

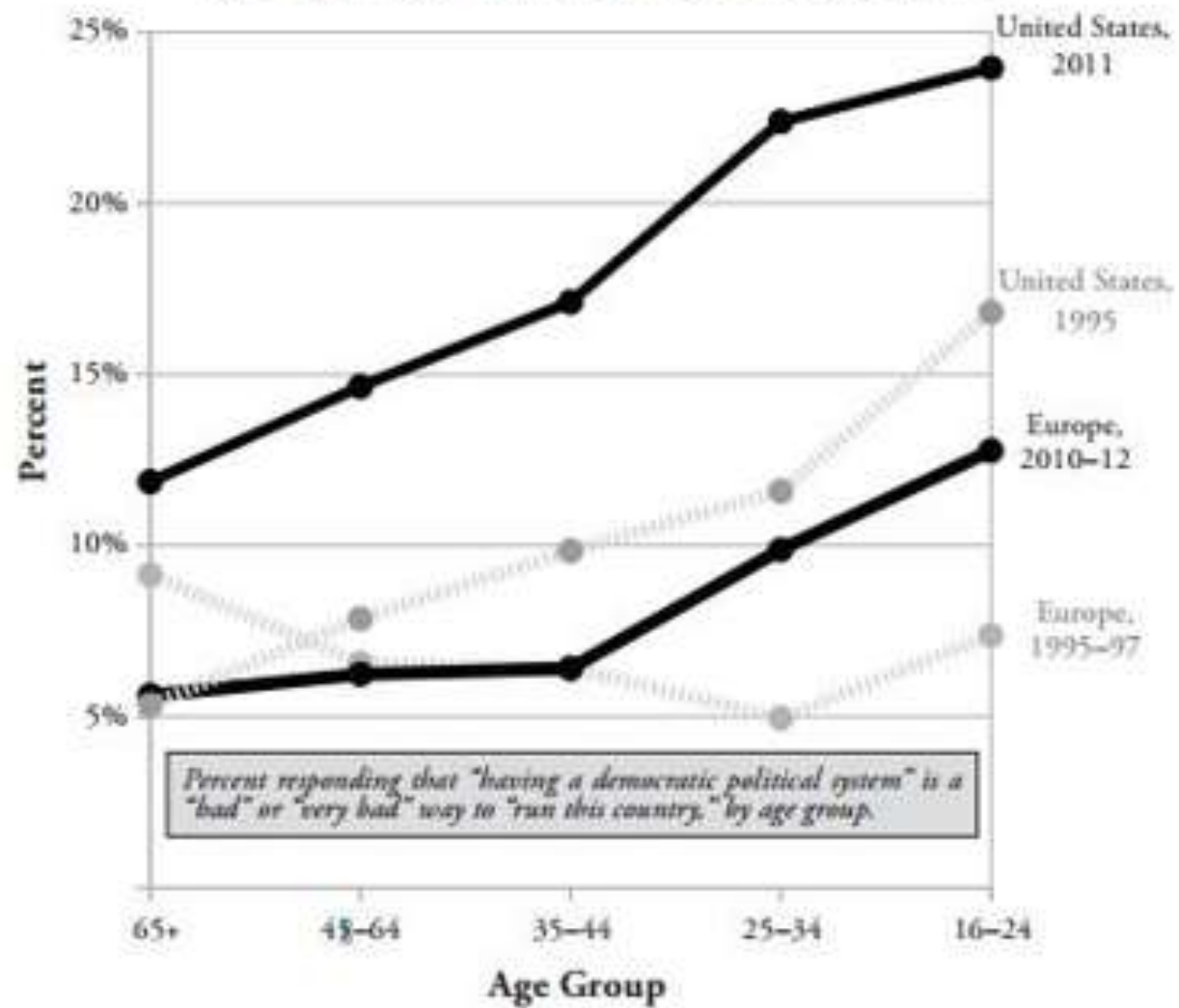
A high-contrast, black and white illustration of a large, dense crowd of people. Many individuals are holding up white rectangular signs, some of which are blank. The crowd is diverse in appearance, with various hairstyles, clothing, and expressions. On the right side of the image, there is a large, semi-transparent white circle that serves as a background for the text.

