

PL 1099 CCI FB 5 DEMOCRACY: FROM ATHENS TO ZUCOTTI PARK

American University of Paris
Assistant Professor Julian Culp
Fall 2020



Women carrying 1 million signatures in favor of women’s enfranchisement
1917, New York City, New York

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Democracy, which means government by, for, and of the people, is an intriguing idea that raises many questions: Who belongs to the people? What is the will of the people? Who can speak in the name of the people? In this course we survey classic and contemporary theories and practices of democracy, ranging from direct democracy in ancient Athens to the modern-day Occupy movement in Zuccotti Park. We pay special attention to the ways in which processes of digitalization such as the use of social media transform our understandings and evaluations of local, national and global forms of democratic life.

This course is part of the FirstBridge *Democracy, Participation and Digital Life in Times of Crisis* (FB5). The other course connected to this FirstBridge is *Speaking Out & Logging In: Digital Participation and Public Life* (CM1099CCIFB5), taught by Prof. Jessica Feldman. The Reflective Seminar of this FirstBridge meets every Friday, 14h30-16h05, and is co-taught by Prof. Jessica Feldman, Prof. Julian Culp and the librarian Michael Stoepel.

BASIC INFORMATION

<i>Prerequisites</i>	None	<i>Credits</i>	4
<i>Contact</i>	jculp@aup.edu	<i>Final exam</i>	Online
<i>Schedules</i>	Class: Tuesday 12h40-14h15 Class: Friday 18h10-19h45 Reflective Seminar: Friday 14h30-16h05	<i>Room numbers</i>	Class: G-L21 Reflective Seminar: C-103
<i>Office hours</i>	Thursday 15h00-17h00	<i>Office number</i>	G-L19

FIRSTBRIDGE LEARNING GOALS

- Students will enhance their information literacy, acquiring an understanding of how information is produced, and discovering how to evaluate, create and use it effectively and ethically. Students will develop an awareness of the conversational nature of scholarship and be able to identify appropriate secondary sources to conduct effective research.
- Students will develop public speaking and presentation skills in order to participate effectively and appropriately in academic discussion and as community leaders, in a professional and engaging manner that can convey complex information.
- Students will be able to appreciate place as a site of knowledge, to interrogate the multiple meanings of place and develop a more informed and sensitive understanding of interactions between people and their physical environment.
- Students will learn to formulate questions that can lead to greater learning and productive individual and group research projects.
- Students will strengthen the concrete skills and aptitudes to be successful at AUP and beyond, such as study skills and time management, the mindsets that lead to lifelong learning, and desired classroom behaviors and interpersonal skills.

Integrative Inquiry Learning Outcomes

- *Local and Global Perspectives:* Students will enhance their intercultural understanding of languages, cultures, and histories of local societies and the global issues to which these relate.
- *Exploring and Engaging Difference:* Students will think critically about cultural and social difference; they will identify and understand power structures that determine hierarchies and inequalities that can relate to race, ethnicity, gender, nationhood, religion, or class.
- *Civic and Ethical Engagement:* Students will demonstrate awareness of ethical considerations relating to specific societal problems, values, or practices (historical or contemporary; global or local) and learn to articulate possible solutions to prominent challenges facing societies and institutions today so as to become engaged actors at various levels in our interconnected world.

PHILOSOPHY COURSE LEARNING GOALS

- To grasp and express key core concepts in democratic theory
- To understand and reconstruct scholarly texts in philosophy and political theory
- To analyze and evaluate conceptual and normative political arguments
- To develop and convincingly argue for one's own position on how to think of and solve democratic problems in a globalized and digitalized world

CONTACT INFORMATION

For consultation and meetings, please contact me before or after class, by e-mail via jculp@aup.edu or during office hours. Please use the LibCal device: <https://aup.libcal.com/appointments/julianculp>.

BLACKBOARD

Course-related material, such as readings, lecture slides, assignment tasks, etc., will be made available on the BLACKBOARD portal. Make sure that you have joined the course and that you adjust your settings to receive notifications and messages. Important updates will be posted on the BLACKBOARD course page.

