

TF: Angie Bautista-Chavez

**WK 3: “Democracy Ancient and Modern” with Danielle Allen**

**1 Administrative Details**

- Individual meetings are complete
- Paper #1 topics will be sent out next week
- Shortly after papers are assigned, schedule meeting with me to chat about your paper OR see me during office hours

**2 Introductions & [Political] Activity**

- New section member: Christian
- In pairs, describe a time when you participated in a political activity. Discuss the following: What was the problem or issue? Who organized the event? How did you get involved? Who else participated?
- After discussion: Did you think about the relationship between you and your Government?
  - Objective: get a sense of what kinds of political activities students have participated in. What were the drivers of this political activity?

**3 Key Insights from Memos**

- Remember to email response papers to me by Tue at 8:00 PM

**4 Readings and Discussion**

**Part I – Warm up & Overview**

**Not Ancient and Modern, But: “Ancient, Pre-Industrial, and Post-Industrial”**

- Let’s break up into 3 groups, and fill out this chart as a review of the readings (~10 mins)
  - **Print a Handout with this Table for students**
- Regroup and discuss. Compare topics across readings. Collectively fill out the table below.

	<b>Ancient</b>	<b>Pre-Industrial</b>	<b>Post-Industrial</b>
	<i>(1) Pericles (2) Aristotle</i>	<i>(3) US Declaration of Independence (4) Federalist Papers (5) French Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen</i>	<i>(6) Constant (7) Purna Swaraj (8) UN Declaration of Human Rights</i>
<b>Slavery, Division of Political Labor</b>	“Natural” slaves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- All involved in commerce, and so less time for politics</li> <li>- No distinction of a class of people that could be slaves</li> <li>- Rights are universal</li> </ul>	
<b>Basis of Membership</b>	The family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Individual</li> </ul>	
<b>Exile/Ostracism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stateless, by nature (beast, cannot control their natural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Modern- Cannot expel a citizen from their country</li> <li>- Right to not be stateless</li> </ul>	

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	passions)		
<b>Role of Law</b>	IF you need the multitude to govern, good laws == good city (the people/group are sovereign)	(in the US) Constitutions precede declaring independence (the laws are sovereign)	Laws, but don't infringe on personal/private sphere ... There are laws that are more sovereign ... “Rights”
<b>Degree of Participation</b>	Pericles = participation all the time Aristotle = rule, be ruled	US = High, must be vigilant	Constant = in Ancient time, individuals had more influence; in a time with greater masses – personal influence decreases; every individual has such a small share
<b>Education</b>	Key government function, to educate; to participate is to be educated;	Necessary for strong participation	Education – for your own enrichment, private pleasure; self-development
<b>Private v Public</b>	Pericles = if you attend to private matters only, you are useless		Constant = private matters are the core of (modern) liberty
<b>Right of Revolution</b>	Not legitimate	US Declaration = Legitimate	
<b>Definition of Liberty</b>	- Aristotle = reason, basis for liberty - Collective Freedom	- Individual freedom - Constant = Liberty to (not) participate in public affairs; liberty to participate in private commerce	
<b>Relationship Between Liberty and Equality</b>	Aristotle = geometric principle of equality		

**Part II – Readings**

1. Ancient v. Modern
2. Citizenship, Membership
3. Liberty and Equality

**Discussion Questions**

What are the main differences between ancient and modern democracies? Think about Constant.

- Direct rule/lotteries vs. elections/representation
- Small vs. large

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- Collective freedom vs. individual freedom
- War vs. commerce

***Let’s discuss how Aristotle, as our representative ancient, thinks about democracy.***

What, for Aristotle, is the purpose of the state?

- Good life for all
- Noble deed and cultivation of virtue

Do you agree with Aristotle that the state should try to inculcate virtue among citizens? That is, do you agree with Aristotle’s claim that the government has an important role to play in shaping its citizens? Or does this interfere with “modern” liberty?

- Does doing so conflict with people’s individual rights?
- What’s Constant’s answer to this question? How does it fit into his argument about combining the two forms of liberty in contemporary democracies?

What are Aristotle’s six forms of government? How are they divided?

Why does Aristotle consider democracy to be a perverse form of government? What is its non-perverse analogue?

What advantages does Aristotle see to giving people a role in politics? What, according to Aristotle, are the advantages and disadvantages of “rule by the many” (what we’d call “democracy”, what he calls “constitutional government”)? How does democracy/constitutional government compare to the other possible forms of government?

- Otherwise, the state will be full of enemies who have been excluded
- Wisdom of the masses (feast analogy)

Under what conditions should we expect the feast analogy to hold? When does the feast analogy suggest that democracies will function poorly?

***Let’s talk about Constant’s “modern” and “ancient” liberty.***

What are the main attributes of Constant’s “modern” and “ancient” liberty?

- If “modern” liberty is freedom *from* government, is there a necessary connection between liberty and democracy?
- Might the two, in fact, be in conflict?

Constant, Aristotle, and the Federalists all talk about the possibility that democracy/popular governance can become tyrannical or corrupt. What protections do they each recommend? Do you think they’ll be successful? (Mapping this out in a chart on the board might help.)

- How does their concern with tyranny connect with the emphasis they place on the rule of law?
- What other structural protections against tyranny and corruption could we implement in a democracy? (Encourage students to think about what else is in the US Constitution.)

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*Let’s now talk about how modern democracies have tried to overcome some of the limitations of ancient democracy.*

**[Representation]** What are the advantages of representative rather than direct democracy? What are the disadvantages?

- What would Constant say?
- What would the federalists say?

**[Size]** What are the advantages and disadvantages of large states? What would Constant say? What would the federalists say? Which would you prefer? A small state or a large one?

**[Rights]** Pericles speaks mostly, not of individual rights, not of collective responsibilities to the state. Do you think people in modern representative democracies have responsibilities toward their states? What, if any, are they?

*Now let’s talk about technology today, and how it might affect political institutions and political organization.*

If internet voting were able to make direct democracy possible in large democracies, would you favor direct or representative government?

***Factions – then and now***

When Madison wrote Federalist Paper No 10, he defined a faction as “a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adversed to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.”

- What solutions did he propose for addressing factions?
- Yet today, modes of communication have changed the nature of organizing. What would Madison propose today?