Term Information

Effective Term	Autumn 2024
General Information	
Course Bulletin Listing/Subject Area Fiscal Unit/Academic Org	Classics Classics - D0509

riscar onit/Academic org	
College/Academic Group	Arts and Sciences
Level/Career	Undergraduate
Course Number/Catalog	3302
Course Title	Citizenship in Democratic Athens
Transcript Abbreviation	Citizen Dem Athens
Course Description	This class explores the performance of citizenship in ancient Athens. We will study how eighteenth and nineteenth century thinkers sought to marginalize Athens' democratic nature, we will then cover Athens' transformation from oligarchy to tyranny, learn about democracy in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, and examine Athens' political structure
Semester Credit Hours/Units	Fixed: 3

Offering Information

Length Of Course	14 Week, 12 Week
Flexibly Scheduled Course	Never
Does any section of this course have a distance education component?	No
Grading Basis	Letter Grade
Repeatable	No
Course Components	Lecture
Grade Roster Component	Lecture
Credit Available by Exam	No
Admission Condition Course	No
Off Campus	Never
Campus of Offering	Columbus, Lima, Mansfield, Marion, Newark, Wooster

Prerequisites and Exclusions

Prerequisites/Corequisites	English 1110.xx, or completion of GE Foundation Writing and Information Literacy Course, or permission of instructor
Exclusions	
Electronically Enforced	No

Cross-Listings

Cross-Listings

Subject/CIP Code

Subject/CIP Code Subsidy Level Intended Rank 16.1200 Baccalaureate Course Sophomore, Junior, Senior

Requirement/Elective Designation

Citizenship for a Diverse and Just World The course is an elective (for this or other units) or is a service course for other units

Course Details

Course goals or learning objectives/outcomes	 Explore how ideas of democratic citizenship have changed over the past 2,500 years Assess how ancient Athenian notions of engaged citizenship differed from modern liberal democracies Participate in project to construct ideal participatory democracy
Content Topic List	 Democracy and its critics The historical development of Athenian democratic citizenship The performance of citizenship
Sought Concurrence	Enemies of the people No
Attachments	 CLAS 3302 Athenian democracy syllabus OSU template draft 4-14.pdf (Syllabus. Owner: Jama, Khalid M) CLAS 3302 Athenian democracy ELOs draft 4-14.pdf: GE Themes Submission Form

(Other Supporting Documentation. Owner: Jama,Khalid M)
Classics Undergraduate Curriculum Map.xlsx: Curriculum Map

(Other Supporting Documentation. Owner: Jama,Khalid M)

Comments

Workflow Information

Status	User(s)	Date/Time	Step
Submitted	Jama,Khalid M	04/18/2023 09:23 AM	Submitted for Approval
Approved	Fullerton,Mark David	04/18/2023 09:23 AM	Unit Approval
Approved	Vankeerbergen,Bernadet te Chantal	04/25/2023 03:29 PM	College Approval
Pending Approval	Jenkins,Mary Ellen Bigler Hanlin,Deborah Kay Hilty,Michael Vankeerbergen,Bernadet te Chantal Steele,Rachel Lea	04/25/2023 03:29 PM	ASCCAO Approval

Citizenship in Democratic Athens

Classics 3302 Autumn 2024

Course Information

- Course times and location: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.
- Credit hours: 3
- Mode of delivery: In Person Lecture

Instructor

- **Name:** Christopher Parmenter (although this course has been designed to be a template for other faculty interested in teaching the course in the future)
- Email: parmenter.14@osu.edu
- Office location: 414 University Hall
- Office hours: Mondays and Wednesdays from 10:20 a.m.-11:15 a.m.
- Preferred means of communication:
 - $\circ~$ My preferred method of communication for questions is **email.**
 - My class-wide communications will be sent through the Announcements tool in CarmenCanvas. Please check your <u>notification preferences</u> (go.osu.edu/canvasnotifications) to be sure you receive these messages.
 - You are responsible for reading the communications I send about this course, and I do my best to respond promptly to all your emails.



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Land Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge the land that The Ohio State University occupies is the ancestral and contemporary territory of the Shawnee, Potawatomi, Delaware, Miami, Peoria, Seneca, Wyandotte, Ojibwe and Cherokee peoples. Specifically, the university resides on land ceded in the 1795 Treaty of Greeneville and the forced removal of tribes through the Indian Removal Act of 1830. As a land grant institution, we want to honor the resiliency of these tribal nations and recognize the historical contexts that has and continues to affect the Indigenous peoples of this land.

Course Description

"Politics," the great Trinidadian Marxist C.L.R. James once wrote of ancient Athens, "was not the activity of your spare time, nor the activity of experts paid specially to do it." In a seminal 1956 essay, James pointed to ancient Athens as a model of what a socialist state should look like: it was run directly by a mobilized citizen body without the authority of experts, bureaucrats, or judges. To many in America, this might be surprising: we have been trained to find the origins of our technocratic, representative democracy in Athens, which was allegedly the world's first. Across history, Athens' democracy, which flourished between 508-323 BCE, has shined like a beacon, drawing radicals, visionaries, lawmakers, and thinkers who dreamed of a society where the people made the rules. How is it the case that thinkers across the ideological spectrum have idolized the same thing?

