

BIG IDEAS

- Land claims disputes in Canada illustrate the role of the state in protecting property, in this case deciding who the rightful owner is. (SE pp. 414-415)
- Plato's ideas on what constitutes the ideal state and ruler influenced subsequent thinkers in the Middle Ages and medieval world. (SE pp. 416-418)
- After Hitler and Stalin, some anti-totalitarian thinkers (such as Popper and Rancière) became critical of Plato's ideal state, condemning its use of eugenics, censorship, and propaganda. (SE pp. 419-421)
- Liberalism influenced the constitutions of many modern democracies, including Canada, and also drew criticism from libertarians seeking even greater protection of the individual from the state. Communitarianism rejects the notion of the autonomous individual, finding instead our embeddedness in communities of shared values. (SE pp. 422-427)
- Distributive justice is another offshoot of liberal philosophy, which seeks the fairest ways of providing basic goods and services to people in society. (SE pp. 428-429)
- Multiculturalism and social diversity pose challenges for defining equality of rights and responsibilities, sometimes resulting in a concept of equity that recognizes fundamental differences in peoples (e.g., Aboriginal peoples, Québécois). Questions of gender equity are also raised. (SE pp. 430-435)
- Philosophers are divided in their views as to whether the goal of politics is consensus or acceptance of divisions within society. Philosophers are also divided on the nature or extent of the duties citizens owe to their state. (SE pp. 435-439)

Chapter 17: Exploring Social and Political Philosophy

Background

Building on the introductions in Chapter 16, Chapter 17 describes more of the theoretical background for several contemporary political philosophies. Marxism is one school of thought introduced in Chapter 16 that does not carry into Chapter 17, though it resurfaces in Chapter 18. You could point out to students that Marxism offers an alternative to liberalism (e.g., the former is alive today in many South American states). The ideas in this unit tend to be more straightforward than metaphysics or epistemology. This may make it easier for students to read primary documents associated with this chapter, contributing to broader thought that they can bring to the Utopia Project culminating activity.

About Chapter 17

Chapter 17 opens with a deeper look at Plato's influence on political philosophy, as well as twentieth-century critiques of his authoritarian state and the problem of who should rule a state. At the end of the chapter, Plato's ideas on the duties of citizens are considered. The core of the chapter, however, is further development of Enlightenment thinking behind philosophical liberalism (e.g., Mill and Rawls), and contemporary critiques such as libertarianism (Nozick) and communitarianism (Taylor and Gyekye). Students connect issues of multiculturalism and equality under the law, with a focus on the Oka Crisis in the Chapter Opener (SE pp. 414-415).

Features

In this chapter, the following features are included to help students make personal connections and/or deepen their understanding of social and political philosophy. You may use all or some of these features as explained in the table that follows.

Feature	Student Textbook Page(s)	Opportunity for Assessment	Strategies for Classroom Use
Philosophers on Philosophy	418	Create a time line that shows where these thinkers fit into history, and provide a caption for each that summarizes key developments at this time.	For background, see the primary documents and video clips referenced in Chapter 16, Teaching Plan 1, Teaching Strategy 2. Also use feature questions 1 and 2 to generate reflection and discussion.
World Views Across Time	438-439	Journal response on which thinker students agree with most and why.	Set out excerpts from primary documents of each of the thinkers in this feature for students to examine to deepen their understanding of the concepts.

Teaching Plan 1 (SE pp. 414-429)

Activity Description

A jigsaw activity is proposed for the entire chapter, but more specifically, students will practise democracy by using parliamentary procedure to make decisions. Criticism of Plato will act as a springboard for investigating the origins of liberal philosophy and its applications through Rawls' theory of justice.

Assessment Opportunities for Chapter Questions

The table below summarizes assessment opportunities for selected chapter questions, which are relevant to this teaching plan.

Assessment Type	Assessment Tool	Feature Questions	Section Questions
Assessment for Learning	Independent reflection and discussion	1 and 2, SE p. 418	
Assessment as Learning	Self-conducted inquiry		1 and 2, SE p. 421
Assessment for Learning	Note taking		1-3, SE p. 427
Assessment as Learning	Reflection and interconnections		4, SE p. 427
Assessment as Learning	Reflection and discussion		1-3, SE p. 429

Resources Needed

Make copies of these Blackline Masters:

- BLM C Comparison Chart
- BLM J Journal Writing Guide

Possible Assessment of Learning Task

There is opportunity here for a journal response (see BLM J) to Popper's criticism of Plato. Alternatively, students could respond to Dewey or Rancière on democracy in classrooms or paternalism as an entrenched mode of governance. (See Teaching Plan 1, Teaching Strategy 3.)

Assessment (For/As Learning)

As teachers move through each chapter, opportunities will be highlighted to provide assessment for/as learning in preparation for assessment of learning at the end of each chapter.

Learning Goal

Students will deepen their understanding of the ideal state and explore the foundations of philosophical liberalism, questioning different approaches to distributive justice in society.

