

**ISD 2935: Democracy in Theory and Action**  
**FALL 2021**  
**MWF 3-3.50pm**

General Education: Humanities, Writing Requirement (2000 words)  
[Note: A minimum grade of 'C' is required for General Education Credit]

**Instructor:**

**Dr Ifigeneia Giannadaki**

**Dauer Hall 115A**

**Office hours: Tue 9-11am**

**E-mail address:** giannadaki.if [at] ufl [dot] edu

**Time and Venue: MWF 3.00-3.50pm, CBD 0220**

**Course Description**

This course will showcase the lively dialogue between ancient democracy and modern, tackling some of the most pressing issues of our times, including the limits of political participation and the real power of the people, the elitism of politics and distrust of modern politicians, the limits of free speech and the role of the press/media in modern politics and in shaping public opinion. This dialogue between democracy ancient and modern will be discussed from comparative approach of democratic principles, political institutions, civic rights, limits of political participation, and criticisms to the democratic government, in the ancient world and in our times. These topics are also essential to approach both political history and political theory: evolution as against stability, freedom and equality, law and popular sovereignty, cultural ideals and practice.

Finally, through a wealth of topics to be discussed and debated in the virtual classroom, the module concludes by asking interconnected, timely and pressing questions, relevant to all modern democratic societies: is after all the democracy a good or a defective constitution? Are there better alternatives? Or is there room for political reform?

**Student Learning Outcomes**

Reflecting the curricular structures of Quest 1 and these Gen Ed designations, after taking Democracy in Theory and Action, students will be able to:

1. Identify, describe, and explain the historical processes involved in the passage of humanity into the era of social and political organization under democratic constitutions, and of the history of political thought from ancient Greece to modern times, political power and justice, socio-political inquiry, rational quest, experimentation and the study of democracy in action from a comparative viewpoint for the benefit of human communities diachronically, as well as the flourishing of human communities under democratic organization. (*Content SLOs for Gen Ed Hum, and Q1*).
2. Analyze and evaluate some important culture texts from the early Greek political theorists, historians and active politicians, as well as some comparable key-texts on

modern political thought and democratic government, using established practices appropriate to the arts and humanities (*Critical Thinking*).

3. Analyze and evaluate how political thought and analysis (and critique) of democratic government initially developed in Greece and explain how their employment can be applied to significantly understand modern socio-political and economic organization and development of modern societies of the western world (*Critical Thinking*).
4. Analyze and evaluate essential questions about the progress of humanity on the basis of socio-political organization under democratic government from a comparative perspective. (*Critical Thinking*).
5. Observe and evaluate the role arts and humanities play in the lives of individuals and societies and the role they might play in students' undergraduate degree programs. (*Communication*).
6. Analyze, evaluate, and critically reflect on connections between course content and their intellectual, personal, and professional development at UF and beyond (*Critical Thinking*).
7. Develop and present clear and effective responses to essential questions about the political thought in action, democracy ancient and modern, and other relevant humanities disciplines intersected during the course into the course (*Communication*).

### Writing Requirement

The course confers 2,000 words toward the Writing Requirement (WR), which ensures students both maintain their fluency in writing and use writing as a tool to facilitate learning. The writing course grade assigned by the instructor has two components: the writing component and a course grade. **To receive writing credit a student must satisfactorily complete all the assigned written work and receive a minimum grade of C (2.0) for the course.** It is possible to not meet the writing requirement and still earn a minimum grade of C in a class, so students should review their degree audit after receiving their grade to verify receipt of credit for the writing component.

### The University's Humanities and General Education Requirements

The ISD 2935 fulfils the UF Core requirements and 3 credits of the Humanities [General Education](#) requirement.

### Required Books and Readings

*Required book chapters and articles are provided on Canvas and/or in the Course reserve for this course in Library West.*

**Cartledge, P. 2016 *Democracy: A Life*, Oxford University Press.**

**Hansen, M. H. 1999 *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, Bristol Classical Press.**

***Readings* (i.e. required articles and chapters from the following books)**

Brennan, J. 2017 *Against Democracy*, pp. 182-203.

Carey, C. 2017 *The Democracy in Classical Athens*, Bloomsbury.

Dahl, R. 2005 'What Political Institutions does Large-scale Democracy Require?', *Political Science Quarterly* 120, 187-197.

Dainow, J. (1966) 'The Civil Law and the Common Law: Some Points of Comparison'. *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 15(3), 419-435

Hansen, M. H. 2005 'Direct Democracy Ancient and Modern', 45-70.

Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. 2002 *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Pantheon Books.

Marwick, A. and Lewis, R. 2017 'Media manipulation and disinformation online'.

