

Agamemnon, 66–67	population, 19
agonistic pluralism, 166	response to threat of Persian invasion in 481
agonistic pitiralishi, 100 agonistic political theory, 166	BCE, 146–152
	assembly's deliberations, 151
"all participate" rule, 49	•
analytical political theory, 9, 74, 78	case structure, 147–148
anarchy, II, 44, I30	council of 500 citizens, 148
animal kingdom, categories, 79–80	council's deliberations, 149–150
antityranny movement, 161	fight-at-sea option, 151–152
arche, 24	final voting stage, 151
archon, 24	identification of domains and experts,
Argos Panoptes, 130	148–150
aristokratia, 24, 25, 26	size, 19
Aristophanes, 68	slavery in, 172–173
Aristotle, 12	terminology for regime types, 22–29
on civic education, 74–75	Austen, Jane, 13
definition of citizen, 45	authority, 44–48
on demos, 130	delegation of. See delegation of authority
History of Animals, 79–80	obedience to, 35–36, 48, 87
on human capacity, 106	autocracy, 68-69
Nicomachean Ethics, 7, 92	democracy versus, 60-63, 178
on political decision making, 142	legitimacy of, 35–36
Politics, 7, 74-75, 79, 80, 84, 85-86, 130	necessity of, 15
assembly of citizens, 20, 27-28, 148, 151	population's preference for, 36-37
assent, affirmative, 55, 75	rejection of, 11, 103
Athenian democracy, 20–21	autonomy, individual/personal, 2-3, 5, 6, 16, 17
equality and, 165	1
liberalism and, 165	Barber, Benjamin, 15
liberty and, 165	basic democracy, 1–17, 157–161
Athens, 18–33	as antecedent condition for liberalism, 5–11
citizenship in, 20, 171	citizenship restriction in, 176
council of citizens, 19	civic dignity and, 103, 159, 171
democracy in, 8–9	civic education and, 14
direct form of government by citizens in,	civic rights and, 175
19–20	collective action problem and, 157–158
period of, 20	in contemporary liberal-democratic states,
democratic history, 171	160–161
diversity, 19	delegation of authority in, 158–159
illiberal society in, 163–164	democratic goods in, 158
piety in, 173	equality and, 159, 171
political history, 19–22	fundamental challenge to, 15
political participation in, 95–96	goal of, 4–5



basic democracy (cont.)	religion, 174–175
human rights and, 2–3, 6–7, 171, 175	risk assessments, 122–123
legitimacy and capacity in, 2–3	self-government, 136–139, 158
legitimacy and effectiveness of, 14	taxation of, 49–50, 56
legitimacy of, 159	citizenship
liberalism and, 165–166	in ancient Athens, 20, 171
liberty and, 159, 171	authority and, 44–48
political theory of, 1–5	civic education and, 71–72, 170
normative, II–I3	cultural imagination of, 46, 47, 95, 171
positive, 11–13	participatory, 93–98, 113, 168
religious community and, 175–176	participatory, 95–96, 115, 166
stability of, 14	restriction of, 168, 175, 176
value set of, 112–113	
	social fact of, 75
basic legitimation demand, 96	"citizenship-eligible noncitizens," 55
Battle of Salamis, 152	civic dignity, 101–127
bees, as social insects, 80	basic democracy and, 159, 171
Bell, Duncan, 10	in classical Athens, 126–127
Berlin, Isaiah, 42	collective action, 108–109
Bobonich, Christopher, 75	conditions, 101–104
Bratman, Michael, 105	defense of, 121
Brexit referendum, 136, 178, 179	in Demopolis, 169
Bush, George W., administration of, 129 n19,	equality and, 109–111, 122–127
167 n6, 178	free-market libertarianism and, 126
bystander intervention, 136	as fundamental condition of democracy,
	103
Caligula, 66–67	game, 115–119
Callipolis, 144	2-player version, 115–116
cantons, Swiss, 73	3-player version, 116–118
capacities. See constitutive capacities	equilibrium, 118
capitalism, 178	human rights and, 165
Carawan, Edwin, 32	individuality, 104–108
Cartledge, Paul, 33	interdependence, 104–108
Carugati, Federica, 32	knowledge, 108–109
cat, pouncing, 90-92	liberty and, 122–126, 127