COURSE STRUCTURE

Due to the on-going and unpredictable nature of the Covid-19 pandemic, the course has been structured to allow for in-person sessions combined with remote online options for students that are unable to attend in person due to travel restrictions or the need to quarantine. Likewise, the course structure will be adjusted to allow us to meet our learning objectives through several possible routes should other disruptions or contingencies come into play during the semester. Some of the content to meet our course objectives might occur outside of our weekly course meeting time. There will be five potential delivery formats of our course:

1. In-Class/Online Synchronous: a course meeting that will take place in-person, with students unable to attend in person joining online during the scheduled course period.
2. Online Synchronous: a course meeting scheduled online without an in-person course meeting
3. Online Asynchronous: course material delivered outside of the regular course meetings within a scheduled time range at the convenience of the student
4. Independent Preparation: reading, study and preparation for course meetings, group work, and assessments
5. Online Group Meetings: an independent video or audio meeting held by student groups completing a project together. I may join some of these meetings to help facilitate discussions and to assist in the project preparations

The first two weeks of the course will hopefully be entirely In-Class/Online Synchronous so that we can get to know each other and create a productive and stimulating learning atmosphere. As contingencies emerge, we will revisit this planning and adjust as needed. Please refer to this syllabus, which will be updated regularly and posted both on Blackboard.

SOCIAL DISTANCING

All of us are expected to follow the university policies around sanitation, hygiene and social distancing during this semester. This includes wearing masks while present on campus and in the classroom, keeping your hands clean before touching anything in a public area, coughing and sneezing into your arm, and immediately reporting any symptoms or signs of illness.

TEAMS

During potential online class times, I will ask you to turn on your cameras, and be present as if you would be during an in-person class session. If you have particular problems with connecting to Teams—bad internet connection, etc.—please let me know.

REQUIRED AND FURTHER READINGS

All *required readings* will be made available on BLACKBOARD. For the *required readings* assigned to each session, please consult the *schedule* below.

In case you are interested in studying a topic in further depth, please feel free to contact the professor for information, or contact the AUP Library: <http://library.aup.edu/index.html> – email: library@aup.edu.

A fine online resource for philosophy is *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*: <https://plato.stanford.edu>.

A useful introduction to democratic theory is David Held, *Models of Democracy*, Stanford University Press, 2006, ISBN: 9780804754729.

REQUIREMENTS

Requirement	Relative weight for overall grade
Participation	10%
5 Reflection Statements	25%
Midterm Exam	20%
Outline of Term Paper	10%
Draft of Term Paper	10%
Final Term Paper	20%
Final Term Paper Presentation	5%

It is the students' responsibility to meet the administrative and academic requirements of this course. Make sure that you familiarize yourself with these requirements and that you plan your time and work reasonably. Also, ensure that you submit all assignments on time. Late submissions will be penalized. Remember that the readings and assignments are meant as springboards for your own independent and hopefully rewarding exploration of the topic.

PARTICIPATION

Preparation

Students are expected to come to every class meeting on time and be prepared to participate actively. The *preparation* includes, in particular, the *careful reading* of the assigned texts in advance of the planned session. When reading you should take notes and excerpt the core ideas of the texts – that is, you should engage in active reading.

Attendance and Punctuality

Attendance is required and will be taken every class. You may miss up to three sessions without excuse – though each of these three as well as all other unexcused absences will lower your participation grade by 5.00 score points. For example, if you miss one class unexcused, you will receive 95.00 score points instead of 100.00 score points as participation grade.

More than three unexcused absences will be reported to the *Student Development* office. In such a case you might also be asked to withdraw from the course. Absences may only be considered excused if they are officially excused, that is, in cases of medically documented student illness, participation in course-related study trips, family emergency or an appointment with the immigration office. It is the student's responsibility to make up work for the missed class and to communicate with the professor for that purpose.

Attendance at all exams is mandatory. Students must be mindful of this policy when making their travel arrangements, and especially during the Drop/Add and Exam Periods.

