ZAYTUNA COLLEGE

Principles of Democracy

Course Title	Principles of Democracy
Semester	Fall
Year	2023
Credit Hours	3
Instructor	Fr Francisco Nahoe OFMConv
Instructor Email	nahoe@zaytuna.edu
Class Meeting Time	Mon 2:30 PM –4:00 PM; Fri 11:00 AM–12:30 PM
Break Policy	We will have 45 minutes of class, then a break for five minutes, then 40 minutes of class to the end of the period. Please return promptly.
Office Hours	Mon 10:00 AM–12:30 PM; Wed 11:00 AM–12:30 PM; and by appointment Mon, Wed, Thurs, Fri

Course Description

What do modern people mean when they speak of democracy? Is democracy always a government of the people, by the people, for the people? What are the historical roots of democracy? How do democratic institutions function in the modern world? What is the view of democracy in Islam? Answers to these questions require a detailed investigation of foundational assumptions about democratic rule, the variety of political institutions that make it work, and the social impact that results therefrom. First, we survey historical critiques of democracy and republics in Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Livy, and Machiavelli. Next, we consider the systematic political taxonomy of Montesquieu, together with his theory of the separation of powers. Afterwards, we focus upon the United States specifically and the concept of democratic pluralism as it unfolds in the Federalists (Hamilton, Madison, Jay), the anti-Federalists (Jefferson, Henry, Mason), the US Constitution itself, and de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Finally, these classical treatments of democracy become the lens through which the seminar will examine a contemporary work by Andrew March: *The Caliphate of Man: Popular Sovereignty in Modern Islamic Thought*.

Expanded Description

Understanding Democracy

This course traces the evolution of Western democratic theory from the ancient Greeks to the present, with particular emphasis on the institutions that influenced and were in turn influenced by these evolving theories. Beginning with Thucydides and the Constitution of Athens, a Peripatetic work, and continuing with Livy, Machiavelli, and Hobbes, we examine the emergence of democratic pluralism through the Federalists and the US Constitution. In the contemporary period, we look carefully at an overview of Islamic political thought and its relationship to modern democratic institutions. Our seminar will examine the thought of major figures, events, and institutions in the history of popular and representative democracies and the questions they raise about the purpose and means of achieving social order. More specifically, we will explore the ways in which democratic movements and institutions have responded to the particular problems of their day, and the ways in which they contribute to a broader view about goodness, truth, and beauty, on the one hand and liberty, equality, and justice, on the other. We will try to understand how different theories of democracy express, defend or critique the wide variety of civic institutions. The course has two aims: to foster an appreciation of the history behind the ideas that shape today's democracies and to cultivate a critical inquiry into theories of democracy today.

The course presumes familiarity with Plato's *Republic,* Aristotle's *Rhetoric, Ethics* and *Politics,* Machiavelli's *Prince*; Hobbes' *Leviathan*, and Locke's *Second Treatise* from previous courses in the Zaytuna curriculum.

The core texts include selections from Hobbes' *Introduction to Thucydides*' *History of the Peloponnesian War*; the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*; selections from Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*; several Federalist and anti-Federalist papers; the US Constitution; the Bill of Rights; de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*; and *The Caliphate of Man* by Andrew March.

Writing in Zaytuna Seminars

Writing is always the *sine qua non* of intellectual development. The seminar in **Principles of Democracy**, therefore, requires nine short in-class essay of approximately 200-300 words to be written under a twenty-minute time control. These assignments consist in formal, but short, responses to a prompt drawn from the study questions in the weekly assignments outline in this syllabus. In view of the concurrent work of seniors on their respective theses, there is no end-of-term essay or final examination. All writing should follow the criteria, style and format set out in Crider's *The Office of Assertion,* a required text from the beginning of the Zaytuna curriculum. As always, we place a strong emphasis upon quality of written form and argument, with special attention paid to clarity, rhetorical sophistication, and grammatically correct expression.

Three times during the semester, students will revise and amplify one of their in-class essays outside of class, expanding it to not less than 800 words and improving the argumentation.

If an essay revised out-of-class does not have a coherent thesis statement or if there are multiple mistakes in orthography, punctuation, or grammar, it is not satisfactory and either (i) receives a failing grade immediately, or (ii) goes back to the writer with the requirement of conference time or academic support time or both. Thus, to avoid much wailing and gnashing of teeth, students should self-edit, proofread, revise, and consult the **Student Learning Rubric** appended to this syllabus.

