The Ethos of British Democracy:

An Investigation into the Political Health of British Citizenry towards Political Representation (Between Activism and Passivism)

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of LMD Doctorate in English (Anglo-Saxon Cultural Studies)

Submitted by: Ms BouhabaIkram   Supervised by: Prof. Brahim Mansouri

Board of Examiners

Chair: Dr/Prof Douifi Mohamed	Algiers 2 University
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Acknowledgments

DEDICATION

To my beloved family.

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the new emerged culture of political apathy in Britain and its origin. It subsequently looks at the direct democracy that was developed in Athens, its main pillars and how it succeeded in transforming ordinary folks into active and conscious citizens. This narrative is entirely opposed to the elitist approach to history which supposes that ordinary man can never be trusted for governing the affairs of a whole country on the basis of historical, psychological and even scientific arguments. Hence, representative system is considered as the best conciliation between direct democracy and aristocracy. However, this work is an attempt to debunk this claim through a Marxist approach and political discourse analysis in order to find the role played by common people in the making of British democracy. Many studies have highlighted the role played by party politics and the mass media in nurturing this culture but still the role played by this elitist discourse is often neglected. Political disengagement is purposely created by the elite through historical narratives and social media to keep the status quo unchallenged.

Key Words: Political Activism, Passivism, Elitist Discourse, Mass Media, Political Parties, Apathy.

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List of Abbreviation and Acronyms

CA   Cambridge Analytica

CCPA   Commons Committee on Public Administration

CRE   Commission of Racial Equality

DL   Delian League

DS   Digital Surveillance

ERM   Exchange Rate Mechanism

FB   Face book

IQ   Intelligence Quotient

LP   Labour Party

MP   Memberof Parliament

NUWC National Union of the Working Class

OS   Oligarchic Sparta

SDP   Social Democratic Party

INTRODUCTION

The history of civilization is a chronicleof a life circle that begins with flourishing ideas, promising principles and auspicious ideals. Then it reaches its peak when suspicion and doubt about the fundamentals hypnotizes the spirit and the mind. At the final stage, the ideals that once fostered and sustained a civilization, can no more uphold it. Though these highly valuable principles may remain but only as shadows, as hollow utterances that are devoid of energy and veracity. Words and ideas survive but their associated ethos fades away and they become a sword to smash a whole civilization. Thus, a civilization survives as long as it remains committed to its core ideals which in their turn must remain safe from distortion. However, history has proven that the flames of civilization sooner or later wane and degenerate and the spirit that once sustained it becomes unavailing.

The allegory of *Animal Farm* which was published in 1945 is one of best personifications of how the ideals that once nurtured and sustained the spirit of the animals to make a revolution have become hollow and distorted. Orwell famous quote"All animals are equal" is an ideal that every religion, philosophy, ideology, political groups and parties celebrate at their birth but they soon end up by "all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others". Here equality, freedom and commitment are all utopian ideals that inspire the mind and the spirit of the animals but once distorted, their dynamism perishes and instead they become a dystopian burden. Hence, new definitions, new norms, new practices and new ideologies become associated with the old true ideals in a way to legitimize the new in a way that makes the animals disillusioned; they can neither revolt against words that had once inspired

them nor can they be submissive to the newly distorted definitions. Instead, they have remained passive.

History also proves that there have always been two groups of people differing in wealth, social standing and power. The first group is the dominant few who control and manufacture knowledge and the second group is the large majority who are the consumers of this knowledge which keeps them in constant bondage. However, history also proves that the second group was not always submissive, rather it has always resisted with momentous victories. Still, the essence of this resistance does not lie in victory but it does lie in the continuous struggle, the everlasting doubt, and the unbroken activism. Once this struggle ceases, the ideal loses its ethos and people become subject of someone else's verb.

The Conflict of the Orders or the struggle between the Plebeians (the commoners) and the Patricians (the aristocrats) which took place from the fifth century BC to the third century BC was one of the most recurrent antagonisms that has existed between these two groups. The Patricians wanted to preserve wealth and political power at the expense of the common people who had only to obey laws, fight wars and pay taxes. What the Plebeians pined for was equality, justice and freedom but alas, the struggle was only devout once in battle but the moment that they reached political power, a new Patricio-Plebeian aristocracy was established instead. However, the fight for equality and freedom against the egoist autocratic few never ceased and continued through different civilizations and epochs. That is what Shakespeare, in his play *Coriolanus,* tried to prove through employing a depiction in one of the scenes in which the Midland Revolt (a popular uprising in 1607) in England whichwas associated with

the Plebeians one which had taken place in Rome in 100AD. The Midlanders in the picture were disguised as Roman Plebeians in order to make parallel between the political crisesin both Rome and England. The Plebeians in Rome revolted against the ruling class over corruption and financial abuses, the same way that the Midlanders rose up against unfair grain prices and the enclosure system which led to hunger and poverty among the common men.

The Ethos of British Democracy: an Investigation into the Health of British Citizenry (between Activism and Passivism) is a study that goes to the heart of this historical dichotomy. This work is an attempt to find the voice of the common people in history, to yell their struggle and to debunk the misrepresentations of this class. What I mean by the Ethos of British democracy is not the study of democracy as a political system that was achieved through reforms and concessions but above all my aim is the study of the spirit of the ideal of democracy, the long journey of sacrifices made by the common man in England to achieve political equality.

Hence, the study is approached through a Marxist perspective since the theory highlights class struggle as opposed to the elitist theory. In the elitist perspective, the great historical achievements, the political, economic, scientific and social accomplishments (as it will be demonstrated) are often triggered by the upper classes and some distinguished individuals who had very erudite origins. It is commonly known that in the history of man; whether in Athens, Rome, medieval period or any other era, the ruling class exerted a firm control upon its subjects through adopting different discourses (including mythical, religious and ideological) that aimed at obliterating the democratic awareness and at enslaving the psyche before reason.

Reading elitist works can be paralleled with reading colonial literature; the native people are always absent, passive and mute, on the other hand, the colonialist is always represented as the master and the hero who makes his own destiny. Just like one needs post-colonial theory in the study of colonial literature and colonial politics, Marxist theory as a critical concept of class subjugation must be used to discern the dichotomy between the elite or the US and the common people (the Others). The Marxist theory helps to give a new vision of history that emanates from below rather than from the upper class, as well as, to debunk false representations.

Many works have dealt with democracy, with the modern crisis of democracy. David Benthamis a British social theorist who is known for his great contributions in the study of democracy in Britain, through a democratic audit he tried to find, in"*Do parliaments have a future?"* the most crucial changes that have further eroded public support and trust in politicians including the disintegration of traditional social bases combined with the reduction of ideological differences under the pressure of economic neo-liberalism has made mainstream parties increasingly indistinguishable from each other and a less-worthy as a consequence.

Philippe Schmitter, an American political Scientist, also tried to find, in an article, *Diagnosing and Designing Democracy in Europe,* the main causes of political disengagement and he analyzed four main reasons including: globalization which undermines the capacity of the sovereign national states to respond autonomously to the demands of their citizenry and thereby undermines the established channels of partisan representation and weakens the legitimacy of traditional political intermediaries and state authorities. The other reason is mediatisation which destroyed

the previously well-established mechanism whereby citizens discussed politics directly with each other and obtained their information and proximate identity through distinctively public and political intermediaries such as party associations.

Malcolm Dean is another contributor in the study of this phenomenon through his book *Democracy Under Attack: How the Media Distort Policy and Politics* in which he deals with the different media sins that made people so distrusful of the political system and politicians in general.

However, each of these works gave a short views of the true story of modern political apathy and that is why this work goes through different stages wether historical or theoritical to give a full picture, a deep understanding of the factors that have contributed in creating the modern crisis of political disengagment and apathy. After all, does this apathy really exist or is it just a manesfestation of the existance of new forms of political activism and a revival of the old direct democracy, as some are claiming. Are are living in a post- representative democracy? Is political apathy purposely created or is it just an outcome dilemma of accumulated factors? Thus, this work aims to answer all these stimulating questions.

The aim thus has three main objectives: to re-examine the story of Britain's political history from non-elitist perspective; that is to say, common people have long struggled to achieve political equality in decision making, a right that has always been the privilege of the wealthy. The second important objective is to understand the history of democracy, this phenomenon which is sometimes celebrated, sometimes questioned and some other times abandoned. Democracy or this inner psychological urge for

equality and freedom and as a state of mind has always inspired people across different civilizations to unshackle themselves from the chains of psychological and intellectual slavery and participate wholeheartedly in the making of their own destiny.

This ideal truly made history and fostered civilizations to flourish but unfortunately once fully obtained, it was distorted with new meanings that do not match its true essence. Direct democracy or participatory democracy that flourished in Athens was an ideal that inspired the mind and the spirit of the common people and created from ordinary folk active citizens, who became aware that achieving political equality was not the finale objective, on the contrary, a citizen must continue the struggle in being both active and conscious of his rights.

However, this direct democracy was later on distorted and even debunked. On the one hand, some theorists like JaroslawSzymank, Claude Mossé and others believe that direct democracy that was run by common people never existed in Athens on the ground of some political and historical arguments that will be analyzed and debunked. On the other hand, other theorists like Gustave Le Bon, Nietzsche and others usually the elitist ones refute democracy all together on the ground that common people are irrational, ignorant and unfit to govern themselves. These views rely on different arguments including historical, political, scientific and even psychological ones that will be also analyzed through political discourse analysis and counter arguments will also be presented.

It is important to stress that the aim of this study is to shed light on the transition from direct democracy to representative democracy and try to orchestrate two different

opposing arguments, the first believe that representative democracy is the right substitute for direct democracy while the second believe that representative democracy is all together a distortion of pure democracy. The reality can only be found through a comparative study between Athenian democracy (its principles, its characteristics and above all its impact on the psychology of the citizen) and some of the elitist theories who refute democracy because they do not consider the rest of the people as politically rational, instead they believe that representative democracy which is run by professional politicians is the right conciliation between democracy and aristocracy (democracy with an aristocratic content).

The third aim is to study the impact of this distortion, to examine the state of current democratic institutions and its effects upon the political health of citizens in Britain. It has been argued that the current world is witnessing a crisis of democracy when people have disengaged from politics and became politically passive; however this study aims to link the substitution of pure democracy with representative democracy and the supposed crisis of democracy. Actually, people never cease to believe and flatter democracy, but on the other hand, they distrust politicians, parties and political institutions which supposedly reflect the mechanism of representative democracy. Thus the crisis is not about democracy as an ideal but it is factually about the distorted image that is presented as democracy.

On the one hand, democracy is simply defined as the rule of the people or as the rule of the majority and on the other hand, facts prove that it is the representative and the expert leaders who are running the majority and are backed by money masters. The

citizen is thus bewildered between a definition and its practicality and he chooses to abandon politics all together.

However, political apathy must not be dealt with as only an outcome of the disillusionment of modern citizens with the current state of democracy. A very crucial point must be dealt with in full and that is what makes this work special. Political apathy is a culture that is intentionally and purposefully created by both the elitist discourse and money masters through party politics and modern media (particularly the press and social media) in order to keep the status quo unchallenged. After all, and as John Stuart Mill maintains, representative democracy barely needs us (the demos) at all and the apathy of some citizens does not affect the system to reproduce itself.

The first chapter of this work aims to trace back the origin of democracy, how common Athenian people came to realize their true status and unshackle themselves from the servitude of their masters. It is to find the historical and psychological factors that helped the common man to turn from a subject to a citizen. How literature in particular or oral poetry played a significant role in enhancing the elitist discourse but then fostering a new conception of the common man. Poetry like *Works and Days*by the Greek poet Hesiod;the poem emphasizes the important role played by the farmer in his society; the person who earns his wealth through hard work is behaving in a just manner (justice is a cardinal moral in the poem). The importance he gave to ordinary man is sharply distinct from the worldview represented by Homeric epics namely the Iliad which will be also analyzed. This shift was a crucial factor in making the common man in Athens realize his status and start his fight for political representation.

Indeed, the event that crystallized this accumulated shift was the Athenian uprising in 508/7 BC against the Spartan tyrant Isagoras who sought to dissolve the existing Athenian government.Most modern writers tend to retell the story of the 508/7BC revolution as a conflict between two aristocratic leaders, as a clash between two elitist ideologies (one seeking to protect old aristocratic and autocratic doctrines and the other promoting new democratic reforms).

Thus, the story is told and interpreted as inter-elite discrepancy where the scene is at the level of the nobility and the well-born. The people here are either absent and passive or subordinate to the leadership of an upper-class leader. The aim is retell the story from a common man perspective and the role he played to transform Athens into a democratic city-state. The questions that must then be answered are: what made Athenian common man so active in politics? What is special about direct democracy and why people in Athens have chosen this system? And why could direct democracy not survive?

The second chapter aims to find out why there was a shift, transition or even distortion of the Athenian direct democracy into a representative democracy. It is through analyzing key elitist figures and their core arguments against democracy that one can deduce why direct democracy was refuted. The aim is therefore is to find the factors that lead ancient and modern intellectuals to incorporate political representation with democracy and try to answer the following questions: why is direct democracy inconvenient in the modern era? Is political representation a successful substitute for direct democracy and how after all representation became embedded as a democracy? Giving that modern man is highly skeptical about modern democracy, is this

skepticism an outcome of people misunderstanding of the nature of modern democracy?

As explained above, there are two opposing definitions; the classical one which is based on the rule of the people and political participation and the modern definition which is the rule of representatives into which political participation becomes episodic and fragmented. The key dilemma here is the misconception of people about democracy, for they still think of democracy as the rule of the people and they are made to believe so through the democratic rhetoric used by politicians and money masters. However, the current political systems are run by professional politicians who are usually backed by the masters of capital. Therefore the chief problematic of this chapter is to find how political representation itself inhibits political activism and how democratic rhetoric is used in identifying political representation as a democracy.

The third chapter is narrower in scope in that it aims to show how ordinary men in Britain were the true makers of British democracy. The modern political system that Britain is enjoying today (with its advantages and disadvantages) is not founded by some few historical events like the Magna Charta or the Glorious Revolution but it was the evolution of the psychology of democracy on the part of the ordinary man that created the spirit of democracy or the ethos of British democracy.

The Peasant Revolt of 1381 was one of those instances where this psychology zealously and assertively made its presence but it was unfortunately misrepresented, depreciated and even disregarded. It is the aim of this chapter to trace back the development of the psychology of democracy, at the same time it aims to demonstrate

how the historical narrative of democracy in Britain is biased, as the elitist aim was to give a definition of democracy that would serve their interests (a system that could not be run by ordinary men) and that the political liberty enjoyed by people today is the outcome of the contributions of the upper class.

Thus, in order to show that historical narrative of democracy is distorted, a comparative study will be made between the Magna Charta (1215) and the Peasant Revolt (1381). These two historical events were strikingly opposed to each other; the first implemented by the English nobles and the latter made by ordinary people. The fact lies in the way that these two historical events were contrastingly represented. The aim is consequently to analyze how the Peasant Revolution was represented in the historical writing, why are the peasants who made up this revolution for the same aims that the nobles of the Magna Charta fought for misrepresented? Contrastingly, the way that the Magna Charta was represented and celebrated is also to be analyzed through shedding light on the most famous works that dealt with it.

The last chapter lies at the core of this study, it is through it that the culture of apathy is both historically and politically analyzed; it tries to prove that political distrust, disengagement and apathy are not modern crisis of democracy. These problems had long existed before and after introducing the right to vote in Britain. Shedding light on the history of party politics in Britain will show how this system created a culture of distrust and political disengagement. Additionally, through focusing on the history of the radical press in Britain and how it was curbed, this chapter is going to prove how the mass media particularly the press and the newspapers also contributed in creating this culture. The two elements are strongly

intertwined because party politics heavily rely on media campaigns to manufacture consent.

Moreover, this chapter is not only going to deal only with the mass media but also with social media mainly, face book. The recent scandal of the so called Cambridge Analytica is another proof of how power holders use modern social media to affect people's vote behavior. This organization is accused of manipulating people in the Brexit referendum in order to vote for an opt-out. What role has party system played in the political decline? Can the media be blamed for creating this culture of distrust? After all, is this culture of apathy intentionally and systematically created for political purposes or is it just an outcome of the previously mentioned factors? How do social media control behavior and manipulate opinions? All these questioned are going to be dealt with using strong arguments with factual illustrations.

Hence, the overall aim is to try to prove that the modern dilemma of modern man does not only lie in being apathetic and disengaged from politics but it is in fact a crisis that has long been created by elitist discourse that aimed to render common man not only passive but hollow and an easy prey to propaganda and the established order. One needs to go deep down the surface in order to interpret the present, he may become stunned of the facts he finds, nevertheless, he will attain an authentic worldview that would work as a shelter against the manufactured realities and the culture industry.

Chapter one

The Origin of Athenian Direct Democracy:

Tracing Back the Development of Active Citizenry in Athens.

Several studies have been made on Athenian democracy, analysing and detailing how democracy as a new system of governance came into being. Most of them attribute the birth of democracy to the reforms introduced by Solon(594 BC) and his successors mainly Cleisthenes. Basically, such a group of scholars have studied Athenian democracy from an elitist approach as it will be demonstrated later on,believing, ontheone hand, that it was thanks to the reformers such as the previously mentioned Solon, who came from an aristocratic background, that the Athenian masses (all members of society who are not members of the elite or the aristocratic class) eventually became conscious of their right to participate in political decisions.

On the other hand, these writers believe that directdemocracy in Athens (functioning without institutional leadership) was unjust considering it as a political extreme since it was essentially based on the ideology of the *Citizen Elite*. Consequently, participatory democracy was a failure rather than a political achievement made by ordinary citizens. The elitist narrative neither agrees on the equality of all citizens in the determination of state policy (regardless of their socioeconomic standing) nor on the ability of the masses to make rational decisions.

Accordingly, this chapter tries to represent the opposite side of the elitist narrative. It aims to show the role that ordinary men in Athens played in transforming Athens from a tyrannical system to a democratic one and how they became politically conscious to ask for legislative reforms, which were later on engendered to respond to the demands of the populace. The dictated reforms were raised out of several crises aiming at relieving the poor from economic and social strains as well as the growing consciousness among the masses for the right to share political power.

According to tradition, the Athenian polis was formed by what is historically called *Synoikismos;* when king Theseus unified the numerous autonomous villages of Attica by bringing them under the political authority of Athens. The exact date of the emergence of the Athenian polis, as a politically unified entity, has been the subject of intense disagreement between archaeological resources and classical sources. Theseus abolished the individual councils and governments of each Attic village and established one principle the *bouleuterion*(assembly house) and the *prytaneion* (the seat of the government) in Athens.

Politically speaking, approximately, around 700 BC power in ancient Attica shifted from kings to nobles. The Eupatridae(people born of noble fathers) were prominent families that emerged as leaders from the Dark Age, following the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms and were regarded as a nobility of birth in the seventh and the sixth century. They were also the only governing class and were exclusively entitled full citizenship at Athens. They were headed by three chief officers: the Basileus retained only the religious power, the Archon taking the administrative power while the military power was handed to the Polemarkhos.

Later on, six more archons were added and they were generally called *Thesmethetai*(law setters) who were in some way in charge of the state's laws. By the time these latter were added, the period of office of the archons had been reduced from 10 years to an annual appointment, and it seems to have become an established practice that ex-archons automatically entered the *Areopagos*(a council undoubtedly appointed by the powerful noble families from their own members) (Thorely: 7). There is no formalised knowledge about the process by which archons were appointed,

except that they were selected from those of noble birth and considerable wealth. The process was entirely between the hands of the noble families. Still, there seems also to have been an assembly of citizens during the seventh century, namely those able to provide their own armour and fight. However, the role that this assembly played in decision making remained obscure. As for ordinary people they had absolutely no say in the government.

Interestingly, it is important to consider how the Athenian society in the seventh century was divided. Basically, the population in Attica was divided among the four Ionic tribes (according to tradition, these tribes were founded by Ion, the ancestor of all Ionian Greeks). Each tribe was divided into three Trittyes and each trittys into four maukrariai (the word may mean households in the sense of extended families), within each tribe there were also several phratriai(brotherhoods) each headed by one of the noble families. These phratriai were essentially social and religious groupings, and each phratriai has its own cult centre dedicated to the god or hero who was regarded as the patron of the phratria. Registration in a phratria was proof of citizenship and it seems that the noble family which headed phratria decided who was registered and whowasnot. (Thorely8)

The Development of Self Civilian Consciousness in Athens

From an elitist point of view, the factors and tensions which led to the democratic reforms and regime change did all start within the Athenian aristocratic class. In 632 BC, a man called Kylon, a member of one of the aristocratic families of Athens, with the help of his father in law (Theagenes, who was the tyrant of Megara) and some of his friends, tried to make himself tyrant of Athens. He and his conspirators occupied the Acropolis but nobody supported the coup and they were besieged on the Acropolis. Kylon conspiracy is seen as a demonstration of how some aristocratic nobles were against the tyranny of some other aristocratic families but there is no evidence to support this argument. There is no source or evidence that proves Kylon to be a reformer or defender of peasants' rights. If Kylon really had had any noble motives and communal rather than individual interests, he would have been supported by the Athenian masses when he occupied the Acropolis (as was the case later on with Cleisthenes).

However, the main argument that makes one think of Athenian democracy as a manifestation of people's growing consciousness of their political rights and as a demand that came from below (from the demos) was the radicalism of the peasantry that arose out of the inequalities of political and especially economic rights, as well as the social degradation of most of the peasants; who ended up as slaves losing their own lands. Many people have become impoverished through the system of heklemorioi; who were tenant farmers paying one sixth of their produce to the landowner. The system almost certainly originated from the transfer of the land of owner farmers under some kind of mortgage to rich creditors as result of debt. The

heklemorioi then agreed to pay as a rent one sixth of their produce to the land owner. In the latter part of the seventh century, many heklemorioi had found themselves unable to pay the sixth part to the landowner, and had been forced to sell their families and themselves as slaves to the landowner. By about 600, the situation was unbearable and power and wealth started to be concentrated more and more in the hands of the few at the expanse of the many (Thorely11).

Correspondingly, it is known that at this same period revolutions were taking place all around the Greek city-stateswhich were experiencing similar circumstances. These revolutions had systematically influenced the Athenian peasants and led them to show some kind of dissatisfaction. One of the main revolutions is the Ionian one in the fifth century BC against the Persian tyranny. The revolution was inspired by the newly established philosophies that turned traditional Greek fundamentals upside down. Religion and politics came under devastating fire from Ionian philosophers namely Pythagoreans -a sect based on the reverence of mathematical principles and dedicated to the exploration of numerical harmonies in nature- (A Guide to: 2019). As a result, traditional Greek governments started to collapse andwere challenged by the newly raised revolutionary ideas. Athenian democracy emerged from the conflagration of deadlocked regimes as the fire of the Ionian Revolution spread from their homeland and much of the Greek world towards the end of the 6th century (A Guide to: 2019). So revolutionary ideas are so quick to spread and influence other people, especially that the same hard circumstances were shared by all the lower classes.

Other primary factors which had affected how peasants thought about their status are the Formal burial. According to Ian Morris, in *Burial and Ancient*

*Society,*thearchaic age had the ground work for a sense of equality that could be the foundation for claims for self-rule at Athens and elsewhere in Greece. Morris believes that the extension of the right of formal burial (which was restricted to a small group of privileged people), had gradually led to a growing sense of class equality. He stated that "Formal burial within spatially defined cemeteries was considered a primary symbol of the social group monopolizing full membership of the community, through lineal descent from the dead' (Morris 216).

This practice indicates how inequality was widely entrenched in the Athenian society even among the dead. The extension of such right helps to understand the origins of the polis in the movement towards a conception of the political unit as free from class distinction. If we are buried in the same conditions (with formal ceremonial patterns) and equality is realized between the dead, so why we are not equally treated while alive? An ordinary peasant may ask.

Culturally speaking, in the Hesiodicpoems (Hesiod was Greek poet often known as the father of Greek didactic poetry) particularly "Works and Days", in the eighth or the seventh century BC,was directed towards the common man, the farmer, and the ordinary laborer. The poem emphasizes the important role played by the farmer in his society; the person who earns his wealth through hard work is behaving in a just manner (justice is a cardinal moral in the poem). The importance he gave to ordinary man is sharply distinct from the worldview represented by Homeric epics (where focus is much more on the life of kings and gods). Hesiod emphasized that there is no shame in hard work, he stated:

> The energy of the Thracian farmer whose attention to building his pillows, to working the fields at the right seasons, to tending his flocks provides for the security and happiness of the community far more than the leadership of any ruler. *(Encyclopedia of Democratic theory 220)*

In this passage, Hesiod emphasizes the superiority of ordinary farmers over their rulers. In his perspective, there is no chasm between the proficiency of the farmer in running his field and the competency of the ruler in managing the state. However, the *Iliad* invigorates the inferiority of the ordinary man as opposed to his ruler especially in the following passage where the warrior Odysseus addresses the rest of the soldiers: "Excellency! Sit still and listen to what others tell you, to those who are better men than you, you skulker and coward and think of no account whatever in battle or council" (Lattimore 118-206).

In comparing these two works, one notices how the worldview towards the ordinary men changed from the "Iliad" to "Works and Days". In *Oral poetry: its nature, significance, and social context,* Ruth H. Finnegan describes how oral poetry can become an ideological tool. It can be used to enshrine the values of either an exploiting or an exploited group justifying or condemning the status quo. The gods of Homer have long been considered oddly un-numinous (e.g. Xenophanes). They differ from the heroes onlyquantitatively not qualitatively (in an attempt to make gods and Kings in a parallel authority over the people) essentially Olympus is like Troy and Ithaca. The heroic world outlined in Homer's epics was used to legitimize a desired structure of social dominance in the eighth-century world.