**Where are we  
going?**

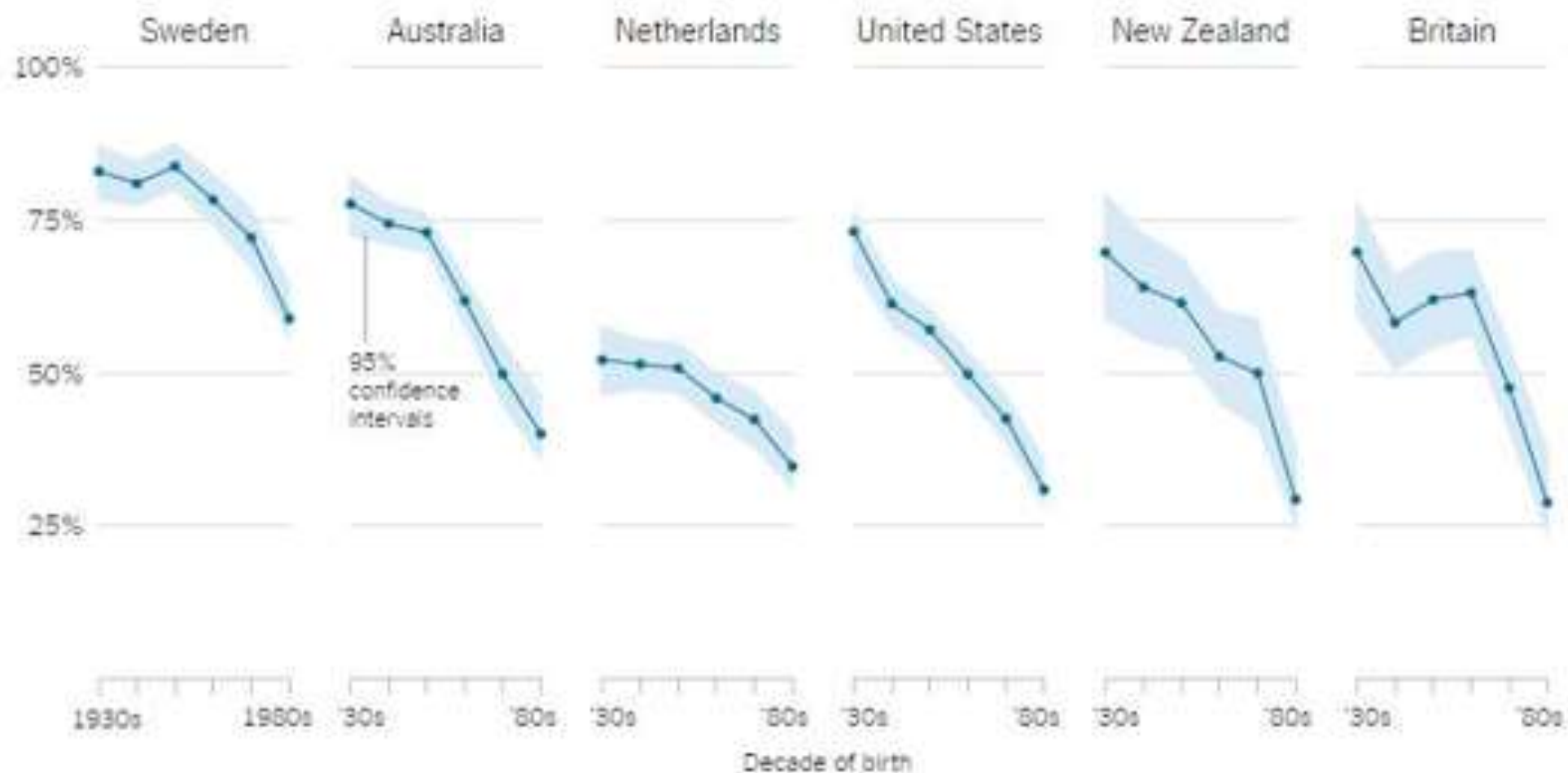
**Philosophy in the  
Anthropocene**

**7. Democracy**

**FIGURE 2—“HAVING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM” IS A “BAD” OR “VERY BAD” WAY TO “RUN THIS COUNTRY”**



## Percentage of people who say it is “essential” to live in a democracy

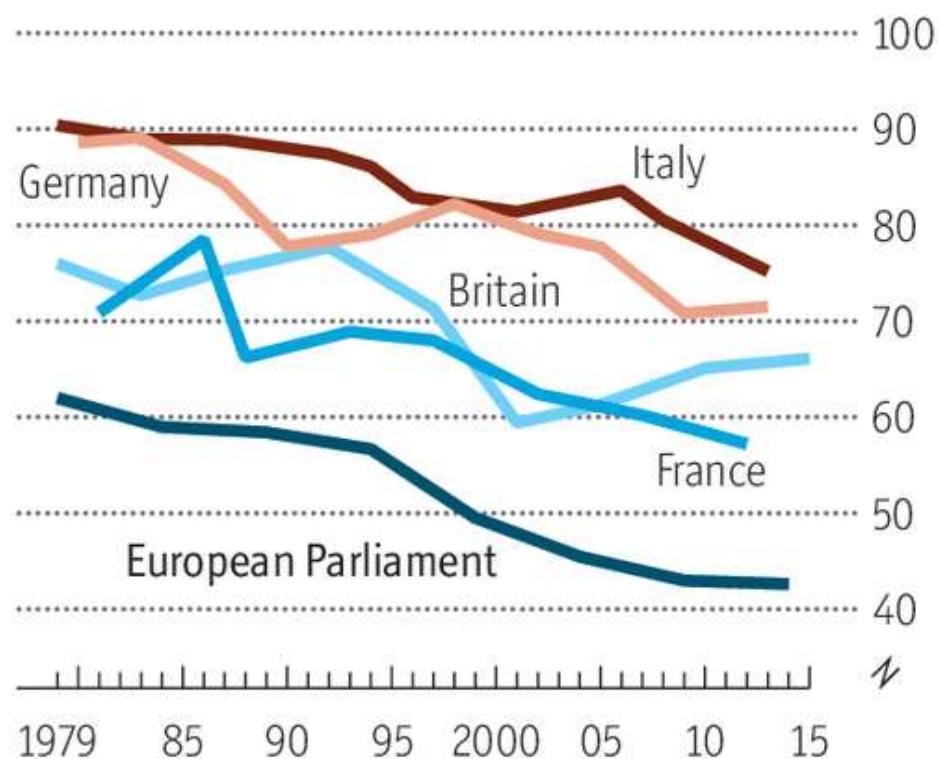


Source: Yascha Mounk and Roberto Stefan Foa, "The Signs of Democratic Deconsolidation," *Journal of Democracy* (By The New York Times)



