republicanism is a more populist and a more radical one. It emphasizes the role of ordinary people in watching over the elite. In this strand, the elite (monarchy, aristocracy, the rich) are prone to corruption and ordinary people have to actively engage in politics to limit this tendency towards corruption. Lord Acton’s famous comment on power comes to mind [here](#) (right click to open in a new tab):

I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favourable presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption it is the other way, against the holders of power, increasing as the power increases. Historic responsibility has to make up for the want of legal responsibility. Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority, still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority. There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it.

In this view, passive citizens that allow the elite to do whatever they want makes it easier for the elite to be corrupted (that is, use their power to advance their own interest and not the general interest). The antidote to corruption is having active citizens who are willing to fight for their freedom.

Let’s look at a section from Machiavelli’s [Discourses](#) in which he discusses the multitude. He begins with the conventional wisdom that the multitude cannot be trusted:

Nothing is more vain and more inconstant than the multitude, so our T. Livius and all other Historians affirm. For it often occurs in narrating the actions of men to observe the multitude to have condemned someone to death, and that same (multitude) afterwards weeping and very much wishing him back; as is seen the Roman people did in the case of Manlius Capitolinus, who, having condemned him to death, afterwards most earnestly desired him back. ...

But, he says, everyone can make mistakes, not only ordinary people:

I say, therefore, the individual men, and especially Princes, can be accused of that defect which the writers accuse the multitudes; for anyone who is not controlled by the laws, will make the same errors as a loose multitude. And this can be easily observed, for there are and there have been many Princes, but of the good and wise ones there have been only a few, I say, of those Princes who have been able to break that restraint which could control them...

Furthermore, he argues, when you compare the historical record, the people as a collective make better judgments than monarchs. It is not that the people are perfect, but they have the ability to come to a collective judgment that moderate the excesses and errors of decisions made by a single person:

The nature of the multitude, therefore, is not to be blamed any more than that of Princes, for they all err equally when they all are able to err without control. Of which, in addition to what I have said, there are many examples, both from among the Roman Emperors and from among other Tyrants and Princes, where so much inconstancy and recklessness of life is observed, as is ever found in any multitude. I conclude therefore, contrary to the common opinion which says that the People, when they are Princes, are changeable and ungrateful, affirming that there are no more of these defects in them than there are in particular Princes: And to accuse the People and the Princes together can be the truth; but to except the Princes would be a deception: For a People that commands and is well organized will be stable, prudent, grateful, and not otherwise than a Prince, or even better than a Prince, although he be esteemed wise. And on the other hand, a Prince loosened from the (control) of the laws, will be ungrateful, inconstant, and more imprudent than a people. And that difference in their proceedings arises, not from the different nature, (for it is the same in everyone, and if there is an advantage for good, it is in the People) but from the more or less respect they have for the laws under which one and the other live. ...

And in sum to epilogue this material, I say that the States of the Princes have lasted a long time, the States of the Republics have lasted a long time, and both have had need to be regulated by laws; for a Prince who can do what he wants is a madman, and a People which can do as it wants to is not wise. If, therefore, discussion is to be had of a Prince obligated by laws, and of a People unobligated by them, more virtue will be observed in the People than in Princes: if the discussion is to be had of both loosened (from such control), fewer errors will be observed in the People than in the Princes, and those that are fewer have the greater remedies: For a licentious and tumultuous People can be talked to by a good man, and can easily be returned to the good path: (but) there is no one who can talk to a Prince, nor is there any other remedy but steel (sword). From which the conjecture can be made of the maladies of the one and the other: that if words are enough to cure the malady of the People, and that of the Prince needs the sword, there will never be anyone who will not judge that where the greater cure is required, they are where the greater errors exist. When a People is indeed unbridled, the foolishness that they do is not to be feared, nor is fear to be had of the present malady, but of that which can arise, a Tyrant being able to rise up amidst so much confusion. But the contrary happens in the case of bad Princes, where the present evil is feared, and there is hope for the future, men persuading themselves that the (termination) of their lives can make liberty spring up. Thus the difference between the one and the other is seen, that one concerns things that are, the other of things that will be. The cruelties of the multitude are (directed) against those whom they fear will oppose the common good, those of a Prince are (directed) against those whom he fears will oppose his own good. But the opinion against the People arises because everyone speaks evil of the people freely and without fear even while they reign; of the Princes they talk with a thousand fears and a thousand apprehensions. And it does not appear to me to be outside this

The two strands of republicanism also differ in the way they talk about virtue (read again the section on virtue on pages 24-5). Virtue refers to the character traits or abilities that makes someone good at a certain activity that requires practical judgment, that is, to which there is no definite right answer. For example, the concept of virtue does not apply to math. It does not make sense to speak about virtuous mathematician. Math requires theoretical knowledge and problems in mathematics have precise correct answers. However, we (or Romans) could speak about a virtuous soldier or a virtuous leader. They are virtuous because they have the ability to know what is the right thing to do in complex situations and have the capacity to act based on their knowledge.