Another important factor that may have contributed to the growth of self-awareness among the people of Athens was the army; the new military formation of

the Phalanx. The Greek armychanged from, one led by aristocratic warriors in chariots, to one in which heavy armed hoplites stood side by side with each one's shield protecting the warrior standing next to him, thus "This military innovation would also have promoted new values that could serve well as a foundation for the democratic political regime" (Encyclopaedia of Democratic Theory 240).The innovation of the phalanx implies a sense of solidarity and justice; it could only succeed if everyone held out together, if the warriors saw themselves as equals with their leaders (Forest 88-94).

The Last Drop that Empties the Water-Clock

The sociological and ideological shift in the way the Athenian thought of themselves as being free from the servitude of the aristocratic class, as being subjects to another superior class, not being trammelled in pursuing their common good and avoid being ruled by self-interested groups, led them to act collectively against tyranny. This shift was not the product of a historical rapture but probably of gradually accumulated factors. The reforms introduced by Pericles, Cleisthenes andSolon were mere ripostes to the changing psychology of the demos. The event that crystallised this accumulated shift was the Athenian uprising in 508/7 BC against the Spartan tyrant Isagoras who sought to dissolve the existing Athenian government. The most survived narrative of this event is recorded by the Greek historian Herodotus in *TheHistories*. Intending to cover the two Persian wars, Herodotus added huge amount of background material including the Athenian revolution of 508/7BC. He recounts the following:

> Isagoras, who was on the losing side, devised a counter-plan and asked for
> help from Cleomenes, who had been his host since the siege of Peisistratia.

Cleomenes was even said to regularly visit Isagora's wife. Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the accursed, as he called them. He said this in his embassy at the direction of Isagoras, for the Alcmaeonids and their faction were found guilty of this bloody deed, while Isagoras and his friends had no part in it. When Cleomenes demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the cursed, Cleisthenes himself secretly departed.(Herodotus 55-96)

Thereafter, however, Cleomenes appeared in Athens with a smaller force; upon his arrival, to remove the curse, he banished seven hundred Athenian families that Isagoras had named after him. Subsequently; he tried to abolish the council (tnboulnkatalueinepeirato) and transfer political authority to a group of three hundred followers of Isagoras. But when the council resisted and refused to obey, Cleomenes, along with Isagoras and his followers, occupying the Acropolis. However, the rest of the Athenians, who were of one mind (regarding these matters), besieged them (on the Acropolis) for two days. But on the third day a truce was concluded and the Lacedaemonians among them were allowed to leave the territory (of Attica). So Cleomenes was expelled again along with his Lakedaemonians. The remaining men of Cleomenes were dying to death by the Athenians. These men were then tied up and killed. After this, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes.(Herodotus 55-96)

Another compatible narrative written a century after Herodotus' death, gives a more detailed description of the events; The Aristotelian Constitution of Athens recounts the following:

When the tyranny was crushed, a time of factional struggle ensued between Isagoras, the son of the tyrant's friend Teisander, and Cleisthenes, who belonged to the Alcmaeonid family. Cleisthenes won over for the demos and

offered to hand over government to the crowds. Isagoras was beginning to lose power, so he again called on Cleomenes, who was a good friend of his, and together they persuaded him to cast out the curse, as the Alcmaeonids were said to be a family under a curse. Cleisthenes secretly withdrew, and Cleomenes proceeded with some troops to expel seven hundred Athenian households as accursed.(Aristotle 20)

Cleomenes once accomplishing this, he tried to put down the Council and set up Isagoras and three hundred of his friends with him in sovereign power over the state. But the boulê resisted and the multitude gathered itself together, so the supporters of Kleomenes and Isagoras fled for refuge to the acropolis, and the dêmos invested it and laid siege to it for two days. On the third day they let Cleomenes and his comrades go away under a truce, andsent for Cleisthenes and the other exiles to come back. (Aristotle 20)

After the demos took control of the situation, Cleisthenes was their leader and came first with the people. So these were the reasons that led the demos to trust Cleisthenes. Having become the leader of the mob, he carried out various institutional reforms in the fourth year after the deposing of the tyrants in the Archonship of Isagoras. These reforms made the constitution much more democratic than Solon's; for it had happened that tyranny had obliterated the laws of Solon by disuse, and Cleisthenes, aiming at the multitudes, had introduced other new ones, including the enactment of the law of proscription (Aristotle 20).

In these two narratives, both writers (both Herodotus and Aristotle) agreed on the role played by the people of Athens in overthrowing tyranny. Nevertheless, the event is remarkably interpreted from an elitist perspective in that itrendered the people to mere subjects acting under the leadership of the aristocrat Cleisthenes and opposing

Cleisthenes's affiliation with the demos in his dispute with Isagoras. Herodotus' narrative is pivoted on the individual achievements of Cleisthenes underestimating the collective action of the rest of Athenians (He divided the Athenians into ten tribes; he gave the tribes new names...). The rule of the people and the democratic reforms were not given systematically by series of aristocratic reforms but it was chosen and willingly taken by the people.

Most modern writers tend to retell the story of the 508/7BC revolution as a conflict between two aristocratic leaders, as a clash between two elitist ideologies (one seeking to protect old aristocratic and autocratic doctrines and the other promoting new democratic reforms). Thus, the story is told and interpreted as inter-elite discrepancy where the scene is at the level of the nobility and the well-born. The people here are either absent and passive or subordinate to the leadership of an upper-class leader. In fact, the revolution could not have happened without the collective free will of the demos and their constant resolution for self-rule. It is thus necessary to tell the story of the 508/7 uprising and how the demos were the main trigger of the events leading up to the establishment of democracy in Athens.

In 594, Solon(an Athenian statesman) responded to the changing political landscape in Athens and the growing revolutionary spirit as well as the cumulative economic, political and moral crises that may have led to a disastrous decline and decay of Athens. Solon believed that issuing some basic reforms would save Athens from falling into chaos and would havegraduallymaintained peace and prosperity. It is important here to keep in mind the previously discussed factors that had led to a dynamic shift in the psychology of the Athenian people and that the swing of change

was born from the unconscious accumulations of these factors in the sub consciousness of the Athenians. Therefore, the subsequent reforms that will be analysed henceforth should be interpreted in the light of this vision.

In 594 BC, Solon wanted to reshape the social framework of the city-state, on the one hand, introducing new forms of institutions, and on the otherhand, modifying some of the existing ones. He introducedwhat is historically called the Boule, a council of 400 members which was composed of 100 citizens from each of Athens' four tribes. The task of the boule was to set the political agenda under the tutelage of the Areopagis (earliest aristocratic council of ancient Athens). He also created what is called the Ecclesia that was a popular assembly open to all free male citizens (who were basically qualified for citizenship). It gave the people the power to elect officials and also to call them into account. One of the greatest achievements of Solon was the emancipation of the serfs (as mentioned earlier that many had to hand over one sixth of the produce of the land and enslavement was the consequence of the inability to pay your sixth part). Solon abolished the slavery-producing loan and by then the people owned the land.

Additionally, Solon introduced chattel slavery where slaves started to do the work which was previously on the burden of the Athenians and their ancestors. Thus, the possession of slaves made the Athenians actively involved in the political life of Athens by giving them an extra time to participate in political debates and office holding and thus "Psychologically, small holders had now more in common with their former masters than with the work force" (Dun 4), thus these changes produced a new mentality basically called the Citizen-elite, though the idea was not well maintained

and supported by the aristocrat, yet it was to develop gradually to become a rich ideology based on the will and the culture of the people. The main feature of this ideology is that it is centredon the citizen, since he controls the affairs of his state and he represents himself, he must then be the producer of the ideas rather than the consumer of ideas.

However, it is important to note that Solon, though it was a significant step forward towards a reformed system, replaced aristocracy (holding political office only if you belong to one of certain well born families) by the principle of eligibility by wealth determined by four fixed census ratings consequently dividing the Athenian citizens into four groups: Pentakosiomedimnoi valued at 500 medimnoi or more of cereals annually and they were eligible to serve as strategoi (generals or military governors); Hippeisvalued at 300 medimnoi or more annually, they had enough wealth to equip themselves for the cavalry. Zeugitai valued at a 200 medimnoi or more annually, approximating to the medieval class of Yeoman or free man, they had enough wealth to equip themselves for the infantry (Hoplite).Thetes valued up to 199 medimnoi annually or less manual labourers or sharecroppers, they served voluntarily in the role of personal servant.ThePentakosiomedimnoi were the only class eligible to become archons and hold high offices, the Hippeis and the Hoplite were also eligible to hold lesser posts while the Thetes were excluded. Thus, the reforms of Solon were not radical since it did exclude the common people from politics and eligibility for citizenship was still confined to the upper classes.

In 561, Peisistratosseized power by a populist coup and made himself a tyrant. He sympathised with the lower classes by lowering the burden of the taxes on

them,yethe made no significant democratic reforms except reducing the material privileges of the aristocrats. Peisistratos was succeeded by his son Hippias (the last tyrant of Athens). Hippias was known for his cruelty and dictatorship. The Athenians were burdened with the highly imposed taxes. His tyranny soon created dissent and unrest among the populace. Worried that his power would be shaken, Hippias quickly appealed to the Persians for help (he had strong ties with the Persian ruling class). However, his plans to oppress the popular opposition soon faded away. Cleomenes of Sparta (510BC) invaded Athens and trapped Hippias on the Acropolis. It is not certain who exactly sought the help of the Spartan in deposing tyranny but it is sure that the Athenians had a very high revolutionary resistance against Hippias and wanted regime change regardless of the price.

Now that Hippias was ousted, the Spartans felt that allowing the Athenians to establish a democracy would threaten their power and interests. Instead they instilled Isagoras at the head of an oligarchy after being involved in a struggle for power with Cleisthenes. In 508, Isagoras was elected archon eponymous against the will of the majority of Athenians. The latter strongly wanted to restore democracy and establish a stable regime that would truly express their free will. Now that Isagoras became an archon, as a response Cleisthenes brought the formerly despised demos who were the mass of Athenian people into his group of comrades (his hetairei). After being rejected by vote, Cliesthenes thought he may be politically recognised as a popular leader on the part of the demos if he appealed to the Athenian political self-consciousness, clearly then:

> There is no reason to suppose that Cleisthenes was a "proto-democrat" in the era before 508/7. His prior political record suggests no deep ideological commitments: Cleisthenes had been willing to accept the high office of archon under the tyranny (Lewis 288).

It was this newly developed instinct in the Athenian ordinary man that seduced Cleisthenes to promise legislative initiatives and radical reforms that would put power in the hands of the people. The newly developed philosophy of the citizen elite found its asylum with the newly revolutionary circumstances.

Isagoras, feeling rejected and threatened by the majority of Athenians, called Cleomenes,, who ordered the expulsion of Cleisthenes and many others on the "standard archaic" assumption that eliminating aristocratic leadership would solve the problem, yet even after Cleisthenes' departure, Isagoras remained uneasy about the Athenian situation. A mixed-nationality military force, featuring a core of Spartans and led by Cleomenes, soon arrived in the city. On Isagoras' recommendation, Cleomenes proclaimed some 700 families "religiously polluted," on the grounds of blood spilled by Cleisthenes' Alcmaeonid ancestors, and drove them from the polis. Presumably this mass purge served to eliminate the deeper "second tier" of Cleisthenes' supporters. With Cleisthenes and other prominent Athenians who had opposed Isagoras in exile, the archon Isagoras and his Spartan allies now seemed to be securely in control of Athens (Ober 5).

The Spartan King Cleomenes went so far as to abolish the existing Council in favour of a body of three hundred supporters of Isagoras. But the Councilmen refused to obey the dissolution order. "The rest of the Athenians, being of one mind" now rose up in arms and Isagoras and his alliescaught by surprise by this dangerous expression

of popular solidarity, Cleomenes, Isagoras, and their supporters quickly withdrew to the stronghold on the Acropolis. But the problem did not go away; the armed multitude besieged them on the Acropolis for two days and they surrendered on the third. Cleomenes and his Spartans were expelled from Athenian territory. In the aftermath of the expulsion of the Spartans, some non-Spartan members of Cleomenes' force and perhaps some supporters of Isagoras were arrested and subsequently executed. It was after these events that the Athenians recalled Cleisthenes and the 700 families (Ober7). The constitutional order had then to be changed as promised and it was in this era that Athenian democracy started to emerge not as a political system only but a popular psychology, when the people made history.

Josiah Ober argued in, *The Athenian Revolution* that these two narratives(Herodotus and Aristotle) describe a truly remarkable chain of events about the revolution of 508/7 BC. Many elitist historians and intellectuals believe that the ancient account must be rejected out of hand on the grounds of their alleged incompatibility with the situation of archaic Greek society and the sociology of mass action. Their argument is that an essentially leaderless uprising by the demos did not take place because such an event could not take place in Athens in that period (Ober 6-7). In fact, in both narratives on the description of the siege, there is no mentioning of military leadership. Indeed, the leading role that the Athenian people played without individual leaders is repeated later in Herodotus' text:

> When the Spartan reconsider the wisdom of having deposed Hippias in 510,
> they complain to their allies that at that time they had handed over the polis of
> Athens to an ungrateful demos which having just recently been freed by us,

reared up and in act of exceptional arrogance drove out both us and the king(
Herodotus5.91.2).

It was the people here who were the prime revolutionary actors and they struggled for taking their freedom from both tyrannical leader and a foreign invader. The absence of leadership in this account is strike evidence that the Athenian became consciously and actively aware of their new status as citizens rather than mere subjects and they embodied by then the idea of citizen elite. Both narratives of Herodotus and Aristotle tried to consider the revolution as an elitist revolution where weak people waited for their hero to save them from tyranny. However, one needs to pay attention to every detail that writers deal with in order to discern some facts that are not deliberately mentioned. In the previous passage from Herodotus, hespoke of how the Spartans regretted helping the Athenian people and handing power to the demos, in a way that strikingly contradicts his previous narrative (that power and the driver of events was Cleisthenes).

Although Josiah Ober, in his uncountable writings on the Greek and Athenian history, believes in the power of the masses and their ability to act without the orders from their superior, he considers that the uprising of 508/7 was a historical rapture meaning that the highly civic consciousness that was heroically manifested in this revolution was the spur of the moment and the popular uprising occurred suddenly (basically when Cleomemes occupied the Acropolis). He examines the factors that sparked the demos' unexpected action that could explain the crystallization of opinion and the outbreak of violent anti-Spartan action on the part of the Athenian demos.

Josiah fell between two contradicted narratives, for Herodotus' account, the riot might have broken out only after the Spartan occupation of the Acropolis,it was speeded up by the Spartan's offensive takeover of the sacred Acropolis. However, the Aristotelian Constitution of Athens offers a different description of events "when the boule resisted and the multitude gathered itself together, the supporters of Cleomenenes and Isagoras fled for refuge to the Acropolis" (Aristotle 20.3).Thus, according to this account of the story, Cleomenes and Isagoras fled to the Acropolis when a mob was formed subsequent to their unsuccessful attempt to dissolve the council. So when exactly was the popular consensus to revolt formed? Ober thinks that the riot initially broke out when Isagoras and Cleomenes sought to dissolve the council (drawing parallel with the French revolution when the mass uprising was sparked by an attempt by King Louis XVI to dissolve the assembly. (Ober 6-11)

As explained previously, the self-civic consciousness that was manifested in the revolution of 508/7 was not a historical rapture as Ober believes. The development of this revolutionary spirit was a progressive process that was born out of many accumulated factors. The issue has to be tackled psychologically rather than politically, the psychological elements and the role of the unconsciousness in creating history and in making people act in specific ways are often neglected.

Who is fit to be one of us?

It is important here to define Democracy in accordance with the aim of this work. The conventional definition of democracy is as follow : The word democracy comes from the Greek words "demos", meaning people, and "kratos" meaning power; so democracy can be thought of as "power of the people": a way of governing which depends on the will of the people. So demokratia according to the usual definition is the celebration of the power of the demos to make political decision, their ability to exercise full authority and dominance in the polis. Demokratia encompasses all the four classes in Athens to include even the "middling" hoplites and the common (working, sub-hoplite) people who make up the clear majority of the adult native male population. For the moment, a definition of Athenian direct democracy cannot be given until examining the main pillars and characteristics of this system as well as finding the extent to which the conventional definition fail or maintain the pillars of the true Athenian definition of democracy. It is also important to note that democracy is a psychological state that develops out of accumulative factors.

The new institutional changes that resulted from the revolution were the realization of Cleisthenes' promises, marking a sharp break with the past in which decision making begun to emanate from the opinion and decision of ordinary man who would determine"Who is fit to be one of us?"" (Ober11). The new system of the local authority at the level of the demes (local authority that is based on the decisions of the ordinary people)emphasized the equality of the landless labourer and the wealthy aristocrat before the law that depended upon free vote; the new reforms put the Athenian citizen body in control of its own membership.

Cleisthenes changed the political organization from the four traditional tribes, which were based on family relations and which formed the basis of the upper class Athenian political power network, into ten tribes according to their area of residence (their deme) which would form the basis of a new democratic power structure (Aristotle 6-4). He also created what is known as sortition;the public governmental posts were to be selected by lotsrather than kinship or heredity. He reorganized the Boule, created with 400 members under Solon, so that it had 500 members, 50 from each tribe. One of the main reforms that were introduced in the fifth century was Ostarcism; Every year a meeting was held (after taking a vote of whether to hold an ostracism or not) and citizens can chose whoever they suspected of corruption, bribery or tyranny, they then scratched the chosen name on a bit of pottery (as the survived potteries shows in the picture). Interestingly, a stimulus to raise participation, for ostracism to be held there must be at least some 6.000 potters or voters (that it is to say there must be heavy turnouts of voters). The man with the highest count had to leave Attica for ten years.

Cleisthenes divided Attica into 139 demes (demoi) and in order to be entitled a citizenship, free male Athenians had to be enrolled as a member of one of the 139 demes. In this way, citizenship granted the Athenian the right to attend, vote, participate and even be eligible to hold state offices. The demes systems permitted Athenian people to share in the running of their own local affairs as well as national affairs. Besides the demes system, which was the nucleus of the Athenian direct democracy, there was also another fundamental establishment called the Ecclesia which demonstrated how deep Atheniandirectdemocracy was.

The meetings of the Ecclesia were summoned by the Prytaneis (a committee of the boule or the council of five hundred). The agenda for any meeting of the ecclesia had to be posted four days in advance and it could comprise up to 20 items. Voting in such frequent meetings was exclusively by a show of hands (in most decisions at least 6.000 voters must participate in order to validate an important decision). Any citizen might ask for a formal objection and call for recount. The introduction of what is called Grapheparanomonin the ecclesia (415 BC) made it permissible for any unsatisfied citizen to refuse proposals by the ecclesia so that final decisions could be postponed if the arguments given were valid.

Furthermore, It was the ecclesia (like parliament today) alone which took the final decisions on declaring war or making peace or concluding alliances and treaties; on despatching particular expeditions, specifying the number of men and ships to be employed, and who was to be in command. It also appointed overseers of public

projects, architects, shipwrights. It even elected those officers of state who were not selected by random sortition; imposed or varied taxes and imposts, and authorized expenditures; ordered public buildings to be erected, or impeachments to be instituted. It all in all decided just about everything that affected the state in matters both large and small. The system would have collapsed unless routine proposals had not been turned upside down, and this was only possible because citizens could trust the Boule to act as their watchdog (Stockton 83)

The organization of the new Council of 500 enabled "local understanding," obtained through daily meetings and interactions, to be recorded and thereby made available at the national level. The new system also proved to be an extremely effective "learning by doing" form of civic education. It promoted polis-level patriotism and a conviction that personal sacrifices for the common good benefitted each Athenian, rather than serving the interests of a narrow elite.The organisation of the boule was based directly on the new system of tribes: much of the work of the Council was done by tribal teams of fifty. The experience of working closely with (indeed, for part of the year living with) a team of men from all across Attica, addressing the vital matter of designing the agenda for the citizen Assembly (and much routine administration as well), constituted a deep education in the value of "equality of public speech" and in the habits of group-based decision-making. Upon his return home, the former Councilman brought back to his fellow-demesmen a deeper understanding of how the new system worked in practice (Manville and Ober. 63-76).Additionally, Rhodes writes:

> The boule was a selection of citizens taking their turn in office, not a powerful governing class with vested interests to protect, but I would say that for this

> very reason it could be trusted to be powerful because all citizens could take their turn in exercising this power the assembly had nothing to fear (Rhodes214-215)

Indeed, the boule was at the centre of direct democracy in Athens because it could successfully manage to engage all citizens in decision making. The magistrates in the court were numerous perhaps 600, inadditions to the 500 members of the council (who are actually the panel of magistrate).The minimum age for being eligible was 30. This produces a pool of some 20.000 eligible persons to provide about 1.100 magistrates a year which proves a high level of participation. Furthermore, the council met 275 days of the 354 days a year which shows how active the Athenians were. More importantly, all citizens, whatever their social or economic status, had an assigned role, by law any citizen who failed to take sides in a factional dispute would lose his membership in the polis; this was a very judicious policy aiming at producing high active citizenry. (Dun.14-19). additionally, the Council's membership changed every year. The principle of rotation meant that the new Council of 500 could never develop a cohesive "corporate identity." And this meant that the extraordinary power associated with "agenda-setting" was annually redistributed among a broad spectrum of the citizenry, rather than being monopolized by a small and cohesive elite. (Rhodes 14-114). The Athenian direct democracy was able to engage every citizen in the making of politics. Here, a different definition to politics was given, politics is not the affair of some supposedly representative politicians and it is not the affair of some one's else life. On the contrary, people's personal life, their work, their leisure, their shopping, their educations are all intertwined with politics. Therefore, everyone must engage in running their own political affair.

Are we able to govern ourselves?

Protagoras (a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher) argues that the highest form of self-realisation for the demos and elite alike was to be achieved by means of the constant interaction of men of all classes. For him, political society is not merely an instrumental good but essential to human well-being. Politics makes possible man's development as a creature capable of genuine autonomy, freedom and excellence. The very process that enables every citizen to be a citizen enables him to be the best citizen. (Dun-24)The sophist Protagoras was invited by Socrates to discuss whether virtue (ultimately political wisdom) can be taught, whether common people possess in some degree the intrinsic understanding of civic virtue? Socrates was against Protagoras teaching politics and promising to make men good citizens.

As evidence, Socrates believes that while discussing in an assembly a matter related for instance to building, the builders are automatically summoned as advisors (the same thing with other arts that can be taught and learned), and if someone who is not expert in the field offers advice (whether he is rich or poor noble or common....) they will not listen to him but laugh and hoot in him. By the same token, Socrates presumes that when it comes to an affair of the state, everybody is free to have a say (carpenter, tinker, sailor, rich, poor.....). How can men in the first case restrict advice to the few, to the experts in the field but open the door for everybody when it comes to politics. For Socrates, even the best and wisest citizens cannot impart their political wisdom to others. (Plato 40)

As a response to Socrates who was opposed to citizens practicing politics, Protagoras begins his discourse with a myth; when the gods fashioned human beings out of earth and fire, they gave them at first mechanical arts and some limited divine attributes in order to supply them with the means of life. However, when they gathered in citiesthey evilly treated each other because they lack the art of government. Zeus, in fear of total extermination, ordered Hermes to bring reverence and justice to people (or the art of government). When Hermes asked whether these attributes should be distributed like the mechanical arts to a select few like the art of medicine and Zeus told him to give them to all. Protagoras maintains that people considerate carpentering or any other skill the business of a few but when it comes to political virtue; which proceeds only by way of justice and wisdom, people are patient enough of any man who speaks of them because they think that every man ought to share in this sort of virtue and states could not exist if this were otherwise (Quoted in Benjamin 140-146).

Thus,all people according to Protagoraspossess political virtue; it is so natural that everyone wants to share if he is truly encouraged; it is something that must be taught and nurtured. Moreover, Protagoras did not only believe "in the teachabilityof virtue since everyone by divineintuitionhassubstantiallya competency for learning itand this was the ethos behind Athenian democracy as well" (Roberts 41). So Protagoras believed that Athenian direct democracy was fair enough to make people engage in politics as a way of stimulating civic virtue.

Furthermore, the legal institutions of Athens (the Dikasteria) gave a large number of citizens some direct experience of the process of law as they were engaged in litigation themselves; they conducted their own cases, whether as prosecutors or

defence (though from the mid-fifth century there were professional speech writers who wrote speeches for others to deliver). But far more strikingly, the large size of ancient dicasteries or popular courts meant that sooner or later any citizen would find himself serving in these dicasts (jurors) (a pool of 6.000 dicasts was appointed every year from citizens agedthirty or over) combined the role of both judge and jury. The dicasts were chosen by lot; a key democratic instrument that ensured the wide diffusion of responsibility and experience in political as well as legal matters. A further important development, introduced in Athens in the fifth century, was the institution of pay for service on the dicasteries. Since there could be as many as 5001 dicasts serving in a single court, participation was widespread. (Dun43)Thus:

> These features meant that considerable numbers of Athenians participated in the holding of office - several hundred officials in Attike each year (apart from bouleutai and officials abroad), for Athens was a large polis and the Athenians went further than other poleis in the multiplication of official positions. (Sinclair 69)

Substantially, Athenian Democracy in its participatory nature proved to be unique because it was exceptionally a state of mind rather than an institutional organism. The demos became self-conscious for the necessity to wholeheartedly involve in politics as well as actively participate in decision making for the sake of the whole. The demos became "a grammatical subject rather than an object of someone else's verb" (Ober 11). The Athenian assembly was open to all categories of citizens and met frequently to discuss and determine policies as Plato put it "any one may stand up and offer advice, whether he be a carpenter, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a merchant, a ship captain, wealthy, poor, noble or base-born" (Cited in Inamira 138).Thus, Citizen-elite as a belief stressed the rationality and wisdom of the masses which will be proven in

the forthcoming section (the achievements of the demos in the fifth and fourth century BC)

On the Athenian Direct Democracy:

In his canonical book *Histories*, Herodotus questions the best sort of government; democracy, oligarchy or monarchy. The debate was between three Persian noblemen and it took place after the death of the Persian King Cambyses (522 BC). The debate definitely echoed the political thinking during Herodotus' time. However, the word demokratiais was not used in the dialogue, the word Isonomia (equality under law) was used instead. The first speaker Otans recommended that the management of public affairs should be entrusted to the whole nation. He believed that the rule of one ruler is neither good nor pleasant recalling the haughty tyranny of Cambyses and the haughtiness of the Magi.Otans stressed the vulnerability of human nature, a person who takes power; his manifold good things are overwhelmed with pride and envy. Both of these two wicked qualities produce savage violence. The worst thing for Otans is when kings set aside laws of the land, put men to death without trial and subject women to violence. For him the rule of the many has the fairest of names *isonomia*; offices are decided by law, the magistrate is answerable for what he does and measures rest with the commonality "I vote, therefore, that we do away with monarchy, and raise the people to power. For the people are all in all."(Herodotus 80-82) concludedOtans.