Timing

225 minutes
(three 75-minute classes)

Learning Skills Focus

- Responsibility
- Collaboration
- Independent work
- Organization
- Self-regulation
- Initiative

Task/Project	Achievement Chart Category	Type of Assessment	Assessment Tool	Peer/Self/Teacher Assessment	Learning Skill	Student Textbook Page(s)	Blackline Master
Jigsaw	Knowledge; Communication	For	Organized note-taking of major sections of the chapter	Peer	Collaboration	415-439	BLM C
Parliamentary procedure	Application; Communication	As	Debate	Self; peer	Initiative; responsibility; Self-regulation	420	

continued

Task/Project	Achievement Chart Category	Type of Assessment	Assessment Tool	Peer/Self/Teacher Assessment	Learning Skill	Student Textbook Page(s)	Blackline Master
Canadian comparisons	Knowledge; Application	For	Connecting our Canadian mode of governance to liberal traditions	Self; teacher	Independent work; collaboration	424	BLM C
Board/computer game design	Thinking; Application	As/For	Presentation of design concept or actual play/simulation	Peer; teacher	Initiative	428	

Prior Learning Needed

Chapter 17 develops the ideas introduced in Chapter 16, as well as earlier discussions of Plato's *The Republic* (see the Introduction to Philosophy, SE pp. 11-13, and Chapter 10, SE pp. 246 and 249).

Teaching/Learning Strategies

1. Help students interpret the Oka Crisis by giving background on the standoff between the Mohawk warriors and Canadian military, over the rights to develop a golf course on land held sacred to the Mohawk. Look up the following video titles on YouTube:

Indian Summer: The Oka Crisis

Oka Crisis 1990 Part 001 of 21

Oka Crisis 1990 Part 011 of 21

The Oka conflict brings into focus the rights and obligations of the state, and those of citizens or groups within society, a topic taken up in the second half of the chapter. Students can also apply Turner's theory of social drama, from BLM 16.2, as the occupation (breach) escalated when a Québec police officer was shot and killed. One of the unpredictable, ugly events of this social drama was when members of the non-native community threw stones at the Aboriginal women, children, and elders who were evacuating the reserve during the conflict, revealing an undercurrent of racism in the society.

DI Jigsaw activity: At this point in the course, you may be working quickly to cover material, and students may be tired of routines. Consider dividing up this chapter into segments (using six major section headings):

- A. ideal government and society (SE p. 416)
- B. individualism versus state intervention (SE p. 422)
- C. justice, fairness, and society (SE p. 428)
- D. alternative perspectives on justice, equality, and governance (SE p. 430)
- E. deliberative democracy and consensus versus conflict or democratic agonism (SE p. 435)
- F. responsibilities of the citizen and the state (SE p. 437)

Count off students, A-F. Each student is responsible for taking down the key thinkers and concepts for their section (A-F). All of the A's meet to compare notes, as do students researching the other sections (B-F). These are the expert groups, so each member must leave with a strong grasp of the ideas and a good set of notes to share with the others. Then, students get into diverse groups of A-F and take turns sharing their information. At the end, everyone should have a good set of notes on this entire chapter, preparing them for the quiz laid out on BLM 17.1.

2. Ideal Government and Society (SE p. 416): Building on their introduction to the hierarchical leadership structure (SE p. 390) in Plato’s *The Republic*, here students read an excerpt from the primary document and further explore its influence on subsequent thinkers in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (see “Philosophers on Philosophy” feature, SE p. 418). Question 2 on SE p. 418 involves critical thinking about distortion in meaning as Plato is translated and appropriated into the religious thought of these later philosophers. Look up the following video clip on Plato’s *Crito*, available on YouTube:

Socratic Citizenship: Plato’s *Crito*

Acc Students can look up (on YouTube) and listen to the following Web cast for an overview of Plato’s *Crito*:

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY (1)

3. Critiques of Plato’s *The Republic* (SE pp. 419-421) bring us into the twentieth century and reception of his thinking in the post-World War II climate. Look up the following video title on YouTube for background on Popper’s critique of Plato:

Karl Popper on the Open Society and Its Enemies

Did Plato create a totalitarian state in *The Republic*, or is such criticism by Popper and others influenced by witnessing Hitler and Stalin, overlooking the intent of Plato’s thought experiment: to create an ideal society *as a model* (paradigm) for what justice in the soul looks like? Does the political treatise have to be read, also, as a psychological one, where the individual is reigning in the animal soul (appetite and passions) in order to further the development of the rational soul? Is it less a utopia than an educational plan for self-fulfilment and enlightenment (hence the “Allegory of the Cave” in Book VII as its central trope)?

DI Compare Plato’s *The Republic* to Franz Kafka’s novel *The Trial*, where “agents of the soul” (to borrow a term from Meister Eckhart, medieval Vicar of Bohemia) “arrest” (traduce) the character Josef K., ushering him along an investigation into his own relations with people and the world around him. Is his “arrest” (halt, cessation of routine) the moment of critical reflection, from which he is periodically drawn away by his passions? Does the novel also reveal the machinations of the bureaucratic Prussian state in Prague, foreshadowing the Nazi regime’s abuse of reason (as Adorno proclaims) to carry out rationalized, systematic, and efficient genocide (e.g., using IBM punch cards to record the various types of prisoners and the means of their execution)?

Dewey’s pragmatic view (SE p. 420) takes up a Walt Whitman kind of homage to democracy, but also brings it into the classroom—a place where democracy is not just revered but practised. The Progressive movement Dewey ushered in (late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries) also led to a democratic-schools initiative (see Clark Power), connected to efforts at moral education.