Those who speak about virtue believe that education is important to the cultivation of virtue. In this sense, virtue is related to the notion of virtuoso. It takes learning and a lot of practice to become a virtuoso piano player or a virtuoso soccer player. In the same way, it takes education and practice to become a virtuous soldier or a virtuous citizen.

Conservative republicans emphasized the importance of virtue in defending the role of aristocracy. They argued that only people who are not burdened by the need to provide for themselves have the leisure to learn develop the skills that are needed in order to judge and pursue the general interest. In their view, people who have to worry about their income or livelihood are too concerned with their own private interests and needs and therefore can be more easily be corrupted.

Populist strands of republicanism applied the language of virtue to citizenship and spoke about civic virtues. For republicans, since the elite can be easily corrupted, it is important that citizens will develop set of skills that will allow them to defend their liberty against the attempts of the elite (and foreign powers) to dominate them. The virtuous citizen has to be interested and understand what is going on in politics so not to be easily manipulated by the rhetoric of politicians. He should also be willing to serve the country and to fight in defense of the freedom of the country.

What do you think? In your views, are there any skills or abilities that make someone better citizen than another? What are these skills? Why are these skills beneficial? Or is it the case that we should not expect citizens to have any civic duties beyond obeying the laws?

1. For Thursday, February 5, 11:55pm (AZ time) write a post to the discussion board with the topic "civic virtues" in which you present your view about whether the concept of civic virtues is important for the understanding of citizenship today and what do you take to be the civic virtues that citizens need to have. You will receive 3 points for this post.
2. Then, for Sunday, February 8, 11:55pm (AZ time) write a reply to one post of a group member in which you respond to their view about the usefulness of the concept of civic virtues for understanding modern citizenship and about the list of virtues that they proposed. You will get two points for your post.

Main post - Thursday, February 12, 11:55pm (AZ time), 3 points.

Replies - Sunday, February 15, 11:55pm (AZ time) to two posts ,4 points (two points each).

The Traditional View:

In historical perspective, it is hard to understate the extent to which liberalism became victorious. Liberals sought to undermine the principles of the medieval social order and they were very successful. Even the critics of liberalism (at least most of them), do not want to go back to the structure of the medieval order.

To try to understand the worldview of the old order, let's examine its model of political authority. The authority and power of the father served as a model of all political authority.

Ever so often, my daughter asks me why does she have to listen to what I say. In the language of political philosophy, she asks what makes my authority legitimate. How can I answer this question?

The initial response is to say "because I said so, and if you would not listen to my rules, you will have to go to your room (with force, if necessary)." The problem with this answer is that it simply reasserts the fact that I have power. It explains why it is prudent for her to obey, but it doesn't explain what makes my authority legitimate. If this is the only argument I can make, she has all the reasons to compare herself to a slave and to try to escape or to struggle against my power, which is arbitrary and that she can rightly deem as illegitimate.

I can also say, "this is *my* house, and as long as you live here, you have to obey *my* rules." In this justification, the household is the private property of the father (or the parents) and they have the legitimate right to determine the rules governing their property. This explain why my power is legitimate. But my daughter can point out a problem with this argument. As a minor, she doesn't have the right or the option to go elsewhere. She is tied to my house. Slave again!

Then comes my third argument. "Even though you do not like the rules I make, they are in *your* best interest. Parents have the intellectual capacity and they life experiences that allow them to look for the long-term interest of their children better than the children themselves." Thus, when the parent tells the children to do math homework instead of playing a video game or going on facebook, they actually do what is better for the child, even if the child doesn't see it this way. The legitimacy of the authority of the parents is because children are not mature enough to take important decisions by themselves.

As I said, in the medieval world, the power of the father (patriarchal power) was the model for all political authority and it was justified based on a mixture of the three reasons very similar to those I just outlined. First, the idea that the subjects (not citizens) are the slaves and are the private property of the rulers was the dominant idea. Second, the common assumption was that people do not have the intellectual and moral capacity to rule themselves. They need a father figure to guide them.