This class explores the performance of citizenship in the world's oldest documented democracy. Beginning with a retrospective on how eighteenth and nineteenth century thinkers sought to marginalize Athens' democratic nature (Part 1), we will then cover Athens' transformation from oligarchy to tyranny and finally democracy in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (Part 2). Moving on, we will take a structural survey of Athens' political structure, paying close attention how its institutions transformed over time in response to citizen demands (Part 3). Finally, in Part 4 we will explore opposition to democracy in Athens, as well as the various attempts of its elites to overturn the system.

Through our readings, we will uncover why Athens' unique model of citizen participation has proven so seductive over time—and how we can improve our own practice of citizenship by learning about theirs.



GE Theme: Citizenship for a Diverse and Just World - Learning Outcomes

Goal 1: Successful students will analyze an important topic or idea at a more advanced and in-depth level than the foundations. In this context, "advanced" refers to courses that are e.g., synthetic, rely on research or cutting-edge findings, or deeply engage with the subject matter, among other possibilities.

ELO 1.1 Engage in critical and logical thinking.

ELO 1.2 Engage in an advanced, in-depth, scholarly exploration of the topic or ideas within this theme.

Goal 2: Successful students will integrate approaches to the theme by making connections to out-of- classroom experiences with academic knowledge or across disciplines and/or to work they have done in previous classes and that they anticipate doing in future.

ELO 2.1 Identify, describe, and synthesize approaches or experiences.

ELO 2.2 Demonstrate a developing sense of self as a learner through reflection, selfassessment, and creative work, building on prior experiences to respond to new and challenging contexts.

Goal 3: Successful students will explore and analyze a range of perspectives on local, national, or global citizenship, and apply the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that constitute citizenship.

ELO 3.1 Describe and analyze a range of perspectives on what constitutes citizenship and how it differs across political, cultural, national, global, and/or historical communities.

ELO 3.2 Identify, reflect on, and apply the knowledge, skills and dispositions required for intercultural competence as a global citizen.

Goal 4: Successful students will examine notions of justice amidst difference and analyze and critique how these interact with historically and socially constructed ideas of citizenship and membership within societies, both within the US and/or around the world.

ELO 4.1 Examine, critique, and evaluate various expressions and implications of diversity, equity, inclusion, and explore a variety of lived experiences. **ELO 4.2** Analyze and critique the intersection of concepts of justice, difference, citizenship, and how these interact with cultural traditions, structures of power and/ or advocacy for social change.

• **GOALS AND ELOS:** Students in this course will fulfill the Goals and ELOs for the Ctizenship Theme by 1) exploring how ideas of democratic citizenship have changed over the past 2,500 years; 2) assessing how that ancient Athenian notions of engaged citizenship differed from modern liberal democracies; 3) participating in a final group project to construct an ideal participatory democracy that balances issues of justice, fairness, and democratic decision-making.



How This Course Works

Mode of delivery: This course is 100% in person

Assignments and Assessments

- **Daily Reading and Preparation:** Come prepared to discuss each day's reading assignment. This means you must complete the reading and be able to consult the assignment in class.
- Attendance and Participation: This class is an opportunity to learn from each other, and I look forward to learning from and with you. You will have opportunities to contribute to class discussion both orally and in writing.
- Response Essays (4): In a reading response, you will <u>summarize</u> a given <u>secondary</u> reading (marked with an *) and either explain why the argument works—or offer a critique based on your reading of the <u>primary sources</u>. Responses should be no longer than <u>500 words</u>. Responses must include a coherent <u>thesis statement</u>, proper citations <u>of sources</u>, and a <u>definitive conclusion</u>. You must write a response to at least one <u>secondary reading</u> from each part of the course.
- **Midterm Exams (3):** These exams are designed to make sure you keep up with basic concepts, including <u>chronology</u>, <u>geography</u>, <u>concepts</u>, and <u>themes</u>.
- Final Project: A c. 2000 word group writing project due in week 11. For this assignment, students will be grouped into 5 committees consisting of at least 4 students. Committees tasked to write the constitution of an ideal participatory democracy. How will their system balance concerns of individual fairness with collective governance? How will they balance the power of individual officeholders with the rights of the entire community? Prior to turning in the assignment, committees are required to meet at least twice in presence of instructor. Committees will report on their projects to the class in week 11, after which the class as a whole will vote to award the best. Students will be graded on their level of participation in deliberations, class presentation, and quality of written assignment.