Now, let's discuss the second argument byMegabyzus (one of the three Parisian noblemen) who advised for the setting of an oligarchy. For him there is nothing so

void of understanding nothing as full of insolence as the unwieldy mob. It is so folly to escape tyranny and give oneself to the insolence of a rude unbridled mob. The mob is altogether devoid of knowledge, for how should there be any knowledge in a mob untaught, and with no natural sense of what it right and fit. Megabyzus concluded thusthat the enemies of Persia may be ruled by democracies (to make these states weak)but for Persia we have to choose out from the citizens certain number of the worthiest and put the government into their hands and power being entrusted to the best men, it is likely that the best councils will prevail in the state.

By the same token, Darius (the third nobleman) agreed on what Megabyzus said against the multitude. He believed that there is no better government than that ruled by the very best man in the state. However, he must conditionally be surrounded by councils just like him so he can govern the mass of the people to their heart's content. A one man stands forth aschampion of the commonalty, and puts down the evil-doers.Formonarchy is an old established system so "weoughtnot to change the laws of our forefathers when they workfairly; for to do so, is not well."(trans. G. Rawlinson 80-82). Thus according to the Darius, Monarchy or a state ruled by one man who must have councils in order to best preserve the interests of the masses.

In this debate between these three Persian noblemen, democracy or the rule of the many is basically opposed because it is the rule of the mob; those who are inherently uneducated, irrational and unbridled. In fact and as mentioned earlier, the legal institution of Athens gave the large number of citizens some direct experience of the process of law (they learnt by practice). Athenians were engaged in litigation themselves; they conducted their own cases, whether as prosecutors or defence. The

same was with the dicastry, each year 6.000 volunteers wereassigned by lot to sit on court panels and the verdict was determined by majority vote.thedicastrydid not only ensure that every citizen participate in the mechanism of the judiciary system but it also " proved solidarity against intimidation, lessoned the chances of bribery and made the administration of justice a more democratic process". (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

Furthermore, direct democracy in Athens; which was based on the council of 500, allowed citizens from the different parts of Attica to have the experience of working closely together, address the vital matter of designing the agenda for the citizen assembly. Thus it constituted a thorough education in the values of equality and group based decision making. Consequently knowledge was learnt by experience and practice as well as constant and active participation. Man could learn from the daily activities he is appointed to do. Moreover, the common man could learn from elite advisers and leaders who presented to the voters alternatives, advices and choices before any vote (the elite or the members of the upper class were granted conditional privileges because they possessed the power of words and the art of rhetoric, strong words can change opinions). This conditional privilege did not mean that the elite controlled the ideological climate of opinion, on the contrary, "the constant attacks between different orators tended to prevent their developing into cohesive ruling elite" (Dun 328). Furthermore, there were also professional speech writer who wrote speeches for other to deliver which made the common man learn how to use the power of rhetoric by practice.

On the other hand, the modern man is remarkably politically un-educated, politically irrational and consequently vulnerable to propaganda. The modern man is

not politically active and involved because he has his representative in parliament doing the job for him. The modern democratic system is meant to keep people out of the spot. So the less the citizen involves in politics, the more he becomes subject to propaganda, brain washing and the more he becomes ignorant and intellectually hollow. The more he is passive, the more he becomes an outcast from the political arena, drawn in their daily routines; he thus become an object for someone else's verb. The herds are made to eat, drink, and follow the shepherd even when he drives them to the slaughterhouse. However:

> The citizens of Athens did not elect some of their number to represent them in the assembly, they attended the assembly themselves and the assembly in the fifth century was plenipotentiary. Its business was prepared by a council (itself chosen by lot, so that any citizen might find himself serving) but it was the assembly itself that took all the important decisions, not just whether to go to war or make peace but even on strategy and tactics. (Dun 42)

Thus, Athenians had far greater daily experience in politics. A teacher ;who teaches his students in a way that make them always dependent on him; he gives answers without giving the chance for the students to think, reflect and even participate or he does not give them home works to learn through experience, is certainly making his student a burden, ignorant and passive. How are these students going to learn if the work and the thinking are done by the teacher? Are they to blame if they remain unenlightened.Certainly, the responsible here is the system of the teacher. If he lets his students think, participate, engage in debates and learn through experiencing the knowledge they received, they would have been active and enlightened. This is the case with direct democracy; the more citizens engage in politics, the more they become qualitatively better citizens and the opposite is right.

44

The second important classical work that encompasses the ideals of the Athenian direct democracy is another canonical work of Greek history. In Thucydides (an Athenian historian and a general, who is believed to be the father of scientific history), in his work he gives a detailed narrative of the war between Sparta and Athens in the fifth century until 411 BC in what is historically called the Peloponnesian War. Factually, the war took place between democratic Athens (The Delian League dominated by Athens as the map demonstrates) against Oligarchic Sparta (The Peloponnesian; Peloponnese a peninsula and geographic region in southern Greece, league dominated by Sparta). After its war against the Persian attacks, Athens became a great power in the Mediterranean and gradually became an empire with many city-states under its control. This created frictions and imperial rivalry. In the wake of the departure of the Persians from Greece, Sparta attempted to prevent the reconstruction of the walls of Athens (without the walls, Athens would have been defenseless against a land attack and subject to Spartan control) but it was rebuffed. (Thucydides 1. 89-93)

During this war and in a burial ceremony, the Athenian popular leader Pericles delivered a funeral oration to honour those who died in the first year of war between Athens and the Peloponnesian league. Pericles in this speech praised the Athenian direct democracy and he accentuated the main ideals of it. In the first place, Pericles asked two important questions the first was what form of government under which our greatness grew? the second was what are the national habits out of which it sprang? Through all his speech Pericles tried to answer adequately:

Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighbouring states; we are
rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration [is in
the hands of the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a
democracy, If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their
private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls
to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to
interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able
to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition
(Thucydides 37)

Pericles pointed out to a very interesting point, Athenian democracy is based on

discussion and debate between different categories of people (this gave an opportunity

for common men to express his opinion, his needs and practical conditions as well as

let him learn how better man thought). Discussion was an indispensible preliminary to

any wise action at all. This proves that mass decisions were not taken abruptly or

recklessly, on the contrary, decisions were taken after long discussions and debates,

people had to listen to different opinions and then came to agree on the best ones.

Another important point that Pericles alluded to is the division of power, the

modern government is basically divided into three branches: the executive, the

legislative and the judiciary and in none of these branches people have a direct say,

instead they elect representative in the legislative and the executive branches.

However, the power of legislation in Athens lay in the hands of the assembly. The

Athenians divided the political and judicial spheres (just like modern governments) but

divided the political realm into the deliberative realm and the realm which covered the

activities of the magistrates. The deliberative part was responsible for foreign policy,

law-making, and trials involving sentences of death or exile. In a direct democracy all

the citizens are members of the deliberative body. Every citizen is eligible for office either by lot or elected by vote (M. Harris 159).

Moreover, Athenian democracy also offered its citizens the opportunity to hold power through the rotation of office. Pericles spoke of the deliberative part when he said "the Athenians political system is called a democracy because the management of affairs is in the hands of the majority" (Thucydides 37)". Second when dealingwith the judiciary branch, he stressed the principle of equality before the law "If we look to the laws,they afford equal justice to all in their private differences"(Thucydides 37). Third,Pericles pointed tothemagistrates; who were also chosen by lot and they were subject to audit in which all the decisions made must be approved by the whole citizenry. Magistrates were chosen by merit not by property qualification "if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition" (Thucydides 2. 37). Thus, equality before law and equality of opportunity was at the heart of Periclean speech. Still, other historians pointed out to other elements that are more important than equality:

> The key feature of the Periclean vision is not the technical legal opportunity offered to each male citizen to participate in government but rather the active solicitation of that participation. What he sees as the value of democracy is not primarily the absence of the injustice that labels individuals according to social class but rather the presence of a positive and vital force drawing each (male) heart and mind into both deliberation and action, a force that lends to that deliberation and action a virtue lacking under other constitutions (Roberts 43)

Participation in the daily political debates and discussion, as well as, the active involvement in politics became not only daily habits but were instilled in young boys. They became early accustomed to hearing about or watching their local demes

meetings and listening to their elders discussing demes business (Stockton65). The sense of equality, independence and shared political responsibility were entrenched in the consciousness of those young boys who later on became themselves active citizens.

Another important point in Athenian democracy was the army, every decision of war and peace on military expeditions lay with the very men whose lives would be at risk in war and fighting (Stockton54). Athens during the Persian wars developed a very powerful navalforcewhich succeeded in destroying the Persian navy in the battle of Salamis. The successful wars fought by the Athenians were the outcome of their faith in the polis qua demos. Unlike modern man who fights for the interests and decisions of few oligarchic elite, Athenian man fought for people like him, by decisions made by people like him:

> Athens could afford (politically and ideologically as well as materially) to create and maintain (as a navy) a permanent and institutionalized military apparatus. Athens could afford to build and maintain the military force that made empire possible because of democratic social relations — because of the generalized feelings of trust and good faith between social classes, between mass and elite, between hoplites and thetes.(Ober 14)

Thus, the Athenian army was by and for the people and it fought on the general will of the common man. Consequently, the Athenians believed that their democracy would protect them against oligarchic tyranny before and under the law. The guarantee was that these laws were sanctioned and legislated by the whole citizen body and not by some privileged people. So fighters in war had more patriotic faith to their state than modern man does.

Rotation, equality before law, sortition and the wide participation of Athenian citizens in politics made it very difficult for aristocratic classes to have a tight control over the demos or even to challenge popular hegemony. There was also a very key element in the Athenian democracy that rendered it very distinctive from other governments which was the accountability of its officials.It was only in Athens that officials had to be held to account. Before holding any office, officials had to undergo a preliminary scrutiny (Dokimasia) before a jury court. The questions which were asked were very precise like:

> Who is your father and to what deme does he belong? And who is your father's father, and your mother, and your mother's father, and to what demes did they belong?' Then they ask whether he has an ancestral Apollo and a household Zeus and where their sanctuaries are, whether he has family tombs and where these are, whether he treats his parents well and pays his taxes, and whether he has served on the military expeditions. Having asked thesequestions (the presiding official) says: 'Call the witnesses to these statements.' Then, when he has presented his witnesses, he asks: 'Does anyone wish to bring a charge against this man?' If there is an accuser, (the presiding official) allows the charge and the defence to be heard, and then he has the Council vote by show of hands,or the law-court by ballot (Aristotle 55.3)

The Dokimasia then emphasised that individuals who were chosen by lot or vote were members of the citizen body and whether they had any previous offences (however, this scrutiny gave little importance to the ability or experience of these officials). Moreover, after finishing their terms, officialshad to account for their conduct before the council of the Areiopagos (the governing council). Interestingly, In each prytany (the executives of the boule) the financial accounts of officials were examined by ten auditors selected by lot from the Boule, and this was one of the major means by which

the Boule exercised a general supervision over officials (Aristotle 48.3) But the accountability of Athenian officials went far beyond this, for at the main meeting in each prytany a vote was taken to confirm officials in their office if they were held to be governing properly. If the Ecclesia (the assembly of the citizens) voted against confirmation, the official was tried before a Dikasterion (a popular court) (Aristotle 43.4), these measures and constraints were basically adopted to obliterate the emergence of unresponsive, unrepresentative and corrupted officials. More importantly, such measures were taken to insure that citizens trusted their officials consequently they can trust the decisions being made by such officials (an element totally absent from modern citizen who became increasingly sceptic towards the government which claims to represent and work for his interests)

Between Elitism and Populism: Athenian Democracy under fire:

One of the first works which explicitly attacked the notion of the rule of the people and the equal right of common people in policy making, which is the main pillar in democracy, was the Iliad. The aristocrats in the Greek Bronze age considered the lower classes of society as naturally inferior and they had absolutely no right to express their views, defend their rights or speak against their rulers even in matters that directly concerned their own lives. In book 2 of the Iliad, Thersites represented the voice which was wittingly either truant or submissive (the commoners or the lower classes are represented here the way modern colonized people are depicted in post-colonial literature, usually submissive and sometimes utter silent with no voice or no

language). Yet, the moment the audience in the epic itself (the rest of the soldiers) and the audience watching the play start to feel sympathized with Thersites, the writer repressed it and disdain the heroic act of Thersites in a very humiliating manner.

Thersites as a common soldier questioned the significance of the Trojan War, taking into consideration the sufferance of his fellow soldiers who had been away in war for nearly eight years). The words of Thersites must have an echo today; they are the voice of the common man today who sacrifices his life for the sake of the ruling class (sometimes not even knowing why he is fighting his follow brother). Thersitesin the Iliad cries the words aloud:

> Son of Atreus, what thing further do you want, or find fault withnow? Your shelters are filled with bronze; there are plenty of the choices of women for you within your shelter, whom we Achaiansgive to you first of all whenever we capture some stronghold. Or is it still more gold you will be wanting, that some son of the Trojans, breakers of horses, brings as ransom out of Ilion, one that I, or some other Achaian, capture and bring in?...My good fools, poor abuses, you women, not men, of Achaia, let us go back home in our ships, and leave this man here by himself in Troy to mull his prizes of honourthat he may find out whether or not we others are helping him.And now he has dishonouredAchilleus, a man much betterthan he is. He has taken his prize by force and keeps her (Homer Book 2)

Thersites was a poor, worthless and even ugly. The way he was represented; as lame, stooped and sports a straggly clump of wool on top of his pointed head, is remarkably contrasted with Odysseus (with an aristocratic background). When Homer gave the words for Odysseus to respond, he proceeded "But brilliant Odysseus swiftly came beside him scowling and laid a harsh word upon him" Here the audience are unconsciously impelled to glorify Odysseus for his brilliancy and disdain Thersites for

his stupidity. It is very important to know what Odysseus answered and how did the rest of the soldiers react? He proudly responded to Thersites by saying:

> 'Fluent orator though you be, Thersites, your words are ill-considered. Stop, nor stand up alone against princes. Out of all those who came beneath Ilion with Atreides I assert there is no worse man than you are. Therefore you shall not lift up your mouth to argue with princes, cast reproaches into their teeth, nor sustain the homegoing (Homer book 2)

In his dauntless words, Thersites stressed unrelieved problematicthat still hasanecho today. One of the first thing Thersites questions was the opulence and the luxurious life the upper classes had on the back of the poor classes. It is to the poor, as Thersites maintains, who made the opulence of the wealthy, the pronoun We that is used by Thersites represents all the repressed, the poor and the soldiers who gave their lives for the well-being of their tyrants. The second point is questioning the significance of wars. Past and modern wars are not actually fought for the well-being of the people but for the interests of the elite. The working classes are the scapegoat for the failure of the elite to preserve peace and for their craving for more and more wealth (is it still more gold you will be wanting?). The third point is when Thersites addressed his fellow soldiers in the assembly, he said "my good fools, poor abuses" he described them as being fool because none of them dared to question the established order. None of the commoners even questioned his status, what obligation he had for the upper classes? In what right did the tyrants exploit our lives? What authority do they have upon us?It is we who made their glory, their wealth and their privileged life "let us go back…..that he may find out whether or not we others are helping him".

The reaction of Odysseus to the words of Thersiteswas very humiliating and harsh but it indicates that the commoners must have had no say in the assembly, even

the idea of having them participating in the assembly was disdained "You shall not lift up your mouth to argue with princes" neither equality nor participation of the poor classes in policy making or in determining matters that concern their lives so closely were accepted. For the common man is irrational, uneducated and naturally inferior as deduced from Odysseus' response.

Evidently, these are the arguments of past and present elite intellectuals, they never acceptthe judgments of the lower classes, for them common man must be politically passive even in democratic countries, instead of the concept of the government of the people, Joseph Schumpeter proposed "agovernment approved by the people" (Schumpeter 242). To mean that people do have necessarily to participate themselves and engage wholeheartedly in politics but their consent or rather their vote and even their apathy is fair enough to sustain the system.

The reaction of the soldiers was also significant. Oddly, they first laughed at Thersites and exalted Odysseus "this is far the best thing he even has accomplished" and then they said "never again will his proud heart stir him up to wrangle with princes on words of revilement". In fact, what Thersites did was to defend his fellows, to speak for their rights but since they were not conscious of their rights and had a false consciousness (that was imposed by religious myths), they considered the order as it is as the right order "Homer stresses repeatedly that Thersites' character and behavior violate the laws of order that keep people in their place" (Roberts 49). It is often difficult to trespass the worldview represented by power holders and it takes too much time to become aware of the real image.

It is thus concluded that Homer was one of the first poets to criticize direct democracy (even before its birth), he was against that notion that commoners have a right in political decision. Though Thersites' words were very powerful and rational, still people like him have no say because they must obey their tyrant leaders. The intellectual inferiority of the lower classes must be acknowledged even by the poor themselves because the dichotomy between the upper classes or the elite (the Us) and the rest of the society must never be trespassed. This ideology is so entrenched in modern elite thinkers that modern man retreated from political arena believing that he is not intellectually fit for it and thus by his seclusion he became truly alienated from politics.

It is noteworthy to analyze the exceptional analysis of David Stockton; in his fundamental book *The Classical Athenian Democracy*. It is an acknowledged fact (or current fact so far) that most classical Athenian intellectuals basically Socrates, Thucydides, Plato and Aristotle were seen as fervent anti-democrat. A.H.M Jones called them, in his essay *Athenian Democracy and its Critics* "the Old Oligarch" (Jones 26). However, Stockton believes that their criticism against democracy is quite moderate and that it can serve democracy more than it harms it. One of the first criticism came from Thucydides, who was a critical admirer of Pericles,reported the most famous Athenian Canon that would remain as a testimony of how direct democracy best function, the Funeral Oration of Pericles which offer the most positive face of democracy. In fact, Thucydides was explicitly hostile to populist politicians like Cleon and Hyperbolus but "there is nothing in his work to indicate that he was a doctrinaire adherent of any system" (Stockton 168). Thucydides held the view that the

lack of firm and capable leadership could bring out weakness in a democratic system which is seen as being effectively necessary for democrats themselves. Furthermore, in agreeing with what Thrasymachus (who attacked the notion of justice in Plato's Republic) defines justice as the interest of the stronger, Thucydides was actually describing what was going on in the real world or in Greece at that time and how the meaning of justice was and is perverted in reality. So here, Thucydides criticism of democracy is not that uncompromising and one can easily understand his position.

The second criticism of democracy came from Plato's Republic;he claims that democracy is a sort of self-indulgent anarchy, a state of affairs which rest at the bottom on the false assumption that equality means equality for equals and unequals alike, whereas true equality involves assigning different people different shares in accordance with their true worth. Aristotle (Politics 131) also notes the anarchic character of democracies and he agrees that justice demands equality but not for all but only for those who are in fact equals. However, later on, he honestly faces up to the very serious difficulties involved in determining and agreeing the correct criteria for establishing a practical distribution of equality. Even Plato, with his notion of what constituted true justice or equality or happiness is itself open to trenchant criticism and his own ideal state is an impracticable dream. Plato also believed that it is irrational to allow anyone to address the ecclesia but the fact was that:

> When sometechnical business about public construction or shipbuilding is in question, they insist on hearing from architectsorShipwrights, and so too with any other matters which call for such professional expertise.........but when the subject of discussion is the government of the city it is a free-for-all (Stockton 176)

Aristotle, on the other hand, was very moderate and far less extreme. In the eleventh chapter of the third book of the *Politics*, Aristotle argued that the many have a combination of qualities which is not available to any individual, and which can fit as a collectivity to weigh proposals sensibly and come to sensible decisions. In a member of cases the best judges of a product are not the experts who make it but the people who use it (house-occupiers are better judges of the houses they live in than those who designed or built them). Aristotle believed that there are certain offices that require certain qualities and skills that are not possessed by the rest of the community. However, Aristotle criticism was not that stark and that "he cannot be crudely labeled as an opponent of democracy, for there are features of the Athenian system which he held to be either desirable or at any rate defendable" (Stockton 178). These is just an example oh how some critics who were against democracy wanted only to modify the mechanism of democracy so that they prevent ignorant power holders from disrupting the working of this system.

On the other hand, Josiah Ober (who is an American historian of Ancient Greece and a political theorist) is an expert in Athenian Democracy accused many works (that will be demonstrated) of having failed to provide a full and adequate explanation for the workings of the Athenian sociopolitical order;these critics even deny the reality of the Athenian democracy. One of the most current arguments against Athenian democracy is that the masses never held true political power. Lionel Pearson, in an article on Athenian Party Politics(1937), argued that until the death of Pericles in 429 the demos controlled only domestic policy while more important

questions of foreign policy were dealt with by the board of ten generals. However, there is no evidence that the board of generals had independent policymaking powers.

The second critic was Alain DeLaix, in a book on Athenian Democracyentitled*Probouleusis at Athens. A Study of Political Decision-Making* argued that the council was the senior partner in the government and thus the most important policymaking body. The Assembly, as a junior partner, was normally responsible only for rubber stamping; preliminary decisions were made in the council. The council was dominated by aristocrats and the wealthy until the latter part of the fifth century, by middle class politicians thereafter; these politicians were given a constitutional position in the state in the fourth century and served as ruling elite. The idea that the council ruled Athens is fundamentally erroneous; as A.W. Goome in his book, *Elite and the Masses*, demonstrated that the assembly truly ruled Athens, noting that the major political speeches were delivered in the assembly and not in the council. Although the agenda setting function of the council was certainly a necessary element in the democratic decision-making process, and the council was responsible for some technicalities of state business, the final and most important decision making body was the assembly which frequently amended, replaced or rejected outright recommendations the council put forward.

The fourth argument against Athenian democracy is its empire. According to M.I. Finely(in his book *Fifth Century Athenian Empire*) democracy was made financially possible and social tensions were lessened, at least in part, because of the existence of the Athenian empire. The empire benefited both rich and poor citizens materially, the former by providing outlets for investments, the latter by providing

land. Since the state was able to draw on sources of revenues from its overseas territories, its own local resources, it could afford to pay poorer citizens to participate in the government (as jurors and magistrates) without the necessity of exercising excessive economic pressure in the form of steep taxes upon the upper classes. Besides, Finely in the same book unwillingly admits that the common Athenians really ruled Athens and participate in the government. However, Finelyreopened the issue and said that democracy was restored in 403 after the collapse of the empire and the state survived as a democracy without imperial revenues for over eighty years. Thereafter, when the empire was dissolved the system of democracy was so deeply entrenched that no one dared attempt to replace it.

Oberargues that in the Athenian democracy after the fall of the empire, the Athenians actually expanded the state's financial obligation of ensuring that poorer citizens could participate in the government, by introducing pay for attendance at assembly meeting. If imperial revenues had been the key factor in the fifth century stability, it seems highly unlikely that stability could be maintained for so long after the revenues were lost.

The fifthargument is agriculture and slavery. M. H. Jameson (a British historian and a classicist)argued that the existence of a large population of agricultural slaves in Attica suggested that the participation of large numbers of rural citizens in the government would only have been possible if they owned slaves whose labor could provide them with the financial leisure to spend significant amounts of time in the city performing the duties of a citizen (suggesting that without having slaves, Atheninas could never have the time to participate and engage fully in politics). However, most

slaves, as Obercontended, were owned by a relatively small group of wealthy men. There is no evidence that a large percentage of citizens owned slaves and thereby gained sufficient leisure to become actively involved in democratic government and acquired a vested interest in maintaining a stable social order that protected private property

The sixth argument against the existence of true active democracy is the predominance of middle class citizens. Several scholars argue that the stability of the democracy was due to the predominance of middle class citizens in all important government bodies especially in the Assembly and on juries. The question is whether a large middle class, with identifiable class interests and with a strong political voice, actually existed in Athens. The sources typically speak of the wealthy and the poor meaning by the former the leisure class and by the latter those who were constrained to work for a living but would still be some individuals who could fall into the middle range in terms of wealth. A. H.M Jones stated in his book *Athenian democracy* that the evidence for the existence of a middle class is based on a demographic analysis. He suggested that the size of the Athenian citizen population dropped sharply in the late fifth century to the early fourth century on the assumption that the poorest citizens were forced by economic constraints to emigrate after Athens' loss in the Pelopolesian war (mentioned earlier). The population thereafter was very stable, about twenty one thousand citizensof these, about six thousand had enough surplus income to pay war taxes and these taxpayers were the ones who saw to the government Demographic factors, then, help to account for the increasingly bourgeois tone of the fourth century democracy.