Government by Consent:

Early-day liberals were engaged in a up-hill battle against a worldview which took people to be inherently unequal. Everywhere around them people were treated as unequal and this inequality was understood as reflecting the natural order. The commonsense view was that only few people are born with qualities that allow them to take positions of leadership and that it is ridiculous to think that the pauper can become the prince.

Liberals wanted to develop an alternative view according to which the source of the power of government is the consent of the people, which are by nature equal.

To do so, liberals had to answer a basic question: if people are all equal, how can we justify the power of the government to impose rules on people? If the IRS agent and the citizen are equal, why should the citizen pay money to the IRS agent? To return to our previous example, in the patriarchal model, one person (the father) is above and the other person (the child) is below. It is clear who has the right to give orders and why. But if my daughter and I think of ourselves as equal, then why should only one of us give orders?

Thus, in the pre-modern worldview, the existence of hierarchy -- a situation where some people have the legitimate authority to give orders to others (the patriarchal model) -- was seen as natural and did not require any explanation. For liberal thinkers, the existence of authority required explanation: if people are free and equal, then why governments exists?

One of the main ways in which liberals sought to explain the existence of political authority is through the idea of the social contract. What is the social contract?

Let's begin by thinking what is a contract. Think of your contract with the cell phone company or with your landlord. It is a mutual long-term commitment in which both sides give something and receive something else in return. In the contract with the cell-phone company, you give away money and receive in return cellular services. Similarly, you pay the landlord rent and you receive in return a place to live. In both cases, the agreement is binding for the duration of the commitment. If you sign a 12 month lease, the landlord cannot decide to evict you after three months. Thus, even though the house still belongs to the landlord, the landlord renounced the rights for the duration of the contract. The landlord can be understood as having delegated the right of use she or he holds to the tenant.

But why would people want to enter a contract? Why would the landlord want to give up the right to do with the apartment whatever they want, or why would people want to commit themselves to pay every month to a cell phone provider? The reason is that the agreement is mutually beneficial. Both sides are better off with the agreement than without the agreement. The tenant prefers to pay the rent in return to the right to live in the apartment. The landowner prefers to give away the right to use the apartment in return to the monthly rent. Thus, even though we hate it when we have to pay the monthly bill from the cellular company, this is the outcome of our free decision.

The idea of the social contract is similar. Why do we have government? Because people entered a mutually binding agreement to create it. People like to complain about having to pay taxes or having to obey traffic rules, just like they don't like to pay their rent. But when they do that, they overlook the benefits that they get from having government.

We can imagine ourselves not having a cell phone and we can therefore evaluate the price tag of the contract. We would pay \$100 a month for a cell phone, but if we would have to pay \$1,000 a month, we would probably prefer to manage our lives without the convenience of a cellular phone. But what is the price tag of government? We all like to complain about how bad and expensive is government. But when is having no government better than having a

bad government?

The State of Nature: To be able to make such judgments (whether the social contract is worth the sacrifices) we need to imagine ourselves in a situation where there is no government. This is what the social contract theorists called the state of nature.

Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, are the two most well-known social contract theorists. They both held different views of life in the state of nature. One way to illustrate Hobbes's view of the state of nature is a story told by the philosopher Sextus Empiricus (160-210 AD):

"... the shrewd Persians have a law that on the death of their king they must practice lawlessness for the next five days, ... in order to learn by experience how great an evil lawlessness is, inflicting ... murders and rapine and things which are, if possible, worse, so that they may become more trusty guardians of their kings."

The story captures the logic of Hobbes's argument. If you want to know why we have government you simply need to try to imagine life without it. Imagine waking up in the morning and government disappears: no traffic lights, no aviation control, no public schools, no judges, and most importantly: no police and army. You can go to your neighbor's house and do whatever you like with no punishment, but your neighbor can do the same.

Hobbes believed that life in such situations will be so bad that people will prefer any kind of rule as long as it brings order and stability.

Locke, on the other hand, believed that people can get along fairly well without government. While there are some people that would try to take advantage of the situation and to act violently and harm others, most people will go about their lives and respect the life, liberty, and property of others. They will also be able to act together against the "bad apples" who do not respect others.