Credit hours and work expectations: This is a [3] credit-hour course. According to <u>Ohio</u> <u>State bylaws on instruction</u> (go.osu.edu/credithours), students should expect around [3] hours per week of time spent on direct instruction (instructor content and Carmen activities, for example) in addition to [6] hours of homework (reading and assignment preparation, for example) to receive a grade of [C] average.

Attendance and participation requirements: Research shows regular participation is one of the highest predictors of success. With that in mind, I have the following expectations for everyone's participation:



Participating in class: at least twice per week

You are expected to attend each class having read the assignment and ready to ask questions / share observations. If you have a situation that might cause you to miss an entire week of class, discuss it with me *as soon as possible*.

• **Electronics:** Cell phones must be turned off and put away during class time. You are welcome to use your computer or tablet for class-related purposes only.

Office hours: optional

Office hours are optional. I encourage you to come talk to me in office hours so we can get to know each other better, and I'm happy to discuss any concerns or questions you have about the course. I'd also love to chat with you about further opportunities for studying the ancient world at OSU. To make an appointment to meet with me, please send me an email.

Required Materials and/or Technologies

• All materials are available through Carmen or the OSU Library.

Required Equipment

- **Computer:** current Mac (MacOS) or PC (Windows 10) with high-speed internet connection
- Webcam: built-in or external webcam, fully installed and tested
- **Microphone:** built-in laptop or tablet mic or external microphone
- **Other:** a mobile device (smartphone or tablet) to use for BuckeyePass authentication

If you do not have access to the technology you need to succeed in this class, review options for technology and internet access at <u>go.osu.edu/student-tech-access</u>.

Required Software

Microsoft Office 365: All Ohio State students are now eligible for free Microsoft Office 365. Visit the <u>installing Office 365</u> (go.osu.edu/office365help) help article for full instructions.

CarmenCanvas Access

You will need to use <u>BuckeyePass</u> (buckeyepass.osu.edu) multi-factor authentication to access your courses in Carmen. To ensure that you are able to connect to Carmen at all times, it is recommended that you do each of the following:

• Register multiple devices in case something happens to your primary device. Visit the <u>BuckeyePass - Adding a Device</u> (go.osu.edu/add-device) help article for step-by-step instructions.



- Request passcodes to keep as a backup authentication option. When you see the Duo login screen on your computer, click Enter a Passcode and then click the Text me new codes button that appears. This will text you ten passcodes good for 365 days that can each be used once.
- Install the Duo Mobile application (go.osu.edu/install-duo) on all of your registered devices for the ability to generate one-time codes in the event that you lose cell, data, or Wi-Fi service.

If none of these options will meet the needs of your situation, you can contact the IT Service Desk at <u>614-688-4357 (HELP)</u> and IT support staff will work out a solution with you.

Technology Skills Needed for This Course

- Basic computer and web-browsing skills
- Navigating CarmenCanvas (go.osu.edu/canvasstudent)
- <u>CarmenZoom virtual meetings</u> (go.osu.edu/zoom-meetings)
- <u>Recording a slide presentation with audio narration and recording, editing and uploading</u> <u>video</u> (go.osu.edu/video-assignment-guide)

Technology Support

For help with your password, university email, CarmenCanvas, or any other technology issues, questions or requests, contact the IT Service Desk, which offers 24-hour support, seven days a week.

- Self Service and Chat: go.osu.edu/it
- Phone: 614-688-4357 (HELP)
- Email: <u>servicedesk@osu.edu</u>

Grading and Faculty Response

If you need an extension on an assignment or to make up an exam, please contact me as soon as possible. I understand that emergencies happen, but in general, the sooner I know there might be a problem, the more likely we can come to a fair solution.



How Your Grade is Calculated

Assignment Category	Percentage
Attendance and Participation	10%
Response Essays	30% (10% each)
Midterm Exams	30% (10% each)
Final Paper or Project	30%

See <u>Course Schedule</u> for due dates.

Descriptions of Major Course Assignments

Response essays

Description: In a reading response, you will <u>summarize</u> a given <u>secondary reading</u> (**marked with an** *) and either explain why the argument works—or offer a critique based on your reading of the <u>primary sources</u>. Responses should be no longer than <u>500 words</u>. Responses must include a coherent <u>thesis statement</u>, proper citations of sources, and a <u>definitive</u> <u>conclusion</u>. You must write a response to at least one secondary reading from each part of the <u>course</u>.

Midterm exam

Description: These exams are designed to make sure you keep up with basic concepts, including <u>chronology</u>, <u>geography</u>, <u>concepts</u>, and <u>themes</u>.

Final essay or project

Description: A c. 2000 word group writing project due in week 11. For this assignment, students will be grouped into 5 committees consisting of at least 4 students. Committees tasked to write the constitution of an ideal participatory democracy. How will their system balance concerns of individual fairness with collective governance? How will they balance the power of individual officeholders with the rights of the entire community? <u>Prior to turning in the assignment, committees are required to meet at least twice in presence of instructor.</u> Committees will report on their projects to the class in week 11, after which the class as a



whole will vote to award the best. Students will be graded on their level of participation in deliberations, class presentation, and quality of written assignment.