There was a population decline between 431 and 403, perhaps a very precipitous one. And the lower population probably did relieve some of the pressure of land-hunger and so may have contributed to social stability in the early fourth century. But it is unlikely that the population curve between 403 and 322 was as flat as Jones believed. Because as J. K. Davies, after a careful study of the Athenian upper classes, has convincingly argued that only about twelve hundred to two thousand Athenians had fortunes of about one talent (6,000 drachmas) or more and that a fortune of roughly this size would be required to live a life of leisure and to be liable for payment of war taxes. The rest of the citizens had to work for their living. The leisure-class population of two thousand (Maximum) was much too small to have numerically dominated Athenianegalitarian political institutions, such as the Assembly or courts. (Cited in Ober 24-29)

In 428, the city of Mytilene attempted to revolt against the Athenian empire (though it had self-rule) and wanted to integrate the island of Lesbos to its territory. So the Mytileneangovernment planned a rebellion without conferring to its citizens (an oligarchic system). The outcome was disastrous for both the Mytilenean leaders and their people as the preparation for the revolt was interrupted by the Athenian fleet and the city of Mytilene surrendered. The fate of the rebelled city took place after long debates between Athenian citizens; some wanted the execution of all men in the city and the enslavement of its women and children while others wanted to execute only the main conspirators. The Athenian assembly, at first, issued an execution order on the first day of the debate but the decision was mollified in the next day after some other discussions. From this historical incidence, Athenian citizens proved to be highly

privileged in comparison with other Greek cities; the Mytilenean people were going to pay high price for selfish decisions made by the oligarchic class. However, it was for the citizens of Athens to make the right collective decision of not to punish the Mytilenean people because they certainly had a previous experience of how oligarchic systems worked and that the people in such systems were mere subjects who had to forcibly obey the orders. Any system in the world has its ups and downs and the Athenian democracy was no exemption, but what made it very distinct from modern democracy is the awareness, the conscious participation and active involvement of its citizens in determining their own destiny and that is why they chose themselves such a system. In fact Athens:

> Represented the realization of one of the most open societies known to history, a political entity in which the totality of the free born citizenry exercised a tighter control over legislature, judicature and executive than any other in the ancient or modern worlds (Stockton 50)

Still, Although Athenians direct democracy is acknowledged as a success, Itappearsthat some modern leading thinkers not only refuse direct democracy and the active participation of the masses in politics but they considered the passivity of modern man as the main element for the good functioning of democracy, since it allows the elite to act on their own without disturbances from below. In his article *Working Class Authoritarianism*; SymourLipset considered the lower strata of the society or the laborers as the main threat to freedom and liberty and that common man is only interested in politics when it threatens his socio economic interests. As explained earlier, it is this thinking that created the inclusion of modern man from politics. This was the reason why Athenians wholeheartedly embraced political

activity and they refused a total dependence on experts to avoid the control of the polis affairs by the elites.

In our modern time, criticism of democracy is contradictory. From the one hand, laissez faire (or leave alone people to do the job themselves) and self-reliance are highly estimated doctrines celebrated by elitist and conservative intellectuals in the economic field. When people are helped and supported by the state, they become excessively dependenton it (that is why Thatcher sought to revive in the nineties, she called for a return to Victorianvalues by which she meant rolling back the powers of the state). In this context, Samuel Smiles in his book *Self Help*maintained:

> Whatever is done for men or classes, to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves; and where men are subjected to over-guidance and over-government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless.(21)

The same can be said about politics, whatever is doneon behalf of the common man is going to render him passive so the necessity for him to rely on himself and engage in politics rather than rely on what his representative in the parliament does for him. But as said before, it is the aim of modern system to keep people alienated from politics; if man is rational enough to rely on himself in economic matters (capitalism) is not he able to be politically conscious and rational in his political decisions?

Chapter 2

The beginning of the end: the Transition from Direct Democracy to Representative Democracy

Though the idea of direct participative democracy may seem appealing to some, its implementation seems unattainable too in modern societies. Factually, direct democracy is not only inconceivable because of the modern circumstances but it is also rejected by some elitist theorists as they perverted the true essence of democracy; that is based on the responsibility of citizens to actively participate in politics, to a new conception that best suits the interests of the ruling agenda. Interestingly, political representation is commonly identified with democracy or the rule of people and it became so entrenched with democracy that a new modern definition of democracy has been popularized to refer to democracy as a system of government through which a country is ruled by elected representatives of the people in which people's power is delegated to a kind of representative body.

However, it is better to define it as a political system that is based on the rule of professional politicians which is legitimized through sporadic elections; rulers and party leaders are periodically elected or re-elected. Generally speaking, electors in modern era have very limited alternatives and choices; either between two leaders or two parties that are often two sides of the same coin, and any new opposing alternative to the established agenda is vigorously marginalized creating what Thomas Jefferson once called elective despotism(Jefferson) Sometimes modern leaders act like the Judas Goat (or even the bellwether) who is used to train the cattle to act as he pleases even when he leads them to slaughter, they blindly follow him either because they trust him or have no alternative leader to follow. It is quite insulting to match the masses to a cattle but when people pull out from the political arena and resort to political passivism, they forcibly fell prey to the rhetorical deception (which is a technique used

to play on people's innate cognitive biases). Even when they sporadically vote and think that they are fulfilling their political responsibility, their vote do not reflect how politically aware they are. In this context Chomsky recently stated:

> "There is an official doctrine that politics reduces to voting in an election, and then going home to leave matters to others. That's a wonderful way to suppress the population and maintain authoritarian control. The terminology that is used to implement this technique of control is "vote for X," and you've fulfilled your responsibility as a citizen."(C.J)

In addition, in ancient democracy each citizen had remarkably persistent pleasure in political participation because he had real influence on decision making, he proudly felt that his vote which embodied his own free will was worth because he found practical compensation in practicing this existential right. However, modern man is:

> Lost in the multitude, the individual can almost never perceive the influence he exercises. Never does his will impress itself upon the whole; nothing confirms in his eyes his own cooperation. The exercise of political rights, therefore, offers us but a part of the pleasures that the ancients found in it(Constant)

Therefore the aim of this part of the study is to find the factors that lead ancient and modern intellectuals to incorporate political representation with democracy and try to answer the following questions: Why is direct democracy inconvenient in the modern era? Is political representation a successful substitute for direct democracy and how was representation embedded as a democracy? Giving that modern man is highly skeptical about democracy, is this skepticism an outcome of people misunderstanding of the nature of modern democracy, as explained there are two opposing definitions; the classic one was essentially based on the rule of the people and political

participation, however, the modern definition is the rule of representatives into which political participation becomes episodic and fragmented.

Interestingly, the key dilemma here is the misconception of people about democracy; for they still think of democracy as the rule of the people and they are made to think so through the democratic rhetoric used by politicians and money masters, however, the current political systems are run by professional politicians who are usually backed by the masters of capital. Therefore, the chief problematic of this section is to find how political representation inhibits political activism and how democratic rhetoric is used in identifying political representation as a democracy.

In modern states, democracy is best defined as the public control over democratic institutions and practices. However, political representation became so much intertwined with democracy that no democratic analysis can be done without focusing on practices of representation. Democracy is often preferable and valuable because it is based on the belief that human beings share the same equal moral status in a given society. This moral status is essentially based on the right to vote, in modern states, citizens have an equal right to participate in the making of all decisions that have a direct bearing upon their lives. Old regimes were based on privilege, wealth or property however democracy is relatively based on the equality of all citizens; no person can be discriminated on the basis of gender, race, and religion. Thus, voting is a basic element in modern democracy that reflects the extent to which a country is democratic (The more people vote, the more democratic their system is; that is because it proves first that they are democratically aware and it proves second that the system of this country is so vivid and responsive).

Though some intellectuals believe that voting is only a means for legitimizing the system and even of maintaining authoritarian control as Chomsky believes. However, if voting is accompanied with political activism, it effectively will contribute to the making of informed public opinion and thus to the constitution of democratically aware citizens. Additionally, the exercise of political participation serves to limit the power of the state and to hold it accountable especially when citizens come to realize that politics is not an alien arena and that it is a matter of high concern for them, just like they eat, do shopping and have leisure, political activism must be too a daily activity because it had a crucial bearing upon their lives. However, direct democracy and even constant participation is infeasible today for a number of reasons including the following:

> "the practices of everyday life engage citizens to such an extent that they just do not find the time or even the inclination for political involvement, most societies are too large and too complex to permit direct democracy, because most demands, perspectives and interests are plural as well as conflicting, some agents need to sift through these demands before re-presenting them in forums that decide public policy" (Olle Törnquist 28)

That is, democracy, as a unique system, aims essentially at elevating the status of common man both intellectually and socially. Democracy superior virtue lies in the belief that it calls into activity the intelligence and character of ordinary men and women. Participation in the control of public affairs removes the individual from narrow egotism and enlarges the range of his interest and imagination(Hobhouse 228). The freedom that modern man enjoys today (education, religion, work and others) can be attainable under any just and enlightened political system (monarchy, bureaucracy and even foreign ruler) but the fundamental virtue in democracy is self-government,

this vitalizing element that makes citizens so vividly engage in the struggle to obtain these rights in a continuous pattern. This struggle is both valuable because first it gives meaning and objective to the lives of ordinary man that is higher than their everyday pursuit for leisure and satisfaction of their unlimited desires. Second, rather than receiving "all the external gifts of fortune, good teachers, healthy surrounding with little or no effort of his own"(Hobhouse 229), ordinary citizen has to be active and involved in politics to rule himself rather than letting others to do the job for him and that is the aim of pure democracy.

Democracy as a Heavy Burden:

To start with, we need to know the factors that made the enlightenment philosophers and modern ones to adapt representative democracy and refute pure democracy. The most recurrent factor was and still is the sharp rise in the number of those who want to be involved in politics, it was seemingly impossible to involve the whole population in a particular country in politics. The geographic expansion of states had supposedly contributed in dismantling direct participation. It was believed (still is) that only small political organization such as the city state that can uphold direct democracy and it is acknowledged that direct democracy is essentially genetically embedded in the logic of the functioning of a city state, which means that a departure from this system (of a city state) must automatically trigger a transition to other more complex systems of political participation.(Hansen 55). The high growth in the number of persons gifted with political rights, thus "the more participants, the more difficult it becomes to

maintain the pure form of democracy which is, after all, elitist by definition and where actual participation takes place on a very limited scale"(Osborne 40). Nevertheless, before citing further reasons for adopting representative democracy, there are supposedly plenty of writers who debunk Athenian direct democracy and believe that direct democracy in Athens was essentially representative or elitist in some sort. JaroslawSzymanek (who is a Polish political scientist at the university of Warsaw), as many other elitist theorists, argues that direct democracy in Athens was itself exclusive rather than inclusive, that it had a superficially an egalitarian dimension but in reality it was a sublime and an elitist system. The privilege of participating in decision making was narrowly restricted to a very small class of citizens; Athens excluded many of its population from political participation as well as having a large amount of slaves who had no basic rights.

In fact, one cannot anathematize a very old political system; which existed among very primitive autocratic societies floundering between enormous social and political ills including inequality, oppression, dictatorship, injustice, extortion...etc, from modern perspective. The Athenian system must be estimated according to the age it existed in and according to the criteria of justice and liberty of that time and not from our own modern understanding. If one compares Athens to Sparta, he finds that Sparta was basically an oligarchy, ruled by kings who were accompanied by a council of 28 elders over the age of 60 (the Gerousia) and were elected for life as opposed to the open and equal participation of the Athenians under democratic principles. Athens may seem to modern observers as domineering and inequitable but as opposed to other

less civilized Greek states, Athens seems the most relevant city-state that is too matched with modern civilized (civilized in the context democracy) states.

Additionally, there are some political theorists (such as Claude Mossé in his book *Histoired'unedémocratie : Athènes,* as well as Philippe Jockey's *La Gréce antique*) believe that since the citizens in Athens carried a heavy responsibility of not only making certain decisions in the arena of republica, but also of taking into consideration the welfare of all (the rest of Athenian people who did not vote, either because they willingly did not want to or because they were deprived of this right), acting in a way as a custodian for all Athenians. Therefore, according to this logic direct democracy in its pure application in Athens carried with it a sort of representation:

> A citizen who by virtue of his qualities received the noble right of political participation worked after all not only in his own name and with effect for himself, but in some sense for no less than the entire organism of the polis. This brings to mind a much later concept of virtual representation, and that the representative works not only on behalf of the voters (and thus the constituents in a strict sense of the term), but on behalf of all the others, who in juridical sense are placed beyond the boundaries of the process of political representation, as well(Szymanek 16)

According to this presumption, direct participatory democracy in Athens had a common ground with today's representative democracy because, after all, the decisions made by citizens who were allowed to vote had more or less a direct bearing upon all Athenians. Thus, as these political scientists concluded, it is right to claim that although by definition a citizen of the ancient world partaking in forms of direct political involvement did constitute a minority, yet he always acted perhaps not in the name of all but certainly for all, thus putting into practice, firstly, the ideal of democracy and secondly the ideal of representation.(Woodruff 145)

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Politics as the Privilege of the Powerful:

The second criticism against direct democracy is the notion of equality (are we all equal: mentally, physically, economically, intellectually…?). Generally, democracy is based on equality before law, that every person must be treated equally in reference to this or that privilege (be it political, economic, social...). More importantly, democracy was founded upon the belief that men, regardless of their social status, are virtually qualified to make rational and prudent political decisions and opinions. Political wisdom is not solely a privilege of a certain minority but must be acknowledged as a universal attribute. Every person is entitled to use his own reason to unravel political dilemmas and education is created notably for this reason; to enhance this ability and to develop it. However, the antagonists of democratic theory oppose the very notion of equality especially intellectual equality. Notably, the ordinary man is inherently unintelligent and has no sufficient time to acquire knowledge and information to develop their political ability and understanding.

Additionally, equality is not only the main pillars of democracy but it is main purpose of being. That is to say democracy aims to make distinctive individuals with highly sophisticated abilities and fortune down to the same level as average people:

> A short sighted Unitarianism leads a democracy in its policies of economic and social reforms into all sorts of artificial and meddlesome schemes for suppressing competition and equalizing wealth and social position. A democracy is interesting not in promoting the worth of exceptional individuals but in increasing the comforts of ordinary individuals (F. W. Coker 310)

Consequently, democracies are often (according to this logic) enemies of freedom of inquiry and scientific discoveries. Historically speaking, it was thanks to individual of

exceptional intellectual ambition that discoveries and new philosophies came into being as opposed to the ordinary man who tends to preserve old ideas, traditions and habits as Henry Summer Maine maintains "Democracies are the most conservative of all forms of state"(Maine 65-66). Maine contends that the great areas of legal reforms were those on which political power rested in the hands of autocrats (the Roman emperors likes Charles the Great and even the French monarchy). He stated that:

> It seems to me quite certain that, if for four centuries there had been a very widely extended franchise and a very wide electoral body in this country, there would have been no reformation of religion, no change of dynasty, no toleration of dissent, not even an accurate calendar. The threshing- machines, the power-loom, the spinning-jenny and possibly the steam engine would have been prohibited (Maine 67-98)

Even Gustave Le Bon, who is known for highly criticizing the masses, questions in his most distinguished book *The Crowd*the same point as Maine, he says:

> Had democracies possessed the power they wield today at the time of the invention of mechanical looms or of the introduction of steam power and of rail ways, the realization of these inventions would have been impossible or would have been achieved at the cost of revolution and repeated massacres. It is fortunate for the progress of civilization that the power of crowds only began to exist when the great discoveries of science and industry had already been affected(Bon 85)

Contrastingly, history proves the other side of the shield. Firstly, one can read of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and even after of the Catholic Church oppression and persecution of the many scientists who dared to challenge the doctrine of the bible with their scientific theories. It was not the people but the ruling elite (the Church) who oppressed such discoveries only because it challenged its own authority and hegemony. They even banned these scientific books in order to prevent people from reading such wavering ideas. It was the aim of the church to keep the crowds

unenlightened and ignorant so that they could keep the submission of the latter to its own power. Nicholas Copernicus and Galileo Galilee; who proved that the earth revolved around the sun went against the teaching of the bible and the church which maintains that the earth is the center of the universe. This is just a small example that proves the demerit of the arguments presented by the elitists. Factually, the masses tend to act out of the teaching and education they receive and out of the liberty that their system, which basically control it, confers to them. If the system chooses to keep the crowds unenlightened, it will instill a system of education that will vegetate the seeds of ignorance and unawareness. By the same token, if the system is too oppressive (like the church in the Middle Ages) and autocratic, people will be automatically and unconsciously obedient and submissive out of fear and out of habit.

Secondly, one of the most complicated conundrums in the history of the world is the industrial revolution in Britain with its magnificent inventions and discoveries that changed the world. But the question is why did start in Britain? The most relevant answer to this question that relevantly matches to democracy and that debunks the previous arguments; maintained by Maine and Le Bon (that the industrial revolution would not have happened under democratic systems), is found in one of the most famous books that tries to question *"Why Nations Fail?"* written by the   Turkish economist DaronAcemogh and the British economist and political scientist James A. Robinson. Both scientists agree that it was no accident that the industrial revolution started in England and that was a deterministic result of a long historical, political and cultural development in the country; starting from the Black Plague, the signing of Magna Carta, breaking with the Catholic Church to the Glorious revolution and even

the Civil War. These historical changes had gradually fostered the limitation of the power of the monarchy and granted the British parliament more autonomy, in this context Robinson and Daron maintain that:

> Britain in 1688 had a revolution that transformed the politics and thus the economics of the nation. People fought for and won more political rights and they used them to expand their economic opportunities. The result was a fundamentally different political and economic trajectory, culminating in the industrial revolution.(A.Robinson 4)

Thus, these historical transformations had cumulative effects which gradually gave birth to what they called "Inclusive institutions". Essentially, inclusive institutions are those governments and systems which allow large groups of people to have a say in political and economic decision making. The individual members of a society access to high quality education and allow them to freely choose the profession they like (of course, Britain was not that democratic before the industrial revolution but if compared with other European states, it was the least autocratic). Inclusive institutions are the opposite of "Extractive institution", the latter have always the inclination to extract wealth from those who are not part of them and they are always divided into two classes; the first one is the elite who are always in a position to repress the rest of the community in order to keep the status quo as opposed to the second class which meant to obey and follow the bellwether. Extractive institutions fear innovations and creative inventions because it will weaken their authority and power; indeed, "Inclusive economic and political institutions do not emerge by themselves. They are often the outcome of significant conflict between elites resisting economic growth and political change and those wishing to limit the economic and political power of existing elites" (A.Robinson 322). But one may say that China, a communist country,

is one of the world economic powers though it has an extractive institution. In fact, according to Daron and Robinson the chief reason is due to the inclusive policies advocated by Deng Xiaoping; who was a Chinese revolutionary and politician and was the paramount leader of the People's Republic of China (1978), whose economic reforms opened China's economy to the world and he reoriented it internally towards market based economy.

Therefore, the industrial revolution and the technologies it unleashed could not have happened in England without the political changes that sowed the seeds of economic liberty and encouraged individual creativity. And thus the process of democratization ensured technological innovation and economic revolution by giving opportunities for exceptional individuals who are themselves members of the masses to have the courage to introduce their discoveries and inventions.

To move further, the most crucial criticism against democracy and its principle of equality comes from the German philosopher Friedrich W. Nietzsche. In his philosophy such as his book *Beyond Good and Evil*, he promoted the concept of self-creation which can only be realized by the few at the expanse of the many; the absolute authority of the powerful on the weak. Nietzsche's aristocratic elitism is based on the ethical philosophy of the strongest and the flourishing of the few noble individuals (an order that need to be established through compulsion and violence). The aristocratic order must be constructed on the subjectivity and passivity of the many to the will and dominant values of the dominant values of the few. Throughout his writings, Nietzsche affirms that as a political institution democracy is the decay of human mankind "the democratic movement is not only a form of the decay of political

organization but a form of decay, namely the diminution of man, making him mediocre and lowering his value"(Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil 117).it is know that Nietzsche's philosophy aimed at encouraging individualistic self-creation (that naturally means individuals must create their own subjective values as against the established customs and values), democracy inhibits (on the basis of equality) value creation because equality produces uniformity of values and conformity to the established ones. For Nietzsche, God is dead but people are still religious (though they ceased to be Christians) in the sense that their belief and adherence to equality has just been secularized and politicized (Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil 66)

Indeed, before God everyone is equal and has a voice to represent himself before him but now that the notion is secularized, people still believe that they are all equals before law and that they must all have equal voice in political life (though in the Middle Ages the Church and the priests were allegedly the spokesmen and representatives of the people before God).This is how Christianity (according to Nietzsche) gave rise to democracy "The democratic movement is the heir of the Christian movement"(Nietzsche 202) but democracy has long existed before Christianity, the belief that all men are equals has existed in the Greek civilization and it was the outcome of the oppression of the powerful. Nietzsche refuted the idea that there must be moral standards and laws biding all people in an equal term, differences in racial, social and financial status and intellectual talent must be of primary importance because they make the uniqueness of individuals and encourage them to challenge conventions and discover new styles of life.

However, there are some democratic theorists who believe that Nietzsche's philosophy of self-creation lies at the heart of democracy. For David Owen(who is a professor of social and political philosophy), the egalitarian nature of Nietzsche's self-creation lies in its "perfectionist view of equality in which everyone is called on and aided to develop their capacities for self-government in which self-rule is cultivated through citizens engaging agnostically with and over the terms of democratic citizenship"(Oven 128). Mark Warren (a professor of political science at the university of British Columbia) also affirms that Nietzsche's philosophy of power is basically about "individuality, positive freedom and plurality"(Warren 187).

It is therefore concluded that Nietzsche individualism lies at the heart of the Frankfurt school criticism of mass society; a society that is dominated by hegemonic power that imposes its own values and ways of thought, as well as, harboring conformity and passivism through the mass media. In this context, Nietzsche admits that "modern man is a herd animal, conforming to dominant ways of thinking and acting. Thereby making him seems like a factory product".(Nietzsche 127). The established democracy that is now ruled by political representatives and controlled by money masters halts the development of unique value creators at the same time cultivates political passive herds and culturally submissive opinions and conventions. Finally, Nietzsche interestingly points out to the idea that the system is not the only one responsible for making the masses passive but it is the people themselves who run away from political responsibility, he goes further and says:

> In individual moments we all know how the most elaborate arrangements of
> our life are made only so as to flee from the tasks we actually ought to be
> performing, how we would like to hide our head somewhere as though our

> hundred-eyed conscience could not find us out there, how we hasten to give
> our heart to the state, to money-making, to sociability or science merely so
> as no longer to possess it ourselves, how we labor at our daily work more
> ardently and thoughtlessly than is necessary to sustain our life because to us
> it is even more necessary not to have leisure to stop and think(Nietzsche
> 158)

Consequently, the arguments put forward by the anti-democrats have been debunked on the basis of historical evidence and economic analysis. Whether equality is a principle or an object of democracy, it is a moral value (sometimes an ideal value) that can be attained in democratic environment solely by making people equally share political authority and establishing an autonomous self-government.

The Crowd Psychology and the Defects of Democracy:

In the past decades, psychology concerned itself on the study of man as an autonomous and an independent being from his surrounding society, as separate from his social circumstances. However, with the advance of science and the discovery of science and the discovery of new scientific theories; namely Darwinism or the theory of evolution with its new philosophy of social Darwinism and natural selection, new approaches have been applied on the study of the psychology of men as Theodore Merz (a German British historian) maintained :

> "The need has been increasingly felt, of the 'vued'ensemble', of the
> synthetic mode of regarding organisms, men and institutions not as single
> things, self-contained and complete in themselves but as merely modes or
> meeting points of all the forces of the world and reacting in unlimited time
> and space" (Merz 15-16)

There was a constant need to find the factors and the scientific explanation for the rules that affect human activities and influence human mind. Darwin's natural selection theory gave new understanding of the origin and the evolution of human mind and his consciousness. Interestingly, natural selection is a process through which population of living organisms adapt and change (they affect and are affected by their natural environment). Individuals in a population are naturally variable and different. This variation means that some individuals have traits better suited to the environment than other and those individuals with more developed adaptive traits (traits which give them some advantage) are more likely to survive and reproduce. The survived individuals then pass their adaptive traits on to their offspring.(Geographic).

Therefore, it was deduced that human mind is affected by the interaction between individuals and his social environment and as William McDougall,a professor of psychology at Harvard University, maintained in his long study of the Group mind that "while the growth of the individual mind is molded by the mental forces of the society in which it grows up, those forces are in turn the products of the interplay of the minds composing the society" (McDougall87) , the nature of human mind and the society he springs up in cannot thus be understood separately, rather, they must be tackled by recourse to each other (one affecting the other). Moreover and more importantly, human mind is not only affected by his surrounding but also by the countless mental activities of his past generation which are passed to him through genetics "Society consists of the dead as well as the living and the part of the living is determining its life is but insignificant as compared with the part of the dead"(McDougall 8).

The human mind has thus become considered as a unit (with all its individual characteristics) part of the other units that composes the properties of any particular society to produce what is called collective mind. The psychology of the group mind presumes that any society through gradual change becomes "an organized system of forces which has a life of its own, tendencies of its own, a power of perpetuating itself as a self-identical system" (McDougall 12). But the most crucial argument in this theory is that the actions and thoughts of a person as autonomous and independent are sometimes and in particular circumstances constrained and overwhelmed by group mind.