Mayer, T. -Wagner, M. (2020) 'The rise of populism in modern democracies', in the *Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, pp. 563-576

Mulgan, R. 2003 *Holding Power to Account: accountability in modern democracies*, pp.36-74.

Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2001) 'Women and Democracy: cultural obstacles to equal representation', *Journal of Democracy* 12, 126-40.

Saunders, K. 2017 *Free expression and Democracy*, pp. 1-21 (chapter 1: 'The protection of Free Expression in a Democracy')

Wolpert, A. and Kapparis, K. 2011 *Legal Speeches from Democratic Athens*, Hackett Publishing.

### **Source Materials**

Important Source Materials (available online at no additional cost; all links to source materials will be available on Canvas; the same applies to PowerPoints and other course materials):

- [Aristotle] *The Constitution of the Athenians* 5-11, 20-22.
- Thucydides, *History* book 2.34-46
- Demosthenes, speech 22 (*Against Androtion*)
- Lysias, speech 16 (*On Behalf of Manti-theos*)
- Plato, *Apology*
- Pseudo-Xenophon, *The Constitution of the Athenians*

### **Required Referencing Style**

**Students must use the Chicago reference and citation style in their writing assignments** available **here:**

<https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/frontmatter/toc.html>

It is students' responsibility to consult the suggested books on style and referencing and familiarize themselves with the required citation style for their assignments.

### **Recommended Writing Guide and Information about Citations**

**Strunk, William and White, E.B. 2014 *The Elements of Style*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Pearson Education Limited.**

### **Citation Management Guide from UF Libraries**

<https://guides.uflib.ufl.edu/citationsoftware>

## Grading

Grades for the Course will be calculated through evaluation of the following assignments:

1. 10 on-line quizzes = 20%
  2. first exam = 20%
  3. second exam = 20%
  4. Attendance = 10%
  5. Paper = 18% (i.e. 9%=draft paper submission; 9%=final paper submission)
  6. Experiential learning: essay = 12%
- TOTAL = 100%

## Grading Scale

I record your points on all assignments over the course of the semester in the Canvas gradebook, which translates total points into a letter grade using a standard grading scale:

A= 94-100% of points possible	A- =90-93%	
B+=87-89%;	B=84-86%	B- =80-83%
C+=77-79%	C=74-76%	C- =70-73%
D+=67-69%	D=64-66%	D- =60-63%
<60=F		

More information on UF grading policy is [available here](#).

## Assignments

- 10 online quizzes (online submission via Canvas)
  - Exam 1 (paper submission, in class)
  - Exam 2 (paper submission, in class)
  - Attendance  
Attendance Grading: Roll call attendance (taken *weekly* and inputted on Canvas *periodically*)
- NB. Participation in the lectures and seminars is highly encouraged for the enhancement of critical skills and better understanding of the topics discussed over the semester.
- Paper (1,900-2000 words strictly); **draft due: 22 September (=9%); final due: 13 October (=9%). (Online submission via Canvas)**
  - Experiential Learning: essay (350-400 words strictly) **due: 10 November. (Online submission via Canvas)**

**NB Required readings are due *each Wednesday*; online quizzes are due on Fridays, as per schedule. It is students' responsibility to cover the reading and submit their answers to the quizzes IN TIME. Students must also ensure that they have *reliable internet connection and appropriate hardware* to access the online quizzes or use the University's facilities.**

### UF student honor code, original work, and plagiarism

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: ‘On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment’.” The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor in this class.

Original thought, writing, and discussion is critical for core questions about our place in the natural world and for meaningful discussions about culture and nature. Please be thoughtful and meticulous in your citations. This video offers useful information for how to avoid plagiarism and cite appropriately:

<https://mediasite.video.ufl.edu/Mediasite/Play/adaa44500eaf460a84f238e6b9a558f9>

If you have any questions, please ask your instructor.

**Plagiarism on any assignment will result in a 0 for that assignment. A second incident of plagiarism will result in a failing grade (E) for the course.**

### Class Attendance and Make-up Policy

There will be no make-up work except in extraordinary and documented cases. **I must have written documentation within 24 hours for any medical or other emergencies which result in a missed assignment.** Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at:

<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>

### Students Requiring Accommodations

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, [www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/](http://www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/)) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

### Course Evaluation

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction as they perceive it in this course—**considering their attendance and participation levels and opportunities they actively took to engage in the learning process and fulfil the course requirements**—by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give **feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at** <https://gatorevals.ua.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they **receive from GatorEvals**, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluer.com/ufl/>.

## Important Student Wellness Resources

*U Matter, We Care:*

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu) or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.

*Counseling and Wellness Center:*

<https://counseling.ufl.edu/>, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

*Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)*

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161. University Police Department, 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies). <http://www.police.ufl.edu/>

## Materials and Supplies Fees

There are no additional fees for this course.