Academic integrity and collaboration: Your written assignments, including discussion posts, should be your own original work. In formal assignments, you should follow MLA/APA/Chicago style to cite the ideas and words of your research sources. You are encouraged to ask a trusted person to proofread your assignments before you turn them in but no one else should revise or rewrite your work.

Late Assignments

Please refer to Carmen for due dates. Due dates are set to help you stay on pace and to allow timely feedback that will help you complete subsequent assignments.

Instructor Feedback and Response Time

- Preferred contact method: If you have a question, please contact me first through my Ohio State email address. I will reply to emails within 24 hours on days when class is in session at the university.
- Class announcements: I will send all important class-wide messages through the Announcements tool in CarmenCanvas. Please check <u>your notification preferences</u> (go.osu.edu/canvas-notifications) to ensure you receive these messages.
- **Grading and feedback:** For assignments submitted before the due date, I will try to provide feedback and grades within **seven days**. Assignments submitted after the due date may have reduced feedback, and grades may take longer to be posted.]

Grading Scale

93–100: A 90–92.9: A- 87– 89.9: B+ 83–86.9: B 80–82.9: B- 77– 79.9: C+ 73–76.9: C 70–72.9: C- 67– 69.9: D+ 60–66.9: D



Below 60: E

College of Arts and Sciences Department of Classics



The Ohio State University

Other Course Policies

Discussion and Communication Guidelines

[Example: The following are my expectations for how we should communicate as a class. Above all, please remember to be respectful and thoughtful.

- Writing style: While there is no need to participate in class discussions as if you were writing a research paper, you should remember to write using good grammar, spelling, and punctuation. A more conversational tone is fine for non-academic topics.
- **Tone and civility**: Let's maintain a supportive learning community where everyone feels safe and where people can disagree amicably. Remember that sarcasm doesn't always come across online. I will provide specific guidance for discussions on controversial or personal topics.
- **Citing your sources**: When we have academic discussions, please cite your sources to back up what you say. For the textbook or other course materials, list at least the title and page numbers. For online sources, include a link.
- **Backing up your work**: Consider composing your academic posts in a word processor, where you can save your work, and then copying into the Carmen discussion.
- **Electronics:** Cell phones must be turned off and put away during class time. You are welcome to use your computer or tablet for class-related purposes only.

Academic Integrity Policy

See <u>Descriptions of Major Course Assignments</u> for specific guidelines about collaboration and academic integrity in the context of this online class.

Ohio State's Academic Integrity Policy

Academic integrity is essential to maintaining an environment that fosters excellence in teaching, research, and other educational and scholarly activities. Thus, The Ohio State University and the Committee on Academic Misconduct (COAM) expect that all students have read and understand the university's <u>Code of Student Conduct</u> (studentconduct.osu.edu), and that all students will complete all academic and scholarly assignments with fairness and honesty. Students must recognize that failure to follow the rules and guidelines established in the university's <u>Code of Student Conduct</u> and this syllabus may constitute "Academic Misconduct."



The Ohio State University's *Code of Student Conduct* (Section 3335-23-04) defines academic misconduct as: "Any activity that tends to compromise the academic integrity of the university or subvert the educational process." Examples of academic misconduct include (but are not limited to) plagiarism, collusion (unauthorized collaboration), copying the work of another student, and possession of unauthorized materials during an examination. Ignorance of the university's *Code of Student Conduct* is never considered an excuse for academic misconduct, so I recommend that you review the *Code of Student Conduct* and, specifically, the sections dealing with academic misconduct.

If I suspect that a student has committed academic misconduct in this course, I am obligated by university rules to report my suspicions to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. If COAM determines that you have violated the university's Code of Student Conduct (i.e., committed academic misconduct), the sanctions for the misconduct could include a failing grade in this course and suspension or dismissal from the university. If you have any questions about the above policy or what constitutes academic misconduct in this course, please contact me.

Other sources of information on academic misconduct (integrity) to which you can refer include:

- Committee on Academic Misconduct (go.osu.edu/coam)
- <u>Ten Suggestions for Preserving Academic Integrity</u> (go.osu.edu/ten-suggestions)
- <u>Eight Cardinal Rules of Academic Integrity</u> (go.osu.edu/cardinal-rules)

Copyright for Instructional Materials

The materials used in connection with this course may be subject to copyright protection and are only for the use of students officially enrolled in the course for the educational purposes associated with the course. Copyright law must be considered before copying, retaining, or disseminating materials outside of the course.