DI Try having the class learn the basic principles of parliamentary procedure, and use these to debate something of importance and to make decisions (e.g., aspects of the final assessment for the course, such as requirements and deadlines). Apply these skills again in the second half of the chapter (see Teaching Plan 2, Teaching Strategy 1). Look up the following video titles on YouTube for background on parliamentary procedure:

YMUN Parliamentary Procedure

Parliamentary Procedures Tutorial; Casual Yet Effective

Look up the following Web site for a summary version of Robert’s Rules of Order:

<http://www.robertsrules.org/>

Rancière brings in an issue that is close to students, in that he protests against the paternalistic mode of governance where authority figures rule over and talk down to subjects, as in a monarchy, oligarchy, gerontocracy, technocracy, or *epistemocracy* (where technical elites or designated knowledge-holders have sway). The pastoral relationship of shepherd to sheep is set up, generating “policing” instead of the “political” opening for practising freedom. For Rancière, the political only arises through *dissensus* or contestation, rupturing the logic of the rulers who exert control over the intelligence of their subjects. Education, for Rancière, is different from instruction (top-down delivery) in that it involves a master exerting his/her will over the learning subjects, but only insofar as he “encloses them in a circle of their need.” Within that circle of their own need and interests, they are free, as equals, to pursue their own learning trajectories or “orbit around the truth.” See Rancière’s *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*. Look up the following video titles on YouTube for additional background on Rancière:

Rancière, The Emancipated Spectator, 20 August 2004 (1/6)

Jacques Rancière / In What Time Do We Live?

Acc Create a learning circle where freedom is practised by working under the “presupposition of equality,” instead of entrenched ways of seeing students through hierarchical divisions of subjects by learning aptitudes (e.g., Bloom’s Taxonomy, or ranges of giftedness and learning disablement). Not that this is an empirical claim to absolute equality, but rather that it might be a liberating normative principle from which to start a project or lesson, bringing the teacher down from an elevated, paternal position of authority.

4. Individualism versus state intervention (SE p. 422) takes us back to investigate more deeply the roots of liberalism (introduced on SE p. 401), reading excerpts from Enlightenment thinkers Locke and Mill. Refer students to the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* for further background:

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke-political/>

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mill/>

Look up the following video clips, which help to illustrate the background on this progressive movement of thought and the tyrannical conditions of the times that helped to prompt reformers to put forward these treatises on government:

<http://academicearth.org/lectures/appropriating-locke-today>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w6eRztrUFzA>

<http://academicearth.org/lectures/constitutional-government-locke-second-treatise-1-5>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oOkwaP6ol8Y>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36ixaRuMu5E>

5. Mill and the Canadian Context (SE p. 424): There is an opportunity to ask students to make applications of Mill’s ideas to their own society and its methods of governance. Here, you can draw on their study of History and Civics in Grade 10 (mandatory courses), as well as Grade 12 History in some cases (senior electives). Take this time to address question 1 on SE p. 427.

Acc For some students, the theories and quotes (SE pp. 423-424) may be too abstract to make the connections to their own society. These students can start by describing the constitutional system in Canada—how it protects the rights of individuals while restricting their freedoms. Help students who are having difficulty

with the concepts by pairing them with other students who do grasp the political philosophies. Students may use BLM C to organize comparisons between our constitutional system in Canada and Mill's ideas.

6. The libertarian offshoot from liberalism takes us further along towards the right side of the political-economic spectrum, as it posits control over decisions by the individual as opposed to the state. There are some Libertarian Party candidates in Canadian elections, but not enough to form a major party. Ask students why this philosophical response, as it has been taken up as an anti-government ideology, has not gained official party status. Rapid individualism can also lead into autarchy (self-rule) or anarchism (cf. SE p. 396). Look up the following video titles on YouTube for additional information:

Nozick's Argument for the Minimal State | David Gordon

Anarchy, State, and Robert Nozick | by Jeff Riggenbach

The History of Political Philosophy, Lecture 10: Nozick and Rothbard (Part 2/2) | Dr. David Gordon

7. Justice, Fairness, and Society (SE p. 428) reintroduces distributive justice with John Rawls' theory of justice. If students skipped over the feature in Chapter 16 (SE p. 402), have them go back to review Rawls' notion of the "veil of ignorance," which is linked to the "original position" covered in the following video (look up title on YouTube):

The History of Political Philosophy, Lecture 9: John Rawls (Part 1/2) | Dr. David Gordon

DI Question 2 on SE p. 429, in part, calls for students to apply Rawls' theory to a city that has been badly affected by a recession. Students could design a prototype for a board game (or computer game) that incorporates Rawls' concepts to achieve distributive justice in the city.