Punctuality is essential for uninterrupted and efficient coursework. It is a sign of respect not only for the professor, but also for your fellow students. If you are more than 20 minutes late, you will be marked absent.

Participation in Class

Active participation encompasses the active engagement in the discussions during class and in the work group activities. In discussions, all participants are expected to show respect and courtesy.

Please silence all cell phones prior to the start of class and *do not use electronic devices* (laptops, phones, etc.) during class, unless truly necessary. Please bring your physical copies of the readings, that is, printed out PDFs.

Covid-19 Temporary Amendments

Students studying at The American University of Paris are **STILL EXPECTED TO ATTEND ALL** scheduled classes. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, students will have the option of attending classes remotely when special circumstances apply. For example, when students are placed under quarantine by the French authorities or by their doctor, or when students present symptoms of Covid-19 and are directed, by their doctor or the AUP Health Office, to remain home. It is still the student's responsibility to be aware of any specific attendance policy that their professor might have set in the course syllabus. In particular, Students attending remotely from distant Time Zones should check with their professors about the specific attendance policy for remote learners.

ASSIGNMENTS

Assignment 1: 5 Reflection Statements (5% each – 25% of total grade) due Oct 8, Oct 22, Nov 5, Nov 19 and Dec 2 before midnight

In five weeks you will be asked to write a short reflection statement of about 400 words and submit it by *Thursday, 23h59* through BLACKBOARD. In your statement, you engage with the week's readings and develop your own reply to one of the week's question in the most compelling way possible. They should be handed in as a Word document (Times New Roman, 12 pt., 1.5 spaced, file name: YourLastName_Reflection_No.doc(x)) through the assignment function of BLACKBOARD.

Due dates:
Thursday, Oct 8 (Week 3), before midnight
Thursday, Oct 22 (Week 5), before midnight
Thursday, Nov 5 (Week 7), before midnight
Thursday, Nov 19 (Week 9), before midnight
Thursday, Dec 2 (Week 11), before midnight

Assignment 2: Mid-term Exam (20% of overall grade) on Nov 10 (during class time)

After the first half of the course you will be expected to review the material and write an exam. The exam will consist of a set of questions on the materials covered in the course. These questions will contain knowledge questions regarding key terms and intellectual positions as well as short essay questions that ask you to *reconstruct* and *discuss* philosophical texts and arguments that this course addresses. More information will be provided along the semester.

Date: Tuesday, Nov 10 (Week 8), 12h40-14h15

Assignment 3: Outline of Term Paper (10% of overall grade) due Thursday, Nov 26, before midnight

You are expected to develop an outline *of about 400 words* of your term paper, which should consist of the following three elements: (1) an abstract in which you state the question that your paper addresses and why it is relevant, the answer that you will give to that question and the (tentative) argumentative steps that you will undertake to provide the answer; (2) a structure that includes the titles of the introduction, the various sections of the main part and the conclusion (you can also add bullet points that explain the contents of the different sections); and (3) an annotated bibliography with at least 4 entries and your comments on these entries.

You should submit your outline via the assignment function on BLACKBOARD and use this format for your document: Times New Roman, 12 pt., 1.5 spaced, file name: YourLastName_Outline.doc(x). After you have submitted the outline of your term paper, you should meet with the professor in order to discuss your term paper project. More information will be provided along the way.

Due date: Thursday, Nov 26 (Week 10), before midnight

Assignment 4: Draft of Term Paper (10% of overall grade) due Dec. 10 before midnight

You are expected to write a draft of your term paper *of about 1,500 words*. The draft should include an introduction, a main part, a conclusion and a bibliography. You should submit your draft via the assignment function on BLACKBOARD and the format of your document should be as follows: Times New Roman, 12 pt., 1.5 spaced, file name: YourLastName_Draft.doc(x). After you have submitted the draft of your term paper, you will receive detailed feedback from the professor in order to be able to improve the paper before submitting the final version of the term paper. More information will be provided along the way.