Creating an Environment Free from Harassment, Discrimination, and Sexual Misconduct

The Ohio State University is committed to building and maintaining a community to reflect diversity and to improve opportunities for all. All Buckeyes have the right to be free from harassment, discrimination, and sexual misconduct. Ohio State does not discriminate on the basis of age, ancestry, color, disability, ethnicity, gender, gender identity or expression, genetic information, HIV/AIDS status, military status, national origin, pregnancy (childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy, or recovery therefrom), race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, or protected veteran status, or any other bases under the law, in its activities, academic programs, admission, and employment. Members of the university community also

The Ohio State University

have the right to be free from all forms of sexual misconduct: sexual harassment, sexual assault, relationship violence, stalking, and sexual exploitation.

To report harassment, discrimination, sexual misconduct, or retaliation and/or seek confidential and non-confidential resources and supportive measures, contact the Office of Institutional Equity:

- 1. Online reporting form at equity.osu.edu,
- 2. Call 614-247-5838 or TTY 614-688-8605,
- 3. Or email equity@osu.edu

The university is committed to stopping sexual misconduct, preventing its recurrence, eliminating any hostile environment, and remedying its discriminatory effects. All university employees have reporting responsibilities to the Office of Institutional Equity to ensure the university can take appropriate action:

- All university employees, except those exempted by legal privilege of confidentiality or expressly identified as a confidential reporter, have an obligation to report incidents of sexual assault immediately.
- The following employees have an obligation to report all other forms of sexual misconduct as soon as practicable but at most within five workdays of becoming aware of such information: 1. Any human resource professional (HRP); 2. Anyone who supervises faculty, staff, students, or volunteers; 3. Chair/director; and 4. Faculty member.

Your Mental Health

As a student you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, feeling down, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may lead to diminished academic performance or reduce a student's ability to participate in daily activities. No matter where you are engaged in distance learning, The Ohio State University's Student Life Counseling and Consultation Service (CCS) is here to support you. If you find yourself feeling isolated, anxious or overwhelmed, <u>on-demand mental health resources</u> (go.osu.edu/ccsondemand) are available. You can reach an on-call counselor when CCS is closed at <u>614-292-5766</u>. **24-hour emergency help** is available through the <u>National Suicide</u> <u>Prevention Lifeline website</u> (suicidepreventionlifeline.org) or by calling <u>1-800-273-8255(TALK)</u>. <u>The Ohio State Wellness app</u> (go.osu.edu/wellnessapp) is also a great resource.



Accessibility Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Requesting Accommodations

The university strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability including mental health, chronic or temporary medical conditions, please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. To establish reasonable accommodations, I may request that you register with <u>Student Life Disability Services (SLDS)</u>. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. In light of the current pandemic, students seeking to request COVID-related accommodations may do so through the university's request process, managed by Student Life Disability Services.

Disability Services Contact Information

- Phone: <u>614-292-3307</u>
- Website: <u>slds.osu.edu</u>
- Email: slds@osu.edu
- In person: <u>Baker Hall 098, 113 W. 12th Avenue</u>

Accessibility of Course Technology

This online course requires use of CarmenCanvas (Ohio State's learning management system) and other online communication and multimedia tools. If you need additional services to use these technologies, please request accommodations as early as possible.

- <u>CarmenCanvas accessibility</u> (go.osu.edu/canvas-accessibility)
- Streaming audio and video
- <u>CarmenZoom accessibility</u> (go.osu.edu/zoom-accessibility)

Course Schedule

Refer to the CarmenCanvas course for up-to-date due dates.

Part 1: Democracy and its critics

Week 1: An engaged citizenry

<u>1: Intro</u> C.L.R. James (1956), "<u>Every cook can govern</u>." *Correspondence* 2.12. <u>2: What is citizenship?</u>



Aristotle, Politics book 3

J. Blok (2016), *Citizenship in Classical Athens.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1 (p. 1-21, 30-31)

Week 2: The problem with democracy

1: The cycle of governments

Herodotus book 3.80-88 Plato, *Republic* book 8

2: The oligarchic critique

Federalist Paper no. 10

*R. Michels (1966 [1911]), *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy.* New York: Simon and Schuster. Preface, Part 1 Chs. 1-2 (p. 7-30)

Week 3: Other models of citizenship

1: The exemplarity of the ancients

*D. Graeber and D. Wengrow (2020), "<u>Hiding in Plain Sight: Democracy's Indigenous</u> Origins in the Americas." *Lapham's Quarterly*.

The Instrument of Government (1653)

2: Midterm 1

Part 2: The historical development of Athenian democratic citizenship

Week 4: Citizenship in the early polis

1: Property and wealth * L Ober (2010) "Wealthy

*J. Ober (2010), "Wealthy Hellas." *TAPA* 140.2: 241-86.

- Hesiod, Works and Days
- <u>2: Basileus and demos</u> Homer, *Iliad* books 1-2 Dossier of early Greek laws

Week 5: Citizenship in Proto-Archaic Athens

1: "The gods, the heroes, and the east"

- *I. Morris (2000), Archaeology and Cultural History. London: Routledge. Ch. 4 (p. 109-54).
- N. Arrington, G. Spyropoulos, and D.J. Brellas (2021), "Glimpses of the Invisible Dead: A 7th Century B.C. Burial Plot in Northern Piraeus." *Hesperia* 90.2: 233-79. (Read p. 233-37, 266-69).