Text Answers

Page 418: Philosophers on Philosophy

1. a) St. Augustine cites Plato, but also substitutes God for Plato's ideal realm in the first quote on SE p. 418. For Plato, the blessed life is one that is lived in accordance with reason, whereas for St. Augustine, the blessed life is one lived in harmony with divine law. Thomas More cites Plato's notion of the philosopher-king. Al-Farabi picks up on Plato's and Aristotle's educational plans, which include acquisition of knowledge, but also formation of virtuous character.
b) The philosopher-king does not represent the people, in the sense of democratic systems, and there are no checks on his power, as there are in Jeffersonian democracy, where the executive has to work with the judiciary and legislature.
2. Some thinkers, like Philo Judaeus, mixed Platonism, Stoicism, and Judaism. Although these hybrids may appeal to some, they also lose the original meaning of Platonism. Plato did not believe in a god, and his philosophy does not really have room for theism (see SE p. 136). George Santayana suggested that Christianity is Platonism for the masses, astutely noting the similarity in terms of the division between human and divine realms. However, the parallel also obscures what Plato was actually dividing: appearances from forms, not humans from heaven. As he is taken into Christian and Islamic texts, Plato's Paganism (his belief that stars were living, rational beings) is downplayed, and there is something of an Appeal to Authority fallacy in drawing his reputable name into these religions.

Page 421: Section questions

1. Popper doesn't see Plato's *The Republic* as an ideal state, but as a form of totalitarianism similar to that of Hitler's or Stalin's regimes. Too much power is invested in the philosopher-king, and not enough freedom to contest the laws of the supreme leader. Popper favours a more open society, the conditions for which also promote innovation in the sciences—his area of expertise—through the falsification of erroneous theories (see SE p. 330).
2. Dewey's pragmatic response to the philosopher-king model—drawing on actual experience in democratic society—is to challenge the absolutism in Plato's hierarchical division of humans into definite classes associated with different metals (tin versus gold). Dewey also exposes the unrealizable idealism behind Plato's anti-democratic notion of the philosopher-king. Rancière's response to the philosopher-king model is to attack the deeply entrenched presupposition of inequality, suggesting instead that we ought to try to work from a presupposition of equality. In *Hatred of Democracy*, Rancière fondly recalls the practice in Athenian democracy where council members were drawn by lots, adding a random element that prevents the formation of ruling oligarchies.

Try this thought experiment with your class: Imagine if your school administration were drawn by lots from among the entire staff; instead of getting an inferior type of leader, you might sometimes get good teachers who were reticent to seek the power or responsibility, but who would do an excellent job (e.g., the wizened English teacher pulled away from literature for two years).

Page 427: Section questions

1. Mill's influence on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms appears on SE p. 424, entrenching rights—life, liberty, and security of person—that cannot be taken away arbitrarily. These rights are limited insofar as pursuit of one's liberty cannot infringe on the rights of others. Imagine someone in class takes up all the desks around them with their personal property, securing a nest-like area of exclusion, and turns up their music loudly. When asked to turn it down, they argue Charter rights. The teacher and other students would counter that this selfish pursuit of life and security is denying others their rights, hence a limit would be imposed on this individual.
2. Plato might react negatively to Mill's statements about the right of an individual to express her or his opinions. He would defend the right of someone like Socrates to share his unorthodox opinions because these are wise teachings, delivered from beyond the "cave" of public opinion (see SE p. 11). In and of themselves, private and public opinions were not considered valuable. Recall Plato's "divided line" (SE p. 246), which puts opinions in the corruptible realm of becoming, unlike knowledge, which belongs to the permanent and ideal realm of being. For Plato, as a rationalist, belief must be united with truth and rational justification to be knowledge.
3. Although it can be hazardous to argue on the basis of two quotations from Mill's work whether he would support claims for alternative governance or self-jurisdiction on Aboriginal land, the second paragraph of the quote at the top of SE p. 424 does suggest that living experiments, which include religious communities and communes, are worthy expressions of the liberal pursuit for independence. Requirements in the United States that all children attend public school are relaxed in the case of Amish communities, as the social cohesion of the group would be threatened by having the children leave the insular religious community. Likewise, on reserves in Canada, First Nations may have self-jurisdiction with sentencing circles that issue punishments when guilty verdicts are determined, keeping the

interpretation of the law within the community and its traditions. Land claims disputes, such as in Caledonia, Ontario, are more complex, as they bring two communities into conflict over ownership and security of the land, calling for negotiation to arrive at agreeable limits on both communities.

4. Mill was worried about the possible tyranny of the majority, but that would also extend to worries about the tyranny of the philosopher-king. Why should individuals have to follow the wise leader, so long as they are not hurting anyone in their own folly?

“Self-protection” is the key idea or principle that Mill was getting at, but he also included the principle of not harming others. The realization that second-hand smoke is lethal to others should lead us to place limits on an individual’s right to smoke in public places. Although one might argue that bars should have smoking lounges, the wait staff are then required to enter these “blue rooms” and thus risk their lives to earn their livelihood, hence the removal of these rooms in recent legislation.

Page 429: Section questions

1. Whether the government violates individual rights by taxing people is possibly made clear by pointing out that pacifists, like Quakers, may object to their taxes contributing to national defence or war efforts. If people are allowed to opt out of paying toward some government expenditures, the question arises as to where you draw the line. Such a society would become rule by plebiscite, and it would be difficult to imagine a budget for such a hyper-democratic state. Some libertarians simply distrust in elected officials to use their tax money wisely, perhaps leading them to use the underground economy or to under-report income to shelter their income from taxation. The debt crisis in Greece was partly due to such responses among its citizens, who do not fully pay their taxes, leading to a revenue shortfall.