1. By Thursday, February 12, 11:55pm (AZ time), write a post to your group thread of the discussion board with the topic ~~"the state of nature"~~ "Consent" in which you describe what would you do in the hypothetical scenario in which government would wake up in the morning and there would be no government. Would you lock yourself in the house? would you go to work as usual? Do you think normal life would be able to resume after certain time even without government? Based on your view, also explain what will be your minimal conditions for entering a contract with other people to renounce the right to do whatever you like and submit to common rules: would you prefer any kind of order over the state of nature? would slavery be acceptable (for example, if you think that without government the alternative is ongoing chaos and possible death), what about religious freedom and freedom of belief, or basic standards of economic welfare? Is the right to participate in government (through voting) part of the social contract? You will receive 3 points for the main post

2. By Sunday, February 15, 11:55pm (AZ time), write two comments on posts of two of your group members. You will receive 2 points for each of your responses (total of four points).

Main post: Thursday, February 19, 11:55pm (AZ time): 4 points.

Reply: Sunday, February 22, 11:55pm (AZ time): one reply to your own post, 3 points.

Read chapter 2 of *Democratic Theory Today*.

The first question that we will be asking ourselves is why substantive political equality matters and to what extent does it matter? I want us to follow Harry Brighouse in the argument that he makes.

What is substantive political equality? Formal political equality refers to the fact that we all, at least those of us who are US citizens, have equal rights to vote, run for office, and participate in the political process. No one is preventing us from running for office, having lunch with our congressperson, lobbying for our cause, running a TV ad, and so forth.

For most of us (dare I say all of us), the problem is that we simply cannot afford most of these activities (check for yourself - websites like [this](#) one trace how much people are asked to pay to participate in political events; look at the map for the costs in Arizona). Even if we can afford attending a \$100, \$200, or \$1,000 event, most likely the congressperson will attend to those who contribute \$50,000. Even if we can raise money to run ads, those with more money can probably run more and better ads. We all have the same opportunity to influence the political process but those who are more affluent have better ability to take advantage of this opportunity.

It is not only about money. Suppose that we all come together to discuss a policy issue in a town-meeting or in a public hearing. Some of us are educated and articulated and are able to forcefully communicate our needs and interests. Others are less educated and less articulate and have trouble explaining (or even understanding) what is in their best interest. We all have the same opportunity to participate but some of us will be able to achieve more through their participation.

The question is whether there is anything wrong with that, or more specifically, does it make the system less democratic. Brighouse says that it does. Let's follow him in his argument.

Look at pages 54-55 for the four ways in which inequalities of income and wealth may be translated into substantive political inequalities.

Now read pages 55-59. Brighouse begins with rejecting the model of the family as the way we should think about society (recall last week's discussion about the parent's authority) - we cannot accept the idea that someone will decide for us what is good for us (p. 56). As we discussed before, the traditional argument of monarchs and aristocrats is that ordinary people should not worry about the fact that they do not have a voice in government. Those who rule take care of the interest of the governed better than what they can do themselves, the same way parents take care of the interests of their children. Brighouse argues (top of page 57) that this cannot be enough. The principle of respect requires that people's judgment will be taken into account as part of the process of decision-making: "Any system of governance which depend on just some people to determine the interests of all those affected by social decisions, or which simply made available more influence over shared circumstances to some than to others would fail to implement a presumption of equal respect" (p. 57).

He then illustrates the importance of substantive political equality for maintaining respect with

an example. Read and make sure that you understand the example at the bottom of page 57 and top of page 58.

Now:

1. For Thursday, February 19 11:55pm (AZ time) write a post to your group's thread in the discussion board on "Why Political Equality Matters" in which you summarize one of the objections that he discusses as follows:

Student # (in the group)	Objection	Pages
1, 2	The feasibility objection (Milton Friedman)	59-61
3, 4	The inequality objection (Ronald Dworkin)	61-2
5, 6	The agency objection (Ronald Dworkin)	63-4
7, 8	The maximin objection (David Estlund)	64-66

In your post, you have to explain to your group members in your own words what is the objection and how Brighthouse responds to it. Make sure to write in a way that your group members who have not read the section can understand it content. Please use your own words, do not simply copy few sentences from the chapter!

You will get 4 points for this post.

2. For Sunday, February 22, 11:55pm (AZ time), reply to your own post with a paragraph in which you explain whether you think any of the objections is convincing and why (you have to address each one of the objections). You will get 3 points for your reply.

Read the following excerpts from an essay written by the famous physicist Albert Einstein in 1949, and answer the following questions (you have to submit the activity through the box below this assignment. You can copy and paste the questions to the box or to your document):

1. What is, according to Einstein, the "essence of the crisis of our time"? Do you think this observation is more relevant, less relevant, or as relevant today as it was in 1949?
2. Explain Einstein's claim that the capitalist economy is the "real source of the evil."
3. What characterizes the relations between capitalists and workers?
4. What is the relationship between capitalism and democracy (elections, parties)?
5. what is the "profit motive" and why is it responsible for instability in capitalism?
6. How would you answer to Einstein's claims? Are they convincing? Why / why not?