Chapman, Emilee, 105	as lived experience, 111–115
China, 107, 178	mutability, 104–108
chresmologoi (oracle interpreters), 151	political freedom, 109–111
Chwe, Michael, 13	public provision of resources and, 126
citizen assembly, 20, 27-28, 148, 151	as a quasi-right, 165
citizens, 123	reputation effects, 121
acceptance of state's authority, 55	risks and, 115, 119–120, 122–123, 124, 125
choice making, 122–123	sustaining, 120–121
civic education, 56	threats to, 124, 125
civil rights, 175	values, 101–104
ends of state and, 39–40	as values and set of practices, 113
nontyranny, 40	virtues, 119–122
prosperity, 40, 49–50	civic education
security, 40	aim of, 56
equality and freedom, 51–52	citizenship and, 71–72, 170
expertise of, 130–131	classical model, 75
interests of, 141–142	curriculum, 72
nontyranny and, 48–49	democracy and, 14, 97
participation of, 48–50	in Demopolis, 71–76, 170
piety of, 173	form and content, 74–75
pro-autocracy minority and, 55	social identity and, 71–72
public goods and, 49	value proposition of, 73–74
I	



civic rights, 175	etymology of, 22
civic virtues, 119-122	of fear, 17
courage, 119–120	folk theory of, 2–3
self-restraint, 120	historical practice of, 5
civil society, 3-4	"Hobbes's challenge" to, 64–71, 157
history and elements of, 36-37	human capacities/civic participation in,
tyrants and, 94	77–100
coercion/coercive rules, 48, 56, 74, 101	communication, 87–88
collective action, 108-109, 157-158	exercise of capacities as democratic good,
collective agent, 11, 44-45, 135	88–93
collective self-government, 93	free exercise, 93–98
common interests, 19, 25, 49, 84–85, 105, 106,	participatory citizenship, 93-98
110, 120–121, 131–132, 136, 141–142, 143,	rationality, 83–87
147–148, 155, 157–158, 159	sociability, 79–83
common primate ancestor, 82-83	legitimacy of, 59-71
commons tragedy, 35, 48–49	democratic goods in, 60–63, 96
communication	limited access states in, 63-64
human capacities for, 87-88	material goods in, 60–63
peaceful negotiations and, 105	liberal, 10, 162–168
community watch organizations, 136	absence of, 163
Condorcet jury theorem, 143, 148	challenges to, 177–178
consensus/consensual agreement, 32, 50, 68,	conditions for, 164
143	after liberalism, 177–180
consent, 55	Machiavellian, 8–9, 169
constitutional democracy, 137	mature Greek definition of, 29–33
constitutive capacities, 90–92	nonliberal, 164–165
coordination, 114, 121, 122	original Greek definition of, 22–29
corrective justice, 48	as rejection of autocracy, 11
corruption, as tyranny threat, 131–133	representative, 133–134, 169
council of citizens, 19	size and complexity of government and,
councilors, 19–20, 148, 149–150, 153–154	138
courage, 119–120	theory of, 157–176
cultural norm, 45, 175	as foundation for liberal regime, 168–173
	liberal versus nonliberal, 162–168
Dahl, Robert, 141	nonliberal, nontyrannical regime, 174–176
delegation game, 133–136	practice and, 157–161
delegation of authority, 128–156	"so what?" challenge to, 161–162,
aggregation of expertise at scale, 152–156	166–167
in basic democracy, 158–159	value pluralism and, 160
citizen self-government, 136–139	as way out of state of nature, 68–69
experts, 139–145	democratic goods, 60–63
game, 133–136	in basic democracy, 93, 96, 158
interests, 139–145	exercise of capacities as, 88–93
knowledge, 139–145	democratic liberalism, 10
relevant expertise aggregation, 146–152	demokratia, 22–29
systematic corruption and, 131–133	Demopolis, 34–58
deliberation, in decision making, 143	authority in, 44–48
demagogues, 21	citizenship in, 44–48
democracy	civic dignity in, 169
Athenian, 20–21, 165	civic education in, 71–76, 170
Athenian version of, 7	ends of state, 39–40