Relationship of Principles of Democracy to the Zaytuna Curriculum

The seminar in Principles of Democracy represents the penultimate of a series of Zaytuna courses grounded in that kind of philosophical inquiry known by the Greeks as *phronēsis*. These seminars include Rhetoric (both the Trivium Seminar and Arabic Rhetoric), Politics, Fiqh (whether the student's *maḏhab* be Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī, or Mālikī), Constitutional Law, and Ethics (assigned to the Spring term of senior year).

Required Texts

Some of the works listed below are specifically for this course while others serve also as reference books that will be useful to you throughout the Zaytuna curriculum. All of them are required for this course.

Aristotle. *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens.* Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. 2nd Edition. Stephen Everson, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Baylin, Bernard, ed. *The Debate on the Constitution: Federalist and Antifederalist Speeches, Articles, and Letters During the Struggle over Ratification*. Parts I & II. [2 volumes] New York: The Library of America, 1993.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Thucydides* in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, William Molesworth, ed. London: Bohn, 1839-45. 11 vols. vol. 8.

March, Andrew. *The Caliphate of Man: Popular Sovereignty in Modern Islamic Thought.* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2019.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Edited and translated by Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Alexis de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America.* Arthur Goldhammer, trans. Library of America. New York: Library of America, 2004.

Wootton, David, ed. *Modern Political Thought: Readings from Machiavelli to Nietzsche*. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2008.

Reference Materials in GTU Library

GTU Library Portal

Chicago 17th Edition Style Guide

Oxford English Dictionary

JSTOR

NB: For each of the above, you will need to log in using your Zaytuna ID and password for the GTU online databases.

Reference Resources at UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Library Hours

UC Berkeley Search Portal

NB: Zaytuna students do not have remote log-in access privileges at UC Berkeley Library and may only access online databases from a monitor in one of the UC Berkeley libraries. To check out library materials, Zaytuna students must get a UC Berkeley Library card. See Dr Ausec in Academic Support for details.

Course Learning Outcomes

Students who successfully complete this course demonstrate the ability to

1. write cogently on matters of politics and democracy;
2. recognize and correctly describe in writing the function of the democratic procedures that produce citizenship, enfranchisement, representation, majority rule, the separation of powers, constitutions, and the guarantee of rights;
3. recognize and correctly describe in writing the dysfunction of the same procedures;
4. identify instances of *realpolitik* and political realism in historical texts and refer to them as such in writing;
5. demonstrate competence in relating foundational texts of political theory to the analysis of historical and modern democracies.

Course Narrative

In this course, we explore the perennial problems in and challenges to democracy and its institutions. Beginning with an examination of *The Athenian Constitution*, attributed to Aristotle, we focus on philosophical questions that have long been central to understanding the formation of the polis and the development of political theory. These questions include especially the challenges and defects of democracy and other political systems, and the psychological and epistemological factors that contribute to or detract from political stability in certain social and economic contexts. Following Aristotle, we begin to explore how different civilizations and their theorists have varied in their assessment of democratic functions and institutions (constitutional, electoral, administrative, and party systems) and why these variations matter. With Livy and Machiavelli, we explore the concept of representative government and the conditions that can overwhelm constitutional stability. Hobbes renews the Platonic skepticism about democratic rule, while Montesquieu theorizes the separation of powers. In the latter half of the semester, we look at the American effort, both Federalist and anti-Federalist, to institutionalize the theoretical principles of the democracy that emerge in the thought of Locke and Montesquieu. Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* becomes the platform from which we continue our conversation about how modern democracies intend to promote the public good and what impedes them from reaching their goals. Andrew March's *Caliphate of Man* extends that discussion into explicitly Muslim political and cultural contexts.

Student Information System (SIS) – Populi

Zaytuna College has a Student Information System (SIS) known as Populi in which all official course management is documented. Students should make sure to log into the SIS regularly to see assignment deadlines, notices from faculty and staff, and have access to a college calendar for updates. Any questions regarding the Populi SIS can be directed to the instructor at nahoe@zaytuna.edu or the Registrar at registrar@zaytuna.edu.

Course Expectations and Policies

Students are expected to familiarize themselves with Zaytuna College policies on academic integrity, grades, incompletes, withdrawal, attendance, and all relevant material as published in the Zaytuna Catalog. Fr Francisco Nahoe OFMConv, the instructor, will make every reasonable effort to facilitate the success of students with documented disabilities.