Now the question is what are these circumstances? What are the conditions whereby this group mind or the crowd psychology occurs? Crucially, the crowd mentality does not occur in every gathering of people, on the contrary, this psychology has particular characteristic that occur only in special circumstances. It sometimes appears when people think and act together, either immediately where the members of the group are present and in close contact or remotely as when they affect one another in a certain way through the medium of an organization, a party or a sect and even the press.(Martin 6). As already discussed, the characteristics acquired by certain generation are transmitted to other generation through genetics, the unconscious elements and qualities that are in other words inherited affect substantially how individuals think and behave. These common qualities surpass the individuality and the conscious mind of individuals and mold them into one unity so that "The heterogeneous is swamped in the homogeneous and the conscious qualities obtain the

upper hand"(Martin 15). The crowd psychology is thus abrupt and instantaneous; it can appear at any moment because it is always present in the unconsciousness.

Interestingly, the crowd mentality is always identified with the masses as the only class which subject to this degenerating phenomenon. As long as lower classes are kept ignorant, uneducated and driven by passion and emotion, crowd psychology finds its fertile land in these conditions. The common man cannot control his unconscious motives because he supposedly does not have logical reasoning and sophisticated knowledge. This argument is therefore used as a defect of democracy since it proves the inability and unfitness of the common man (who is prey to crowd psychology) for self-government. E. Martin (a lecturer in Social philosophy at The New School for Social Research) though he is a supporter of the crowd psychology, he maintains in his book *"The Behavior of Crowds"* that the upper classes are not free from the danger of behaving like a crowd and are often subject to the group mind "any class may behave and think as a crowd, in fact it usually does so in so far as its class interests are concerned"(Martin 17).

Furthermore, Martin believes that the crowd-mind is simply the result of forces hidden in the personal and unconscious psyche of the members of the crowd, forces which are merely released by social gatherings of a certain sort. As a lecturer at Cooper Union in New York, Martin deduces from his own experience that such gatherings (of his lectures which usually have large audience)though they were attended by the most alert, sophisticated and reflective but on some occasions, he maintained, the spirit of the crowd sometimes manifests itself typically when discussions are intensified "people begin merely to repeat their creeds and hurl cannot

phrases at one another" (Martin 25). Additionally, as long as the lecturer or the speaker refrain himself from indulging in generalities or time-worm forms of expressions and so long as the matter discussed requires close and sustained effort of attention, the audience does not become a crowd. But as soon as "the most trivial bit of bathos be expressed in rhythmical cadences and in platitudinous terms, and the most intelligent audience will react as a crowd"(Martin 26). It is generally held that the characteristics of a group are determined by qualities which the members have in common and every individual resembles the other in his sub consciousness; the eroticism, primitive impulses and even violence and perversion. So each member of the crowd, under particular circumstances, loses his sense of individual personality and responsibility, his consciousness of self-action. The person under the influence of this psychology acts impulsively and yields to the influence of suggestion and to the contagion of the feeling of others in the crowd. Groups of any sort, or any class, are therefore prone to be under momentary stimuli without realizing.

In fact, society, conventions, religion, law and even social status (especially for the upper classes that tend to appear as civilized as possible) suppress this savage psychology. The crowd psychology occurs when there is a momentary absence of surveillance by these factors and it does not appear on its own but it is contagious, the moment that a member of the crowd (who must be the most decadent one) starts to act under the influence of this psychology, the rest of the crowd will automatically follow. As Francis William; an American political scientist, states:

> In the crowd, the primitive ego achieves its wish by actually gaining the
> assent and support of a section of society. The immediate social
> environment is all pulled in the same direction as the unconscious desires.

> A similar unconscious impulse motivates each member of the crowd. It is as if all at once an unspoken agreement were entered into whereby each member might let himself go, on condition that he approved the same thing in all the rest(F. W. Coker 335)

The crucial point is that in any political society and under any system of government, there must be mass groupings which make them vulnerable to crowd psychology. However, some theorists of this psychology, mainly Le Bon who is considered as the father of this theory, argue that democracy is the most delicate system that can be easily drawn into crowd psychology. It is critically held that since democracy is made up of mass groupings, electorates who are mainly from the lower classes and political mass assemblies, who are inclined to act on their emotion and desires rather than reason, it is then concluded that the rule of the people is the most insubstantial of all political systems. Oligarchy, aristocracy and monarchy are generally held by men who can restrain crowd psychology because they are reasonable and enlightened. However, as argued earlier crowd psychology is always present and abrupt in all classes because it is part of the unconsciousness.

To move further, violence is part of the crowd psychology and many elitist theorists tend to ascribe riots and wars to the masses. Civil wars, terrorism, genocides and even international wars are in fact orchestrated by powerful actors and paid by the lives of innocent civilians. In fact, the debate on whether violence is intended by unknown forces or by the masses themselves has been the focus of so many political theorists and political historians. They seek to understand the origin of world political violence in order to prevent them in the future. However:

> The new research has overturned the once widely held view that large scale violence against civilian population was irrational, random or the

result of ancient hatreds between ethnic groups. Instead, most scholars studying political violence now understand it to be primarily, if not exclusively, instrumental and coordinated by powerful actors seeking to achieve tangible political or military objectives(Kalyvas)

The large scale violence in which civilians were the first target was interpreted as either the result of ignorant intolerance and prejudice on the part of common man, who usually tend to act on emotion and animalistic savagery. Robert D. Kaplan, an American political writer, is one of the defenders of this theory. In his two most famous and influential articles *"the Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation,* Tribalism and Disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet (1994) and his second article *"Why so much Anarchy"* prompted the doctrine of mass violence. As an example, Robert advocates the idea that religions such as Islam are the driven forces for the masses to be violent and he claims that "Islam is a religion ideally suited for the urbanizing of the poor who were willing to fight". His arguments are often matched with Samuel Huntington's book *The Clash of Civilization* which stands for the idea that people's cultural and religious identities are the overriding factors behind the conflicts in post-cold war world. Robert D. Kaplan depicted the collapse of Yugoslavia, in his article *"Balkan Ghosts 1993"*, as caused by the irrational, old hatreds between Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox who could not tolerate each other. These views were unquestionably embraced by the George H. W. Bush and Clinton administration. Terrorism is well perceived by people themselves as "purely nihilistic, propelled by irrational hatreds, fanaticism or sadism" (A. Valentino)

However, new factors begun to be studied by political scholars after the cold war, the Yugoslavia and Rwanda events, it was concluded, had more complex factors than

ethnic or religious clashes. These conflicts argued Gagnon (Professor of politics at Ithaca College), in his book *Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict*, that:

> Violence on a scale large enough to affect international security is the result of purposeful and strategic policies rather than irrational acts of the masses. Indeed, in the case of the former Yugoslavia, there is much evidence that the masses did not want war. The current major conflicts taking place along ethnic lines throughout the world have as their main causes not ancient hatreds, but rather the purposeful actions of political actors who actively create violent conflict" (V. P. Gagnon 164)

The argument that democracy is supposedly vulnerable to crowd psychology because it is a mass system constituted of ordinary men who are inherently ignorant and emotionally driven is simply wrong. The political conflicts, civil wars, terrorism and even national riots are primarily driven by super political powers that have plans to achieve through these conflicts. In 1995, the International Human Rights Watch (an international non-governmental organization) published a book, *Slaughter among Neighbors*, in which it debunks the prejudice that religious and ethnic violence are the driving factors of violence. It contends that "time after time the principal cause of communal violence is governmental exploitation of communal differences in the efforts to achieve political ends"(Watch 2)

The question, asks Gagnon in his long article *"Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia"*, is about the rational motives that could drive people to slaughter unarmed civilians? One of the explanations that Gagnon gives is that political elites can interact with certain environment to create incentives for violence. Elites promote violence against civilians to obtain private political or material benefits or to achieve ideological goals in order to seize or maintain political power. Indeed "Elites in competitive, although not necessarily fully democratic

political systems may use violence and the fear of other ethnic groups to generate political support from their co ethnics"(Brass). Therefore, ethnic violence and civil wars are prompted by the elites in order to mobilize public opinion to its side in order to stay in power. Additionally and most crucially, as Gagnon maintained:

> Conservative elites fanned the flames of ethnic mistrust in an effort to shift the forces of political discourse away from issues of political and economic change toward grave injustices purportedly being inflicted on innocent. Thus serving to demobilize by silencing and marginalizing those who posed the greatest threat to the status quo (V. P. Gagnon 180)

To sum up, the claim that democracy is refuted on the basis of psychological arguments has been debunked. The crowd psychology is a degrading psychological condition in which the unconscious repressed feelings and desires manifest itself in the most violent way. A condition that is naturally inherited through genetics and adaptation and it is consequently present in every individual regardless of his social, intellectual or financial status. The belief that the masses are the most vulnerable class to this condition and that they are accordingly and inevitably the main stimulus for civil wars, terrorism and wars in general have been also disapproved by historical and critical analysis.

The Rule of the Fittest

Democracy makes all citizens equal before the law, it gives to each one of them the possibility of ascending to the top of the social scale annulling before the law all privileges of birth, and desiring that in human society the struggle for preeminence should be decided solely in accordance with individual capacity (Michels 8).

However, this long established belief in equality among all citizens and individuals and even between races has long been challenged since Darwin had developed his theory of the survival of the fittest. The latter has paved the way for the springing up of new political rather than scientific philosophy that is called Eugenics. This field advocated a system that must permit "the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable"(Wilson). This ideology was first advocated by the natural scientist Francis Galton in 1883 who believed that unless people accept the fact that human race must be improved by selective breeding and marriage selection, human progress will cease.

This field was later on explored by many scientists and used as a justification for imperialism and elitism. Democracy, according to this ideology, is held to be wrong because it underestimates the native differences between individuals. There are native dissimilarities among people and the more we ascend the social and financial scale, the more mental capacity and average intelligence are lowered. Additionally, some people are born with hereditary endowments that allow them to lead rather than to be led, to govern rather than to be governed because they are born with a native and inherited mental and moral superiority. Therefore:

> A democratic constitutional system is unscientific as well as impractical because it ignores the true laws of heredity and fails to make its political classification correspond to a natural biological stratification revealed generally in an existing economic and social stratification"(F. W. Coker 327)

Heredity is the only factor that determines individual intelligence and thus differences in the germ cells determine the social strata, while environment and the upbringing are not deterministic. It was therefore the aim of these scientists to prove that men of

distinguished proficiency in all fields are the descents of parents who were financially or intellectually superior. This part will thus give some examples of these studies that aimed to prove the invalidity of democracy.

Charles Benedict Davenport (who was an American biologist and eugenicist) was one of the most influential writers in this field. Through his book *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics (1911)* tried to prove that human intellectual and moral attributes are inherited and therefore there is a need to selectively breed people for desirable traits in order to improve human race. One of the most interesting examples he gaveis his investigation on the Elizabeth Tuttle family. Elizabeth descended from royalty and was born in Massachusetts. She was a woman of great beauty, of tall and commanding appearance, striking carriage, of strong will, extreme intellectual vigor of mental grasp akin to rapacity, attracting not by a few magnetic traits but repelling. She got married in 1667 with Richard Edwards, a lawyer of high repute and great erudition but on 1691, Mr. Edwards was divorced from his wife on the ground of her adultery and other immoralities. The evil trait was in the blood, for one of her sister murdered her own son and a brother murdered his own sister. After his divorce, Mr. Edwards remarried and had five sons and a daughter by Mary Talcott., a mediocre woman, average in talent and character and ordinary in appearance. None of the Mary Talcott's progeny rose above mediocrity and the descendants gained no abiding reputation.

However, Elizabeth Tuttle and Richard Edwards' only son Timothy Edwards graduated from Harvard College in 1691, gaining simultaneously the two degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, a very exceptional feat. His son (one ofTimothy's eleven children) was one of the world's great intellects, preeminent as a divine

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theologian, president of Princeton College, his dissidence constituted a glorious glassyof America's great educators and moral leaders. Another of the descendants of Tuttle through her son Timothy, Aaron Burr, was the vice-president of the United States in (1801-1805). Charles Benedict then concluded that:

> This social and legal capacity of the very highest order may be traced back in origin to the germ plasma from which in part Elizabeth Tuttle was also derived but of which, it must never be forgotten, and she was not the author. Nevertheless, has Elizabeth Tuttle not been, this notion would not occupy the position in culture and learning that it now does(Davenport 321)

It is through this investigation that Charles Davenport deduced that superior intellectual and moral endowments are inherited just like bodily endowments are inherited. However, on the other side of the corner, criminality and defective qualities are also inherited. Davenport proved this by analyzing one of the most famous American families known as the Jukes family. Ada Juke who married the son of the early Dutch settlers who had very defective mentality. Ada is historically called "Margaret, the mother of criminals". She was indolent and a harlot before marriagebesides having an illegitimate son. After marriage she had four legitimate children. The first, a son, was an indolent, licentious and syphilitic. He married a cousin and had eight children, of the seven daughters five were harlots and of the others one was idiot and one of good reputation. Their descendants showed a preponderance of harlotry in the female and the rest was a licentious progeny.

Ada had an illegitimate son who was an industrious and honest laborer and married a cousin. Two of the three sons were licentious and criminalistics in tendency and the third was drunk and received outdoor relief. All of his three daughters were

harlots or prostitutes and two married criminals. The third generation showed the eruption of criminality. Therefore, it is concluded that "the difference in the germ plasma determines the difference in the prevailing trait"(Davenport 331), that is to say that the germ plasm determines the qualities and morals of any progeny and that higher traits breed superior descendants and the opposite is true. Actually, this book achieved high success but it became regarded as flawed because it was blamed for the widespread of eugenic sterilization programs. Still, its arguments therewith have an echo today especially as an argument against democracy.

Professor William McDougall was an early twentieth century English psychologist who believed that the capacity for intellectual growth is inborn, that it is hereditary and that it is closely related to social status. In his book *Is America Safe for Democracy?*(1921), McDougall maintains that the great condition of the decline of any civilization is the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it. (p12). He believed that innate capacity for intellectual growth is the predominant factor in determining the distribution of intelligence in adults and that the amount and kind of education is a factor of subordinate importance. He was one of the best staunchest supporters of Galton's theory in believing that exceptionally high intellectual capacity is hereditary.

Professor William constructed his arguments upon some researches to find whether social stratification corresponds or is it correlated with a stratification of intellectual capacity? The first experiment was done between the sons of highly selected in virtue of intellectual distinction and who studied in a private school in Oxford with boys from a public school. The latter is exceptionally good school of its kind (the teaching

in this public school is in many respects better than the other). The boys were from good homes, sons of good plain citizens. The result was to show a very marked superiority of the boys of the school frequented by the intellectual class.

The second research he chose was one done by Miss; A.H. Arlittwho tested 342 children from the primary grades of schools of one district. Of these 191 were of American-born white parents, 80 were born of Italian immigrants, 71 were colored. They all speak English perfectly. However, the American themselves were divided into five groups (professional/semiprofessional and higher business, skilled labor, semi-skilled labor and unskilled labor),I.Q stands for intelligence quotient. The following table expresses the grades of intelligence attributed the various groups:

Groups	I.Q
Americans of social status g1	125
/////////////////////////////group2	118
/////////////////////////////group3	107
/////////////////////////////group4/5	92
Italians	84
Colored	83

Table 1: Intelligence Quotient of 342 pupils from different groups

The result is explicit, intellectual superiority is manifested first in the white race and second in the descents of highly sophisticated parents. In fact the arguments against democracy are grounded on the same justifications given for imperialism. Since there is a superior race, it is for the other lower races to be colonized. The same for

democracy, it is invalid because there are some groups who are born with some high intellectual and moral qualities that grant them the right to breed, to rule and to control the lower strata of the society (as the pyramid below shows). It is concluded that:

> For all these reasons we may conclude that the superior proficiency at intelligence tests on the part of the boys of superior parentage was inborn and thus we seem to have proved marked inheritability in the case of a mental character of the highest civic worth(Burt 64)

It follows, thus, that the operation of the social ladder tends to concentrate the valuable qualities of the whole nation in the upper strata and to leave the lowest strata depleted of the finer qualities and thus the flourishing of national life depends upon the upper strata because it contains a concentration of the best qualities of men fitted for leadership than the lower strata.

William McDougall deduced that inheritance determined intelligence, which implied that most democratic citizens were biologically irredeemable(McDougall 40-45). Additionally, the historian and white supremacist Lothrop Stoddard went further, and used the intelligent tests to make the case for a racially pure political order: "Neo Aristocracy"(Stoddard 57-74). So the results of these tests had gradually generated high pessimism about the intellectual incapacity of democratic citizens. Walter Lippmann study of *Public Opinion*had consequently concluded that only a bureaucracy of experts could make democracy work. Lippmann represents expertise, government by elites, and the power of technocracy(Lippmann Part 8)

It is very necessary to deal with Robert Michaels' arguments of the impossibility of applying democracy in modern times because representative system is undemocratic; as the liberal German political scientist Karl von Rotteck made the distinction between two kinds of democracy, the rule of representative and the rule of the masses. Robert Michels speaks, in his book *Political Parties: a Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy,* of the irrelevance of the rule of the masses and the necessity of accepting the rule of representatives as a substitute. He maintains that: "It is well known that the impossibility for the people to exercise a legislative power directly in popular assemblies led the democratic idealists in Spain (and everywhere else) to demand as the least of evils, of popular representation and a parliamentary state"(Michels 22). Michels did not stop here but he went further and gave many arguments about the impossibility of the rule of the masses and the inapplicability of pure democracy.

Firstly, Michels stated that in the great industrial centers, where the labor party sometimes numbers its adherents by tens of thousands, it is impossible to carry on the affairs of this gigantic body without a system of representation and that such a gigantic number of persons belonging to a unitary organization cannot do any political work upon a system of direct discussion. The regular holding of deliberative assemblies of a thousand members encounters the gravest difficulties in respect of room and distance. While from the topographical point of view, such an assembly would become altogether impossible if the numbers numbered ten thousand. How would it be possible to assemble such a multitude in a given place, at a stated time and with the frequency demanded by the exigencies of party life? There are, however, other persons

of a technical and administrative character which render impossible the direct self-government of large groups. If Peter wrongs or disagrees with Paul, it is out of the question that all the other citizens should hasten to the spot to undertake a personal examination of the matter in dispute and to take the part of Paul against Peter. Thus, in the modern Democratic Party, it is impossible for the collectivity to undertake the direct settlement of all the controversies that may arise.(Michels 21-22)

The democratic principle actually aims at guarantying to all an equal influence and an equal participation in the regulation of the common interests. All are electors and all are eligible for office. All the offices are filled by election. The officials, executive organs of the general will, which play merely subordinate part, are always dependent upon the collectivity and can be deprived of their office at any moment and the mass of the party is omnipotent. To take an example, in the early movement of the Italian agricultural workers, the chief of the league required a majority of four-fifths of the votes to secure election. When the disputes arose with the employers about wages, the representative of the organization before undertaking any negotiations had to be furnished with a written authority authorized by the signature of every member of the corporation. All the accounts of the party were open to the examination of the members at any time.(Bernaroli 20-52)

Interestingly, there were two reasons for this censorship and an earnest insistence on the obligation of vote. First, the desire was to avoid the spread of mistrust through the mass "this poison which gradually destroys even the strongest organism"(Bernaroli 20-52), a problem that is omnipresent in modern democratic countries. Second, this usage allowed each one of the members to learn bookkeeping and to acquire such a

general knowledge of the working of the corporation as to enable each member at any time to acquire such a general knowledge of the working of the corporation as to enable him at any time to take over its leadership.

Additionally, in the infancy of the English labor movement, in the many of the trade unions, the delegates were either appointed in rotation from among all the members, or were chosen by lot. Gradually however, the delegates' duties became more complicated and some individual ability became essential, a certain rhetorical gift, and a considerable amount of objective knowledge. It thus became impossible to trust the blind chance (of lot and rotation), to the fortune of alphabetic succession or the order of priority.(Michels 23-24)

So the second argument presented by Charles Michel is the increasing demands for expert leadership, as the German economist Heinrich Herkner maintained that the great trade unions cannot long maintain their existence if they persist in entrusting the management of their affairs to persons drawn from the rank and file. Expert leadership became inevitably important. The power of determination came to be considered one of the specific attributes of leadership and is gradually withdrawn from the masses to be concentrated in the hands of the leaders alone. Thus the leaders, who were at first no more than the executive organs of the collective will, soon emancipated themselves from the mass and became independent of its control. Consequently, every democratic organization or party union became divided into a minority of directors and a majority of directed. (Herkner 116-117)

As organization develops, not only do the tasks of the administration become more difficult and more complicated but further, its duties become enlarged and specialized to such a degree that it is no longer possible to take them all in at a single glance. It is not only the growth in the number of duties, but also the higher quality of these, which imposes a more extensive differentiation of function. Additionally, theoretically speaking, all the acts of the leaders must supposedly be subject to the ever vigilant criticism of the rank and file. The leader should be merely an employee bound by the instruction he receives and he has to carry out the orders of the mass. But in actual fact, as organization increases in size, this control becomes purely fictitious. The members have to give up the idea of themselves conducting or even supervising the whole administration, and are compelled to hand these tasks over to trustworthy persons nominated for this purpose.(Michels 26-27)

However, as the chief becomes accustomed to dispatch business on his own responsibility and to decide various questions relating to the life of the party without any attempt to consult the rank and file and thus: "for democracy, however, the first appearance of professional leadership marks the beginning of the end, and this, above all, on account of the logical impossibility of the democratic system whether in parliamentary life or party delegation(Michels 28). In this context Jean Jacque Rousseau, who is considered as the founder of this aspect (which maintains that leadership leads to a kind of dictatorship) of the criticism of democracy, refers to democracy as:

> The exercise of the general will and that it can never be alienated from
> itself and the sovereign who is nothing but a collective concept can only

be represented by himself. Consequently the instant a people gives itself
to representatives; it is no longer free(Rousseau 44)

A mass which delegates its sovereignty, that is to say, transfers its sovereignty to the hands of few individuals, abdicates its sovereign functions. For the will of the people is not transferable nor even the will of a single individual.Victor Prosper Considerant, a French Utopian socialist who wrote *Democracy Manifesto* (1841), in this context stated "if the people delegate their sovereignty, they resign it. The people no longer govern themselves, they are governed".(Consedérant 11-12) Victor Considerant opposed the theory that popular sovereignty is guaranteed by the representative system. Even if one admits that in absolute parliamentary government, it embodies government by the masses, in practical life, it is nothing but a continuous fraud on the part of the dominant class.

Under representative government the difference between democracy and monarchy, which are both rooted in the representative system, is altogether insignificant; a difference not in substance but in form. The sovereign people elect in place of a king, a number of kinglets, not possessing significant freedom and independence to direct the life of the state. The one right which the people reserve is the ridiculous privilege of choosing, from time to time, a new set of masters. In fact, as soon as the election is finished, the power of the mass of electors over the delegate comes to an end. It becomes more and more absurd to attempt to represent a heterogeneous mass in all the innumerable problems which arise out of the increasing differentiation of our political and economic life. To represent, in the sense, comes to mean that the purely individual desire masquerades and is accepted as the will of the mass. Actually, a mass which is distributed over a considerable area cannot be

consulted upon every question because it would involve an enormous waste of time. The problem of the hour need a speedy decision and this is why democracy can no longer function in its primitive and genuine form. Unless the policy pursed is to be temporizing, involving the loss of the most favorable opportunities for action. (Michels 36)

The third argument is that leadership, as Charles Michels maintains, must possess authority, and sufficient force to maintain itself in power. Thus the submission of the masses to the will of a few individuals comes to be considered, ironically, one of the highest of democratic virtues. Additionally:

> One who holds the office of delegate acquires a moral right to that office and he remains in office unless removed by extraordinary circumstances or in obedience to rules observed with exceptional strictness. Custom becomes a right. One who has for a certain time held the office of delegate ends by regarding the office as his own property.(Michels 45)

This moral right is born out of the feeling of intellectual superiority on the part of leaders. The appearance of professional leadership ensued from a great accentuation of the cultural differences between the leaders and the led. In the past, there were many factors which secured the dominion of minorities over majorities including money, hereditary transmission and tradition but now the most superficial observation shows that in the parties of the proletariat, the leaders are; in matters of education, greatly superior to the led.

The masses' occupation and the needs of daily life render it impossible for them to attain a profound knowledge of the social machinery and above all of the working of the political machine, the leader of working-class origin is enabled, thanks to his new

situation to make himself intimately familiar with all the technical details of public life and thus to increase his superiority over the rank and file by experience and extensive knowledge. Consequently:

> The gulf between the leaders and the rest of the party becomes even wider until the moment arrives in which the leaders lose all true sense of solidarity with the class from which they have sprung and there ensues a new class-division between ex-proletarian captains and proletarian common soldiers. When the workers choose leaders for themselves, they are with their own hands creating new masters whose principal means of dominion is found in their better instructed minds(Michels 56)

As a result, the English socialist, in fact, including those of the most various tendencies have only declared that if democracy is to be effective, it must assume the aspect of a benevolent despotism; the leader has a scheme to which he works, and he has the power to make his will effective. Consequently English socialists entrust the salvation of democracy solely to the good will and to the insight of the leaders.

However, as Charles Michels pointed out, there exists a psychological argument which can make these entrusted leaders themselves tyrants. The consciousness of power always produces vanity, an undue belief in personal greatness. The desire to dominate, for good or evil, is universal. These are elementary psychological facts, in the leader, the consciousness of his personal worth, and of the need which the mass feels for guidance, combine to induce in his mind, recognition of his own superiority and awake that spirit of command which exists in the germ. He who has acquired power will almost always endeavor to consolidate it and to extend it, to multiply the ramparts, which defend his position and withdraw himself from the control of the masses "the possession of power transformed into a tyrant even the most devoted friend of liberty". (Bakunin 22)

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Representative Democracy: a System in Crisis or in its Zenith?