Due date: Thursday, Dec. 10 (Week 12), before midnight

Assignment 5: Final Term Paper (20% of overall grade) due Dec. 21 before midnight

At the end of the course, you will be expected to submit a term paper of *about 2,000 words* in which you answer a question that you have developed yourself. The aim of the term paper is to discuss a philosophical question based on the texts and theories you have encountered in the course. Your discussion should include (1) *an analysis* of key conceptions and arguments regarding content and structure, and (2) *a critical assessment* of the adequacy, effectiveness, and applicability of the arguments and the position under consideration, and (3) *the defense of a thesis* you choose to adopt for the purpose of this assignment by producing effective arguments *for* this thesis and rebut relevant arguments *against* it.

Help the reader to follow your line of reasoning by making it explicit: An introduction should outline what you will present and why it is interesting. The main body should develop your argument(s) step by step, and a conclusion should sum them up, with a final evaluation of your findings.

The paper should be handed in as a Word document through BLACKBOARD and be formatted as follows: Times New Roman, 12 pt., file name: YourLastName_TermPaper.doc(x). More information will be provided along the way.

Due date: Monday, Dec. 21, before midnight

Grading Criteria for the Draft of the Term Paper and the Term Paper:

Your papers will be graded according to the following, equally relevant, *five criteria*: coherence of the thesis, strength of the argument, adequate use of relevant primary texts (and secondary literature), clarity of structure, and correctness of form.

Late papers will be marked down 2.00 score points per day (24 hours) of lateness. For example, if you submit a 94.00/A/4.0 paper 10 hours late, you will receive 92.00/A-/3.7. If you submit the same paper 50 hours late, you will receive 88.00/B+/3.3. Extensions of the deadline are only possible for serious reasons. In general, an extension can only be granted if you apply for it *before* the deadline expires.

Assignment 6: Final Term Paper Presentation (10%) on Dec. 22

You will present your final term paper in our last session on Dec. 22, from 17h30-20h00. You should use either handouts or powerpoint slides for your presentations. The presentations will be graded according to the following, equally important criteria: adequacy, strength, and originality of the argument(s); convincing examples; ability to respond adequately to objections; engagement with the audience. More information will be provided along the way.

GRADING

The grades for the requirements and for the entire course are based on the 4.00 system stated below:

Letter Grade	4.0 Scale	Score	Meaning
A	4.0	94.00-100.00	Excellent
A-	3.7	90.00-93.99	Excellent
B+	3.3	87.00-89.99	Good
B	3.0	84.00-86.99	Good
B-	2.7	80.00-83.99	Good
C+	2.3	77.00-79.99	Satisfactory
C	2.0	74.00-76.99	Satisfactory
C-	1.7	70.00-73.99	Satisfactory
D+	1.3	67.00-69.99	Unsatisfactory
D	1.0	64.00-66.99	Unsatisfactory
D-	0.7	60.00-63.99	Unsatisfactory
F	0	0.00-59.00	Failure

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

As an Anglophone university, AUP is strongly committed to effective English language mastery at the undergraduate level. Most courses require scholarly research and formal written and oral presentations in English, and AUP students are expected to strive to achieve excellence in these domains as part of their course work. To that end, the evaluation includes English proficiency. Students can obtain help on specific academic assignments in the university *Writing Lab*. For more information, please visit <https://www.aup.edu/academics/academic-and-career-resources/academic-resource-center/writing-lab> – email: writinglab@aup.edu.

ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT

All work that you submit must be your own. Your sources must be properly cited. For example, direct quotations from others must be in quotation marks. If you have questions about how to attribute your sources, talk to the professor or to the staff of AUP's *Writing Lab* within the Academic Resource Center: <https://www.aup.edu/academics/academic-and-career-resources/academic-resource-center/writing-lab> – email: writinglab@aup.edu.

Plagiarism is a serious academic misconduct and will be dealt with accordingly. You should familiarize yourself with the university's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.aup.edu/academics/offices-resources/academic-resource-center/writing-lab/plagiarism>. For the sake of fairness and academic integrity, and in order to maintain the reputation of the degree you are earning with us, there will be no tolerance with plagiarism and other such forms of academic misconduct. Any conduct, whether intentional or unintentional, which creates the impression that some of the coursework you submit for grading is your own achievement when it is not will be reported to the *Academic Integrity Office* and may result in an "F" grade for the whole course.