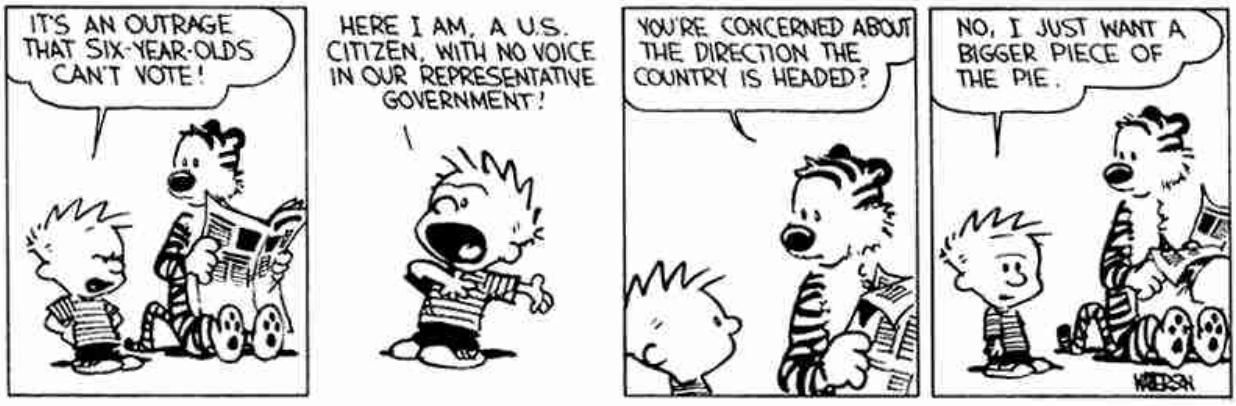
Assigned Reading

Required readings must be completed thoroughly before class, and students must prepare thoughtfully to discuss the assigned material. The weekly assignments section of this syllabus will offer further guidance in how best to prepare each set of weekly assignments.

Two Idiosyncrasies of POD Assignments

1. **Submit revised essays digitally by posting them to the Populi assignment page in a .docx file when they are due.**
2. **Single space, please.**

PERSPECTIVES ON CITIZENSHIP



Academic Integrity Pledge

As a student member of an academic community based on mutual trust and responsibility, I pledge:

- To do my own course work at all times, without giving or receiving inappropriate aid, excepting assignments where group work is directed by the instructor;
- To avoid behaviors that unfairly impede the academic progress of other members of my Zaytuna community; and
- To take reasonable and responsible action in order to uphold my Zaytuna community's academic integrity.

Attendance and Comportment

Students must attend the first class of every course each semester unless there is a medically documented reason or unless there is acceptable evidence of extenuating circumstances that prevent student attendance such as the death of a close family member, serious family medical situation, required court appearance, or similar. If a student is unable to attend a class or classes during the first week of the semester, he or she must notify the College in advance and provide acceptable documentation of the reason for the absence.

Excused Absence

An excused absence is one which the student explains and documents and which the instructor accepts. Instructors may accept class absences as excused at their own discretion; they are not obligated to accept a student's request or explanation and the policy they have stated in their syllabus regarding attendance, after approval from the dean of faculty affairs, is binding on the student. Students are required to read and adhere to each course attendance policy carefully.

Instructor's Policies

Fr Francisco asks that all students who miss class communicate with him in a timely fashion so as to plan how missed class sessions will be supplemented and when missed work will be completed. Failure to do so jeopardizes the student ability to pass the **Principles of Democracy** seminar. Students are expected to attend all classes unless a valid excuse is provided beforehand. Nonetheless, as the Zaytuna teaching schedule is compact and the syllabus ambitious, students must recognize that even a single *excused* absence may result in the loss of a unique opportunity critically to engage a text or tease out a new and difficult idea. Neither the substance of an argument developed in class, nor its lingering impact can be recovered by reading someone else's notes or in the post factum review of a video recording. Nor can office hours be used to teach material missed from class. No matter the legitimacy of the absence, non-attendance always jeopardizes the final semester grade. One unexcused absence will almost certainly result in a lower grade and more than three unexcused absences constitute grounds for dismissal.

If COVID restrictions should again compel remote teaching and learning for the College, then we will have to take into special consideration the meaning and practice of class attendance. What follows, therefore, treats the possibility of a return to restrcitions on indoor, in-person meetings.

In order for your instructor to regard you as being in attendance, you will have had to have logged into MS Teams on time. Nonetheless, Fr Francisco would not consider you to have been in attendance merely because you had logged in. To demonstrate attendance, students must keep their video on throughout the class and be prepared to respond to the instructor's inquiries throughout the entire period. If some factor impedes video access, the student

must inform the instructor before the class, or, by private text, during the class. Class sessions for the **Principles of Democracy** will frequently require from students an immediate response in writing to queries, prompts and special exercises.