A motion for a student debate could be the following: *Be it resolved that citizens will be given more discretionary power in determining where their tax money is spent, leading to the creation of budgets that represent the will of the people instead of their elected officials.* (The House has the burden of defending this libertarian proposal; the Opposition will try to defeat it.)

2. Rawls would suggest that the best solution would be one in which the decision-makers do not know if they will be one of the homeless or jobless citizens (i.e., use the “veil of ignorance” or “original position”), thus removing the cloud of self-interest. Nozick does not see self-interest as clouding the issue as much as it clarifies it, as it was the decisions of these individuals that led to their own plight (e.g., assuming too much borrowing liability or lengthy amortization periods in setting up mortgages).
3. It is generally dangerous to enlist the aid of a philosopher unless he or she has actually addressed an issue, as this often leads to putting words into their mouths. Nozick, however, might be impressed by the defiant and liberating stand of the Mohawk warriors, but reticent to see the costs of a favourable land settlement redistributed to other Canadians through their taxes.

Learning Goal

Students will become familiar with alternative approaches to the problems of equality in society. Students will question whether an ideal state is one that achieves consensus among its members or one that permits open disagreement. Additionally, students consider perspectives on the duties or obligations of citizens.

Teaching Plan 2 (SE pp. 430-441)

Activity Description

Students continue the jigsaw activity started at the outset of this chapter to prepare them for the quiz at the end of this chapter (BLM 17.1). Students will also apply their parliamentary debating skills in addressing questions of how rights and duties are distributed in our society. Students continue to apply their learning about the theories of an ideal state to the Utopia Project culminating activity.

Assessment Opportunities for Chapter Questions

The table below summarizes assessment opportunities for selected chapter questions, including questions in the Chapter Review, which are relevant to this teaching plan.

Assessment Type	Assessment Tool	Feature Questions	Section Questions	Chapter Review Questions
Assessment as Learning	Reconsideration of concepts in SE		1-6, SE pp. 436-437	
Assessment for Learning	Comparison charts	1, SE p. 439		
Assessment for Learning	Organizers and note-taking skills			1-7, SE p. 440
Assessment as Learning	Applications and debate of concepts			8-10, SE p. 441

Timing

225 minutes
(three 75-minute classes)

Learning Skills Focus

- Responsibility
- Collaboration
- Independent work
- Organization
- Self-regulation
- Initiative

Resources Needed

Make copies of these Blackline Masters:

- BLM 17.1 Chapter 17 Vocabulary and Concepts Quiz
- BLM C Comparison Chart
- BLM D Argument Builder
- BLM E Learning Skills Tracking Sheet
- BLM G Debate Assessment Rubric
- BLM J Journal Writing Guide

Possible Assessment of Learning Task

You may consider asking students to complete BLM 17.1 Chapter 17 Vocabulary and Concepts Quiz with matching and short-answer sections.

Assessment (For/As Learning)

As teachers move through each chapter, opportunities will be highlighted to provide assessment for/as learning in preparation for assessment of learning at the end of each chapter.

Task/Project	Achievement Chart Category	Type of Assessment	Assessment Tool	Peer/Self/Teacher Assessment	Learning Skill	Student Textbook Page(s)	Blackline Master
Jigsaw activity	Knowledge; Communication	For	Note taking	Peer; self	Responsibility; collaboration; organization		BLM C
Parliamentary procedure	Application; Thinking; Communication; Knowledge	For	Students debate accommodation of First Nations' claims for self-jurisdiction	Peer; teacher	Collaboration; initiative; self-regulation	430-433	BLM G

continued

Task/Project	Achievement Chart Category	Type of Assessment	Assessment Tool	Peer/Self/Teacher Assessment	Learning Skill	Student Textbook Page(s)	Blackline Master
Dialogue across differences	Thinking; Application; Communication	As	Students role-play a Habermas and Mouffe dialogue, with half the class using discourse ethics	Self; teacher	Collaboration; initiative; self-regulation	435-436	
Four-corners debate	Application; Thinking; Communication; Knowledge	For	Students debate the liberal framework for distributive justice	Peer; teacher	Collaboration; initiative; self-regulation	441, question 10	BLM D BLM G

Prior Learning Needed

Students require knowledge of parliamentary procedure. See Teaching Plan 1, Teaching Strategy 3, Differentiated Instruction for additional background information.

Teaching/Learning Strategies

1. Alternative Perspectives on Justice, Equality, and Governance (SE p. 430): Equality under the law is a basic principle in liberal philosophy, which comes out in the slogan of the French Revolution: “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.” How liberal societies accommodate differences that arise due to multiculturalism was a challenge in the twentieth century and is still a challenge in the twenty-first century. The connection to Canada’s First Nations is brought to the fore with discussion of the Oka Crisis in the Chapter Opener, in addition to the ideas of Taiaiake Alfred and James Tully on SE pp. 431-432. Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka are also prominent figures in this debate, including the question of separate rights or entitlements for Aboriginal peoples and Québec (founding nations). Consider assigning this topic as a student journal entry (see BLM J). Look up the following video title (on YouTube), which addresses nationalism and racism in a critique of liberal policies of multiculturalism—an interesting polemic:

The Virus of Multiculturalism

DI Using parliamentary procedure, debate proposed accommodations of First Nations peoples, such as claims for self-jurisdiction. Native self-jurisdiction involves several aspects of Canadian law, including the question of whether women on reserves would receive their right to equal treatment, guaranteed under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Alternatively, select an issue that is in the news (has some buzz) and have students hold a debate to determine the outcome or law. For example, the question of whether judges should be allowed to make conditional sentences, or whether there should be fixed sentences for crimes, is topical at the time of this writing, but it is also an issue relevant to school life, as it applies to vice-principals issuing suspensions or school superintendents issuing expulsions for violent offenses. In either context—schools or First Nations communities—should there be alternative penalties? For example, in First Nations communities, should there be sentencing circles (e.g., using banishment to an island instead of prison sentences)? In schools, should there be progressive discipline and restorative practices instead of suspensions and expulsions? For example, the parties may simply settle for an apology, and through dialogue over several sessions, seek mutual under-

standing and respect. A restorative practice could also involve service to the school instead of suspension, such as helping with recycling.

The feminist response to liberal political theory takes us into the clash between foundational and post-foundational philosophies, introduced in Chapter 11. Use this background to open discussion on the differences between Susan Okin’s liberal critique, and Iris Marion Young’s mixture of Heidegger, Wittgenstein, and Foucault. Look up these video titles on YouTube for background information:

24. Democratic Justice: Theory

The Anarchist Turn - Judith Butler [1]

Follow this link to read Chapter 2 (“Five Faces of Oppression”) of Young’s book, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*:

<http://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/young.pdf>

Follow this link to read Okin’s article “Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?”

<http://www.bostonreview.net/BR22.5/okin.html>

And follow this link to read about feminist perspectives on power:

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power/>

DI Ask students to create a form of protest art to highlight the issues Okin and Young address. See SE pp. 533-534.

Use this opportunity to run the debate outlined in Chapter Review question 10, drawing on the controversy over affirmative action (SE p. 429) See BLM G Debate Assessment Rubric for assessment criteria.

2. Deliberative Democracy and Consensus Versus Conflict or Democratic Agonism (SE p. 435): To set up the contrast of Habermas and Mouffe, look up the following video links and show them to students:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jBl6ALNh18Q>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WyVxskWCZsw>

Students should also read the material on Habermas and Mouffe found on SE pp. 435-436. Also, ask students to read further into Habermas’ theory of discourse ethics at these links:

<http://caae.phil.cmu.edu/cavalier/Forum/meta/background/agimmler.html>

<http://caae.phil.cmu.edu/cavalier/Forum/meta/background/HaberIntro.html>

Now ask students whose view they agree with and why. Then ask the class to present the two positions—Habermas’ and Mouffe’s—through a role-play. See what happens when only one side of the role-play is trying to use Habermas’ principles for clear dialogue.

DI As an alternative to the role-play, students could create a puppet show or a comic strip. See Chapter Review question 9, SE p. 441.

3. Responsibilities of the Citizen and the State (SE p. 437): This section may help students with their Utopia project, as it draws them deeper into consideration of what individual citizens owe the state. Have students create a list of duties, as called for in the section question on SE p. 439. Compare what small student groups come up with in response to this question. Look for commonalities and unique additions or omissions in the groups’ responses and discuss them with the class.

Ask students to use BLM C to compare and contrast Plato’s argument in *Crito* with the views of Hobbes, Calvin, and Hume as presented in the “World Views Across Time” feature on SE pp. 438-439.

DI Ask students to debate the duties of citizens, using SE pp. 437-439 as the preparatory material.

4. Conduct a progress check on students' Utopia Project. Use BLM E Learning Skills Tracking Sheet to help you check on students' progress. Check to be sure that students are creating ideas for an ideal state by working with human nature as they understand it, and not creating a fantasy state where everyone magically gets along. A realistic approach is what makes the project both difficult and worthwhile.

Acc Consider whether some student groups are dysfunctional, and where a minority report is called for (i.e., specific students doing their own part of the project, outside the group).

DI Some students may benefit from switching to an alternative type of project. If they have already done a similar project in Grade 10 civics, it may create a lacklustre response. Consider assigning an essay on a political film (see SE p. 537 regarding *Persepolis*).

5. Have students review their notes generated by the jigsaw activity (see Teaching Plan 1, Teaching Strategy 1, Differentiated Instruction), and then give them BLM 17.1 Chapter 17 Vocabulary and Concepts Quiz to complete.