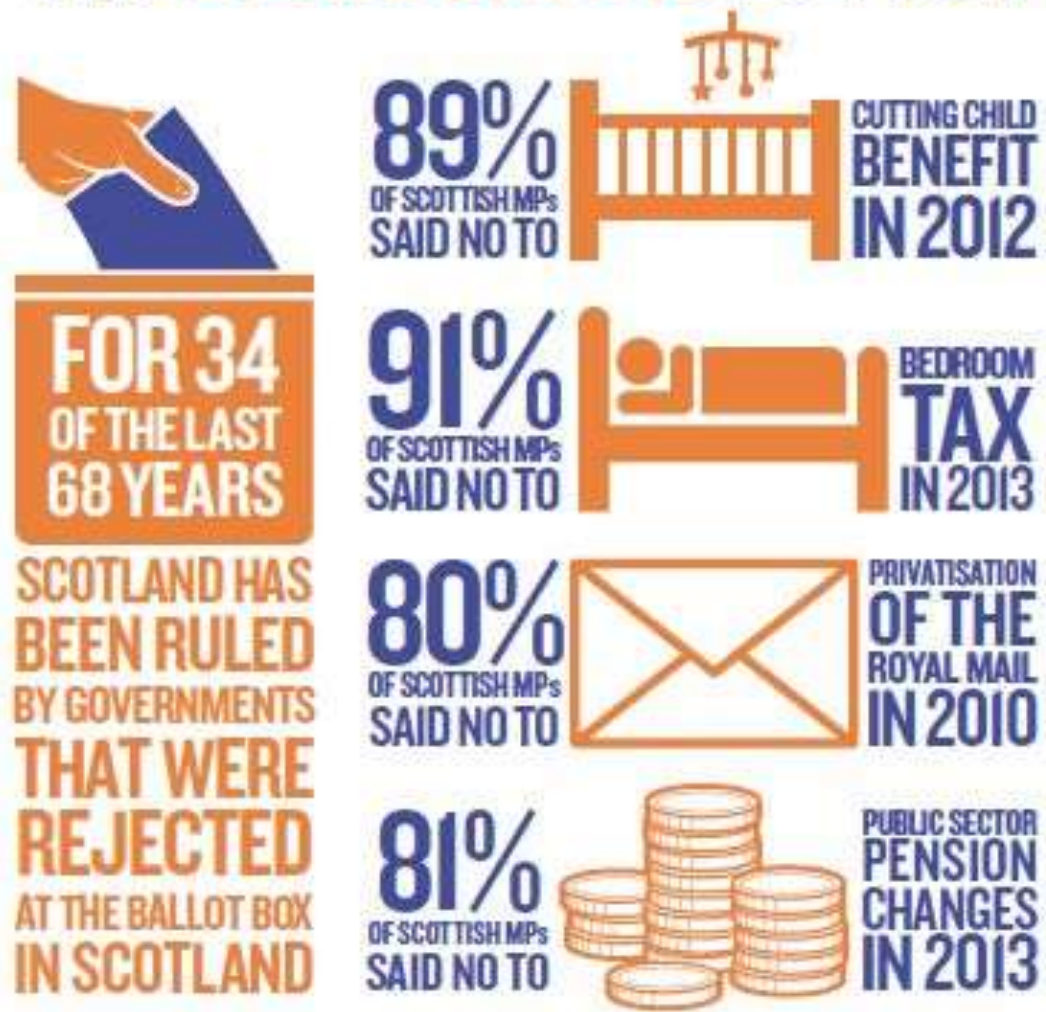
## Why bother?

Average turnout across the EU in European Parliament elections and national turnout in parliamentary elections, % of electorate



Sources: European Parliament; parties-and-elections.eu

## THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT





# RULING THE VOID



THE HOLLOWING-OUT OF  
WESTERN DEMOCRACY

PETER MAIR

‘The age of party democracy has passed’

Parties disconnected from society; elections a staged competition ‘lacking in meaning’.

The people have become ‘*non-sovereign*’, lacking any ability to influence political decisions.

Apathy and poor voter turnout reflects a lack of democratic power

Thinktanks champion ‘stakeholder involvement’ over ‘electoral participation’, technocratic consensus over popular disagreement, and ‘efficiency, stability or continuity’ over democracy

‘If democracy made a difference, they’d make it illegal’...











‘Decades of corporate lobbying and party politics have led to a climate and ecological emergency that poses an unprecedented existential threat to humanity and all life on Earth — “politics as usual” is no longer an option.

A Citizens’ Assembly provides us, the people, with a way to decide what’s best for our future, even if that requires radical changes in the present. Moreover, because they are informed and democratic, the Citizens’ Assembly’s decisions will provide political cover and public pressure for politicians to set aside the usual politicking and do the right thing.’









THE DEMOCRACY FIX

# The myth of the citizens' assembly

It worked in Ireland but it won't solve Brexit.

By NAOMI O'LEARY | 6/18/19, 4:02 AM CET | Updated 6/22/19, 6:48 AM CET

Rory Stewart, one of the Tories vying to be the United Kingdom's next prime minister | Tolga Akmen/AFP via Getty Images

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DUBLIN — Put 100 ordinary citizens in a room and together they will solve the most intractable political problems of our time and save democracy in the process. If only things were so simple.

Citizens' assemblies, in which ordinary people are entrusted to carefully consider evidence on an issue and deliver policy recommendations, are the flavor of the

hundreds of thousands  
in citizens' assemblies  
climate crisis



POLL  
POLLING FROM

Novem  
citizens' Assembly on  
nd new ways to go forward

Extinction Rebellion says assembly may become another government 'box ticking exercise'