basic. See basic democracy	nontyranny, 40
constitutional. See constitutional	· ·
	prosperity, 40
democracy direct, 137	security, 40 entrance of new citizens, 54–56
enistemic See enistemic democracy	entrenchment of rules in 52–54



200

Demopolis (cont.)	Econs, 84
exit of citizens, 54–56	elections, 131, 179
Founders, 36–44	elites, technocratic, 2–3, 160–161
costs to, 41-42	elitism, 178
ethical commitments of, 40–41	enforcement of rules, 29–30, 136
social goals of, 41	entrenchment of rules, 52–54
utility function, 42–43	epistemic democracy, 140–141
legislation, 50–52	challenges, 143
as model of basic democracy, 164	expertise in, 144–145
naming the regime of, as democracy, 57–58	options in, 143–144
overview, 3–4	epistocracy, 179–180
participation in, 48–50	equality, 103
population, 36–39	Athenian democracy and, 165
characteristics of, 39	basic democracy and, 159, 171
diversity, 38–39	civic dignity and, 111, 122–127
preference for autocracy among, 36–37	political, 51–52, 74, 77, 95, 99, 111, 140, 141, 158,
territory, 37–38	159, 165, 171, 174, 175–176
prosperity in, 168	political freedom and, 109–111
as a state, 168	ethical individualism, 41–42, 104
taxes and taxation in, 40–41, 169	ethical judgment, 46
demos, 68–69	eudaemonism, Aristotelian, 142–143
Athenian, 19–20	expertise, 130–131, 144–145
authority of, 30	aggregation of, at scale, 152–156
citizen self-government, 136–139	C. Jameliana
civic dignity game, 116–118	federalism, 73
collective capacity of, 28, 57	Finley, Moses, 161–162
definition of, 2, 19–20, 27–28	Foisneau, Luc, 68
in delegation game, 133–136	foraging, 82
delegation of authority, 128–131	form of the good, 145
existence of, 44–45	Founders (of Demopolis), 36–44
expertise, 130–131	authority, 44–48
as a Hobbesian sovereign, 68–69, 70	citizenship, 44–48
kratos and, 23, 29–30 legitimate authority, 128	costs to, 41–42, 56 entrenchment of rules by, 52–54
Leviathan-demos, 69	ethical commitments of, 40–41
_	
nontyranny and, 44–45 sleeping sovereign and, 128–131	social goals of, 41 utility function, 42–43
social diversity of, 32	free exercise (of human capacities), 93–96,
systematic corruption and, 131–133	98
vigilance of, 128–131, 163–164	freedom. See also liberty; political freedom
Dewey, John, 169	of association, 174
dictators, benevolent, 8–9, 40, 94	of conscience, 174
dignity, 103	of speech, 174
civic. See civic dignity	free riders/free riding, 35, 97–98
civic virtues and, 119–122	Frey, Bruno, 73, 97
living with, 114	friend–enemy distinction, 69
mobilization of citizens in defense of, 115	Funeral Oration (Thucydides), 29
threats to, 124	(),)
value set of basic democracy and, 112–113	games
direct democracy, 137	civic dignity, 115–119
disagreements, 105	2-player version, 115–116
distributive justice, 2–3, 6, 7, 9, 16, 37, 41, 48,	3-player version, 116–118
49–50, 125, 126, 138, 159, 169	equilibrium, 118
domain experts, 145	delegation, 133–136
domination, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28	general will, 105
	•



Gettysburg Address, 32	security and, 179
globalism, 178	Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
government, size and complexity of,	178
138	Hume, David, 12
gunaikokratia, 25, 26	humiliation, 20, 51–52, 103, 111, 113, 126–127, 170
<i>Şununkokrunu</i> , 2), 20	174–175
Hadrian, 66-67	1/4 1/)
happiness, subjective, 67, 73	ideal political theory, 6
health, 72-73	independent guess aggregation, 143
Herodotus, 147, 151–152	individuality, 104–108
high-stakes conditions, 106	infantilization, 20, 51–52, 103, 111, 113, 123,
History of Animals (Aristotle), 79-80	126–127, 170, 174–175
History of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides),	innovation, 31, 96-97, 175-176
70	institutional design, 133, 138, 139, 162