Text Answers

Page 436: Section questions

1. a) The philosophy of identity recognition introduces Heidegger's concept of *authenticity* as it connects to cultural, rational, religious, or gender-based identities (see quote, SE pp. 430-431). Rejecting negative or inauthentic projections (e.g., stereotypical portrayals) and asserting one's own cultural identity is essential if we are to achieve equal recognition. In the nineteenth century, the mostly Anglican British administrators of Upper Canada and Canada West portrayed the French in Lower Canada as lazy or too Catholic (beholden to Rome).
b) The politics of recognition connects multiculturalism and politics by making some things, like preservation of the French language in Québec, social ideas worthy of pursuit by distinct members of Canadian society, instead of making social ideas uniform throughout Canada. An example of the latter ideal is universal health care or unemployment insurance. Unlike the other provinces, Québec has its own pension plan and control over immigration. This extends rights to Québec that Ontario does not have, in recognizing its foundational role in the formation of Canada. The British North America Act was also cited by Conservative Premier Bill Davis in granting full funding of Catholic separate schools in Ontario, even though denying the same right to Hebrew, Islamic, or other private Christian schools is a violation of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For Kymlicka (SE pp. 432-433), too, Canada sometimes benefits from breaking with the liberal principle of equality to recognize special rights among its founding nations, including Aboriginal peoples and Québécois.
c) Taylor's communitarian philosophy can be applied to First Nations peoples and their struggle for recognition of their rights by acknowledging how First Nations peoples were assimilated through residential schools and churches, systematically erasing their cultural identity. Efforts to bring about a cultural renaissance among Aboriginal peoples represent the search for more authentic identity, upon which entrance into political dialogue, as equals, is based.
2. Tully's quote on SE p. 432, from his Web site at University of Victoria, applies the philosophies of Wittgenstein and Foucault, among many others (Said, Freire,

Gandhi), toward recognizing the inherent complexity in social groups, movements, and constitutional forms. Instead of singular solutions, agreements among diverse peoples are best reached through dialogue and negotiation, attaining needed “freedoms within the rules” that fit the particular historical and cultural context. As someone who served, after the Oka Crisis, on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, his message has special bearing on land claims disputes between Aboriginal peoples and the provincial and federal governments.

3. Okin’s criticism of Rawls’ theory of justice addresses his failure to recognize the *reproductive role* of society, in terms of the traditional roles women occupy in relation to bearing and raising children within society. In a sexist society, there is no “veil of ignorance” or “original position” if women are expected to fulfil traditional roles. Okin was seeking redistribution of these child-caring roles, requiring that men do their fair share of this vital work.
4. Young’s feminist philosophy differs from Okin’s in that she goes beyond the liberal philosophical framework for equality, which, since Locke and Kant, views individuals as rational, autonomous agents capable of making right choices. She draws on Heidegger’s concept of our *thrownness* into historical language and cultural groups, and Wittgenstein’s concept of the deep background for meaning that affects matters of meaning and identity. Sexism is based on a “bedrock” of assumptions that permeate political thought and identity (see Hekman, SE pp. 281-282).
5. Young also draws on Foucault to reposition the question of power, seeing it as something that circulates and that can be reversed within *power relations*, rather than something one class or gender owns and controls (a problem in much liberal and Marxist thinking). It is these background assumptions and ingrained practices or power relations that often undermine liberal reforms, making them statutory instead of practical. Despite legislative reforms in Afghanistan, a woman who has been raped can still be imprisoned for 10 years for having premarital sex (this was an actual case). The power relations favouring patriarchy have not eroded yet despite liberal reforms.
6. Inspired by Marx, Habermas is seeking to achieve social justice by discovering universal principles for communication—something akin to Kant’s moral maxims—that help us avoid conflict through *discourse ethics*. Mouffe, on the other hand, does not see the avoidance of conflict and consensus as the goal of politics; rather, for Mouffe, politics is the arena for voicing dissent. Quiet or enforced consensus is usually achieved through hegemonic power relations, concealing the diversity of voices within society.

Page 439: World Views Across Time

Thinker	Views on the duties of citizens
Plato	Citizens must obey the law, even if it means rejecting those who assist them to escape a death sentence. They owe the state their very existence.
Hobbes	As members of a commonwealth, we owe our allegiance to state policies we did not necessarily vote for or approve of, as our mutual security depends on such solidarity—on us making all policies our own.
Calvin	We have a religious duty to uphold the laws of states God has established on Earth. (Rousseau, however, escaped from the confines of the Calvinist society he was born into, in the Swiss cantons, and walked to France.)
Hume	Instead of mere obedience, people need to be involved in political deliberation, and for this we need an independent or free press. There is also a sense in the Hume quote (SE p. 439) that people need to be animated to support or defend their government, quite different from Plato or Calvin. (Not surprisingly, perhaps, when Rousseau was driven out of France for his radical views on religion, Hume took him into his home in Scotland.)

Page 439: Section question

Based on several philosophers, students are asked to give their opinion about the responsibilities of citizens to the state. Their lists will likely include the following:

- Military service
- Voting
- Filing tax returns and paying taxes
- Obeying laws
- Not conveying state secrets
- Jury duty
- Completing the Statistics Canada census

Pages 440-441: Chapter Review

1. This organizer includes the basic information. Students are required to consider and suggest the strengths and weaknesses of each philosopher's ideas.