Representative democracy is evidently based on four pillars through which one can deduce if this system is working well or it is on its downward. Representative system relies on these four pillars not only as its basics but also as legitimizing elements; party membership, voter turnout, trust in politicians and interest in politics. But the most crucial element is party membership because it reflects both interest and engagement in politics as well as trust that participating in politics can change things for the better" Parties are the crucial point of mediation between citizens and the institutions of governance and are thus a vital measure of health as far as political engagement is concerned"(P. M. Biezen).

In the 1960s, it was common to see around 30 percent of the voting population in the advanced democracies as members of political parties. Today, we see a fraction of that figure often as low as one to two percent of the voting population.(Tormey, The Contemporary Crisis of Representative Democracy). Peter Main, an Irish political scientist, concluded with his colleagues; in an article, *The Decline of Party Membership in Contemporary Europe,* that not only was there a continuation of the decline in membership or its consistency but for the first time there was also evidence of a very strong and consistent decline in the absolute numbers of party members, suggesting that parties were struggling to hold on to their existing membership organizations and were failing to recruit new members in significant numbers.(Quoted in POGUNTKE, 2012, p. 26). The level of party membership, in their study which relied on the parties own officials reports or estimates of their individual memberships, has crucially declined across twenty European countries including most of the long-

establish European countries, the table shows a decline from 10.5 percent at the end of 1980s to almost 5 percent in the late 1990s and 2000. (P. M. Biezen 8-9). The table below shows this decline in which only three main European countries were chosen

Country/Year	Total Party Membership	Total Party Membership by percentage
France		
1978	1,737,347	5,05
1988	1,100,398	2,98
1999	615,219	1,57
Germany		
1980	1,955,140	4,52
1989	1,873,053	3,89
1999	1,780,175	2,93
United Kingdom		
1980	1,693,156	4,12
1989	1,136,723	2,63
1998	840,000	1,92

Table 2: the decline in party membership in Europe (1990 to 2000)

In addition to the reduction of party membership, parliament as one of the main stands of representative democracy is experiencing a remarkable decline in confidence as the table below proves:

Nation	Per annum change	Period
Britain		
Parliament	-2.309	1981-96
Parliament	-0.222	1981-99
Canada		
Parliament	-1.152	
Parliament	-0.385	
United States		
Congress	-0.917	
Congress	-0.507	

Table 3: The Decline in Political Confidence from 1981 to 1999

The question is what causes this decline in trust and disenchantment? In an article, *Diagnosing and Designing Democracy in Europe*, Philippe Schmitter (who is an Emeritus Professor at the department of political and social sciences at the European University Institute) states four main causes of this phenomenon; the first is globalization which undermines the capacity of sovereign national states to respond autonomously to the demands of their citizenry and thereby, undermines established channels of partisan representation and weakens the legitimacy of traditional political intermediaries and state authorities. Globalization, as well as, European integration end to undermine established national practices of partisan representation and democratic participationwithout replacing them with supranational practices of

comparable nature and importance; European integration, through the conditionality that it imposes on candidate member states and the legal supremacy of European law over member-state laws, tend to promote higher and more uniform standards of democratic performance at the national and sub national levels and encouragesassociations and movements to shift their attention to the supranational level.(Sonia Alonso 163-170)

The second factor is economic performance in which a decline in economic performance in Europe leads to a perception among citizens that their democratic institutions are serving them badly and that they should be reformed in a more liberal way which includes a rejection of traditionally more ideological European political parties. However, there is only limited empirical support for the argument that aggregate economic trends have depressed political support. Analyses of aggregate opinion data, for example, demonstrate that economic conditions are only modestly related to various measures of political support. RobertLawrence (Professor of International Trade and Investment at John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University) (1997) presented a thoughtful discussion of how economic factors, such as slowing economic growth rates or widening economic inequality, may have increased the political skepticism of Americans. Then he actually tracked the politicaltrust of various social groups over time. Lawrence concluded that the decline in trust was relatively uniform across social groups, without showing a pattern of group differences that would validate the various economic performance theories. Gary Orren (Professor of Politics and Leadership at Harvard) similarly concluded that Americans 'growing' cynicism cuts across all categories — black and white, male and

female, rich and poor. . . Loss of faith in government has attached itself to every population group (J.Dalton 80-84)

The third cause stated by Philippe Schmitter is the state capacity in the present international/interstate context. The present governing institutions of previously national states find it increasingly difficult to extract sufficient resource, to regulate internal behavior and hence to satisfy effectively and efficiently the expectations of their citizen within existing borders. This causes a decline of trust in nationally bounded representatives and reduction of the prestige and legitimacy of rulers.

The forth reason is mediatisation which destroyed the previously well-established mechanism whereby citizens discussed politics directly with each other and obtained their information and proximate identity through distinctively public and political intermediaries such as parties associations and unions. Mediatization replaces these mechanisms with nexus that trivializes information about politicians and exploits their personal rather than political actions.(Sonia Alonso 172)

Additionally, David Beetham in an article, *Do Parliaments have a Future?*traces some recent changes that have further eroded public support, firstly, the disintegration of traditional social bases combined with the reduction of ideological differences under the pressure of economic neo-liberalism has made mainstream parties increasingly indistinguishable from each other, a less-worthy as a consequence. Secondly, political parties have withered as active membership organizations and become largely cadre or cartel parties for those seeking public office and for coordinating them behind a leadership once office is obtained. As Peter Mair

(professor of Comparative Politics at the European University Institute in Florence) maintains that:

> we see an apparent weakening of the role of parties as representative agencies on the one hand, and an apparent strengthening of their role as public office-holders on the other ... a contradiction between the legitimacy (or its absence) of parties on the one hand, and their privileged position on the other (Mair 125-36)

Furthermore, internal party discipline is now so tight that those who step out of line or express opposed opinions risk forfeiting career prospects, if not the party membership, as well as, the increasingly burdensome cost of getting elected to a national parliament. This financial burdensome either falls a personal cost on candidates, so that only the already wealthy are likely to achieve elected office, or the financing of elections and candidates or parties has to be sought from wealthy donors or corporations, whose interests may come to take priority over those of constituents. The so called Money Politics, as Beethman used it, is now so dominant. In a recent survey of elected members in twenty-two developing countries, the authors observed:

> More than four out of five respondents state that they supply the majority of funds for their campaigns, often at the risk of personal bankruptcy ... As a result, many resort to relationships with individual donors who expect preferential treatment once the candidate is elected, while many Reformers choose not to run at all, leaving the field to candidates who are independently wealthy (Baer 4)

In addition, in the developing countries there is a huge gap between parliamentary salaries and lifestyle and those of the average constituent, so that even those members without prior wealth come to constitute a quite separate class. This causes particular resentment when parliamentarians are seen to vote themselves huge salary increases. However, although so large an economic gap does not exist in developed economies,

the professionalization of politics there has produced its own construction of parliamentarians as a separate and remote political caste (Sonia Alonso 113-114).

Furthermore, other sources suggest the rising educational levels, political sophistication, and democratic values of contemporary public shifts public expectations of the relationship between citizens and the state. Young, better-educated citizens are not as deferential towards politicians and political institutions; they are more likely to expect open government, accountability, and direct citizen involvement in the decisionsaffecting their lives. (J.Dalton 95)

It is crucially important to note before further development of arguments that first the contemporary crisis is not a crisis of democracy but it is indeed a crisis of the representative system. Democracy has always been the ideal that everyone looks for though they know that it is not practical especially in modern circumstances as Simon Torney maintains:

> When citizens are asked in broad terms about whether they support democracy and democratic institutions they tend to agree, often strongly. There is no real challenge to the hegemony of democracy in the contemporary imaginary. Rather, we should be interested in the crisis of actually existing representative democracy that rotates around politicians, elections and parliaments. (Tormey, The Contemporary Crisis of Representative Democracy 5)

In the unconscious mind of the people, democracy is always contrasted with autocratic regimes, communist and aristocratic systems. That is why democracy is highly praised and valued by the masses and this why modern politicians and party leaders tend to employ the democratic rhetoric in their political discourse to manipulate the masses. Though people; in their deepest; know for sure that democracy does not exist, but the

use of its rhetoric has such an impact upon their imagination. J.Dalton (Research Professor at the Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California) argues in his book *Democratic Challenges: the Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies* that the contemporary malaise in the political spirit involves the three elements of representative democracy (the three Ps): political parties, parliament, and politicians. He maintains that it is not a temporary disenchantment with the present government or the present sets of political candidates, because it has persisted over several decades and across changes in government administrations.

The cross national breadth of this pattern suggests it is a general feature of contemporary politics. This leads him to doubt whether this disenchantment touches the core beliefs in democracy and commitment to the democratic process. In a an opinion survey, he collected, in which people were asked whether democracy was considered the best form of government, he found that there is a high degree of support which suggests there has not been a major erosion in this sentiment. On average, more than three quarters of the public feel that democracy is the best form of government as the table below shows (only five countries are cited here):(J.Dalton 37-39-43)

Nation	Approve of the idea of democracy	Democracy best form of government
Britain	87	78
Canada	87	87
France	89	93

Germany	95	97
United States	89	87

Table 4: Support for Democracy (percent)

Secondly, the second most important note before going further is that there are some theorists who believe that the current situation of representative democracy (the decline of political participation and interest as well as distrusting politicians) is not actually a crisis. For John Stuart Mill, for instance, Representative democracy barely needs us; the demos, at all. Whether 80 percent, 60 percent or 10 percent of citizens turn up to vote, it does not affect the capacity of the system to reproduce itself. Therefore, one needs to be careful when dealing with this situation, a decline in engagement does not necessarily mean that there is systemic crisis.

Additionally, Apathy is a required consequence of the representative system. As argued in the previous part of this chapter, elitist theorists refuted democracy because they do not consider the rest of the people as politically rational; instead they believe that representative democracy which is run by professional politicians is conciliation between democracy and aristocracy"on the one side, we have aristocracy in a democratic form, and on the other democracy with an aristocratic content"(Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy 13). Apathetic citizens are not considered as a threat to the stability of representative systems because it is not them who govern but their representatives.

On the other side of the corner, there are some political theorists who believe that political passivity and the decline in engagement is just a myth. It is true, they agreed, there is a real democratic disenchantment, a marked decline in citizen trust in political institutions and a rising rate of abstention. However, there is a new understanding of the ways in which citizen involvement has changed over time, that is to say there are new unconventional forms of participation which may have increased in number as the rate of participation in election declined. For example, argued Pierre Rosanvallon in his book *Counter Democracy; the Politics in an Age of Distrust*, that the number of people participating in strikes or demonstrations, signing petitions, and expressing collective solidarity in other ways suggests that the age is not one of political apathy and that the notion that people are increasingly withdrawing into the private sphere is not correct. So it is better to say, that citizenship has changed in nature rather declined. Citizens now have many ways of expressing their grievances and complaints other than voting.(Rosanvallon 19-20)

Yet, this may be true but it does not debunk the idea that representative democracy is in crisis. Politically active citizens want to speak and act in their own names and not just participate in little deliberative chambers, forums or assemblies designed to give them the impression of gaining voice. New tools, new repertoires of activism and engagement(Tormey, The Contemporary Crisis of Representative Democracy)are taking place. These new forms of participation are asking for a direct and perceptible impact upon the political field.

Does this mean that there is a revival of direct democracy? Actually, the modern world is stuck in between as some commentators such as Julie Cantalou (European Affairs Manager) maintains:

> As citizens become emboldened to take more matters into their own hands, so those who are elected to represent them come to appear less as representatives and more as 'politicians'. So citizens become emboldened to recuperate their own voice, bypassing the traditional structures in favor of 'post-representative' initiatives, street initiatives, and latterly pop-up parties on an 'easy come, easy go' basis. They are almost all parties of protest, anti-party parties, and post-political parties: Face book or Twitter creations with low start-up costs. Just as the internet is undermining the old bricks and mortar retail model, so it is undermining the bricks and mortar political model. Politics is becoming much more a 'pick-up', DIY (do it yourself), evanescent activity and much less a matter of choosing others to speak and act on our behalf. (Cantalou)

So, the present moment is of post-representative democracy, as Brito Vieira (specializes in the history of political thought and in normative political theory.) and David Runciman (English academic at Cambridge University) have called it. Citizens have disengaged now from representative democracy because they are seeking more direct engagement and because they want to speak for themselves. Post-representative democracy is:

> A certain recuperation of the sense of democracy as the affair of the demos themselves, it is nottheir representatives who do the job for them. It speaks to recognitionthat noise, resonance, direct engagement on the streets, in the squares and outside parliament is part of democratic life. The Affair of anyone and everyone used to be held to be intrinsic to democracy before the guardians, technocrats and politicians took over" (Corcoran 2005)

This chapter has attempted to prove three points: the first is that representative system and democracy are two different concepts that cannot work together, as Montesquieu (as well as Rousseau) stressed, in the early eighteenth, that representative government merged self-government and direct government (democracy), and created a firm

opposition between representation and democracy "a government is democratic if the people as a body have sovereign power and if the people alone make laws"(Sonia Alonso 37). The gap that exists between representative system and democracy created the modern political dilemma as Bernard Manin (Professor of political science in France) stated in his book *The Principles of Representative Democracy*that:

> Representative democracy is a perplexing phenomenon, conceived in explicit opposition to democracy. Today it is seen as one of its forms. Representative government remains what it has been since its foundation, namely a governance of elites distinguished from the bulk of citizens by social standing, way of life and education. What we are witnessing today is nothing more than the rise of new elite and the decline of another(Manin 232-236-237)

Representative system was thus chosen as a consciously the right alternative to popular rule. The conception that there exists a system called representative democracy and its use a democratic ethos is the main reason for the bewilderment that modern citizens are witnessing or living. To attribute to the people a mystical magical omnipotent power while at the same time employing an old definition in political discourse; an ideal definition that attribute power to the people, a definition that does not describe something feasible or operational under modern circumstances. This definition only created this illusion of self-government.

The second most crucial point in this chapter is that representative system was created and meant to create this modern apathy. Democracy was historically rejected because it is based on equality, a quality that is highly rejected by elitist theorists. The latter strived for an aristocratic order that must be constructed on the subjection and passivity of the many to the will and dominant values of the few. In this way, representative system can be served as a balanced system, it created the illusion of

democracy through election, party system and parliament (which are themselves in crisis), and the rule of the elites. But if a right definition and its use had been given from the establishment of representative democracy; a limitation that would have capitalized the limitation of the power of the people, there would not have been this disillusionment and disenchantment on the part of the people.

The third point is that representative system carries with it the scraps of aristocratic system. First, representative system in the contemporary world highly requires an expert leadership; the power of determination comes to be considered as one of the specific attributes of leadership and is gradually withdrawn from the masses to be concentrated in the hands of the expert leaders alone. The first appearance of professional leadership marks the beginning of the end. Secondly, the power of the electors comes to an end after voting for their representatives. It is practically impossible to represent a heterogeneous mass with all their innumerable problems. Thirdly, psychologically speaking, party leaders and even representatives of each constituent acquire a moral right to guide the blind masses (duty becomes a right). This moral right generates a sense of superiority on the part of the leaders, because once in office they start to see themselves as different from the bulk of the people.

Additionally, a certain feeling develops gradually in the consciousness of party leaders that harbors personal worth, the desire to dominate, recognition of class superiority and consequently it awakes the spirit of command. Party leaders and representatives now see themselves as commanders rather than the representatives of the will of the people.

Chapter 3:

The Peasant Revolt of 1381 and the Ethos of British Democracy

As explained and discussed in the previous chapter, history is always interpreted through an elitist perspective. The Great historical achievements, the political, economic, scientific and social accomplishments are often triggered by the upper classes and some distinguished individuals who had a very sophisticated origin. This is what has been analyzed in the previous chapter; several elitist interpretations were both discussed and sometimes debunked. Magna Charta is considered to be a magnificent achievement realized by the English nobles and it suits well the elitist interpretation of history. Yet, the ordinary people of Britain have no significant involvement in the making of the ethos of British democracy. In chapter one, the focus was on the history of Athenian direct democracy and it was its aim to show how this system was realized and achieved through the development of the self-democratic awareness on the part of ordinary men. It was the aim of chapter one to debunk the old narrative that Athenian democracy was the outcome of the reforms of Solon and his successors and that these leading figures were the founding fathers of the old democracy. The Athenian people played a great role in transforming Athens from a tyrannical system to a democratic one through becoming politically conscious to fight for freedom and ask for legislative reforms.

By the same token, British democracy or the modern political system (with its shortfall orsufficiency) is founded not by some historical events such as Magna Carta, the Glorious Revolution or even the English Civil War but it was the evolution of the psychology of democracy on the part of the ordinary man that created the spirit of democracy and freedom. The Peasant revolution of 1381 was one of those instances where this psychology zealously and assertively made its presence but it was

unfortunately misrepresented, depreciated and even disregarded. Smithfield was a field just outside London, then on the 15th of June 1381 it became the stage for one of the most significant events in British history that saw ordinary English laboring men and women rise up and claim their own place in history. The peasant revolt was one of the earliest events that saw people from humble origin daring to challenge the rigid rules of medieval society. The fourteenth century was a very harsh time; indeed there were plagues, famine, continual wars and above all the cruelest oppression from the harshest regimes and the fact of daring to challenge these circumstances proves but the ultimate consciousness and political awareness of the people. Their response shook the nation to its core. The peasant revolt was not a riot but it was an organized rebellion and its impact was so shocking that the historians from the ruling class deliberately hushed up its true significance and they hide the achievements of ordinary people by scoring them as rioting yokels. However, this violent uprising was about how oppressed people organized themselves to transform their miserable conditions and ask for political rights.

Indeed, the revolt was the most popular uprising in the middle ages. The British peasantry was on the brink of throwing the social order. The rebels had marched on London to present their demands for justice to the king and to fight corruption, they were highly organized and politically sophisticated, and all they wanted was justice and freedom. On the fourteenth of May, the rebels met the king to present their demands knowing that half of the country was involved in the uprising. Their demands were simple, direct and reflected how politically aware these unexpected class could act. Their demands included an end to bonded labour which meant that the peasant

would be able to work for any land he chose to work for and that meant that they wanted an end to serfdom.

Additionally, they demanded that any person would be able to sell his produce as he chose on the London market and that they would not be forced to hand over tribute to the local lord, this demand clearly signifies their demand for free market. Furthermore; they asked for the reduction of land rent to four pence an acre because land rent varied enormously across England and some peasants had to pay two shillings a year per acre for their land. So to reduce that to four pence an acre across the country suggests that they had an economic national plan, a national vision for how things could be organized and thus their revolt was not a chaotic outburst. Additionally, the immediate demand was their urge for charters of freedom for every single village by producing royal signed documents for every serf. Interestingly, the peasants trusted Richard to deliver these charters and they were so confident that their demands would be accepted and thus the large majority naively drafted back home and the tactic was successful in breaking the revolt apart.

Furthermore, John Ball was the most famous clergyman who preached for the rebels and whose famous sermons summed up the aspirations and ambitions of ordinary men.The political manifesto of the great revoltwas as radical as the nineteenth and twentieth century's uprising."When Adam dalve, and Eve span, Who was then a gentle-man?" acclaimed John Ball in one of his sermons. The very first people that God created were not of gentry's origins but they were ordinary working people who dug their fields and made their own clothes. The whole system of nobility was not ordained by God but it ran directly against God's will. In the climatic meeting of

WatTylor (the leading figure of the revolt) with the king, Tylor represented the most radical demands of the rebels: freedom, abolition of the aristocracy apart from the king, abolition of the senior clergy except for John Ball. Local courts, local police forces to be run by the people themselves and all the money that previously belonged to the bishops and the lords (the looted money that was taken unfairly from the people) would now be divided among the ordinary people. But the moment when their demands seemed on the verge the greatest social revolt, Tylor was stabbed and on his death the ruling elite unraveled all the hopes and trust the people had on the king.

It is the aim of this chapter to trace back the development of the psychology of democracy that constructed the ethos of British democracy. At the same time, the aim is to prove how the historical narrative of democracy is biased both because the elitist aim was to give a definition of democracy that would serve their interests (a system that could not be run by ordinary men) and that political freedoms enjoyed by people today were the outcome of the contributions of the upper class. Thus, as a way of proving that historical narrative of democracy is biased, a comparative study will be made between Magna Carta and the Peasant Revolt. Two historical events that were strikingly opposed to one another; the first fulfilled by the English nobles and the latter made by ordinary people. The fact lies in the way that these two historical events were and are contrastingly represented. The aim consequently is to show how was the peasant revolt represented in the historical writing? And why it was represented in a negative way? Contrastingly, the way Magna Carta was represented is certainly to be analyzed through shading lights on the most famous works past and present which dealt with these two events.

The Making of the Revolt:

Though Magna Carta took place approximately a century and a half before the peasant revolt, analyzing the uprising of 1381 must be started with. Dealing with this popular uprising at first will serve this work in two points: it will help to demonstrate first that Magna Charta was nothing less than a pact between the ruling elite and that it did not help in any way in improving the conditions of the lower ranking and this is what will be explored in this part (the miserable conditions and the oppressive treatment the inferior strata were subjected to and how these elements made a fertile ground for a revolt) and second it will help to explain that that agreement (which was not easily obtained) between the monarchy and the nobility as a dominant group furthered the suffering and the exploitation of the peasants and other groups. That is to say that most of the nobles corrupted the government and served their interests in parliament instead of limiting the autocracy of the monarchy.

Alvarus Pelagius was one the few canonists (who was actually Spanish) at the time of the revolution to describe the conditions of everyday life as far as the serfs are concerned. His description is precise and rigorous, he said:

> For even as long as they plough and dig the earth all day long, so they become altogether earthy. They lick the earth, they eat the earth, and theyspeak of earth. In the earth they have reposed all their hopes, nor do they care a jot for the heavenly substance that shall remain(Quoted in B.Willkinson, 1969, p. 202)

These ordinary people knew nothing but the earth; they were required to obey the ruthless orders of their masters. Their spiritual and psychological aspirations were delimited to how to avoid both worldly and heavenly punishment. The irony lies in the

way these poor creatures were remolded and they could get together in 1381 and think about politics on a broader level beyond their own lives. Thus, they became a factor in politics; they became politically active and were able to change the law of order or at least to challenge it. The serf was regarded as inseparable from the earth; he was not a human but a substance or part of the assets of his lord. The lord controlled every aspect of his life just like black slaves in the early seventeenth century were inhumanly treated. The serfs did not only work in the cruelest circumstances but they had to pay rent to their landlord. This rent could vary from one place to another and had no legal regulation.

Indeed, there were two kinds of peasants that were the pillars of the feudal system, the first was the free peasant, who nonetheless had a rigid life both because they were at the lower strata of the society and all the hard work fell on their back. Still, they were much less oppressed than the bonded peasants; they nevertheless had their own personal plots of land and had no tyrant lord upon their heads. However, they were constantly bounded by heavy taxes that they had to pay to the church as well as the monarchy. The bounded peasants known as the serfs or the villains were indeed living in very pathetic conditions; they were barely treated as humans and in many circumstances animals were better treated than those poor creatures.

Additionally, as the British historian George Gordon Colton recounted that at the serf death, the lord could claim his best beast under the name heriot, and in many cases the priest took the second beast as a mortuary. If the serf died with less than three beasts, the best domestic could be claimed. Again, just as the serf was not permitted to

leave the land, his offspring and ancestors were not allowed too to move to other lands. Moreover, if a girl was married without the permission of the lord, her father was fined and in many cases fines were taken with the lord's permission. The marriage of the serf's daughter meant that the lord lost the working hand of her brood and must therefore be indemnified in money. Furthermore, widows and unmarried girls were often treated as chattels; they were fined for marrying without the lord's leave or they might be compelled to marry at his will.(Colton 76)

Interestingly, just like the modern world and its inequalities, colonialism, imperialism, capitalism and terrorism, are based on ideological justification, the ancient world, particularly the medieval society, emanated from the church. The religious discourse discriminately sided with the rich against the poor in order to keep the status quo or the social order as it was most favorable to their interests. Factually, the church banned making the Christians slavesbut in a very manipulative way, the church could justify this enslavement by manipulating definitions; the serfs were not in any way a property of the lord but with a twisted definition, the serfs were considered as bounded to the lord for life by legal perpetual contract. In addition, not only the serf who was bounded to this supposedly legal contract but even his descendants.

In fact, the church was the scope from which the peasants saw the world, they perceived themselves as heavenly ordained to be at this miserable status and thus they willingly substituted their will to their masters. The church controlled every aspect of their lives socially, economically and even psychologically. The aim was to maintain a harmonious social order without conflict and without potential resistance from this oppressed class. More importantly, the religious discourse aimed basically to erase the

democratic spirit; this inner psychological urge for equality and justice which is universally acquired by all humans. Through the history of man; whether in Athens, Rome, medieval period or any other civilization, the ruling class exerted a firm control upon its subjects through adopting different discourses (including mythical, religious and ideological) that aimed at obliterating the democratic awareness, at enslaving the psyche before reason. As previously discussed, the serfs and their descendants were bounded by a legal contract and the church justified or legitimized the enslavement the serfs' descendants by a religious myth which maintained that the parents of those serfs were too sinful that God had cursed them evermore to be slaves or serfs.