Hobbes, Thomas, 12	interdependence, 104–108
"Hobbes's Challenge," 64–71, 157	isegoria, 26, 28
on human capacity, 106	isokratia, 24, 26
on human sociability, 80–82	isonomia, 26, 28
on lawless ruler, 129	isonomos, 28
Leviathan, 64–71	
on necessity of autocracy, 15	Japanese-Americans, internment in World
"state of nature," 15, 65-67, 68, 70, 81-82, 108,	War II, 46
III, 133–134	Jim Crow laws, 111
honor and honor seeking, 23	joint actions, 105
civic dignity and, 103, 114	jurisdiction, 44
civic dignity game, 115–119	justice
civic honors, 122	corrective, 48
Hobbesian premise on, 65	distributive, 2-3, 6, 7, 9, 16, 37, 41, 48, 49-50,
public honors, 121	125, 126, 138, 159, 169
rational actor theory, 84	procedural, 8
responses to, 126–127	substantive, 8, 9, 52
social disruption in, 67–68	justification (of coercion), 59
sovereign's fairness or benevolence,	consequentialist, 92
66–67	deliberation and, 143
hubris, 126–127	for participatory exclusion, 96, 158
human capacities, 77–100	
communication, 87–88, 105	Kant, Immanuel, xv, 142
constitutive capacities, 90–92	Kantian liberalism, 7, 104
exercise of capacities as democratic good,	knowledge, 108–109
88–93	kratos, 25, 26, 29–30
free exercise, 93–98	1 0
participatory citizenship, 93–98	language, 87
rationality, 83–87	Law of Peoples (Rawls), 170
sociability, 79–83	Laws (Plato), 74–75
human capital, 63, 98, 99, 108, 110, 158	Le Pen, Marine, 179
human flourishing, 1, 2–3, 14, 74, 79, 87, 89–90,	legislation, 50–52 legitimacy
92, 93, 97, 104 human interdependence, 106	of autocracy, 35–36
human nature, 21, 47, 74, 96–97	of basic democracy, 2–3, 14, 159
human rights	basic legitimation demand, 96
basic democracy and, 2–3, 6–7, 171, 175	of democracy, 59–71
basic legitimation demand and, 96	democratic goods in, 60–63, 96
civic dignity and, 165	limited access states in, 63–64
liberal democracy and, 163	material goods in, 60–63
prosperity and, 179	Leviathan (Hobbes), 15, 64–69, 129
1 1/, ././	······ \······ · · · · · · · · › · · · ·



liberal democracy, 10, 162–168 absence of, 163	as a public good, 48–49 reasonable cost, 42
challenges to, 177–178	religion and, 174–176
conditions for, 164	systematic corruption and, 131–132
liberal political theory, 5, 9, 14, 56, 103, 106, 129,	normative political theory, 11–13, 77, 78, 95, 157
165	
liberalism, 2–3, 160	Old Oligarch, 28
Athenian democracy and, 165	oligarchia, 24, 25
basic democracy as antecedent for, 5–11,	oligarchy, 28, 45, 142
169–170	Olson, Mancur, 35
democracy after, 177–180	ostracism, 30–31
democracy as foundation for, 168–173	
democratic, 10	participatory citizenship, 93–98
in Demopolis, 168–169	exclusion of long-term adult residents, 47
morality and, 6	exercise of, 168
political theory of, 6	humiliation and, 112, 113
self-government and, 177	opportunity costs of, 97–98
as term of abuse, 178	paternalism, 124, 125
libertarianism, free-market, 126	Peloponnesian War, 31, 70, 129, 172
liberty, 103	Pettit, Philip, 140, 169
Athenian democracy and, 165	philosopher-kings, 145
basic democracy and, 159, 171	phronesis, 142
civic dignity and, 111, 122–127	piety, 173
Liberty before Liberalism (Skinner), 5	Plato, 74–75, 129, 140, 144
limited-access states, 63–64	pluralism
Lincoln, Abraham, 32	agonistic, 144, 166
Locke, John, 12, 136–145	disagreement and, 105
lottery, 19	religious, 5
26 1. 11.	value, 6, 10, 38, 50, 160, 163
Machiavelli, 12	political animals, 80
Machiavellian democracy, 8–9, 169	political equality, 51–52, 74, 77, 95, 99, 111, 140,
Madison, James, 12	141, 158, 159, 165, 171, 174, 175–176
majoritarian tyranny, 14, 18, 22, 70, 180	political freedom, 109–111
Marmot, Michael, 72	Political Liberalism (Rawls), 170
material goods, 60–63, 96	political liberty, 5, 99, 110, 111, 140, 141, 159, 165,