The instructor may permit the recording of class for review purposes only. International students who return home under the circumstance of COVID restrictions and for whom the time zone differential impedes synchronous attendance must seek an asynchronous alternative together with the instructor ahead of time. Merely watching the video of class, however, will not usually constitute a suitable alternative to synchronous participation.

MS Teams Engagement

Whether we meet in person, on MS Teams, or in other digital formats, we form a professional academic community. As such, we must:

- show up on time;
- show that we have prepared for our collective work;
- cloth ourselves appropriately; and
- limit or eliminate distractions in our individual work and study places.

As members of the Zaytuna College community, please consider the effects that your actions have on your cohort, just as you would in a physical classroom with in-person instruction. If we have recourse to synchronous class on Teams, students, must, therefore,

- keep their video on;
- mute themselves when not speaking; and
- focus their attention on the speaker.

In case we should return to class sessions on MS Teams, strive to observe the following:

- join the meeting early and test speaker, microphone, and camera settings;
- keep speakers away from microphones to avoid feedback;
- use a headset with microphone if possible; and
- do not join a meeting from multiple devices.

Please inform Fr Francisco if you are having difficulties interacting in class via MS Teams, and if there are reasons that you cannot follow these guidelines.

Unexcused Absence

To obtain agreement from an instructor for an **excused absence**, the student must petition the instructor either before or immediately after the absence. The instructor will render a decision based on the evidence presented and according to his or her own attendance policy and standards of evidence. The instructor retains sole discretion in granting or withholding approval for absence. The instructor will keep accurate records of excused/unexcused absences and will report to the Registrar students who have an unacceptable number of unexcused absences for his/her course. The Registrar will issue warning letters for students who have an unacceptable number of unexcused absences. Further unexcused absence will

generate a second warning letter notifying the student that another unexcused absence will result in Attendance Probation. After the second warning, a student who accrues another unexcused absence will be put on Attendance Probation and will be warned that another unexcused absence may result in dismissal or other sanction by the College.

Policy on Electronic Devices

Fr Francisco requires the daily use of a laptop in class for notetaking, digital readings, and hybrid class options in case of the isolation of any class member resulting from COVID policy compliance. **NB:** A smart phone is not sufficient, nor, generally speaking, are digital tablets or iPads.

Comportment

Comportment (*adab*) is central to Islamic tradition. Students of knowledge (*ṭullab al-ʿilm*) are expected to carry themselves with the dignity of their place in the social order. Students should be well groomed and wear clean and modest clothes. They should be punctual to class, listen attentively, and show respect to their teachers and fellow students. During class, they should refrain from all distractions, discipline their minds from wandering, and focus on the lesson. A teacher should never shame or belittle a fellow student in or out of the classroom, nor should a student take offense from a teacher or disparage his or her institutional authority or intellectual competence. This does not mean that a student – with a trained and critical mind – cannot respectfully dispute a teacher's opinion. Rather, students should first make every effort to comprehend the nature of the rhetorical situation, and only then engage in decorous, formal disputation in order to discover the truth through respectful dialogue.

Students must eschew grandstanding and suppress egoistic impulses. In didactic subjects such as grammar, a student should accept the authority of the masters, and where genuine difference of opinion exists among them, take the time to learn more fully the range of scholarly opinions and schools of thought in the discipline.

Critical reading is the third and most difficult level of reading and cannot be done well until students have mastered the trivium; such mastery ensures that they can fully understand the language and arguments being made and, if appropriate, enables them to formulate sound and defensible counter arguments.

Late Papers and Assignments

A student is to turn in all assignments, papers, and exams on time. Although arrangements would certainly have to be made with the instructor prior to the due date if the student believes himself or herself unable to meet a deadline, merely requesting an extension before an assignment is due does not constitute sufficient cause for the instructor to grant the request.

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Class Recording Policy

As an academic community, Zaytuna College values the academic freedom and the privacy of its community members. Therefore, the College prohibits students from recording any classroom or other College activities (including, but not limited to, colloquia, advising sessions, office hours, committee, and cohort meetings). Engagement in an unauthorized recording is unethical and violates Zaytuna College's policy and state law. The College also prohibits unauthorized use of classroom recordings – including distributing or posting them. Zaytuna College and the faculty own the rights to instructional materials – including those resources they created for instruction, such as syllabi, lectures, lecture notes, and recorded video presentations. Students may not copy, reproduce, display, or distribute these materials. Any violation of this policy may subject a student to disciplinary action under the Student Honor Code as outlined in College Catalog.