Furthermore, the wealth of the church systematically rested on the exploitation of the peasants who had to pay what is called the tithes which consisted on one-tenth of the peasants' holdings. The priests did not only grab ten percent of the peasant's income but the peasant's family had to pay great tithes on crops and cattle as well as lesser tithes on everything produced by the peasants; it included tithes of wool, flax, eggs, apples etc. Moreover, the church did not only plunder the revenues of the peasants but it also used the power of the confession to establish a surveillance system in order to inspect about the psychology of the peasants; whether they willfully paid their taxes or tithes, if they sincerely and genuinely worked the fields for their lords or even if they had any doubt or resistance to the authority of the church. In fact, the church was a watchdog of the political authority including the monarchy and the landlords. However, with time, some factors started to accumulate and fostered the development of the democratic psychology or the awakening of self-awareness for equality and

justice. The excessive decadence of the church and the corruption of politicians or the lords holding power in parliament were at the top of these factors.

What caused the revolt?

There were virtually so many accumulative factors that triggered the peasant revolt but it is important to refer to a very important point, the peasant uprising was not only about the peasants working on the field or agriculturalists but it also included small traders, artisans and others who were as essential as the peasants themselves. The first factor included the small development in the breeding of crops and the advancement of many farming techniques. These small improvements invigorated population growth which in turn helped in boosting farming output. Population growth in primitive societies or in agricultural ones was the main force for economic improvements especially in fostering trade and commerce.

Eventually, another factor seems to be important too, the growth of small town and cities that became the main centers for trade. The latter had ultimately led to the emergence of burghers and merchants who asked for autonomy and independence in trade and in the new market. These newly emerged groups urged for political independence which they finally started to enjoy some kind of autonomy as they obtained some privileges like setting their own taxes as well as enjoying their own independent courts which in turn threatened royal and manorial hegemony. The new economic power stared to grow more and more in influence because the financial prerogatives it enjoyed, but with its growth commerce started to ramify into many fields which itself needed its own new guilds. The expansion of trade and urbanism

gave these new emerged guilds a vigorous potentiality to shake off the power of the old families in both towns and cities.

However; the guilds were primarily created in order to protect the merchants from political abuse but by the time a growing dichotomy started to occur between rich merchants or the masters of the market (who controlled the guilds)and the small journeyman (who had not yet owned their workshops). These journeymen gradually associated themselves with the peasants in the countryside and they systemically started to have common predicaments and hard conditions and thus they began to have common objectives.

The second factor was the plague of 1348 which was the straw that broke the camel's back. People for the first time considered the plague as an ordeal and a punishment from God for the degeneration and corruption of the church as well as a punishment to them for succumbing to the sinfulness of their masters. But the plague was more or less extremely drastic upon the common people; it was the category to be most severely affected by the plague because they were living in miserable conditions that could not protect them against the plague. A third of the population died but ironically only thirteen percent of the lords died. The plague or the bubonic plague; a bacterium which was carried on the fleas that lived on rates, was in fact brought by soldiers and caravans from central Asia. The plague was swiftly transported to ports on the Black Sea and then to Italy and thus it spread all over Europe. The symptoms started as any other plague or flu like symptoms. But then it developed into painful black lumps or buboes growing in the groin and the armpits. The plague of 1381 affected and attacked mainly the lungs and the spleen in the second place; the plague:

> hard and fast, people lay ill more than two or three days and then died
> suddenly, people dug huge trenches in which they laid the corpses as
> they arrived by hundreds at a time, pilling them up-tier upon tier as
> merchandise is stowed on a ship(Woodville 2)

The Black Death pushed the medieval world to the brink of an apocalypse, everywhere graveyards were choked with corpses. It was a world without a hope seemingly abandoned by God as nearly half of the population or more in Europe died. Medieval society was strained to a breaking point; when one person contracted the illness he poisoned his whole family and those preparing to bury the dead were seized by death in the same way.

The efforts of the church to stop the disease failed, religion was no shield against God's rage so the rhythms of medieval life started to unravel and the toll of death went unabated. Consequently, the huge death toll among labourers paralyzed rural life, some villages were abandoned, farmsteads fell into ruin and fields were left unplanted. The shortage of servants, craftsmen and agricultural labourers had gradually led the surviving peasants,shortly after the Black Death faded away, to ask for higher wages and cheaper rents. The peasants had obviously started to throw off the shackles of the past, the old order of the English society was unraveling and the feudal pillars were crumbling, the bonds of serfdom were being strained to a breaking point and the whole establishment was shaking off.

Factually, the demands of the peasants for higher wages and cheaper rents were justifiable and legitimate. On the one hand, many manors and landlords acquired more lands and estates because when a lord died or a member of one family or even the whole family were killed by the pestilence, all his estates and property would be

concentrated in the hands of one or two of the surviving members. On the other hand, the surviving peasants could not afford to work in such large fields; which were concentrated in the hands of one lord, with the same wage. The Black Death was a key factor in forcing social, economic and even psychological change. The rising wage levels threatened the stability of the old feudal lords and so the latter started to unite for a common purpose, that of smashing and sweeping the new rising awareness on the part of laborers.

Consequently, the king reacted by issuing the Ordinance of Labourers in 1349in which he imposed new regulation concerning the rising wages. The ordinance set wages at the pre-plague levels but it was ineffective as laborers continued to ask for higher wages. The parliament (the descendant of Magna Charta) reacted this time by issuing the Statue of Labourers in 1351 which set decisive regulations on the peasants. One of the passages, for example, maintained that

> Any reaper, mower or other workman or servant of what estate or condition that he be, retained in any man's service, do depart from the said service without reasonable cause or license before the term agreed, he shall have pain of imprisonment (White 222)

From this passage from the ordinance, one can deduce clearly how the ruling class aimed through this law to ensure that feudalism; which was based on the perpetual bondage of the serf to the land of his lord, the old social order must retain its authority and that the people at the bottom of the heap had to be set in stone. George KettiblyRickards, the counsel to the speaker of the House of Commons at that period spoke to parliament in a very rigorous speech in which he said:

> The old wages shall be given and no more whereas lately it was ordained by our lord king and by the assent of the prelates, earls barons and others of his council against the malice of servants who were idle and not willing to serve, receiving the customary salary and wages in the places where they are bound to serve in the twentieth years of the reign of the king, and that the same servants should be punished by imprisonment of their bodies. Whereupon commissions were made to diverse people in every county to enquire and punish all those who offend against the same, and now for as much as it is given to the king to understand is the present parliament by the petition of the commons that the servants having no regard to the ordinance but to their ease and withdraw themselves from serving great men and others unless they have liberty and wages double or treble of what they were. To the great damage of the great men and impoverishment of the commonality where of the commonality prays remedy(Rickardes 641)

The speech was a reaction to the peasants' refusal to submit to the two statutes; it indicates how laws and political discourses were sided with "the great men" or the noble men. The demands for higher wages, autonomy and free labour were considered as threat not only against the interests of these noble men but against the whole community because it would lead to the "impoverishment" of all the commonality. In fact, such sort of elitist discourse has always existed and has always aimed at claiming that the interests of the elites or the minority at the top of the social pyramid constantly correlate with the interest of the whole community. This is a typical ideological pretext employed to legitimize the use of violence and oppressive laws against the offenders who were in reality asking for equality and their robbed rights. This ideological pretext is also used to wage wars between different countries in which common people are the sole victims and they have to pay their lives for the well-being of their masters.

Indeed, both laws (the ordinance of labourers of 1349 and the statute of laborers of 1350) aimed at curbing the new independent spirit of the peasants. It was in fact

unconventional that the 'slave' or the people of the lower strata dared to challenge the orders of their masters or even to raise their head up to see the world from a new angle or a new frame other than the one imposed and entrenched in their psyche. The statues of labourers wanted to prevent people from asking for higher wages and commended them to keep the wages at the level of pre-plague period in order to erase the idea that the peasants could change their conditions. Instead, they would remain loyal to their lords and their land because the feudal order is God's order and shall not be changed under any circumstances. It was God who divided humans into rich and poor, into different ranks and no one had the right to unshackle the will of God.

It was indeed an age like any other age which was dominated by the inequalities of wealth, housing and the lifestyles of the wealthy ensured that they remained relatively protected from the rates and fleas that brought death to the rest of the people. So the English society in the fourteenth century was:

> One in which immense forces of economic, social and ideological antagonism had become locked together. The edifice of medieval society with its abbeys and manor houses bore down too hard on the body of the peasant. And to the eyes of the peasant when they were able to look up for a moment from their toil, that edifice no longer presented a convincing picture if it ever had. The wealth of the merchants as well as the corruption of the church gave rise to the growing social resentment and moral disgust(O'Brien 12)

This new revolutionary mind that unshackled itself from old established orders especially that of challenging the teaching of the church; that was not only considered as lawfully illegal but religiously forbidden, was a startling proof that there was a new class-conscious awareness that considered itself an entity different from the ruling elite (whether religious or political).

Who was then the Gentleman?

The antagonism between these social powers; peasants, churchmen, noblemen and others, bore a psychological effect on the peasants. Resentment against the established order started to take place and the peasants started to question the religious and traditional perception of his status. The resentment of the peasants against wage regulation and their constant insistence upon challenging the authority led parliament to institute more and more statutes and in 1361 sheriffs and commissioners were authorized to use extreme methods to punish the offenders and those who refused the new laws.

However, all the oppressive efforts failed to render the peasants and other labors submissive. Instead, a strong aversion against not only the landowners but against the parliament and lawyers was fiercely growing. The new awakened spirit of democracy was more powerful than the reaction of the establishment, the imprisonment and the beheadings of the lawbreakers did not succeed in subduing the revolutionary inspiration, rather this new developed atmosphere created a common consciousness or awareness and a united cause between the members of the lower class. This force would oppose the interests of the upper rank and would create a revolution that would shake the English aristocracy. In 1370, the landlords could no more tolerate the resentment of the peasant and subdue their new independent spirit, so they wrote a petition to the king asking for more oppressive action to control the peasants, however, the king's reply was surprisingly unexpected. His answer was as follows:

> These men have refused to allow officials of the lords to detain them
> from the said customs and services, and have made confederation and

> alliance together to resist the lords and officials by force, so that each
> will aid the other whenever they are detainedfor any reason and they
> threaten to kill their lords if these make distain upon them for their
> customs and services. The consequence is that for fear of the deaths
> that might result from the rebellion and resistance of these men, the
> lords and their officials do not make detains for the customs and
> services. (Barrie 76)

There was indeed an unbroken resistance and an unprecedented solidarity among the peasants but at the same time the lords failed to suppress their servants. From the king's answer, an anxiety and a fear can be felt on the part of the monarchy, a fear that high resistance might turn into a rebellion. The lords and the officials were surprisingly ordered to submit in a way or the other to the demands of the lower strata. Class antagonism was at its peak and a revolt was under way.

From the other side of the peasant's uprising interpretations, there are some versions or narratives that attribute the revolution of 1381 to the tensions that took place between what is called the Good parliament and the king's councilors. The aim of such kind of interpretations is an attempt to debunk the theory that revolutions are triggered by the awakening of the spirit of democracy from below. The historian Halen Can, for instance, argued that the seeds of the discontent of 1381 were sown in the hostile clash between the Good parliament of 1381 and John of Gaunt; Duke of Lancaster and the uncle of the fourteen years old king Richard the second, and the commons. The death of King Edward III and the illness of his son Edward (the black prince) made John of Gaunt as an artful politician and a wealthy magnate the true holder of the authority in the country.

John of Gaunt held the authority of the crown in the name of the crown and acted as an intermediary between the king and his council. He was a lieutenant or a

representative of the king to hold parliament. However, the financial crisis and the continuing roaring of the landlords against the peasants made the Commons or the House of Commons at Westminster Abby to conclude that it was the corruption of the king's closest advisors; who were able to secure profitable monopolies and financial acquisitions that rendered the country in such crises. Peter de la Mare was the speaker of the Commons; he as any politician used the popular discourse which put the interests of the few as being the interests of the majority, accused four of the king's closest advisors of crimes against the kingdom including William Latimer (the king's chamberlain), John Neville of (the steward of the household) and Richard Lyons (warden of the mint). Latimer and Lyons sold illegal shipping licenses to merchants and took a cut of loans. They were even accused of plundering lands and working with the French.

However, Gaunt was clever enough to calm down and deceive the Commons, at first he adhered to the demands of the Commons and punished those corrupted advisors but then he pardoned most of them in the pretext that he was protecting the image of the Crown from crumbling.(O'Brien 24)

Effectively, the good parliament was dissolved on the tenth of July and Peter de la Mare was imprisoned. This narrative might assume that this was one of the main factors that triggered the uprising, but it does not represent the whole picture of the political circumstances of England at that time. The tensions were growing from below and people were well aware of the corrupted state their country was experiencing. This narrative if it is ever important, it serves only one point, that the revolt of 1381 was legal and it was not a riot of ignorant and unorganized crowd. It also indicates that the

subjects lost their confidence and trust in the legal departments and the loyal courts and that the religious and political discourse could no more legitimize the corrupted state. It was thus the outcome of all these factors that accumulated to create the revolutionary spirit that could no longer bear the abuse of power and the enslavement of both the body and the reason.The long oppressed beasts, as some would call them,decided to break the whip that had long flogged them.

Indeed, social structure in the early fourteenth century was a manufactured world constructed by poets, priests, preachers and theologians to legitimize a social hierarchy that was based on wealth and power. The question to be answered here is whether the divisive medieval social hierarchy is to be approached through a modern division theory (that is to say did the medieval society was divisive and had a class conflict) or is it to be approached through a deference theory (that it had a harmonious order)? In other word, was the peasant revolt a part of class struggle or was it just a derailed event that took place out of other factors rather than a class rebellion.

Breaking the Law of Order:

In fact, the medieval period or the pre-industrial era is always taught to be harmonious in terms of classes. Social stratification depended upon some consensus that lacked social mobility and conflict (except for the conflicts of the upper classes on the division of power). The ideology of deference was based on the belief that the established order was divinely sanctioned and that it must not be challenged. Historians, preachers, some social theorists, either past or modern, and the supporters of this ideology did not try to justify the fact that human society was divided into different strata, between rich and poor and between masters and slaves. Historians such as Charles Phythian-Adams, David Reynolds and others argued that the political life was "based on shared ideological norms such as the deferential belief; that the rich should lead and dominate, so that to disobey one's social superior was to commit a sin" (Horrox 2006/7).

Social inequality was justifiable and it was openly supported. The very ancient classification of the different social orders was advocated; it was divided between those who pray, those who fight and those who work and the nobles are at the top of the ladder. The Bishop, John Stafford, who served as the Lord Chancellor preached to parliament in the fifteenth century that the English society had to be divided into three groups:

> Its prelates, nobles and magnates whose duty was to promote social peace.Second, Its hills (knights and merchants) whose duty was to provide justice.And third, craftsmen and commoners whose duty was to obey their betters.(Brown 26)

Similarly, the historian Maurice Keen argued that the English society was a typical deference society, one which regarded social differences as natural and heavenly ordained. The social deference was a mentality imbedded in the minds of the people at that age and they "had not come to regard social distinctions as divisive, as forces with the potential to tear society apart"(Keen p11). More importantly, Peter Brown, an Irish historian known for his works in the field of late antiquity, argued, in his book, *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c.1350 - c.1500,* that the consequences of this orthodox social theory or the deference ideology in the medieval period had two different aspects. Firstly, it involved a general hostility to individual social mobility and a stress on the need to accept one's place on the social ladder as the poetWimbledon expressed it "each man should see what estate God hath clipped him and dwell he there in accepting the need to work according to his degree"(Brown). In the same way Gower's VoxClamantis contended that:

> When a poor man is elevated in the city through an unexpected fate
> and the unworthy creature is allowed toreach the height of honor,
> then nature suddenly groans at the changes state of things and
> grieves at the unaccustomed rarity (Brown 27)

Secondly, the deferential outlook meant that medieval social theorists have not criticized the individual social ambition but also attacked any broader attempt to change the social order or to alter the balance of privileges enjoyed by a particular group. It is God who created the ordering of the universe in a hierarchy and it is God's law that the poor or the weak must obey his superiors(Brown p27).

Additionally, the ideology of deference was well entrenched in the sermons and preaches of the priests, it was willingly supported and defended that even when they

sympathized with the peasants and condemned the oppression and the exploitation against the lower class, they never called the peasant to revolt and defend their rights and they never supported the 1381 uprising. Instead, they preached about the virtues of patience, the blessings of poverty and the rewards in the hereafter. Clerical writings such as those which belong to Thomas Brinton (and others, William Langland, John Bromyard) contended that "Just as wild beasts are afflicted in winter but are recompensed by God with the bliss of summer, so the poor who suffered in this world would be rewarded with joy in the next"(Brinton P313-14)

Thus, most of the authors of medieval period and even in the latter middle ages, considered social hierarchy and class inequality as an accepted norm and a prima facie truth or a common sense. It was considered as the way the right society into which human relationship must be constructed upon or in a religions term the utopian society. It must be admitted that the modern world (even the past) is based on this reality, on the survival of the fittest; so many third world countries were robbed and exterminated because they were weak (the scramble for Africa, the Opium wars in china, the Sykes Picot in the middle east….) and the working classes all over the western world have always been exploited.

While the medieval world was, nonetheless, open in asserting the actual reality of this world that the powerful and the rich are eligible to rule and that ordinary people are unable to govern themselves. We do not find a double discourse or double think (idealizing principles such as equality and freedom while the reality is different) in the writings and speeches of medieval writers and politicians as it will be demonstrated. Consequently, the tripartite theory and the deference ideology were indeed used as a

moral justification and an established reality for the inequality between different strata of the medievalsociety as well as a mean to keep the lower classessubmissive to their superiors. If anyone especially from the lower strataattempted to break or tear up this heavenly structure, he would disdainfully be attacked by medieval poets and writers and he would be factually misrepresented and distorted.

Therefore, Marxist theorists tended to advocate the idea that medieval society must be understood and dealt with from a class struggle theory by considering the uprisings of the lower classes in the medieval period to ask for equality and higher wages as a symptom of class conflict. The peasant revolt was one of those uprising that was misrepresented and even obliterated because it was a class struggle and a way of breaking the deference society.

The Marxist Rodney Hilton argues; in his book, *Medieval Peasant Movement and the English rising of 1381*, that the English deference society was nothing less than an illusion. The medieval society experienced several class struggle movements including one of the earliest conflicts in the English history which was between the lords and the peasants in 996 in Normandy at the beginning of Duke Richard II's reign. The chronicle of William of Jumiéges (one of the earliest chroniclers of Normandy) who narrated that a sudden and widespread movement was organized on the basis of the rejection of the established order and that henceforth peasants would make laws as they pleased. This peasant movement was highly organized and involved the election of delegates but they were fiercely suppressed by the Duke. The poet Robert Wace in his historical poem,*Roman de Brut,* which was written in the twentieth century

mentions that the peasants at this uprising asserted that "we are men like them".
(Horrox (Editor),2006, p68)

Therefore, the revolts and uprisings of the early history of Britain urged deliberately for equality and people at that time wanted in a way or another to be lawmakers and to rule themselves. They had an early resolution to challenge the medieval hierarchy (as it will be demonstrated through the peasant revolt of 1381). It was here that the seeds of the ethos of British democracy are to be found, though the democratic psychology in this primitive period was not well developed, nevertheless, the fact that there was a revolt and a rejection of inequality and autocracy and an urge for freedom and justice, does make this early struggle a democratic uprising (the absence of the term democracy at that time does not mean that its essence did not exist). Those movements are overshadowed by the achievements of the noble class who were the true makers of history but the fact is that this primitive psychology that had indeed evolved struggled and grew to produce the modern human rights that are celebrated today.The clash of interests, the oppression and the exploitation of the lower classes in the medieval period had generated an everlasting antagonism about rights, wages, and status that were the main theme of the industrial revolution and the modern era. One needs to know the spiritual and mythical aspirations that motivated the peasants and awakened their minds. To know how the medieval lower class of 1381 responded to the inequalities of their time and how was their reaction represented in the historical and literary works. The following part will try to demonstrate how the peasant revolt was misrepresented in the works of medieval writers and even modern historians, as part of

an elitist agenda, to prove that history of freedom in England is created by the English nobility of Magna Carta.

We are men like them!!

One of the earliest and rarest stories to deal with the theme of rebellion was the legend of Robin HOOD. Robin was an outcast and an outlaw who was living in the forest, he did not seek to challenge the royal authority or the monarchy in general but he factually attacked the men who corrupted the government, who were responsible for the suffering of the poor and who stole money from the hard work of the others to build their fortune on the back of the weak, hence "the fourteenth century hero would question and punish those who misused power entrusted to them from the king whom they viewed as their imagined champion"(W.Tuchman 373). He influenced the peasants of 1381 that they themselves executed all the corrupted politicians and lawmakers but held their true trust and belief in the king to their last breath just like Robin did but they were unfortunately deceived. The legend Robin Hood traces back to the fourteenth century in William Langland's 1377 poem *the Vision of Piers the Plowman,* when the author gave some allusions to the rhymes of Robin Hood in order to criticize his own society for not being too religious, he criticized his readers for being more acquainted with Robin Hood and his adventures than with their God and the Bible. Langland opposed one of his characters for being too familiar with Robin's victories than his Paterroster (or the religious father in the play).(Langland p61).

However, in the nineteenth century the legend of Robin Hood started to be progressively distorted. From a story of an outlaw who sought to challenge authority in

favor of the weak and the working class common men and for the sake of equality and justice, the legend became more or less a love story especially in the work of Thomas LovePeacock *'sMaidMarian* (1822); Critics agreed that:

> With Peacock's work, the modern Robin Hood was established and influenced several contemporary authors who continued to write about Robin with this romantic view, using much more castle and much less forests.(Knight 123)

The interpretations of the Robin Hood story actually differed according to the political purpose of the author. Some wanted to abate or moderate Robin's hatred to the upper class and temper his resistance to authority, others tried to deprive the story of its true essence and make it simply a love story and others represented him as a noble man or an earl. A popular hero must not have a humble origin because it does not suit altogether the hieratical society and the elitist agenda.

Nevertheless, this heroic story of a man of humble origin did influence the imagination of the peasants in 1381. The popular heroism of Robin did not only give a hope to the peasants but it recounts to them a world vision totally different from that represented by the church. The poor are not destined to remain as they are and they have the right to break the established order in order to obtain their eligible rights. Stealing from the rich to offer the spoils to the poor did only signify that Robin was the hero of the lower class, but it did signify to the peasants that part of the money of the rich was part of their exploited labor and thus they have a legal right to ask for higher wages and fair treatment.

In addition to Robin Hood legend, John Ball was the spiritual leader of the revolution of 1381 and his sermons had a profound spiritual and political

motivation.Before being imprisoned, he used to preach about equality and freedom. Ball fought resolutely and condemned the institution of serfdom and bondage. His appeal for human equality was inspired by a new religious philosophy that tried to establish new moral and political values that would protect human dignity and independence at a time when the Church failed to deliver the true essence of Christianity. "When Adam delved, and Eve span, who was then a gentleman" this couplet was the new spiritual inspiration of that period before the revolt. People started to question whether God really divided human race into nobles and slaves or whether they were destined to work for the rich and submit their will to the powerful in order to be rewarded in the afterlife. John Ball is better known for his historical speech in which he fervently stated that:

> My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until every thing shall be in common; when there shall be neither vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. ill have they used us! and for what reason do they hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than Ourselves? Except, perhaps, in making us labor and work, for them to spend
> They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and if we drink, it must be water.We are called slaves; and if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us. (Froissart et MacLeod 1917/73)

This speech stirringly celebrates the spirit of the ethos of British democracy. The urge for equality, justice, people's right to rule themselves and other principles are strongly advocated. The spirit of democracy in this sermon is universal; it can fit any age and

any circumstances (colonization, slavery, industrial revolution, the labor movements..).
The ethos of this speech was far enough to inspire the peasants to unshackle
themselves from bondage and serfdom. The speech did not only condemn the
enslavement of the bodies but also the enslavement of the mind, Ball questioned the
teaching of the Church and their ideology. It was taught that it was God who made
people inherently slaves or because of their sins but for Ball this ideological
enslavement is totally against Christianity. Thus the new teachings were inspirational
enough to help the peasants both politically and religiously to dare to challenge the
established order.

The Self and the Other dichotomy:

The peasant revolt of 1381 was unsurprisingly misrepresented, both in past and
modern writings. Politicians, poets and priests all shared a common prejudice against
lower classes and they all represented this uprising with a feeling of superior complex.
The authors that will be represented were not objective enough in depicting the course
of events and the true motives behind people's rage against the ruling class. In this
part, some distinguished political speeches, poems, prose and other writings of this
period and even afterwards, which dealt with the uprising of 1381,will be selected or
delineated (from many works) and analyzed in order to find how the peasants and their
actions were depicted and represented.

   In his book,*Historical poems of the XIVth and XVth centuries.*, the author Robbins
Rossell Hope cited so many poems of this period, one of them entitled *"This was a
warning to be aware"* written by an unknown author who dealt with the peasant

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revolt; the author was clearly a beholder of the event but he was opposed to the peasant's uprising. He drew a parallel between the two catastrophes that happened in the fourteenth century and the peasant revolt calling it the third catastrophe of his age. He considered the great rising of 1381 as similar to the natural earthquake of 1381 and the new outbreak of bubonic plague. He says:

> The rising of comuynes in londe
> The Pestilens and earthe- quake
> Those threothings,I understand
> Beo-takens the great vengeance and wrathe
> That schuldefallesynnes sake
> As this clerkescomme declare
> Nou may wechese to leve or take
> For warning have we to ben ware
> (Hope 520)

The author was clearly warning his readers that the uprising was the accumulation of the sins committed by people, the event was not exalted by the author but it was considered as a punishment from God just like the pestilence and the earthquake were. The event was both interpreted ideologically (giving no regard to the social and political circumstances that the peasants were experiencing) and religiously (considering the revolt as a sinful act and as a demonstration of God's wrath against people). Thus the author in these few lines did not depict the true accumulative factors that led people to rise up against their superiors.