McCormick, John, 169	171
meritocracy, 121	political participation, 96–97
Mill, John Stuart, 169	in Athens, 95–96
mixed government, 30	in basic democracy, 158
monarchia, 23, 24	opportunity costs of, 97–98
monokratia, 24	political theory
Montesquieu, 12	agonistic, 166
moral liberalism, 6	analytical, 9, 74, 78
mutability, 107	ideal, 6
1: 0	liberal, 5, 9, 14, 56, 103, 106, 129, 165
nationalism, 178	normative, II–I3, 77, 78, 95, I57
nature, in delegation game, 133–136	positive, 11–13, 15, 63, 65, 70, 74, 77, 78, 95, 15
negotiations, 105	realistic, 157
Nicomachean Ethics (Aristotle), 7, 92	<i>Politics</i> (Aristotle), 7, 74–75, 79, 80, 84, 85–86,
noninfantilization, 71–72, 123, 125	130
nonliberal democracy, 164–165	pollarchia, 24
nonstate terrorism, 177–178	pollokratia, 24
nontyranny, 40	Polybius, 30
human health and, 72–73	populism/populists, 10, 11, 21, 129, 177, 178,
participation and, 50–51	180



positive political theory, 11–13, 15, 63, 65, 70, 74,	nontyranny requirement and, 131–132
77, 78, 95, 157	removal of, 132
power	self-governance and, 77
over, 25	Republic (Plato), 74–75, 129, 144
to, 25	republicanism, 7, 160
primates, 82-83. See also common primate	rights. See also human rights
ancestor	civic, 175
procedural justice, 8	natural, 5
proportionality principle, 63	Riker, William, 15
prosperity, 40	Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 12, 105
civic dignity and, 111	rules. See enforcement of rules; entrenchment of
in Demopolis, 168	rules; legislation
human capacities and, 98–100	Russia, 1, 178
human rights and, 179	
state of nature and, 65	Sandel, Michael, 169
state promotion of, 49-50	Sapolsky, Robert, 73
psephokratia, 28	scale, problems of, 34–36, 79, 89–90, 137,
public goods, 49	152–156
	Schmitt, Carl, 22, 69
rational actor theory, 84	Schumpeter, Joseph, 11
rationality, 83-87	Second Treatise of Government (Locke), 136–145
Rawls, John, 6-7, 170	security, 40, 98–100
relevant expertise aggregation, 143	civic dignity and, 111
Athenian case study, 146–152	human rights and, 179
assembly's deliberations, 151	state of nature and, 65
case structure, 147–148	self-government, 136–139, 158, 177
council of 500 citizens, 148	self-restraint, 120
council's deliberations, 149–150	Skinner, Quentin, 5, 7
fight-at-sea option, 151–152	slaves and slavery, 14, 33, 172–173
final voting stage, 151	in ancient Athens, 20, 163-164
identification of domains and experts,	in basic democracy, 96
148–150	economic contribution to Greek society,
threat of Persian invasion, 148	172–173
Condorcet jury theorem, 148	in historical democracy, 34
core features, 146	human social development and, 84
democratic variant of, 147	illiberal democracy and, 163
domains, 147	noncitizens, 77, 95
scalability, 152–156	political participation, exclusion from, 95–97
religion, 173, 174–176	sleeping sovereign, 128–131
religious pluralism, 5	creation of, 129
rent-seeking rulers, 63–64	monarchical authority, 129–130
representative democracy, 133–134, 169	mortal, 130
representatives/representation	sociability, 79–83
citizen self-government and, 136–139	social cooperation
in contemporary liberalism, 160–161	anti-autocracy and, 37
in delegation game, 133–136	autocracy and, 35–36
delegation of authority, 128, 158–159	basic democracy and, 159
legislative authority, 130	capacity for, 82, 106
political authority, 131	democracy and, 8, 101, 108
revocation of, 132, 140	environmental changes and, 107
demos's unsleeping invigilation, 130–131	human capital and, 110
election of, 131	human flourishing and, 39
elites, 155	human interdependence and, 81
exercise of authority, 131-132	levels of, 107
jurisdiction, 44	masterless, 37, 109



```
social cooperation (cont.)