You will get 6 points for completing this assignment (one point for each answer).

Why Socialism?

by Albert Einstein

[This](#) essay was originally published in the first issue of Monthly Review (May 1949).

Is it advisable for one who is not an expert on economic and social issues to express views on the subject of socialism? I believe for a number of reasons that it is.

...

I have now reached the point where I may indicate briefly what to me constitutes the essence of the crisis of our time. It concerns the relationship of the individual to society. The individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society. But he does not experience this dependence as a positive asset, as an organic tie, as a protective force, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence. ... All human beings, whatever their position in society, are suffering from this process of deterioration. Unknowingly prisoners of their own egotism, they feel insecure, lonely, and deprived of the naive, simple, and unsophisticated enjoyment of life. Man can find meaning in life, short and perilous as it is, only through devoting himself to society.

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil. We see before us a huge community of producers the members of which are unceasingly striving to deprive each other of the fruits of their collective labor-not by force, but on the whole in faithful compliance with legally established rules. In this respect, it is important to realize that the means of production-that is to say, the entire productive capacity that is needed for producing consumer goods as well as additional capital goods-may legally be, and for the most part are, the private property of individuals.

For the sake of simplicity, in the discussion that follows I shall call "workers" all those who do not share in the ownership of the means of production-although this does not quite correspond to the customary use of the term. The owner of the means of production is in a position to purchase the labor power of the worker. By using the means of production, the worker produces new goods which become the property of the capitalist. ... what the worker receives is determined not by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power in relation to the number of workers competing for jobs. It is important to understand that even in theory the payment of the worker is not determined by the value of his product.

Private capital tends to become concentrated in few hands, partly because of competition among the capitalists, and partly because technological development and the increasing division of labor encourage the formation of larger units of production at the expense of smaller ones. The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions and to make intelligent use of his political rights.

...Production is carried on for profit, not for use. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always be in a position to find employment; an "army of unemployed" almost always exists. The worker is constantly in fear of losing his job. Since unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market, the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence. Technological progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital which leads to increasingly severe depressions. Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to that crippling of the social consciousness of individuals which I mentioned before.

This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career....

Main Post: Thursday, March 19, 11:55pm (AZ time): 3 points.

Replies: Sunday, March 22, 11:55pm (AZ time): 4 points (2 points for each reply).

One of the central texts that work on civil society refer to is Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (which was published in 1835).

In a very famous section, Tocqueville [writes](#):

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.

...and few paragraphs down he continues:

Thus the most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes. Is this the result of accident, or is there in reality any necessary connection between the principle of association and that of equality?

Tocqueville's answer consists of two parts. First, when central authority is weak, people have to learn to cooperate. In aristocratic societies there is a built-in distinction between the powerful leaders and the powerless people. People know to expect aristocrats to take care of things. In contrast,

Among democratic nations, on the contrary, all the citizens are independent and feeble; they can do hardly anything by themselves, and none of them can oblige his fellow men to lend him their assistance. They all, therefore, become powerless if they do not learn voluntarily to help one another. If men living in democratic countries had no right and no inclination to associate for political purposes, their independence would be in great jeopardy, but they might long preserve their wealth and their cultivation: whereas if they never acquired the habit of forming associations in ordinary life, civilization itself would be endangered. A people among whom individuals lost the power of achieving great things single-handed, without acquiring the means of producing them by united exertions, would soon relapse into barbarism.

As a consequence, when member of democratic society adopt an opinion, they see the opinion as theirs and feel strongly about it. Therefore,

As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance; and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for

an example and whose language is listened to. The first time I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spirituous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious engagement, and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens could not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides. I at last understood that these hundred thousand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronize temperance.

...Nothing, in my opinion, is more deserving of our attention than the intellectual and moral associations of America. The political and industrial associations of that country strike us forcibly; but the others elude our observation, or if we discover them, we understand them imperfectly because we have hardly ever seen anything of the kind. It must be acknowledged, however, that they are as necessary to the American people as the former, and perhaps more so. In democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science; the progress of all the rest depends upon the progress it has made.

But why are associations important?

Yet municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a free government, but without municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty. Transient passions, the interests of an hour, or the chance of circumstances may create the external forms of independence, but the despotic tendency which has been driven into the interior of the social system will sooner or later reappear on the surface.