Zaytuna College is committed to providing appropriate accommodations to students who require recorded lectures as an academic adjustment for documented disabilities. Students requesting the use of assistive technology as an accommodation should submit the Disability Accommodation Request Form available on Populi. Authorized students must delete the recordings when the course ends.

Academic Support Center

The Academic Support Center, which offers tutoring and workshops that impact every discipline in the Zaytuna curriculum, is an important resource for all our students. For more information, contact Dr Cindy Ausec PhD by email at causec@zaytuna.edu.

Evaluation Criteria

Reading and Discussion **10%**

In order to discuss intelligently and productively the Great Texts of Western political philosophy in general, and democracy in particular, students must read the lengthy assignments thoroughly before class. The weekly assignments section of this syllabus will offer further guidance on how best to prepare. Fr Francisco will produce the assessment that comes every other week (except the first assessment, which encompasses the first three weeks) by asking himself the following questions with regard to each student:

1. Can I tell that you've done the reading?
2. Do I see you taking notes?
3. If I call on you, do you have something on point to say indicating that you have reflected on the reading assignment?
4. In discussions, do you volunteer yourself and contribute for your good and for the good of your classmates? Do you avoid monopolizing the conversation? Do you listen respectfully to your peers?
5. Have you grasped and can you use the specialized vocabulary of the readings?

In-class Essays **50%**

Students also write nine short in-class essays which promote good reading habits and encourage the class to stay up to date. Student will write these in-class essays on Mondays. They consist either in short-answer questions based on the texts assigned for the week or on a single question requiring a longer answer. The definitive form of the question or questions will be given on the Friday before, but a general idea of the topics follows below in the week-to-week outline. Before class, students may study together, but when they write in class students will have only twenty minutes and may not consult their notes or confer with one another.

Revised Essay **40%**

At the end of the semester, students substantially revise one of the in-class essays for a new grade. **NB:** This constitutes a new assignment, not the emendation of an earlier assignment.

Apart from the in-class writing, please submit all other assignments digitally by posting them to the Populi in a .docx file anytime before class on or before the day they are due.

Single-space, use a 12-point font, and leave a space between paragraphs.

Please consult the **Student Learning Rubric** below.

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In-class Essay Topics

Week 2	Cleisthenes and the emergence of democracy
Week 3	Aristotle and the Athenian Constitution
Week 4	Livy and the Roman Constitution; Magna Carta
Week 9	Separation of Powers
Week 10	Federalists and Anti-Federalists debate federalism
Week 11	Articles of Confederation, US Constitution, Bill of Rights
Week 12	Tocqueville on pluralism, citizenship, heterogeneity, threats to liberty, or the tyranny of the majority; or discussion questions on March's *Caliphate*.

Revision Assignment

Week 14	Choose any of the above topics to revise in light of our semester's developing list of principles of democracy

Weekly Course Schedule and Assignments

Week 1

Herodotus (484–425 BCE), ***On Cleisthenes*** (from the *Histories*)

The syllabus, the ten quizzes, Greek *polis*, *poleis,* and amphictyonies; Athenian aristocracy; Cleisthenes and an overview of Athenian democracy from the Persian Wars to the Periclean Age; the Delian League; Sparta and the Peloponnesian War.

Week 2

Aristotle (384–322 BCE), or an Aristotelian disciple, ***The Athenian Constitution*** (especially part II)

What are the demes? Explain their role in Athenian government. Describe the process of ostricization. What are its political advantages? What are the responsibilities of citizens in Athens? How are city officials chosen? **Who rules Athens and for how long?** Explain the allotment and function of juries. In 451 BCE, Pericles influences a change in the rules of citizenship. Why? What were the consequences of this new law?

Start reading ahead in Livy and Machiavelli.

Week 3

Titus Livius (Livy) (59 BCE–17 CE), ***Ab urbe condita*****,** Books I-II

If neither the Athenian nor the Roman constitution is a written document, in what sense is it a *constitution*? **After the transition from the Monarchy to the Republic, who rules Rome and for how long?** What are the responsibilities of citizens in the Roman Republic? What is a magistrate? What are the magistracies? How do magistracies function? Who can become a magistrate? What is the *cursus honorum*? How are laws made and promulgated in the Roman Republic? How do political parties operate within the Roman constitution?

Stephen Langton (1150–1228), **Magna Carta Libertatum** (1215-1225)

Winston Churchill (1874-1965) said about Magna Carta, "Here is a law which is above the King and which even he must not break." Was he right? By what conception of right did the Plantagenet monarch rule England before Runnymede? What were the Articles of the Barons? Whose rights does Magna Carta assert? What was the Witenagemot of the Anglo-Saxons under King Alfred?