## Weekly Schedule

(Subject to adjustment depending on pace of the class)

### Week 1 (23-27 Aug.)

#### **Introduction/class administration**

Summary: Why is the study of Ancient Greek political thought and democracy still crucially important and timely in the study of modern political theory and practice?

Optional reading:

Orwell, G. 'Politics and the English Language'.

### Week 2 (30 Aug.-3 Sept.)

#### **Athenian democracy: fundamental principles and political ideology.**

Summary: The session aims to offer the political framework within which the Athenian democracy operated over the Classical period, the *polis* (city-state), its fundamental principles and the associated ideology, including freedom and equality.

Required reading:

[Aristotle] *The Constitution of the Athenians*, chapters 5-11 (Solon), 20-22 (Kleisthenes)

Hansen, M. H. 1999 *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, pp.55-85

#### **Quiz 1 due Friday**

### Week 3 (6-10 Sept.)

#### **Athenian democracy and modern democracies: major differences and similarities**

Summary: The session explores the legacy of the Athenian democracy in the modern Western world and major similarities and differences in democratic administration.

Required reading:

Thucydides, Book 2, chapters 34-46

Hansen, M. H. 2005 'Direct Democracy Ancient and Modern', 45-70.

**Quiz 2 due Friday**

#### **Week 4 (13-17 Sept.)**

##### **Political institutions: the Assembly, the Council and the Courts.**

Summary: Study of the executive and judicial powers in Classical Athens and the direct decision-making process: political participation, amateurism, voluntary principle, accountability, publicity.

Required reading:

Carey, C. 2017 *The Democracy of Classical Athens*, 57-77.

Wolpert, A. and Kapparis K. 2011 *Legal Speeches from Democratic Athens*, pp.ix-xxix.

Optional reading:

Hansen, M. H. 1999 *Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, pp. 141-160, 246-265

**Quiz 3 due Friday**

#### **Week 5 (20-24 Sept.)**

##### **Political institutions in the modern democracies. Rule by the people?**

Summary: The session aims to discuss in depth the political institutions of modern democracies and compare those with their ancient counterparts. It also asks a timely question, namely to what extent the people rule in modern democracies?

Required reading:

Dahl, R. 2005 'What Political Institutions does Large-scale Democracy Require?', *Political Science Quarterly* 120, 187-197.

Dahl, R. 1998 'Varieties I: DEMOCRACY ON DIFFERENT SCALES', pp. 100-118.

**Quiz 4 due Friday**

**Deadline for submission of first draft of paper: 22 September**

#### **Week 6 (27 Sept.-1 Oct.)**

##### **Athenian legal system in comparison with modern civil law and common law systems**

Summary: The session focuses on the analysis of the Athenian legal system and its 'otherness' compared to modern civil law and common law systems. We will also address the question what does the study of Athenian law (and Greek law in general) matter for our understanding of modern legal systems through Demosthenes' speech *Against Androtion*.

Required reading:



Demosthenes 22

Dainow, J. (1966) 'The Civil Law and the Common Law: Some Points of Comparison'. *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 15(3), 419-435

**Quiz 5 due Friday**

### **Week 7 (4-8 Oct.)**

**Political leaders, political participation, and control of political power; accountability, checks and balances then and now.**

Summary: Having studied the constitutional, the political, and the legal framework of the Athenian democracy, this session focuses on the political protagonists, the 'political figures' (as against modern 'politicians'), sheds light on political participation – risks and rewards of leadership – and accountability; ultimately, we shall draw conclusions about ancient and modern political practice.

Required reading:

Lysias 16

Mulgan, R. (2003) *Holding Power to Account: accountability in modern democracies*, pp. 36-74.

Optional reading:

Sinclair, R. K. *Democracy and Participation in Classical Athens*, pp. 34-47.

**NB Friday 8 October – NO CLASS (Holiday)**

### **Week 8 (11-15 Oct.)**

**Politics: (not) a woman's job? Women's political rights: ancient Greek political thought and the position of women in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

Summary: This session focuses on a sensitive and most timely issue in the modern world, namely the gender differences reflected onto the women's political rights. Thus we start with a very provocative question to be addressed this week. Having as a starting point women's position in the ancient political thought and practice, we examine the progress on women's political rights and participation in the modern democracies.

Required reading:

Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2001) 'Women and Democracy: cultural obstacles to equal representation', *Journal of Democracy* 12, 126-40.

**Paper final due: 13 October**

**Quiz 6 due Friday**

### **Week 9 (18-22 Oct.)**

Review and mid-term exam

**Exam 1: 22 October**

### **Week 10 (25-29 Oct.)**

Freedom of speech in Classical Athens (*parresia*) and today. Fake news: too much freedom of speech or lack of?