2: Dracon, Solon, and Pisistratus

Ps.-Aristotle, The Constitution of Athens sections 2-20

Week 6: From tyranny to democracy

1: The Athenian democratic revolution

Ps.-Aristotle, *The Constitution of Athens* sections 21-22 Herodotus, *Histories* books 1.59-64, 5.55-78



*J. Ober (1993), "The Athenian Revolution of 508/7 BCE: Violence, Authority, and the Origins of Democracy" in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*, eds. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 215-32

2: Ephialtes and radical democracy

D. Phillips (2013), *The Laws of Ancient Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Introduction (p. 1-43).

Ps.-Aristotle, The Constitution of Athens 23-29

Week 7: A democratic empire?

1: The greater Athenian state?

Dossier of Athenian laws

*I. Morris (2009), "The Greater Athenian State," in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires,* eds. I. Morris and W. Scheidel. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Ch. 4, p. 88-177)

2: Midterm 2

Part 3: The performance of citizenship

Week 8: Institutions

1: The workings of the state

Ps.-Aristotle, The Constitution of Athens sections 42-69

2: Elites grumble

Ps.-Xenophon, The Constitution of Athens

Week 9: Equal citizenship

1: Citizen equality

Herodotus, *Histories* book 1.28-33

Thucydides, Histories book 2.34-46

*J. Ober (1989), *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 4 (p. 156-91).

2: Trial by jury

Aristophanes, Wasps

^{ICF} Students must schedule first meeting for final assignment this week

Week 10: Gender, descent, and citizenship

1: Racial citizenship?

- D. Phillips (2013), *The Laws of Ancient Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 6 (p. 174-215).
- 2: The boundaries of citizenship
 - *S. Lape (2010), *Race and Citizen Identity in the Athenian Democracy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1 (p. 1-52)
- Students must schedule second meeting for final assignment this week



Week 11: Non-citizens

1: Policing the boundaries

Ps.-Demosthenes, Speech 59 (Against Neaira)

*R.F. Kennedy (2014), Immigrant Women in Athens: Gender, Ethnicity, and Citizenship in the Classical City. New York: Routledge. (Ch. 1, p. 12-25).

2: Committee reports

Final assignment due

Part 4: Enemies of the people

Week 12: Anti-democracy

1: The coup of 411

Ps.-Aristotle, *The Constitution of Athens* sections 29-41 Xenophon, *Hellenica* book 2.3-4

2: The coup of 404

Lysias, Speech 12 (Against Eratosthenes)

Week 13: Conspiring against the citizens

1: Betraying the people

- D. Phillips (2013), *The Laws of Ancient Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 12 (p. 463-507).
- 2: An unsympathetic defendant Plato, *Apology*

Week 14: Wrapping things up

<u>1: The people and their commonwealth</u> Lycurgus, *Speech* 1 (Against Leocrates) <u>2: Midterm 3</u>



Goal 1: Successful students will analyze an important topic or idea at a more advanced and indepth level than the foundations. In this context, "advanced" refers to courses that are e.g., synthetic, rely on research or cutting-edge findings, or deeply engage with the subject matter, among other possibilities.

ELO 1.1 Engage in critical and logical thinking.

Athenian democracy was a form of governance that defies a modern sensibility. Working under twin ideologies of isonomia (equality under the law) and isogoria (equality in speech), Athenians showed a massive enthusiasm towards a system where citizen assemblies possessed the ability to do nearly anything they wanted without strictures of constitutional law, technocratic experts, bureaucracy, or individual rights. Such a reality challenges most students' notions of how a democracy works. Athenians possessed a radical freedom of civic action alien to the American system of lawyers, judges, legislative committees, and constitutional law. In American politics, governments at every level routinely make unpopular decisions as a matter of upholding 'rule of law' (Many of these will come to mind, but it suffices to say that anyone who has ever followed a local zoning dispute will be familiar). Such would never be allowable under Athenian democracy. Athenian government, on the other hand, regularly facilitated state action against individual citizens unconscionable under an American understanding of fairness. It was predicated on the exclusion of the majority of its population-women, non-citizens, enslaved people-from civic participation. Does Athens' radically participatory system of government meet today's standard of justice?

The goal of this course is precisely to unsettle students' understanding of democracy and citizenship with a look at one particular ancient democracy. Through consistently challenging readings, writing responses, three tests, and a collective final assignment, students will be challenged to examine the contradictions of a system that maximized equality among citizens—and yet produced strikingly unequal outcomes for members of outgroups. We hope students will come out of this class with new perspectives on their own practice of citizenship in modern representative democracies.

ELO 1.2 Engage in an advanced, in-depth, scholarly exploration of the topic or ideas within this theme.