Phoebe Weston Science Correspondent | @phoeb0 | 1 day ago |







**Carole Pateman**

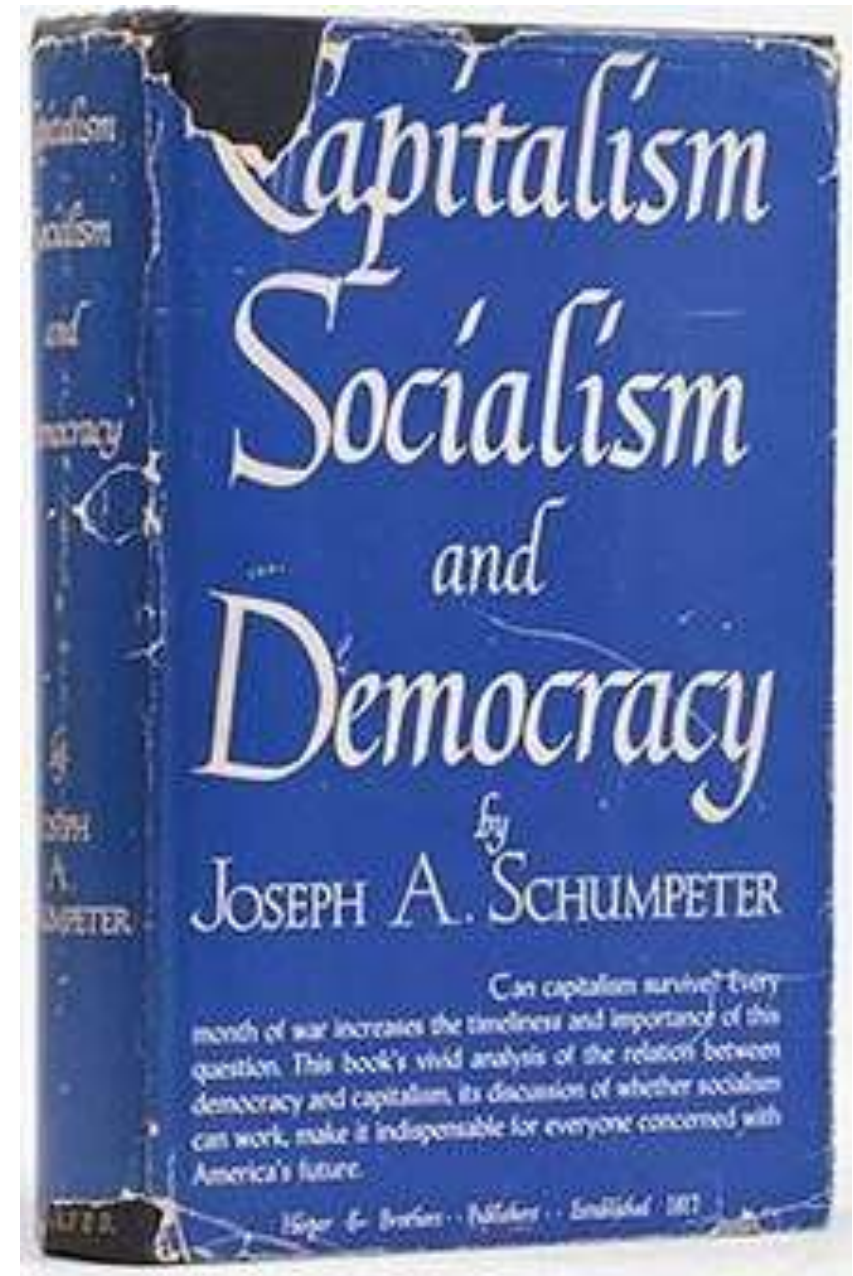
**Participation  
and  
Democratic  
Theory**





# Carole Pateman (b. 1940)

- *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1971)
- Prevailing democratic theory reduces participation to voting for a leader at the ballot box on an occasional basis
- Participation is distrusted; voters are seen as irrational, or lacking interest and apathetic, particularly the lower classes
- Too much participation might even endanger the system...





# Minimal democracy

- Schumpeter: *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*
- ‘voters like consumers choose between the policies (products) offered by competing political entrepreneurs and the parties regulate the competition like trade associations in the economic sphere’ (Pateman)
- ‘The electoral mass is incapable of action other than a stampede’
- Berelson: ‘Individual voters today seem unable to satisfy the requirements for a democratic system of government outlined by political theorists. But the system of democracy does meet certain requirements for a going political organisation’
- Pateman: ‘limited participation and apathy have a positive function for the whole system by cushioning the shock of disagreement, adjustment and change’.







Over to you

Pateman's argument throughout is for democratic participation.

Through participating in localised democracies, like in local areas or the workplace, we learn how to become democratic citizens...

Let's turn to p. 110.