Sometimes students present alien work as their own not because they want to earn an unfair advantage over their peers but rather because they feel unable to cope with the workload for some academic or personal reason. If this is the case, please do not hesitate to contact the professor or AUP's student guidance counselors Pamela Montfort via pmontfort@aup.edu or Yann Louis via ylouis@aup.edu. There is a lot that can be done to help you!

SCHEDULE

N.B.: The schedule is subject to change throughout the course of the semester.

Week 1 – Introduction and Athenian Direct Democracy

Sept 25: *Reflective Seminar and Library Tour with Michael Stoepel*

Sept 25: **Athenian Direct Democracy**

Required reading: Plato. *The Republic*. 380BC. Book IV, 433a-444e (*Stephanus* pagination).

Further reading: Aristotle. 4th century BC. *Politics*. (excerpts)

Week 2 – African and Asian Democracy

Sept 29: **Consensual African Philosophy**

Required reading: Wiredu, Kwasi. 1995. “Democracy and Consensus in African Traditional Politics: A Plea for a Non-Party Polity.” *The Centennial Review* 39 (1), 53-64.

Further reading: Okeja, Uchenna. “Palaver and Consensus as Metaphors for the Public Sphere.” Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oct 2: *Reflective Seminar*

Oct 2: **Compatibility of Confucianism and Democracy**

Required reading: Sen, Amartya. 2003. “Democracy and Its Global Roots.” *The New Republic* 229 (14)

Further reading: Xu, Keqian. 2006. “Early Confucian Principles: the Potential Theoretic Foundation of Democracy in Modern China,” *Asian Philosophy* 16 (2): 135-48.

Week 3 – Modern Western and Deliberative Democracy

Oct 6: **Modern Western Democracy**

Required readings: Constant, Benjamin. 1820. “The Liberty of the Ancients and the Liberty of the Moderns.” (excerpts)

Berlin, Isaiah. 1969. “Two Concepts of Liberty.” (excerpts)

Further reading: Madison, James and Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist Papers* 10, 51 and 57.

Hobbes, Thomas. 1642. *On the Citizen*.

Oct 8: *** 1st Reflective Statement is due on Thursday, Oct 8, before midnight.***

Oct 9: *Reflective Seminar with Michael Stoepel on Evaluating Information I*

Oct 9: **Deliberative Democracy**

Required readings: Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (excerpts)

Habermas, Jürgen. 1994. “Three Normative Models of Democracy.”

Week 4 – Public Spheres, Digital and Transnational

Oct 13: **Transnational Transformations of the Public Sphere**

- Required reading: Fraser, Nancy. 2014. “Transnationalizing the Public Sphere.”
- Further readings: Held, David. 1997. “Democracy and Globalization.”
- Rodrik, Daniel. 2014. “The Globalization Paradox.”

Oct 16: ***Reflective Seminar on Digital Apps***

Oct 16: **Digital Transformations of the Public Sphere**

- Required readings: Fung, Archon, Holie Russon Gilman, Jennifer Shkabataur. 2013. „Six Models for the Internet and Politics.“ *International Studies Review* 15/1, 30-47.
- Further readings: Allen, Danielle. 2015. “Reconceiving Public Spheres.” In *ibid.* and Jennifer Light (eds.) *From Voice to Influence*. Chicago: Chicago UP.
- Dahlberg, Lincoln. 2011. “Re-Constructing Digital Democracy: An outline of four positions.” *New Media & Society* 13/1, 1-18.

Week 5 – Civil Society

Oct 20: **Civil Society**

- Required reading: Dewey, John. 1927. *The Public and its Problems*. pp. 171-182.
- Further readings: Alexis de Tocqueville. 1835/2000. *Democracy in America*. Ed. by Mansfield, Harvey and Delba Winthrop. Chicago: Chicago UP.