Associations are a school of liberty. They teach people how to act together and exercise their liberty (Tocqueville is a republican thinker, liberty for him is not the ability of each individual to do whatever he or she wants with her life; liberty is the ability of the people to act together and prevent their leaders from using their position of power to pursue their private interests).

For Tocqueville, civil associations are not necessarily political. Yet, there are direct relationship between the two types of associations.

In all the countries where political associations are prohibited, civil associations are rare. It is hardly probable that this is the result of accident, but the inference should rather be that there is a natural and perhaps a necessary connection between these two kinds of associations.

First, civil associations make people work together, which allows them to articulate political demands.

Certain men happen to have a common interest in some concern; either a commercial undertaking is to be managed, or some speculation in manufactures to be tried: they meet, they combine, and thus, by degrees, they become familiar with the principle of association. The greater the multiplicity of small affairs, the more do men, even without knowing it, acquire facility in prosecuting great undertakings in common. Civil associations, therefore, facilitate political association...

But also, political association strengthen associations even if they do not have any political purpose. The reason is that engagement in politics train people in understanding that they

take into account the needs and point of view of others

Thus political life makes the love and practice of association more general; it imparts a desire of union and teaches the means of combination to numbers of men who otherwise would have always lived apart.

To use a terminology that Tocqueville uses elsewhere in the [book](#), it allows them to develop a more robust understanding of their own self-interest, one in which they understand that their happiness is closely tied to the interest of others. This is what Tocqueville calls self-interest rightly understood:

The Americans, on the other hand, are fond of explaining almost all the actions of their lives by the principle of self-interest rightly understood; they show with complacency how an enlightened regard for themselves constantly prompts them to assist one another and inclines them willingly to sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state. ...

The principle of self-interest rightly understood produces no great acts of self-sacrifice, but it suggests daily small acts of self-denial. By itself it cannot suffice to make a man virtuous; but it disciplines a number of persons in habits of regularity, temperance, moderation, foresight, self-command; and if it does not lead men straight to virtue by the will, it gradually draws them in that direction by their habits. If the principle of interest rightly understood were to sway the whole moral world, extraordinary virtues would doubtless be more rare; but I think that gross depravity would then also be less common. The principle of interest rightly understood perhaps prevents men from rising far above the level of mankind, but a great number of other men, who were falling far below it, are caught and restrained by it. Observe some few individuals, they are lowered by it; survey mankind, they are raised.

According to Tocqueville, associations do not encourage people to be other-regarding and not self-regarding. Instead, the habit of working closely with others teach people that their own interest is tied to the interest of the community. It teaches them to understand that the common interest is not antithetical to their own interest. When they “sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state” they do not diminish their own interest but in fact act to promote their self-interest (when it is rightly understood).

Now for the inevitable question:

For Thursday, March 19 11:55pm (AZ time), write a post to the discussion board on the topic of “Tocqueville and Civil Associations” in which you discuss the following question:

Are Tocqueville’s observations about the “disposition” of Americans to form civil associations still relevant today? If yes, when can we observe the effects of this disposition? If not, where do we see the consequences of the decline in civil associations (consider the different effects that are described by Tocqueville - the ability to articulate and communicate interests, civil associations as a “school” for citizenship, and the role of civil association in developing a proper understanding of self-interest).

You will get 3 points for submitting the main post.

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By Sunday, March 22, 11:55pm (AZ time). Write replies to two posts of your group members. You will get 2 points for each reply (total of 4 points).

Since we are approaching the end of the semester, it is a good idea to look at the remaining learning modules and to plan ahead. In particular, notice that the first draft of the final paper is due next Sunday 4/26.

This week is the last week we are going to discuss new material. In the next two and a half week we will be engaging in a summative activity and in activities related to the final paper.

So far, our focus has been the idea of democracy within the scope of one nation state. This week, we ask ourselves whether the ideas and institutions of democracy should be extended beyond the nation state. To be clear, we do not ask whether or not other nation states should be democratic. Instead, we ask whether the principles of democracy have any place in managing the relationship between states or across states. We vote for our representative in the city council, in the state legislature, and in the two houses of Congress. But why stop here? Why shouldn't we vote for the representative in the Organization of American States (OAS) or in the United Nations? Why shouldn't these organizations be democratic?

In thinking through this question, we will draw upon principles and ideas that we have encountered throughout the semester. Let's remind ourselves.