***How does Pateman argue for participatory democracy? What are its strengths and weaknesses?***

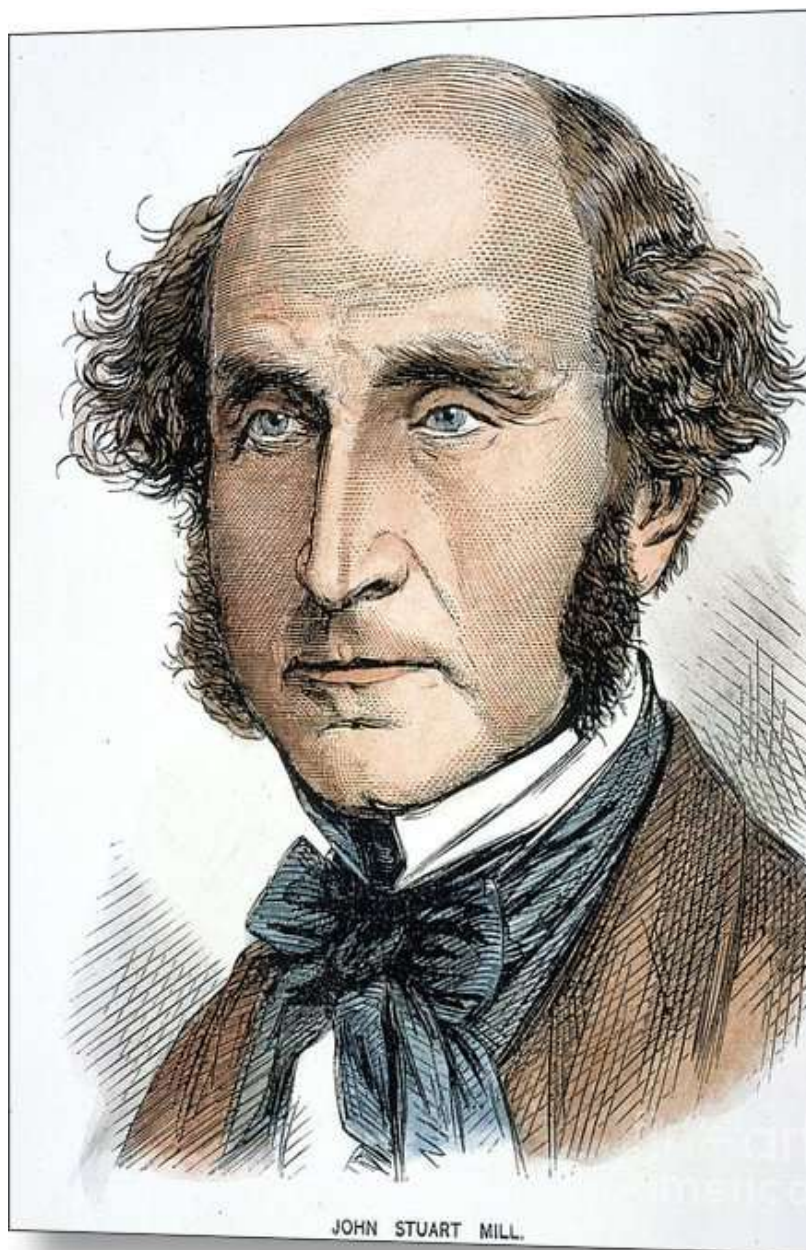




1) 'it is only if the individual has the opportunity directly to participate in decision making and choose representatives in the alternative areas that ... he can hope to have any real control over the course of his life'

2) 'participation in the alternative areas would enable the individual better to appreciate the connection between the public and private things.

The ordinary man might still be more interested in things nearer home, but the existence of a participatory society would mean that he was better able to assess the performance of representatives at the national level, better equipped to take decisions of national scope when the opportunity arose to do so, and better able to weigh up the impact of decisions taken by national representatives on his own life and immediate surroundings.'



JOHN STUART MILL.



Spinoza, Benedictus

Portr.



‘In the context of a participatory society the significance of his vote to the individual would have changed; as well as being a private individual he would have multiple opportunities to become an educated, public citizen.’ (110)

‘The theory of participatory democracy is built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy; for maximum participation by all the people at that level socialisation, or 'social training', for democracy must take place in other spheres so that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself.’ (31)

‘the more individuals participate the better able they become to do so’  
(43)



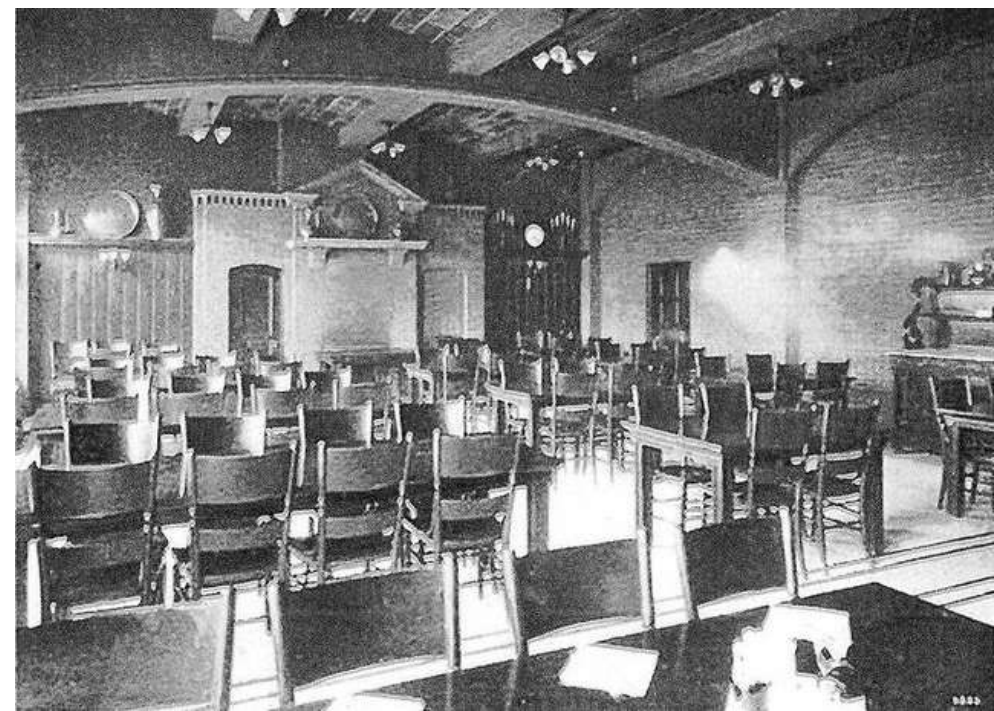


# Jane Addams (1860-1935)

- One of 8 children, mother died in childbirth aged 2, close to father
- Hull House Settlement, Chicago (1889)
- *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902)
- American Pragmatist philosopher, best known for her social work, as a political progressive and pacifist
- Co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931







‘To attain individual morality in an age demanding social morality, to pride one's self on the results of personal effort when the time demands social adjustment, is utterly to fail to apprehend the situation.’ (6)

‘All about us are men and women who have become unhappy in regard to their attitude toward the social order itself; toward the dreary round of uninteresting work, the pleasures narrowed down to those of appetite, the declining consciousness of brain power, and the lack of mental food which characterizes the lot of the large proportion of their fellow-citizens.’