Oct 20: *** 2nd Reflective Statement is due on Thursday, Oct 22, before midnight.***

Oct 23: **Study Trip to the Assemblée Nationale OR**

Democratic Agonism

- Required reading: Mouffe, Chantal. 2005. *On the Political*. pp. 8-21.
- Further reading: Celikates, Robin. 2015. Digital Publics, Digital Contestation. A New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere? In *ibid.* et al. *Transformations of Democracy*. Rowman & Littlefield, 159-174

Week 6 – Distorted Discourse:

Oct 27: **Free Speech**

- Required reading: Mill, John Stuart. 1859. “Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion.” (excerpts)

Oct 30: ***Reflective Seminar with Michael Stoepel on Evaluating Information II***

Oct 30: **The Economic Colonization of Public Deliberation**

- Required reading: Habermas, Jürgen. 2006. “Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research.”
- Further readings: Etzioni, Amitai 2010: Is Transparency the Best Disinfectant? *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18 (4), 389-404.

Week 7 – Education

Nov 3: What is Democratic Education and Why does It Matter?

Required readings: Freire, Paulo. 1970. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Ch. 2.
Gutmann, Amy. 1987. “The Primacy of Political Education.”

Nov 5: *** 3rd Reflective Statement is due on Thursday, Nov. 5, before midnight.***

Nov 6: Reflective Seminar

Nov 6: Study Trip to Rouen OR

The Civic Empowerment Gap

Required reading: Levinson, Meira. 2012. „The Civic Empowerment Gap.“ *No Citizen Left Behind*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 23-59.

Further reading: Kahne, Joseph, Erica Hodgkin, und Elyse Eidman-Aadahl. 2016. “Redesigning Civic Education for the Digital Age: Participatory Politics and the Pursuit of Democratic Engagement.“ *Theory & Research in Social Education* 44/1, 1-35.

Week 8 - Midterm & Fall Break

Nov 10: Midterm Exam

Nov 13: Fall Break

Nov 13: Fall Break

Week 9 – Elites and Authority

Nov 17: The Competitive Elitist Conception of Democracy

Required reading: Schumpeter, Joseph. 1943. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. pp. 250-56, 269-73.

Nov 19: *** 4th Reflective Statement is due on Thursday, Nov. 19, before midnight.***

Nov 20: Reflective Seminar

Nov. 20: Study Trip to Station F

Week 10 – Gender and Resistance

Nov 24: The Enfranchisement of Women

Required reading: Taylor Mill, Harriet. 1851. “The Enfranchisement of Women.”

Nov 26: *** Outline of Term Paper is due Thursday, Nov 26, before midnight.***

Nov 27: *Reflective Seminar with Michael Stoepel on Finding Information*

Nov 27: **Do We Live in a Post-Democracy?**

Required reading: Crouch, Colin. 2004. *Post-Democracy*. pp. 1-6, 19-28.

Week 11 – Populism and Resistance

Dec 1: **Populism**

Required reading: Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What is Populism?* pp. 19-32.

Dec 3: *** 5th Reflective Statement is due on Thursday, Dec. 3, before midnight.***

Dec 4: *Reflective Seminar*

Dec 4: **Populism in India**

Guest Lecture by Dr. Raphaëlle Khan

Readings: tbd

Week 12 – Democratic Crisis and the Future of Democracy

Dec 8: **The Deconsolidation of Democracy**

Required reading: Mounk, Yascha. 2018. *The People vs. Democracy. Why Our Freedom is in Danger and How to Save it*. Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press, Introduction and ch. 3.

Further reading: Runciman, David. 2018. *How Democracy Ends*. London: Profile Books.

Dec 10: *** Draft of Term Paper is due Thursday, Dec 10, before midnight.***

Dec 11: *Reflective Seminar*

Dec 11: **The Death of Democracy**

Required reading: Levitsky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel. 2018. *How Democracies Die*.

Further reading: Taylor, Astra. 2019. *Democracy May Not Exist But We'll Miss it When it's Gone*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Dec 21 *** Final Term Paper is due before midnight***

Dec 22: **17h30–20h00 Final Session**

*** Final Term Paper Presentation.***