Key Philosophers	Background (where applicable)	Concepts	Strengths	Weaknesses
Plato	Idealist	Philosopher-king reigns in hierarchical society		
Locke	Liberal	Social contract theory, protecting right to life, liberty and property		
Mill	Liberal	Individual liberties, limited to not harm or impede others		
Nozick	Libertarian	Merit-based access to rights and goods		
Taylor	McGill University, Communitarian	Communities may determine their own social goods and authentic identities		
Rawls	Harvard liberal	"Original position" and "veil of ignorance" in obtaining distributive justice		
Tully	McGill/University of Toronto/Victoria University	Rather than singular or simple solutions, people benefit from negotiating diverse and complex arrangements		
Kymlicka	Queen's University	Even in liberal societies some national groups should be granted separate entitlements		
Okin	Feminist liberal	In a liberal society, men need to share in the domestic work		
Young	Feminist post-foundationalist	The roots of oppression run deeper than liberal thinkers recognize, as part of our background context for meaning and value		
Habermas	Frankfurt School	Politics is a way of achieving consensus and social justice among diverse groups, using tools like discourse ethics to bridge differences		
Mouffe	Post-foundationalist	Politics is a way of voicing dissensus among diverse groups, avoiding the hegemonic silencing of minority groups		

2. This chart is one approach students could take in answering this question.

Thinker	Contrasting thinker
SE p. 416, Plato, from Book VIII of <i>The Republic</i> : "This much has been agreed, Glaucon: for a city that is going to be governed on a high level ... the kings must be those among them who have proved best in philosophy and with respect to war."	SE p. 420, John Dewey attacked Plato's idea of a hierarchy of distinct classes: "Now whatever the idea of equality means for democracy... about it that does not exist to illustrate a principle, to realize a universal or to embody a kind of class."
SE p. 438, Plato, from <i>Crito</i> : "Socrates: Do the laws speak truly, or do they not? Crito: I think that they do. Socrates: Then the laws...he will do as we command him. ..."	SE p. 422, Locke on the power vested in the state: "[It]... can have no other end or measure... Consent of those who make up the Community."
SE p. 428, Rawls: "Thus we are to imagine...It is understood as a purely hypothetical situation characterized so as to lead to a certain conception of justice."	SE p. 432, Tully: " <i>Strange Multiplicity</i> argues that... association themselves over time."

3. Gyekye's stance on SE p. 427 is that the liberal principle of equality under the law must not trump the claims of distinct ethnic (or other) groups that may assert special entitlements in the interests of achieving equity. The role of the individual in moderate communitarianism is thus less central than it is in classical liberalism.
4. In general, a traditional liberal view is that every segment of society should have equal access to rights and services, whereas the communitarian view is that such social goods may, in some circumstances, vary on the basis of cultural traditions or unique needs (e.g., Québec's unique language laws and control over immigration, intended to help preserve its culture). A traditional liberal might be concerned that in giving priority to French-language teaching in Ontario schools, we are being unfair or inequitable toward students who might want to have training in their heritage languages, such as Mandarin, Farsi, Hindi, or Russian.
5. Although the philosopher-king and the state as divine on Earth may seem hopelessly out of touch with modern conditions, you might compare the role of the contemporary CEO, like Bill Gates or the late Steve Jobs, as just such a figure. For some Canadians, Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was such a leader. Charles Taylor was a leading figure in the New Democratic Party of Québec, running federally three times and even losing to Trudeau. Educated at Oxford, Taylor was professor of political philosophy at McGill University; among his many students, he taught Jack Layton (deceased 2011), former City of Toronto Alderman and federal leader of the NDP.
6. An example of accommodating differences in Canada's democratic and multicultural system of government is the Sikh RCMP officer allowed to wear a turban instead of the traditional RCMP hat. As well, despite safe-schools policies, some students have been allowed to bring a ceremonial dagger—the kirpan—to school, sewn into a special cloth sheath.
7. Rawls' concept of the "original position" suggests that such decisions must be made without the interference of self-interest. Would the defence spending benefit all, as a deterrent on invaders or aggressors, or, if we imagine ourselves called to duty, secure the lives of those who go into war zones on behalf of their country? Will a trade agreement possibly cause injury to some segments of society, such as failing to protect children from becoming poorly paid labourers?

For Nozick, the minimal state does not preclude providing mutual defence or securing contracts. (See SE p. 425.) However, redistributing income through taxes and federal transfer payments to relatively less fortunate provinces would be something Nozick would object to; for instance, tax revenue moving from Ontario to Newfoundland to provide social insurance to people there. This is too close to Marxism for libertarians, and creates the “nanny state” with “cradle to grave welfare.”

8. Perhaps the issue most pressing in Ontario, which addresses Taylor’s article, is the issue of funding for private and religious schools, as the United States’ voucher system where citizens can apply their education funding to the school of their choice as opposed to the neighbourhood school. Would this undermine our solidarity as a society?
9. In this activity, students develop a political cartoon. If students need assistance, there are several resources they can consult. Free software can be found at the following link (but you have to register):

<http://www.bitstrips.com/>

<http://www.bitstripsforschools.com/>

Students may also wish to make an animated film. Students can follow this link for information on how to do that:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDSCLm61Qhk>

10. The motion under debate is basically taking the classical liberal view that everyone should be treated equally, and that the state will undertake to ensure the fair distribution of goods and services and the granting of rights and freedoms deemed to be in the common interest of the people. The four corners should therefore include Rawls and perhaps Mill or Locke, with Nozick taking up the opposition to those philosophers. The communitarians will want to modify the claims of the liberals, so perhaps set up a third corner represented by Taylor (joined by Tully and to some extent Kymlicka). The fourth corner could consist of feminist (Okin and Young) or Aboriginal opposition (Alfred).