... A ‘maladjustment’ and ‘divergence between their consciences and their conduct’. ‘They desire both a clearer definition of the code of morality adapted to present day demands and a part in its fulfilment, both a creed and a practice of social morality’.



# *Democracy and Social Ethics*

- All societies should aspire to go forward (think Baldwin)
- Individual versus social morality
- Alienation is an effect of not fulfilling a social obligation to others
- Everything from literature to news reflects an innate human interest in and identification with other people's lives
- Cultivate an 'enlarged mentality' (Arendt) and 'new affinity for all men'
- Overstepping private self-interest towards a democratic, social ethics:  
'Thus the identification with the common lot which is the essential idea of Democracy becomes the source and expression of social ethics'.







Over to you

Let's turn to Chapter 5 on the Pullman Strike of 1894 (35)

***How does Addams explain this dispute as a conflict between an individual and a social morality?***

***How does she come to criticise the authorities and sympathise with the workers?***



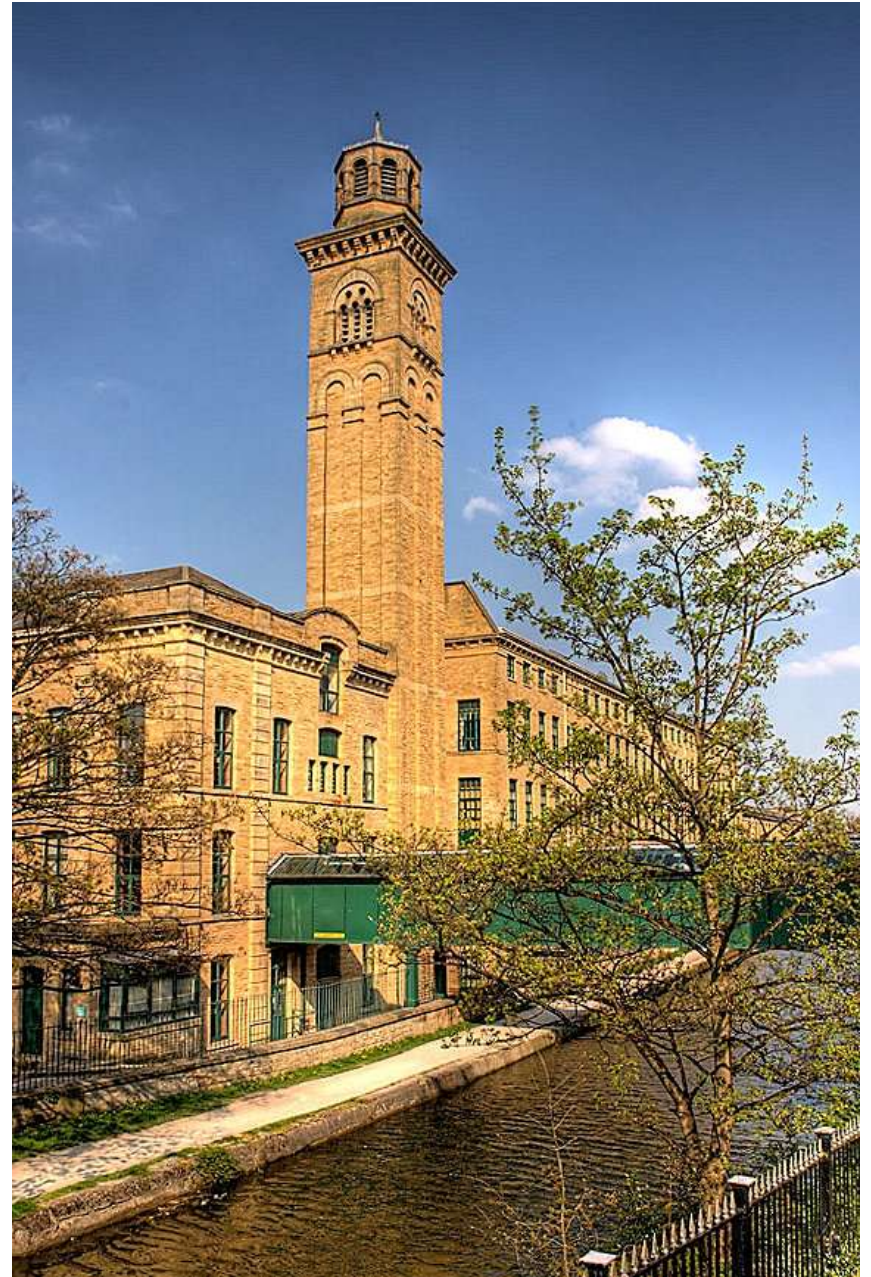


‘The basic difficulty lay in the fact that an individual was directing the social affairs of many men without any consistent effort to find out their desires, and without any organization through which to give them social expression.

The president of the company was, moreover, so confident of the righteousness of his aim that he had come to test the righteousness of the process by his own feelings and not by those of the men. He doubtless built the town from a sincere desire to give his employees the best surroundings.

As it developed, he gradually took toward it the artist attitude toward his own creation, which has no thought for the creation itself but is absorbed in the idea it stands for, and he ceased to measure the usefulness of the town by the standard of the men's needs.

... To perform too many good deeds may be to lose the power of recognizing good in others’





‘Genuine experiments toward higher social conditions must have a more democratic faith and practice than those which underlie private venture. Public parks and improvements, intended for the common use, are after all only safe in the hands of the public itself’. (37)

‘At the present moment factory employers are doing much to promote "industrial betterment" in the way of sanitary surroundings, opportunities for bathing, lunch rooms provided with cheap and wholesome food, club rooms, and guild halls.