                                                      technocractic elites, 2-3, 160-161
  public goods and, 43
                                                      territory (of Demopolis), 37-38
  welfare from, 66
                                                      terrorism, nonstate, 177-178
social equilibrium, 64, 102, 104, 112, 115-116, 159
                                                      Thaler, Richard, 84
                                                      Themistocles Decree, 147, 151-152
social identity, 71-72, 104
social insects, 80-81, 84-85
                                                      Theory of Justice (Rawls), 6-7, 170
social order
                                                      third-party enforcement, 4, 11, 15, 65, 67, 73, 84,
                                                             88, 101, 107, 157
 autocracy and, 36, 77
  collapse of, 46, 70
                                                      Thucydides, 12, 29, 70
  dangers to, 175
                                                      timokratia, 23, 26
  framework for, 10
                                                      Tocqueville, Alexis de, 8-9
  moral justification for, 6-7
                                                      toleration, 5
  nondemocratic, 63
                                                        of lawlessness, 32
  nonliberal form of, 175-176
                                                        nonstate terrorism and, 177-178
  positive political theory and, 12
                                                        of religious beliefs, 174
                                                      tradition/traditional culture/traditionalists
  preconditions of, 79, 84, 88, 89-90, 102
  proportionality principle and, 63
                                                        early-modern Western, 12
                                                        Founders and, 41-42, 53
  public good provision and, 84
  rent-seeking rulers and, 63-64
                                                        Kantian tradition, 6-7
  self-reinforcing, 15
                                                        religious, 17, 21, 53, 174
  social identities and, 104
                                                      Trump, Donald, 124 n19, 178–179
                                                      Tuck, Richard, 129
social scale, 35
social status, health and, 72-73
                                                      tyrannicide, 136
socially valued goods/projects, 41-43, 48-50, 53,
                                                      tyrants, 94. See also nontyranny
       55, 134, 137
sovereign
                                                      United Nations Declaration of Human Rights,
  authority of, 65-66
                                                             178
                                                      US
  benevolence, 66-67
  covenant with, 66
                                                        Constitution
  democratic moment and, 68
                                                          post-Civil War amendments to,
  demos as, 68-69
                                                          Preamble, 32
  friend-enemy distinction, 69
                                                        democracy in 18th century, 8-9
  grants of civil honors, 67-68
  sleeping, 128-131
                                                        direct voting in, 136
  as sole source of law, 67
                                                      utility function, 42-43
stability, 26, 31, 67-68, 72, 166
"state of nature" (Hobbes), 15, 65-67, 68, 70,
                                                      value neutrality, 5, 14, 16, 38, 40-41, 71-72,
        81-82, 108, 111, 133-134
                                                              165–166, 171
status syndrome, 72
                                                      value pluralism, 6, 10, 38, 50, 160, 163
Stilz, Anna, 105
                                                      "veil of ignorance" thought experiment (Rawls),
Stutzer, Alois, 73, 97
subjective happiness, 67, 73
                                                      violence, 35, 40, 63-64, 66, 106
substantive justice, 8, 9, 52
                                                      Whitehall II Studies, 72
Sweden, 178
                                                      Williams, Bernard, 13, 41, 96
taxes and taxation, 49-50
                                                      Wolin, Sheldon, 15
  citizens and, 56
                                                      workplace happiness, 67, 73
  of citizenship-eligible noncitizens, 55
  in Demopolis, 40-41, 169
                                                      xenophobia, 179
  Founders' rules on, 41-42, 49
  public goods and, 49
                                                      Zeus, justice of, 130
```