Students in this course will be expected to read c. 75 pages of material weekly in order to keep up with class discussions. Each week, we will balance direct reading of ancient sources—particularly the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*—with secondary readings written over the past 15 years. They will be tasked to write four reading responses, one for each of the four sections of the course. This will facilitate the production of the research paper due in week 11.

Scholarship on Greek democracy since the early 2000s has been profoundly influenced by advancements in political theory and economics—particularly the New Institutional Economics, which is favored by scholars that include Josiah Ober and Ian Morris. While

students will not come away as experts in politics or economics *per se*, they will develop a high level of understanding of how institutions shape the course of political action.

Goal 2: Successful students will integrate approaches to the theme by making connections to out-of- classroom experiences with academic knowledge or across disciplines and/or to work they have done in previous classes and that they anticipate doing in future.

ELO 2.1 Identify, describe, and synthesize approaches or experiences.

The study of ancient Athens has been markedly shaped over the past two decades by a theory known as New Institutional Economics, which focuses on how institutions dynamically respond to external stimuli. "Dynamic" is the key word to remember when studying Athenian democracy; in the absence of the strong constitutional strictures that characterize modern representative democracies, the Athenian state possessed an extreme flexibility that granted it the ability to endure times of extreme pressure. In many ways, the protean ability of the Athenian state matches the expectations of young voters. The past decade has laid bare the inability of representative democracies to meet contemporary challenges, ranging from the explosion of wealth inequality, the climate catastrophe, or bread and butter issues like cost of living. How might students exposed to the workings of democracy in ancient Athens use its lessons to reimagine their own world?

We will press this question in particular in Part 2, where we will look at how a fundamentally non-democratic system—Athens in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, where oligarchy and tyranny prevailed—transformed into a radical democracy after 508 BCE.

ELO 2.2 Demonstrate a developing sense of self as a learner through reflection, self-assessment, and creative work, building on prior experiences to respond to new and challenging contexts.

Our students at OSU are in a period of their lives when they are engaged, informed, and excited to participate in the political process for the first time. Many of our students will have voted in their first two years of college, and some will be familiar with other aspects of a representative political system: jury duty, working for political candidates, the criminal justice system, local government, etc. Young voters recognize a profound disconnect with the weakness of an individual citizen's voice compared to the enormous institutional structure of politics in this country. The goal of this class is to encourage students to ask: is this system the best way of balancing self-governance with individual rights? How might it be improved? What are the strengths and weaknesses of both systems?

One area of particular interest for this class will be discussed at length in Part 3. This is the Athenian use of sortition, or "the drawing of lots"—in place of election—to select candidates for political offices. This offers rich possibilities for classroom exercises. For instance, in weeks 8-9 I anticipate splitting students up into groups and then drawing

names to form committees to draft responses to debate questions I will circulate prior to class. This will simulate two processes: the grand jury in the American system and the workings of the *Boule*, or executive committee of the Athenian assembly. Doing so, I hope to help students build faith in both sortition and collective work as systems of governance.

I am particularly excited about our final assignment, due week 11. For this assignment, students will be split up into c. five committees of at least four students. They will be tasked to write the constitution of an ideal participatory democracy and present it to the class as a whole to vote on the best. (Committees will be required to meet at least twice in presence of instructor, which will allow students to be individually graded on contribution). This will give students firsthand experience at what a system of governance that depended on sortition and committee service looks like—and how collective labor requires participation, acceptance, and compromise.

Goal 3: Successful students will explore and analyze a range of perspectives on local, national, or global citizenship, and apply the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that constitute citizenship.

ELO 3.1 Describe and analyze a range of perspectives on what constitutes citizenship and how it differs across political, cultural, national, global, and/or historical communities.

Contemporary Americans regard citizenship as an afterthought—although it occasionally involves duties (e.g. jury service), exercises of citizenship are generally voluntary and brief (e.g. voting). This class will push students to explore a system very much the opposite. Athens is a shining example of a system that functioned only through the work of engaged, highly mobilized citizens for whom the exercise of citizenship was a major part of everyday life.

Part 1 of class focuses on the contrasts between our system and the Athenians by introducing the concept of oligarchy. Reflecting on Robert Michel's "Iron Law of Oligarchy," we will explore how political theorists from Herodotus and Aristotle to the American Founders (*Federalist* 10) believed that all systems of participatory government curve towards oligarchy. Through our reading of David Wengrow and David Graeber, we will then challenge this assumption. Democracies predicated on mobilized citizens have flourished all over the world in all periods. What makes Athens special is its level of documentation, which offers guidance as to how a system might work in detail.

Through the semester, students will have to write four 500 word responses to secondary scholarship. One response must come from each part of the course. Therefore, students will be required to respond to either the Michels or the Wengrow/Graeber reading in depth.

ELO 3.2 Identify, reflect on, and apply the knowledge, skills and dispositions required for intercultural competence as a global citizen.