Start reading Tocqueville. There's a lot to read and you're to read all of it.

Week 4

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), ***Discourses on Livy***, Books I-II

What impact did the cultural success of the Italian civic republics have on the development of modern democracies, especially in continental Europe?

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), ***Introduction to Thucydides***

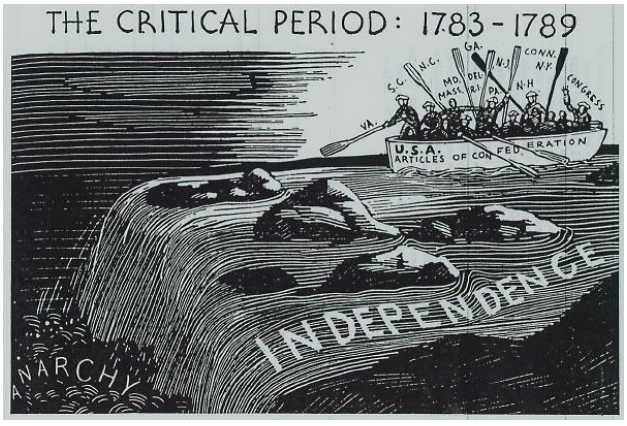
In Hobbes assessment, what were the advantages or disadvantages of Athenian democracy? Is Thucydides his opponent or his ally? Keeping *Leviathan* (from sophomore **Politics**) in mind, should Parliament have more power over the monarchy, or less, or are things best the way he finds them at the time of the Restoration?

Week 5

John Locke, ***Second Treatise*** (1689), cf §§143–144, 150, and 159 (by way of review) and **Charles-Louis Secondat**, **Baron de Montesquieu** (1689–1755), ***De l'esprit des lois*** (1748)

What is the spirit of the laws? Describe Montesquieu's taxonomy of governments? How does he differ from Plato or Aristotle? Montesquieu spent time in England where he read Locke. Has he adopted Locke's idea of the Separation of Powers, or does he conceive of the task differently? What are governmental powers? Who exercises them in France? How ought governmental powers be distributed? What does Montesquieu mean by such terms as civil liberty, political liberty, and the tutelage of laws?

Add the selections from the papers of both the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists to your continued reading of Tocqueville.



Week 6

The Articles of Confederation

What limitations did Shay's Rebellion reveal in the Articles of Confederation? What is the political nature of the individual states under the Articles of Confederation? Why couldn't the Articles of Confederation be fixed?

The US Constitution and the Bill of Rights

Prime Minister William Ewert Gladstone (1809-1898) said, "As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and long gestation of progressive history, so the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." What appeal does the US Constitution have to Gladstonian liberalism (laissez faire capitalism, civil liberties, rule of law, limited government)? What prompted the Constitutional Convention of 1787? How and by whom was the Constitution drafted? How was and by whom was it ratified? Were there any conflicts over ratification? Given Hamilton's strong arguments against it, how did the Bill of Rights prevail?

Week 7

Federalists and Anti-Federalists: John Jay (1745–1829), **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), **James Madison** (1751–1836), **et alia; Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826), **Patrick Henry** (1736–1799), **George Mason** (1725–1792), **John Dewitt II** (a pseudonym), **et alia.**

Read Federalist 10 and Centinel 1; Dewitt II and Federalist 84; Brutus 1 and Federalist 39; Federalist 51 and Centinel 1 (again).

What is federalism? What is the relationship of a federal government to the government of individual states? Which powers belong to the federal government and which to the states?

Read the whole of the US Constitution. And you're still working your way through de Tocqueville, right?

Week 8

Federalists and Anti-Federalists continued

Federalist 54 and Melancton Smith, 6/20-6/27-88; Brutus XVI and Federalist 62-64; Federalist 78 and Brutus XI, XII, XV

What is the nature of the opposition to federalism? How are these opponents eventually reconciled? What is the most important by-product of this opposition? What is a Bill of Attainder?

Finish de Tocqueville.

Week 9

Alexis Charles Henri Clérel, comte de Tocqueville (1805–1859), ***Democracy in America***

In Tocqueville's view, what factors contribute to the advancement of equality in Europe or America?

Tocqueville is especially positive about the political culture of one particular region of the United States. Which one? Why?

Given his concerns about the tyranny of the majority, why do you think Tocqueville is so enthusiastic about town meetings and local government?