But there is a line of social experiment involving social righteousness in its most advanced form, in which the number of employers and the "favoured class" are so few that it is plain society cannot count upon them for continuous and valuable help.

This lack is in the line of factory legislation and that sort of social advance implied in shorter hours and the regulation of wages; in short, all that organization and activity that is involved in such a maintenance and increase of wages as would prevent the lowering of the standard of life.’

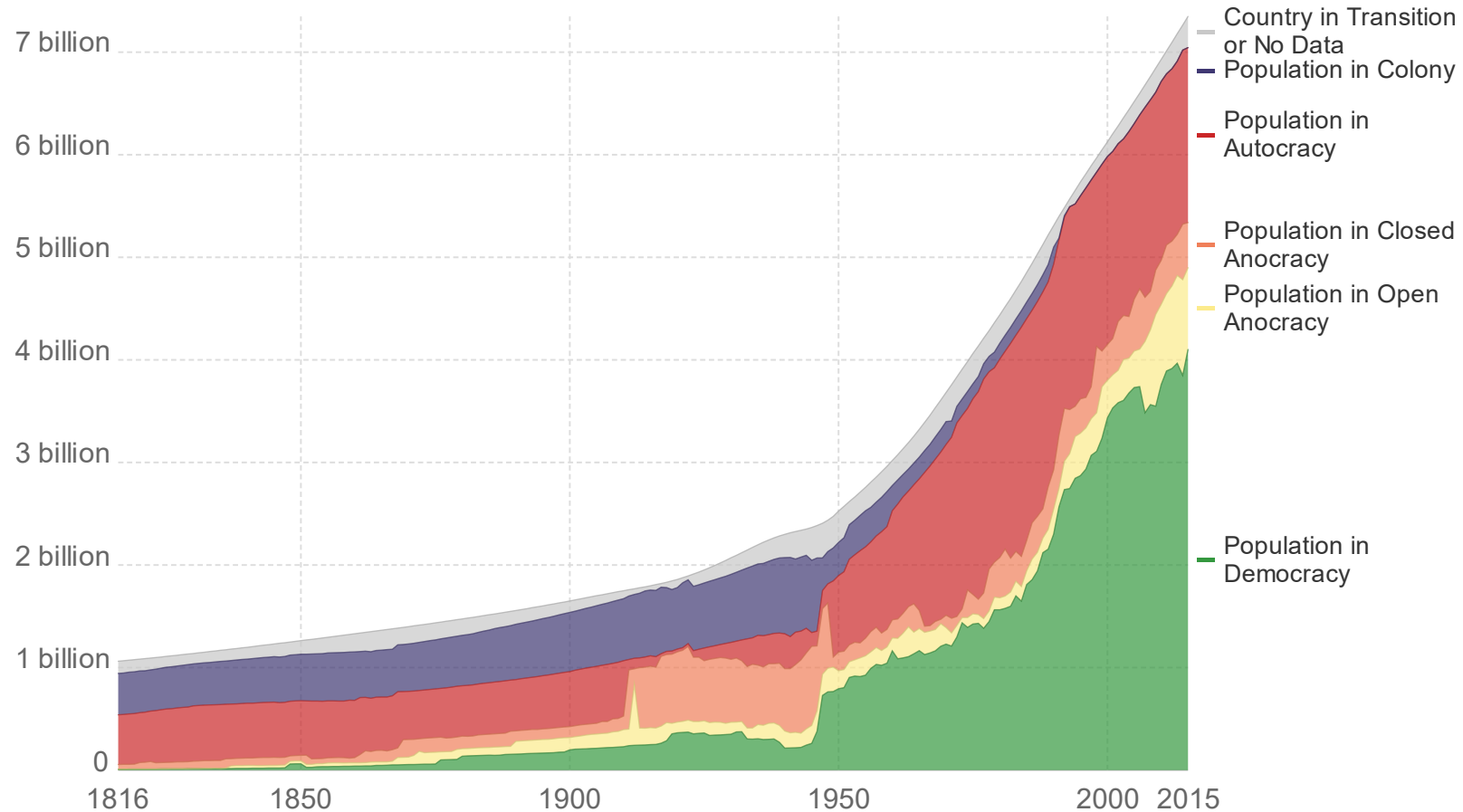




# Number of world citizens living under different political regimes

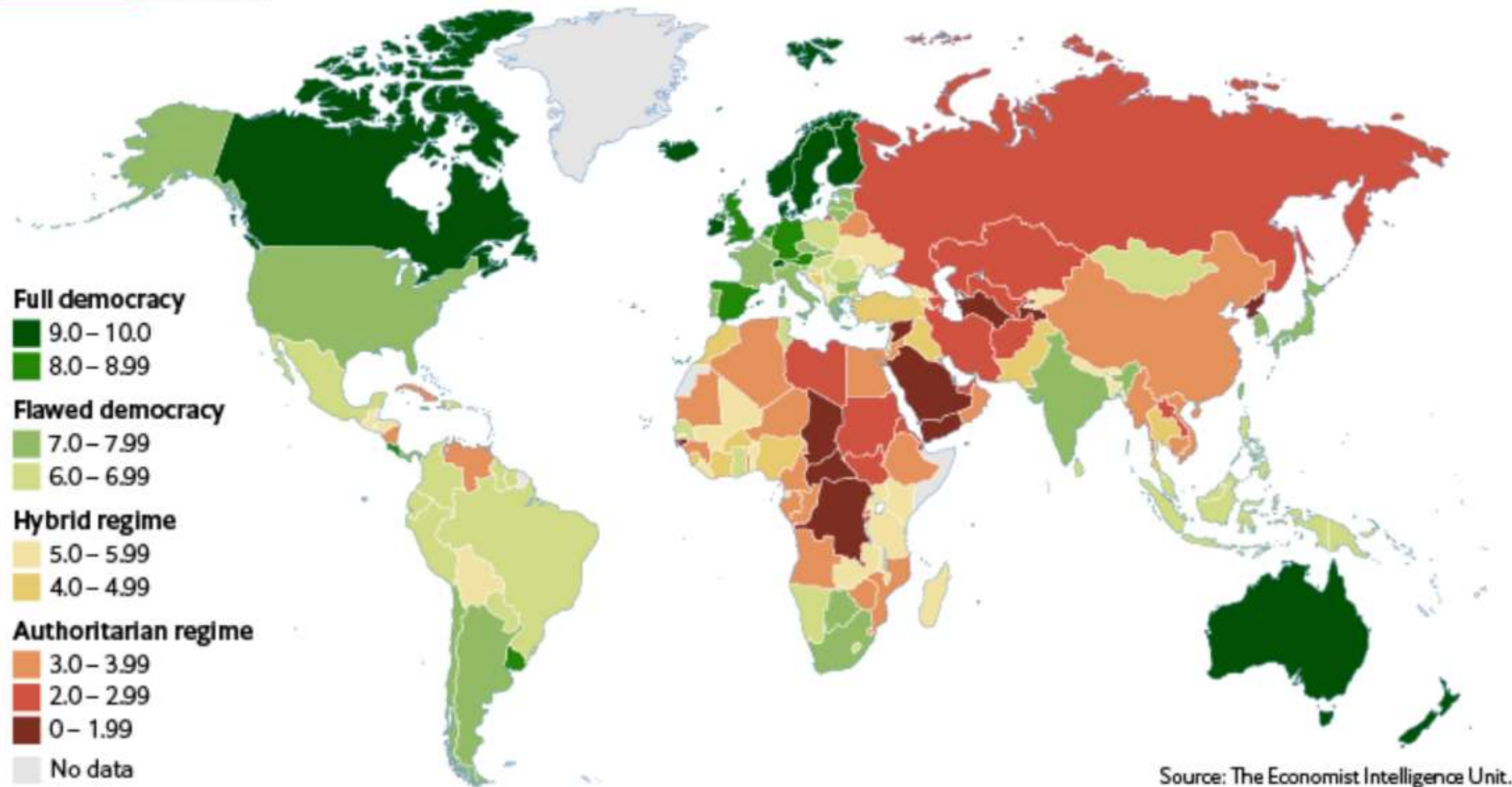


The Polity IV score captures the type of political regime for each country on a range from -10 (full autocracy) to +10 (full democracy). Regimes that fall into the middle of this spectrum are called anocracies.



Source: World Population by Political Regime they live in (OWID (2016))  
[OurWorldInData.org/a-history-of-global-living-conditions-in-5-charts/](https://ourworldindata.org/a-history-of-global-living-conditions-in-5-charts/) • CC BY-SA

# Democracy Index 2018



Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.



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**TV TO GO**  
DARK MATTERS

# JINGLE POLLS!

**December**

**12**

■ COMMONS AT LAST SETS ELECTION DATE  
■ FIRST CHRISTMAS BALLOT SINCE 1923  
by DOMINIC YKATMAN

BRITAIN'S first December election for nearly 100 years is on after MPs finally gave it the go-ahead last night.  
- Leaving Corbyn agreed to the poll Boris Johnson wanted, having accepted that a no-deal Brexit was off the table.  
- The prime minister, who had failed three times previously to force an election, now has to hold it on December 12 by a resounding 458 votes to 20 after the Commons rejected Labour's preferred date of December 5.  