Summary: The session addresses a crucially important matter of heated debate not only in Classical Athens but in modern Western democracies, too: the freedom of speech in action. In addition, it sheds light to a 'modern' global phenomenon



crucially linked with politics in action in democratic societies, fake news and their effects at the time of 'Digital Age'.

Required reading:

Plato, *Apology*

Herman, E. S. & Chomsky, N. 2002 *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of The Mass Media*, ch. 1.

**Quiz 7 due Friday**

### **Week 11 (1-5 Nov.)**

#### **Equal right to free speech? *Isegoria* in Classical Athens and today.**

Summary: A defining principle of the democracy, as it first appears in Herodotus, the Greek historian of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, is examined in depth over the session, which also addresses questions of political theory and political practice in both ancient and modern democracy.

Required Reading:

Herodotus *Histories* Book 5. 78, 92. α 1

Saunders, K. (2017) *Free expression and Democracy*, pp. 1-21 (chapter 1: 'The protection of Free Expression in a Democracy')

**Quiz 8 due Friday**

### **Week 12 (8-12 Nov.)**

#### **State record-keeping and access to information in the ancient Greek world and the era of the 'social media politics'**

Summary: This session explores the important question of transparency and the value of information in Classical democracy (e.g. state records on stone, inscribed financial archives, laws, decrees) and in modern democracies. It also sheds light to the important issue of access to information in ancient and modern democracies and examines issues of mass misinformation and manipulation or propaganda in politics via media/mainstream social media in modern democracies.

Required Reading:

Marwick, A. and Lewis, R. 2017 '[Media manipulation and disinformation online](#)', pp. 4-39

Optional reading:

Sickinger, 1999 'Literacy, Documents, and Archives in the Ancient Athenian Democracy', *The American Archivist* 62, 229-246

**Experiential Learning Essay due: 10 November**

**Quiz 9 due Friday**

### **Week 13 (15-19 Nov.)**

#### **Criticisms to Athenian democracy and modern democratic states.**

Summary: Is democracy the best constitution? Certainly not for great Athenian thinkers like Plato and Ps-Xenophon: this session explores this most timely question in relation not only to ancient democracy but most importantly for modern

democratic societies, through study of texts which highlight defects and vulnerabilities of democracy ancient and modern.

Required Reading:

Pseudo-Xenophon, *The Constitution of the Athenians* and Cartledge 2009, pp. 140-3 (Appendix 2)

Mayer, T. -Wagner, M. (2020) 'The rise of populism in modern democracies', in the *Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, pp. 563-576

Optional Reading:

Sinclair, R. K. 1988 *Democracy and Participation in Classical Athens*, 'The critics of the Athenian democracy', pp. 191-218.

**Quiz 10 due Friday**

**Week 14 (22-26 Nov.)**

**Is after all the democracy a defective constitution? Are there better alternatives? Or is there space for political reform?**

Summary: At the end of the sessions, a vital question still seeks for an answer: ancient political theorists have criticized the democratic constitution and offered alternatives, if not-existing as real options. Modern critics are also debating the extend to which democracy is actually the government of the people or a defective constitution. The session will review the arguments put forward by the ancient critics and compare and contrast various modern views of democracy.

Required reading:

Brennan (2017) *Against Democracy*, pp. 182-203.

**NB Monday 24 and Wednesday 26 November: NO CLASS (Holiday)**

**Week 15 (6-8 Dec.)**

Review, Exam 2

Review

**Exam 2: 8 Dec.**

### **Course Policies**

*(it is students' responsibility to familiarize themselves with the Course Policies and comply with them)*

1. It is responsibility of the students to consult the Canvas shell of the class ahead of each session and complete the required work/assignments.
2. Students are expected to check their email correspondence regularly to ensure that they receive critical correspondence, updates, etc. communicated by the professor.
3. If a student misses a lecture or seminar, it is the student's responsibility to find out the material taught from the Canvas shell, ask their classmates for any notes, and cover the material of the lecture/seminar missed during a given absence.

4. **Attendance is required for this course.** The university recognizes the right of the individual professor to make attendance mandatory. After due warning, professors can prohibit further attendance and subsequently assign a failing grade for excessive absences.
5. **The use of cellular devices during lecture is strictly prohibited. Refusal to comply may result in immediate dismissal from class.**
6. **Academic honesty is expected at all times.** We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity. On all work submitted for credit by students at the university, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.”
7. If you are having difficulties which have an impact on your academic performance in the course—for example, if you fail the first exam—you must arrange for an appointment with the instructor, at your earliest convenience.