What role do law, lawyers, and jury service play in American democracy? In Tocqueville's view, are they positive or negative? What relationship do they have to his concerns about the tyranny of the majority?

What arguments does Tocqueville offer for why the United States will endure despite regional rivalries and differences?

Week 10

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Who, in Tocqueville's view, are the freest of Americans and why?

Does Tocqueville's admiration for the United States also imply an admiration for English laws, norms, and political traditions?

Describe Tocqueville's views of revolutions. To what forms of instability do they give rise, and why would they be they less stable than developed democracy?

How is Tocqueville critical of American culture and its modes of thinking, especially its analytical capacity?

Week 11

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

What is Tocqueville critique of the American pursuit of material success? In what ways is it beneficial? In what ways is it detrimental?

Tocqueville argues that religion and religious faith support American democracy? Is he right? If he is, what does the loss of religious faith in America mean for democracy?

In what ways is Tocqueville critical of North American colonization?

How does his analysis rely on racial stereotypes and accept American conquest as inevitable?

How does American geography shape its political culture, including gender roles and political institutions?

Week 12

Andrew March, *The Caliphate of Man*

What is the so-called inclusion-moderation hypothesis with regard to Islamist political participation in modern pluralistic democracies?

Does Arab Spring represent a break with past conflicts between Islamist utopian views and authoritarian state secularism?

Is there such a thing as an authentically Islamic democracy? If so, what will it major characteristics be?

Week 13

Andrew March, *The Caliphate of Man*

Does sharīʿa function merely to limit government, or is this something Muslims might revise in different political circumstances?

Are non-Islamic doctrines and ways of life themselves reasonable or merely tolerable?

Although Muslims may have obligations to respect the freedom of conscience of others, should differences around the fundamental acceptance or rejection of Islam be seen as something internal to reason or a failure of it?

Week 14

Practices of Democracy

What ethical and political practices on the part of social groups and individuals best represent the principles of democracy?

If we conceive of individual liberty as necessarily including freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion and the right to a fair trial, can we say that we free?

Historically, Americans have always regarded voter enfranchisement as the *sine qua non* of the practice of democracy. Presumably, the franchise ensures political participation, that is, the engagement of citizens in the political sphere. In 2023, the United States has the highest degree of suffrage in its history: women, ethnic minorities, linguistic minorities, and persons at least eighteen years of age. Do we now have greater political participation per capita than in the past?

Can there still be democracy without political participation?

"I don't vote. They've got machines that do that now."

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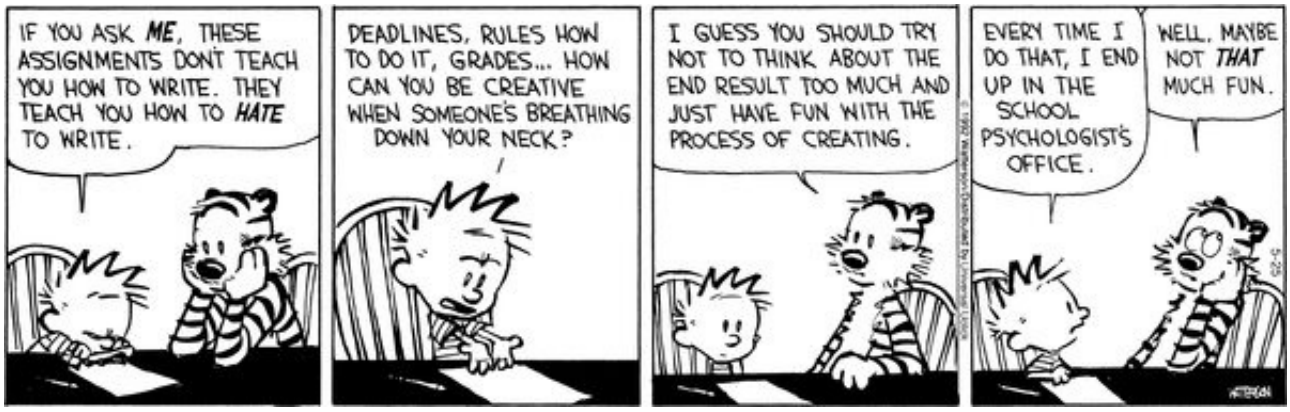
Student Learning Rubric (SLR)

Meeting the Threshold for Applying the Rubric

PRELIMINARY	Move on to Rubric	Return to Student with Penalty
Coherent Thesis Statement?	**Yes**	**No**
Acceptable Orthography, Punctuation, and Grammar?	**Yes**	**No**