Within the republican tradition, when a community is not ruling itself, when it is being controlled by an outside force, it is not free but in a slave-like status. Within this tradition, the ideal republic is a small community that governs itself and where virtuous citizens are ready to protect their freedom against foreign powers. Therefore, republicans are suspicious of international organizations to begin with and they do not think that the ideas of democracy can be applied to them (in the United States, those who are attracted to this idea support state-rights and are suspicious of a strong federal government). We can imagine people organize in a militia to protect their way of life in a city or a state, but not to protect a continent.

But, in our discussion about the meaning of the demos, we have also encountered the contention that this republican ideal might be outdated and that in our complex modern society. The part of the discussion that is particularly relevant here is the mismatch between the location where a political action is taken and the place where it has consequences. In today's society, many of the decisions that affect our lives take place outside of our community or nation (see page 270 of *Democratic Theory Today* for a discussion). Our virtuous republican townfolk from the previous paragraph might be willing to stand armed at the wall of the city and defend its liberty, but they cannot defend its economy from the ripple effects of an economic crisis in another continent or their seashore from the adverse effects of an oil spill that occurred hundreds of miles away.

The liberal tradition emphasized the idea of equality. There is a certain "lottery of nature" that determines certain attributes with which we are born: some are short, others are tall, some are born to wealthy families, others to poor ones, some are born men, other women. Liberals fought to emancipate people from forms discrimination that are based on such attributes. They argued that the fact that one is born to a family that is not part of the nobility, or is a woman, or is an African American, are not valid reasons for denying them civil or political rights, including the right to vote.

But from this perspective, the place where a person is born is part of this "lottery of nature." If it is not legitimate to have a person's life-chances and political voice be shaped by their gender or race, why is it legitimate to have it shaped by the place of birth? Thus, from this liberal perspective, national borders can be seen as a form of unjustified discrimination.

We will also discuss later the way the socialist tradition understands looks at democracy beyond the level of the nation state.

This week, we will look at different ways to think about models of democracy that go beyond the nation states.

Readings: *Democratic Theory Today*, chapter 11 (pages 269-288).

Assignments:

Assignment	Deadline	Points
Introduction and reading	--	--
<p>Liberal Internationalism</p> <p>Main Post</p> <p>Two Replies</p>	<p>Thursday, April 16 11:55pm (AZ time)</p> <p>Sunday, April 19 11:55pm (AZ time)</p>	<p>3 points</p> <p>4 points (2 point for each reply)</p>
Radical Democratic Pluralism	-----	There is no activity associated with this post. Reading only.
Cosmopolitan Democracy	<p>Thursday, April 16 11:55pm (AZ time)</p> <p>Sunday, April 19 11:55pm (AZ time)</p>	<p>6 points</p> <p>4 points (2 point for each reply)</p>
Deliberative Democracy	-----	There is no activity associated with this post. Reading only.
Evaluating Transnational Democracy	<p>Thursday, April 16 11:55pm (AZ time)</p> <p>Sunday, April 19 11:55pm</p>	<p>3 points</p> <p>4 points (2 point for each</p>

	(AZ time)	reply)
Week 14 Reflection Assignment	Sunday, April 19 11:55pm (AZ time)	3 points

Main Post: Thursday, April 16, 11:55pm (AZ time): 6 points.

Replies: Sunday, April 19, 11:55pm (AZ time): 4 points (2 points for each reply).

The third model that we discuss is that of a cosmopolitan democracy. It is discussed on pages 275-7 of *Democratic Theory Today*.

In the United States, we live in a layered system of democratic government where each level has different kinds of power. We have municipalities, school districts, counties, states, and a federal government. Cosmopolitans argue that there is no reason for why we should stop at the national level and not build-up the federative system to include units that encompass entire continents (or sub-continents) or even the entire globe.

Let's recall our discussion from the unit on liberalism about the state of nature. Why do we have government with laws? To answer this question, we tried to imagine ourselves in a world without governments (which early liberals called a state of nature). We quickly realized that if we don't have government, we will need to create one. Government, in this view, is an answer to a need. We have government because we need rules that will coordinate our life together and we need an entity with power to enforce these rules.

The philosopher Immanuel Kant pursues this logic in his essay *Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View* ([1784](#)). He argues that any government cannot function properly if it cannot ensure that it will not be threatened by other nations. Thus, Kant argues,

The problem of establishing a perfect civic constitution is dependent upon the problem of a lawful external relation among states and cannot be solved without a solution of the latter problem.