- Attempts to vote were rejected by deputy speaker Lindsay Hoyle - but peers may try to renege the arrangements when the election

Continued on Page 4



Star's link to Princess Margaret Page 3

■ FIRE UNION'S FURY OVER GRENFELL REPORT Page 2 ■ POLICE HUNT BROTHERS OVER MIGRANT LORRY DEATHS Page 3



Search millions of jobs.

**DAILY Mirror**  
Wednesday, October 30, 2019 80p

I've only gone & bun it

**British tourists in shark horror**

WELLS: Adrian Raftery had a first billion off SEE PAGE 9

**DECEMBER 12 ELECTION**

**IT'S TIME TO STUFF THE TURKEY**

**BEN GLAZE** and **PIPPA CHERRIN**  
VOTERS will finally get the chance to axe reckless Boris Johnson after MPs backed a December 12 election.  
- Leaving Corbyn launched Labour's bid to oust the PM to break the Brexit deadlock and overhaul crippling Tory austerity.  
- He said: "We want the country to be rid of this destructive government."  
FULL STORY: PAGES A4-5

**FOWL** PM Mr Johnson faces Brexit and fight



To think over

London, 2119...

What kinds of democratic processes and structures might be in place?

How might or should people vote, or participate?

Will our current demands for greater representation and direct democracy lead to lasting change? And should they?



# Next week: nations, borders, refugees

Two readings:

- Kant, “Perpetual Peace” (1795), excerpts (the first half)
- Onora O’Neill, “Lifeboat Earth” (1975)

Collectively, the human race has never before produced such wealth. Yet scientists predict many millions being forced to migrate over the century because of climate change...

At a time of persisting nationalisms and strains to global cooperation, we will evaluate arguments for charity and international peace, as well as our universal moral obligations to others...

Can these stand, or should they, given the challenges ahead? If not, what alternative models of political peace and cooperation should we seek?