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Applying the Rubric to Generate a Grade

The Craft of Writing	4	3	2	1
INVENTIO – ἑυρέσις – DISCOVERY **Finding the Argument**				
exposition	clear, engaging, concise, and fully developed thesis statement; expressed in a single declarative sentence; responds correctly to the assignment prompt	adequate thesis with sound understanding; may not be stated concisely; could be too broad or too narrow; responds imperfectly or incompletely to prompt	mostly intelligible ideas but they do not respond completely to the prompt; thesis weak, unclear, too broad, or too narrow	mostly simplistic and unfocused ideas with little or no sense; thesis vague or absent; unfocused or poorly coordinated arguments contradict each other
development	thesis provides unity and coherence; argument develops from paragraph to paragraph consistently and compellingly	sometimes disjointed; writing is proficient, but there may be inconsistency or weakness in logic or development	writing never completely develops, extends, clarifies, or subdivides the thesis; inconsistency and contradictions; argu--ment unfinished	argument receives little or no meaningful development
evidence	use of evidence with logical vigor, originality, and depth of ideas; main points explain, defend, or develop the thesis; excellent analysis of textual evidence; synthesis of evidence develops the argument	evidence sufficient, sound, and valid; minor weaknesses in either analysis or synthesis could diminish the overall strength of the writing without derailing the argument completely	main points and ideas receive only indirect support; textual evidence relates only loosely; analysis or synthesis shows significant weaknesses	poor reasoning; uses evidence inadequately; ignores need to demonstrate claims advanced

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DISPOSITIO – τάξις – ARRANGEMENT **Organizing the Argument**				
coherence	Arrangement of essay's parts complements and strengthens its thesis (cf *immanent design* Crider 3.2); has introduction, statement of circumstance, outline, proof, refutation, conclusion (cf *classical oration* Crider 3.3).	may evince compelling arrangement but still reveals weaknesses in one or more of the elements: introduction, statement of circumstance, outline, proof, refutation, conclusion; lacks full integration	main points not effectively arranged, though some sections may be strong; sections lack clear connections; arrangement shows potential, but some sections lack substantial content	main ideas and organization do not connect; little or no demonstration of *immanent design* or elements of *classical oration*
structure	sound structure throughout; sentences and paragraphs display effective design; arguments sequential and appropriate; paragraphs well developed and divided them appropriately	competent organization, but without sophistication; structure and sequence of paragraphs must still be sound, though there may be gaps	paragraphs mostly stand alone without logical sequence or interconnection	either the paragraphs are weak and their sequence poorly planned, or they are weak because there is no planned sequence
transition	sound transitions reveal structure; connection of earlier thoughts and arguments to later ones; writer links ideas with smooth and effective transitions	though competent, organization lacks the effective transitions signaling the stages of an argument's development	paragraphs seem isolated on account of weak, non-evident, or tediously repetitive transitions	few or poorly executed transitions

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ELOCUTIO – λέξις – STYLE **Expressing the Argument**				
diction	sophisticated and appropriate language that engages reader with precise diction expressing complex ideas clearly; technical or disciplinary terminology used correctly; eschews jargon; good awareness of etymology, semantic range, denotation, connotation, synonymy, hypernymy, and hyponymy	demonstrates knowledge of difficult vocabulary and deploys it competently, though perhaps unimaginatively; technical or disciplinary terminology used correctly for the most part; some awareness of etymology, semantic range, denotation, connotation, synonymy, hypernymy, and hyponymy	vocabulary often limited or repetitive; possible misuse of technical or disciplinary terminology; little awareness of etymology, semantic range, denotation, connotation, synonymy, hypernymy, and hyponymy	deficient vocabulary with little or no awareness of etymology, semantic range, or synonymy; incorrect understanding of key terms
syntax	especially the use of complex, compound, and complx/compnd sentences; varying syntactical structures for explicitly rhetorical purposes; difficult ideas expressed succintly; no careless repetitions	complex, compound, and complex/compound sentences used correctly; less control over the rhetorical effects of syntactical variation; may occasionally struggle to be concise	minimal competency in syntax; repitition of familiar sentence structures; struggles to be concise; sentences often distended	little control over the structure of sentences, which will often be bloated and unwieldy
tone	successfully calibrates tone & rhetorical purpose; command of tropes and schemes; consistent and stable voice	tries to calibrate tone to rhetorical purpose; tries to deploy tropes and schemes; mostly consistent voice	struggles to control tone, tropes, and schemes; sentences lack conciseness	bland; little effort to fit tone to purpose; sentences flabby