He repeats the logic of the state of nature that we described above:

What is the use of working toward a lawful civic constitution among individuals, i.e., toward the creation of a commonwealth? The same unsociability which drives man to this causes any single commonwealth to stand in unrestricted freedom in relation to others; consequently, each of them must expect from another precisely the evil which oppressed the individuals and forced them to enter into a lawful civic state. The friction among men, the inevitable antagonism, which is a mark of even the largest societies and political bodies, is used by Nature as a means to establish a condition of quiet and security.

When we have government, we can feel relatively secure regardless of our own physical capabilities. But, according to Kant, even if nation states establish domestic security, they did not eliminate the insecurity that comes from the possibility of war with other states. Small and weak states cannot feel secure from aggression from their strong neighbors. Therefore, the same process that led people to establish government will lead nations to establish some form of international government:

Through war, through the taxing and never-ending accumulation of armament, through the want which any state, even in peacetime, must suffer internally, Nature forces them to make at first inadequate and tentative attempts; finally, after devastations, revolutions, and even complete exhaustion, she brings them to that which reason could have told them at the beginning and with far less sad experience, to wit, to step

from the lawless condition of savages into a league of nations. In a league of nations, even the smallest state could expect security and justice, not from its own power and by its own decrees, but only from this great league of nations, from a united power acting according to decisions reached under the laws of their united will. However fantastical this idea may seem ... the necessary outcome of the destitution to which each man is brought by his fellows is to force the states to the same decision (hard though it be for them) that savage man also was reluctantly forced to take, namely, to give up their brutish freedom and to seek quiet and security under a lawful constitution....

Purposeless savagery held back the development of the capacities of our race; but finally, through the evil into which it plunged mankind, it forced our race to renounce this condition and to enter into a civic order in which those capacities could be developed. The same is done by the barbaric freedom of established states. Through wasting the powers of the commonwealths in armaments to be used against each other, through devastation brought on by war, and even more by the necessity of holding themselves in constant readiness for war, they stunt the full development of human nature. But because of the evils which thus arise, our race is forced to find, above the (in itself healthy) opposition of states which is a consequence of their freedom, a law of equilibrium and a united power to give it effect. Thus it is forced to institute a cosmopolitan condition to secure the external safety of each state.

Let's think about this argument. We might argue that this logic does not apply to the United States, which is powerful enough militarily and economically that its citizens do not really worry about their safety security. Thus, to continue this claim, in the state of nature even the strongest person cannot feel secure without a central authority (as Hobbes said, even a strong person needs to sleep). However, the same does not apply to the relationship between states where some states can be far more powerful than others.

Can you find a possible reply in Kant for this challenge?

How about the following sentence? "Through wasting the powers of the commonwealths in armaments to be used against each other, through devastation brought on by war, and even more by the necessity of holding themselves in constant readiness for war, they stunt the full development of human nature." The US spends about 20% of its [budget](#) on defense. This massive investment takes away resources that could have been used for other purposes. Now - is all of the money allocated to defense wasted? Doesn't it create jobs, technological progress, and other benefits? Probably it does. But the point is that in the current structure of the international system, the possibility of war makes this kind of investment necessary and therefore limits the freedom of a community to choose how to invest their resources.

[But it is utopian to think of a world with one central army that has units dispersed in different locations? Wouldn't a state with many army units take advantage of its power and invade neighboring states? Texas has many army bases. Should neighboring Oklahoma and Mississippi be worried?]

After the end of the Cold War, there is a lot of talk about the need to democratize international organizations and first and foremost the United Nations. Currently, the UN has two main bodies. The more important body is the Security Council, where each of the fifteen member states have one vote but the five permanent members have a veto power. Then, in the General Assembly each state has one vote regardless of the size of the population (does it remind you of any other institution?).

But, why would we want to make the UN more democratic? Those who suggest such a reform argue that democracy is a better and more fair system of decision-making and therefore the international system should be organized democratically based on the idea of one person one vote.

Let's discuss the idea of a parliamentary assembly for the United Nations ([UNPA](#)), which at this stage is only a proposal. Read [here](#) pages 16-18 for a brief discussion (and also look at pages 7-9) and pages 5-7 [here](#) for an introduction to the idea by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, a former Secretary-General of the United Nations (and look [here](#) for FAQ on the idea).

But Thursday, April 16, submit a post to the discussion board on "cosmopolitan democracy" in which you discuss the following question: Should the US support the democratization of a parliamentary assembly for the United Nations? In your post, do not simply discuss democracy in general but refer to the details of the proposal for having a parliamentary assembly.

You will get 6 points for submitting this post.

For Sunday, April 19, 11:55pm (AZ time), write replies to the posts of two of your peers in which you discuss their argument. You will get 2 points for each reply (total of 4 points).