Students, for the most part, imagine the history of democracy as follows: it begins in Athens, disappears, and reemerges in America in 1776. This class challenges students to see participatory government as a continual experiment that has carried on through world history—but one that, at least in the European tradition, has always looked upon Athens as a referent. As such, I emphasize the *peculiarity* of the Athenian system to its local circumstances. Doing so will encourage students to see democratic citizenship as an institution that has, and can, develop in many circumstances around the world and across history.

Part 2 asks students to examine the conditions out of which participatory government emerges using both textual and archaeological datasets. I find the latter particularly important for this ELO, as it asks the following question. How do we identify a 'democracy' in a historical society that lacks the extensive textual documentation that Athens produced? Thus even though some of the readings in this week are technical (e.g. the Arrington, Spyropoulos, and Brellas reading in week 5), it will push students outside their comfort zone of 'founding documents' to consider what other datasets can teach us.

Likewise, the class' marquis assignment in Part 3 asks students, split up by sortition into committees, to determine what makes a 'just' democracy by writing the constitution of one. (Students first meet together as committees in weeks 8/9 and present their findings to the class in week 11, which will then vote as an assembly on the best proposal). The rules for what constitutes the most 'just' democracy are not hard and fast; rather, they are up the students, and one thing I anticipate is a vigorous debate over what constitutes a 'just' or 'equitable' system. This will largely depend on students being able to articulate ideas conceived as part of their own upbringings. As such, they will learn to negotiate difference as a group through speaking and persuasion.

Goal 4: Successful students will examine notions of justice amidst difference and analyze and critique how these interact with historically and socially constructed ideas of citizenship and membership within societies, both within the US and/or around the world.

ELO 4.1 Examine, critique, and evaluate various expressions and implications of diversity, equity, inclusion, and explore a variety of lived experiences.

The goals of this ELO are especially met in Parts 1 and 3, where we will examine the factors that constituted the 'performance' of citizenship in democratic Athens. (This terminology itself is introduced with our reading of Blok in week 1). Athenian citizenship was not a legal entitlement, as citizenship tends to be in the modern world. Rather, it was a revokable privilege granted to people who met very restrictive conditions of birth, contingent on performance of specific duties. As Susan Lape, Rebecca Kennedy, and other recent scholars have argued, performing these duties adequately meant acknowledging and reinscribing discrete categories of gender, religion, and (to use terminology increasingly accepted by scholars), race.

Part 3 looks at various cases where Athenian citizens have their citizenship challenged in court for either for perceived failures to perform or failure to meet criteria of descent. In

weeks 9-12, we cycle through legal cases that attempted to denaturalize or even execute citizens who failed to espouse the ideology of citizen equality; whose right to citizenship by birth was challenged; and relatively rare litigation involving the rights of women, who although barred from political participation were considered citizens themselves. Although some of the cases we will cover are well known (e.g. Socrates), we will also encounter other cases: a man whose grandfather had a foreign accent; a formerly enslaved sex worker charged with misrepresenting her identity.

This unit asks students challenging questions about the nature of direct, participatory government unconstrained by legal strictures. If a radically participatory government has the power to enact anything—including denaturalizations of disfavored members—can it be considered just? Conversely, how did individuals caught in such situations leverage language based on their own lived experiences to argue for their own cases before a jury of their peers?

ELO 4.2 Analyze and critique the intersection of concepts of justice, difference, citizenship, and how these interact with cultural traditions, structures of power and/or advocacy for social change.

In Parts 1 and 4, students will directly face the question of how, when, and whether a radically participatory government can be just. Authors we meet in Part 1 (Aristotle, Plutarch, Herodotus) directly question what the consequences are when a democracy makes an unjust decision towards a particular citizen. These were questions that preoccupied the American founders, and such questions will be familiar to students who grew up under this system. In the United States, we frequently call upon an unelected branch of government—the courts—to issue injunctions upon the elected branches in the event they do injustice to a citizen. Such a tactic obviously did not exist in Athens, which feels like a weakness.

But in Part 4, we explore what the consequences might be of having laws, judges, or other restraints imposed upon a radically participatory democracy. The consistent hope of all ancient critics of democracy was oligarchy: rule by the privileged and wealthy few. Part 4 explores various moments when the elite attempted to topple Athenian democracy, particularly in the years at the end of the fifth century BCE when Athens was losing its massive war with Sparta. After these oligarchic efforts failed, Athenian citizens responded by formalizing new structures of power to secure the rule of the people. (Most importantly, the Athenians compiled and wrote down their laws for the first time). This led to a system best preserved in the orators of the fourth century BCE, who used their knowledge of such laws to represent elite interests in a political system firmly dominated by the people.

Students will come away from Part 4 with an understanding of how even radically participatory systems come to terms with the existence of social inequality. Ultimately, Athenian democracy represents a success at this: it lasted for nearly two centuries, against poor odds.