The second illustrative example is a political speech by Sir Michel de la Pole; who was the new chancellor of England, when addressed parliament in 1381. Though the peasant revolt was a war against the corrupted officials, it was nevertheless against all

the suspected persons who might have had a direct or indirect relationship to the suffering of the lower class. This politician depicted the revolt as an act against the whole kingdom and against the king in particular. The narratives of this uprising clearly and unwillingly demonstrated how people were blindly loyal to the king and they trusted him to the last drop. However, Sir Michel de la Poleclaimed that:

> These acts were the source and chief cause of the treasonable insurrection recently made by the commune of England withinthis realm. This insurrection was firstly a rebellion against the said lesser servants, then against the great officers of the kingdom and finally against the king himself. And therefore just as rebellion of this sort was and is the source and commencement of mischief and trouble within the realm, so is the true obedience to the king and his servants the foundation of all peace and quiet in the realm as appears clearly from the obedience which the gentleman showed to the king during the said insurrection(Dobson 363)

This political discourse is a typical example of how the deference theory was deeply rooted in the ideological thinking of politicians. The uprising is depicted as a mischief and as an act of disobedience against the king himself who was too young to be deceived by words and he was made to believe in all the misrepresentations of the people's true aims. The fact is that people as previously mentioned were against the corrupted officials, but here in this speech there is a twisted message that these gentlemen (corrupted officials) were loyal and obedient to the king during the uprising. They, in a very cunning way, tried to absolve or make innocent the corrupted gentlemen who made true and illegal offences against the kingdom, but here the people who were made blameworthy. Hence, the peasant revolt was misrepresented to the king in a way that made it an act of mischief against the whole kingdom and to the king in particular.

The third example is the work of Thomas Walsingham's*HistoriaAnglicana,* in his chronicle he constructed prejudiced arguments on the revolt based on the supposed confession of one of the revolt's leaders known as Jack Straw, before his execution. Walsingham believed that the aims of the rebels were the destruction of the central government and the capture of the king by the rebels. Whether this story is true or not, Walsingham as his fellow Monks at St. Albans and others had aristocratic and elitist interpretation and had their own political and religious reasons against people's uprising. In one of his chapters entitled "Proving how the rebels conspired to destroy the church, the Christian faith and the king", Walsingham describes the peasants who rebelled as"devilish men, for unless they have been possessed by the devil, the rebels would never have conspired to destroy the church, the Christian faith and the whole kingdom" and then he adds that 'they killed the father of all the clergy and the head of the English church, the archbishop of Canterbury". He pictured the rebels as savages and as violent rioters; he averred that the rebels 'strove to burn all old records, and they butchered anyone who might know or be able to commit to memory the contents of old or new documents".(Walsingham 103)

If one puts these claims in the context of what was analyzed about the revolt, about the true causes that drove the peasant to revolt, we find that at the top of these causes was the corruption of the priests; the clergymen exploited the mind and the body of the peasants and they legitimized serfdom and the abuse of power in the eyes of the lords. The papal estates and wealth are gleaned from the elbow of the poor serfs and

peasants.The moral degeneracy and the infringement of the church legitimacy was one of the main factors that awakened the people and made them realize the lies and deceptions they were tracked in. It was their new awareness and the emanation of the psychology of democracy that precipitated them to face the injustices of their time. Additionally and more importantly, when Walsingham claimed that the rebels burned all old records and butchered the people who guarded these documents, one needs to know what these documents were about. In fact, when the peasants headed for the Temple of London which was the quarter of the lawyers and where the laws of feudalism were initiated; the peasants burned and destroyed all the manorial rolls which recorded the status of the peasants (free/serf…) and their taxes and all the tributes that they had to pay were recorded in these documents. Therefore, their violent action was not a blind and ignorant deed but it reflected the peasant's resolution to destroy the edifice and the institution of feudalism, by burning the records they were rejecting their status as slaves and urging for independence.

Secondly, when Walsingham speaks about the confession of John Straw who was one of the key rebels' leaders (regardless of whether his confession was real or not), one needs to understand the context into which the rebels decided to capture the king and then kill him (if this was ever true). When the rebels were in complete control of London on the thirteenth of June, King Richard and his councilors decided that he had to speak to his people in a deceptive way in order to mollify their anger. So the king's officials decided to let the king deliver a speech to the rebels because they knew that the people highly respected the king and they had high expectations on him. He stood

at the east facing St. Catherine's tower and passed down a statement in which his sergeant read aloud:

> The king thanks his good commons for their loyalty and pardons all their illegal offences, but he wishes everyone to return home and set down his grievance in writing and sent it to him. By the advice of his lords, he will then provide some remedy as will be profitable to himself, his commons and the whole realm (H.Fagan 189)

The king's speech was unfortunately so disappointing to the peasants, it humiliated their minds but they were not that credulous to believe in such childish promises. Additionally, when the rebels realized that through this speech, the king was on the side of his nobles and that Magna Carta was nothing less than a pact between the king and noblemen to oppress the rest. The king did not listen to them and he considered their act as an illegal offence which was crucially regrettable to the peasants. That is why the peasant decided that they had to capture the king in order to oblige him to accept their demands and they had no intention to kill him.

Moreover, Thomas Walsingham listed several reasons for such evils to occur, first the common people were the first to be blamed because they did not obey their lords, they used to drink and commit adultery and they lacked faith in God. The second to be blamed are the Mendicant Friars, which was a catholic order in which its members make a vow of poverty and give up all their possessions in order to support themselves by work and charitable deeds.

However, according to Walsingham who at this point is certainly right, this catholic order failed to break the greedy human pursuit for money and wealth. But he never addressed the corruption of the ruling class namely the ministers of the king, and thus

the revolt was represented as an uproar that had no noble and political purposes but a simple misdeed committed by the blind minded of the commons.

Thirdly, the third narrative is that of Fasciculi Zizaniorum whose work is found in,*The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the middle Ages (Rolls Series 1858)*. This chronicle dealt with John Wycliffe (the father of the Lollards movement) but the author accuses John Ball of being an adherent to this reformist movement (which was considered as heretical). This allegation is based on a supposed or alleged confession made by John Ball before his execution; John supposedly confessed publicly that he was a disciple of John Wycliffe for about twenty years and that they were working like a secret fraternity with a plan to spread this doctrine and destroy the whole kingdom.

In fact, supposing that this was true, theLollards movement had real reformist objectives which matched to the corrupted practices of the church; for instance, it aimed at denying the privileges of priesthood (universal priesthood and equal status before God)and that people were not obliged to make confessions (the confession which were used a political mean to control the peasant and keep an eye watching surveillance upon them) because priests are not competent to forgive sins, they are humans and they are themselves sinful. The luxurious church buildings (which were built from the money of the poor) as well as the acquisition of wealth were also rejected. Consequently, the revolt of 1381 was considered by the author as a heretical rebellion triggered by outsiders and secret organization. But as explained the reforms of this movement did match to the problems that peasants in England were facing, the uprising was again misrepresented and even derailed from its true objectives.

The fourth work is that of John Gover (1330-1408) a contemporary of Geoffrey Chaucer and William Langland. He wrote many poems including the most famous one,*VoxClamantis,* in which he gives an account of the story of the English uprising of 1381. He actually incarnated a typical elitist view about the common people, the degrading and dehumanizing representation of the lower classes who were neither rational nor capable of opposing elitist rule. In one of the passages he narrates how the mob got into London. He describes it as follows:

> Thousands of wolves and bears approaching,with the wolves intending to go out of the woods to the homes of the city.There was no monstrous thing or species on earth whose fury could hurt the land but it came forth and multiplied.......The fierce and mighty beast used to rage not so much from fury as from hunger came out of thewoods and the savage throngs approached the city like the waves of the sea and entered by violence(Quoted in Barrie 1970 275)

Words like savages, beasts, monsters do typically represents the elitist discourse just like the colonialist discourse which represents the native people as savages and inhuman in order to justify the superiority of the white race and in order to legitimize the enslaving and oppression of these people, and as a way of instilling the psychology of the slave (to make these people unconsciously believe that they are inherently inferior and that they can never change this reality). The elitist discourse always aims at embedding the psychology of submission and curbing the psychology of democracy.

In fact, what the rebels did was the destruction of all the links and pillars of feudalism and bondage and they punished mercilessly all those traitors who helped to

sustain this oppressive system by displaying their heads on the London Bridge in a way that permitted the other traitors to know their ends (displaying traitors' head on the bridge was the traditional way of punishing them, so it was a traditional and so common but when it came to the lower classes practice it, it is described as savage and furious act).

The fifth work is for one of the most distinguished medieval author Jean Froissart who wrote several poems and chronicles including *Chronicles*in the fourteenth century (and other works like*Meliador*) in which he stated: "There fell in England great mischief and rebellion of many of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion"(Froissart,1917 p250-251). His views can be matched to Tocqueville theory of revolution, rebellion and revolt in which it is stated that revolution can be understood as the more social conditions are improved and more reforms are introduced, the more people became aware of the small injustices and the more frustration and opposition to these small injustices grow and thus it drives people to revolt. (Gehlbach, 2018, p. 1-2) However, in the context of 1381 revolt, no reforms were introduced and the peasants were living in bad conditions (except if we suppose that the very small period in which peasants were getting higher wages is to be considered as an improvement in social conditions but it was shortlycut by the new statutes and the status of the serfs was always the same). Instead, new taxes were imposed and more exploitative treatment was legally allowed. Besides, the peasants became much more impoverished after the plague, so

this author was not objective enough to describe the truemotives of the uprising and in considering the revolution as a mischief.

The sixth work was written in the eighteenth century by Edmund Burke (1729-1797) who was an Irish politician who expressed his views on the peasant revolt in a very heavy sarcasm which led Thomas Paine to defend the ambitions of the peasants against the allegations of Burke and to consider Wat Tyler as the first popular revolutionary leader in the English history. Burke is considered as he father of British conservatism and he was a leading figure of the Whigs, his views are strongly held in Britain and are the founding ground for the political views about the lower classes. The backbone of his philosophy was his high skepticism about democracy and he opposed it for three main reasons; first, democracy for him would create the tyranny of the majority and thus oppress the unpopular minority. Second, the most used argument of the elitist like Burke is that the management of the government required the intelligence of the highly skillful upper classes, a quality that rarely exists among the commoners and thirdly and most importantly the commons are driven by angry, blind and dogmatic passions that could easily be manipulated by demagogues. Thus the peasant revolution from the standpoint of Burke's philosophy is certainly condemned. He expressed his views as follows:

> But when you disturb this harmony, when you break up this beautiful order, this array of truth and nature as well as of habit and prejudice, when you separate the common sort of men from their proper chieftains, so as to form them into adverse army, I no longer know that venerable object called the people in such disbanded race of deserts and vagabonds. For a while they may be terrible indeed, but in such a manner as wild beasts are terrible(Burke 162-4)

Burke called the age of the French Revolution as a dark age, he was forthright at his attack on democracy and he considered the equality of man as an illusion. He also believed that the teachings and the preaches of John Ball and the new constitution of France which was drafted by the National Assembly and other writings about liberty and equality were all successful in convincing people that "all the evils which had fallen upon men had been caused by an ignorance of them having been born and continued equal as to their rights"(Quoted in Barrie p394) in other words, Burke disdains the idea that since men are born equal, they must be equal to their rights and he averted the idea that the people whether they believe in equality or not, it does not change the reality that the world is not equal and that there are superior and equal people, he asks disdainfully "had the populace been able to repeat that profound maxim (about equality) all would have gone perfectly well with them?"(Burke P164)But then he answered "but the lowest wretches in their most ignorant state were able at all times to talk about such stuff and yet at all times they have suffered many evils and many oppressions"(Burke p164). That is to say that even though people are aware of equality but they will never be able to change their situation and they will always be oppressed. So for Burke the peasant revolt and its maxims of equality and freedom were an illusionary temptation to achieve what is elusive and infeasible.

However, one can deduce one important point from Burke's standpoint, that he acknowledges the noble and the true causes of the revolt (unlike other previous writers), that the aim of the peasant was asking for equality and that they were motivated by their democratic consciousness. The peasants in 1381 were not the only people who rose up to ask for equality, but through the political history of the world

people have always resisted their superiors and thus the uprising of 1381 was a sequence in the historical chain of democracy.

Nevertheless, Burke condemned not only the peasant revolt but all the revolutions that proclaim equality and democracy because they disturb the order of the universe (the deference theory) and second they are just illusions that do not match to the reality of this world. Burke may be right in stating that democracy is an illusion but what would be the destiny of the common people if they did not wake up periodically to ask for their rights?

Thomas Paine, in his most read book, *The Rights of Man,* reacted to Burke's crucial contempt for the peasant revolution; he commented "the barons of Magna Carta are compared unfavorably to the peasants of 1381and William Walworth (the mayor of London who stabbed Wat Tyler) is for long the official hero of the great revolt". Pain wanted to overturn the long established view that the barons of Magna Carta are better than the peasants of 1381 and that William Walworth was not a hero but Tyler was, he stated it in a very strong tone:

> Tyler appeared to have been an intrepid disinterested man with respect to himself. All his proposals made to Richard were on a more just and public ground than those which had been made to John by the barons (Magna Charta), and notwithstanding the sycophantic of historians and like Mr. Burke who seek to gloss over base action of the court by traducing Tyler, his fame will outlive their falsehood (Paine 1791)

Actually, this is the core argument of this part; the aim was to show the dichotomy of how the peasant revolt was misrepresented as far as Magna Carta is concerned. Though the peasant revolution of 1381 failed to reach its aims because they were

deceived by the king and later on tyrannized but they proved how consciously they were of their rights. This uprising can truly be the first popular revolt in the history of Britain and it constitutes the founding ground of the ethos of British democracy, it was here that the psychology of democracy was strongly demonstrated and the history of this uprising has very common elements with modern political stratum; loss of trust, loss of legitimization, manufacturing reality, ideological discourse and other elements that have always existed and have always constituted class struggle.

However, if we compare the past and the present world, one notices that the modern world; especially by the use of modern mass media, is disguising this reality, on the outside and on the political discourse words like democracy, the war for peace, war on terror, humanitarian agencies are always used to manufacture 'reality'; a reality that is full of poverty, authoritarianism or protecting autocratic regimes like in Egypt, the making and funding of terrorism, the robbing of weak countries in the name of democratization, wars for profits and interests. In this double discourse or double policy that the dilemma of democracy lies; from the one hand an ideal definition is well established and absorbed by the majority that the people themselves are the true holders of power or that democracy is the rule of the people but on reality there is always ambiguity and deception of who really is running the country The aim of the next part is to show how Magna Carta is represented as compared to the peasant revolt.

The Magna Carta and the democratic discourse:

Whether Magna Carta was a document that granted progressively rights and liberties not only in England but elsewhere remains a central issue. The over use of this pact in

political discourse and elitist writings may rise doubt. One may be need to write another research in order to know how this document influenced the common man (though he was excluded from it) to rise up against oppression and enslavement. One also needs to know its legacy in the real sense in disseminating the notion of democracy and equality. The scope of the present research only permits to know how it is used in elitist discourse and to try to debunk that the claims made by the latter, the series of rebellions, demonstrations and uprisings in England by the common man and the continuous resilience of the lower classes to fight for equality is considered much more worthy than a written document as far as the democratic pursuit is concerned. The original charter was stamped by King John in 2015 in order to protect the baronial privileges against the abuses of the monarch.

Though the charter was renounced but it was revived by King Henry III and was modified later on. Its most addressed points deal with "baronial prerogatives rather than popular liberties"(Worcester 452). For example in Article 61, it was stated that the barons arrogate the right to choose any twenty-five barons of the realm they will, who with all their might are to observe, maintain and cause to be observed the peace and liberties which we have granted. If the liberties were offended, the barons reserved the authority to seize the king's castles, lands and possessions.(Worcester 452). It is remarkable to quote Kent Worcester who pointed to the fact that:

> Despite its iconic status, the Magna Carta does not achieve the coherence of an eighteenth-century constitution or nineteenth century legal code, nor is it a work of political philosophy. Its declaratory prose presumably met the practical needs of its noble born petitioners"(Worcester 453)

Though Article 39 is best known and celebrated in hailing universal rights, still it does not specify the group of people concerned with these privileges. It stated "No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land"(Worcester 456). The prerogatives granted here did not specify who exactly those freemen are. In the context of Magna Carta, one can deduce the identity of these groups but with open interpretations it may possibly include the rest of the people.

Peter Kellner is the author of *Democracy: 1000 Years in Pursuit of British Liberty* which is one of the most famous books on the history of democracy in Britain. Kellner tells the story of British democracy which flourished in the country through the documents and reforms that were made and introduced in the pursuit of liberty and freedom. In one of the chapters of this book, he described how democracy in Britain owes to the Magna Carta and how the latter contributed in the making of parliamentary reforms and the extension of universal rights. Through this chapter, he tries to attribute the liberty and freedoms enjoyed by people today to Magna Carta and attempted to prove how this pact (between the barons and the king) generated modern democracy, he asks "So what happened to transform the Magna Carta from a fix, protecting the wealth of the rich, to the defining even in our journey towards democracy?"(Kellner 31) And then he answers " the answer is essentially simple, the term free men was gradually expanded to include all adults, poor as well as rich male as well as female. Rights were originally designed for few people came eventually to apply for everybody"(Kellner P31)   In other words, in as far as the Magna Carta came eventually to symbolize supposedly modern basic freedoms; it did so as a byproduct of

a struggle about something completely different, in other words it extended the rights that were once a privilege of a minority to include the rest of the people, he explained:

> Normally we talk about the law of unintended consequences to mean something designed to do good, that ends up having bad side effects. The story of British liberty supplies us with examples of the opposite, often self serving and sometimes grubby arrangements leading to the expansion of liberty(Kellner)

Actually, kellner draws his theory or his view upon a very vague presumption. The Magna Carta, according to him, was for the few rich people or the barons but then it extended to include other people (whether male or female) through history. Additionally, he tries to defend the idea that the Magna Carta represents the origin of basic human freedoms, it was designed to do good for only a very few minority but then unintentionally it was extended and had good effects upon the rest of the people. For him, this historical pact is considered as the nucleus of modern rights and freedoms for all citizens.

On the one hand; Kellner's narrative of the history of British democracy is remarkably elitist in that he attributed the evolution and the development of liberty and democratic rights to the extension of legal rights that were enjoyed by the barons to include other people. In other words, modern democracy owes much to the efforts and sacrifices of the barons of the Magna Carta who in the real sense considered their subjects as equal to animals and this is exemplified in the way they treated them and represented them in their discourses. How can the one attribute the independence enjoyed by the previously colonized people today to the imperialist colonizers who regarded indigenous people as savages and slaves? The fact is the same way that the imperialist powers were pressed and obliged to grant independence to the natives

because of the obstinate resolution and revolutions they faced and it was thanks to the sacrifices these dehumanized people made that they today enjoy independence, the barons and their descendents were obliged and forced to adhere to the democratic demands of the working classes as it will be explained later on.

Additionally, Kellner always tries to match the most influential events and documents to a very few figures who apparently had aristocratic background. In his book for instance he applauded generously to the achievements of Sir Edward Coke who according to him is the one who:

> Killed off the divine rights of kings by telling James I that the law should apply to monarchs as much as anyone else and some years later he persuaded parliament to adopt the Petition of Right which made more universal the Magna Carta principles(Kellner p34)

Interestingly, a fact that must be remembered here is that after a century and a half of the issuing of Magna Carta; which supposedly proclaimed that no taxes could be levied without the consent of the people or common consent, the peasants in 1381 rose up against the same abuses that were imposed upon them by the decedents of the founding fathers of the Magna Carta. That is to say that neither the Magna Carta nor the petition of rights (which sought to provide that no taxes could be levied without consent, no imprisonment without trial and other extensive rights) were meant to protect the rights of the common people and the prove is the peasant revolt of 1381 and how it was perceived and represented through historical narratives. The peasants in 1381 had more fundamental demands than the petition of rights and other bills. Unfortunately they were overwhelmed and violently oppressed because they threatened the interests of the ruling classes and because such fundamental changes

must be introduced or emanated from upper classes heroes who fight for the liberty of all (this is what will be proven later on with the conservative government in the nineteenth century).

Actually, the barons and the landlords had financial power to force change in government and to defend their interests in a more effective way. The struggle of the common man for liberty is always bitter but it is unfortunately unrecognized and his contributions are evermore disregarded. Therefore, when reading about history in the way that Peter Kellner and his counterparts represent it, the first question that comes to mind is where are the people?, what are their contributions in the making of human history? Reading elitist works can be paralleled with reading colonial literature; the native people are always absent, passive and mute, on the other side the colonialist is ideologically represented as the master and the hero who makes his own destiny. The use of powerful words such as "it was Coke who killed off the divine rights of kings" are manipulative expressions used to underestimate the pains and hostilities the common people underwent in order to make this true.

The atrocious attack on the peasant uprising, the misrepresentation and the discreditable reputation the revolt got must be contrasted with this elitist narrative of history in order to discern a true picture. Though the peasants in 1381 struggled for the same abuses as the barons in 1215 (and the series of conflicts between Parliament and the Stuart monarchy later on), they all asked for the same demands and rights but the demands of the first were oppressed and considered as violating the law of order while the second were obtained appreciably.

Another important point that is remarkable in the elitist discourse (like that of Peter Kellner) is that they sometimes show a little acknowledgment that these reforms and historical documents such as Magna Carta were not created for the ordinary people and that they were exempted from the newly obtained rights and liberties. For example Kellner maintains that:

> do not be fooled by the reference to free men, the barons meant rich people like them, not the ordinary fold that they oppressed rather more completely than the king oppressed his landowning lords (Kellner p33)

In this example, it apparently seems that the writer has a sort of recognition of the reality of Magna Carta but manipulatively he quickly moves to an overwhelming elitist discourse that makes the reader **Think** for a while that Magna Carta was a pact preserving the rights of the barons but then he is made to **Believe** in the overpowering elitist narrative of history. In other words, ideological discourses often employ this twist or method; from the one hand it acknowledges a given reality but it does not give it much worthiness or strong arguments to support it. Instead, it just gives a little glimpse or just a hint to this fact but then it quickly transcends it by more powerful crushing arguments that serve the elitist discourse. By this way the reader is unconsciously made to believe in the more overwhelming arguments and forget about the little tiny facts that are not strongly supported by the writer.

Another important point with Peter Kellner is that he moves to another mythical political presumption, in which he assumed that the repeal of the Licensing Act and the stamp duty in England were the key factors in liberating the press and literature from the sponsorship of the state. This assumption aims both at attributing the newly

obtained freedom of the press to struggle of the Whig politicians (that is to say it was an elitist initiative) and that this freedom was largely an outcome of Magna Carta celebrated rights. This is what Kellner tries to refer to when he said that with the repeal of the license act:

> A range of newspapers started publication across the
> country, the open contest of ideas transformed Britain.
> It helped to propel the age of Enlightenment and the
> industrial revolution(Kellner P35)

This is a typical narrative of how political liberty was obtained through the hard work of the upper class politicians. He then declares that "these episodes support what has been called the Whig view of history''.(Kellner)

However, the point is that the proprietors of the leading newspapers were all members of parliament in the Victorian and Edwardian era and other newspapers were subsidized by party loyalists. The press at this period was not an independent watchdog on parliament but "an extension of the party system"(Seaton p6). Between 1789 and 1815, the British authorities resorted to many strategies to curb the development of free press that was independent from parliamentary forces (historically known as the radical press) through the libel persecutions and the rising of the stamp duty and taxes and the aim was to confine the readership and ownership of newspapers to the propertied and well to do classes and to keep the established order unchallenged.

In fact, the liberties and rights obtained by the working classes or the ordinary folk ((in the words of Peter Kellner) were not the outcome of Magna Carta established principles as Kellner puts it, it was not simply an extension of the rights originally designed for few people to include the rest of the people. On the contrary, these few

people have always sought to limit these rights and to oppress others in order to preserve the privileges they enjoyed at the expense of the other classes who were deprived of the least advantages. Interestingly, the history or the true history of Britain from Magna Carta to the twentieth century is a history of the struggle of the Barons and their descendents to preserve the prerogatives granted by Magna Carta against the rest of the people.

The next part will try to demonstrate (starting from the sixteenth century) some struggles that ordinary people underwent in order to better of their conditions and extend the rights granted to a minority. This part is relevant in the way that it attempts to give an alternative narrative to that of Kellner and his counterparts, that British democracy was not the outcome of a celebrated document that was not meant to include the majority. The ethos of democracy lies at the heart of the everlasting struggles of the common man.

The Ethos of British Democracy:

Between 1815 and 1830, Britain went through series of discontent and distress that mainly affected the working classes. The industrial revolution and the agricultural revolution brought about poverty and more ruthless conditions in the life of the lower strata of the British society. The enclosure policy made large numbers of small holders lost their two or three acres together with the right to use the common pasture for their animals and so they were reduced to landless laborers. The Marxist historian E.P Thompson suggested that the enclosure system was a deliberate policy by wealthy farmers to swell the reserves of cheap labor that could be called on for haymaking,

harvesting, road making, fencing and draying, in other words it was a case of class robbery (Quoted in Lowe, 1984, p. p14) .

However, other historians like J.D Chambers and G.E Mingay argued that the hardship that the small farmers and the ordinary people went through was not a side effect of the enclosure system because there were some many areas like Kent, Essex, Sussex and others which were enclosed long before 1815 and other areas like Lancashire, Cheshire and Durham had never known an open field system(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History p14). In fact, the enclosure was implemented as early as the twelfth century by some manorial lords on their own will but most of the time they did it illegally. But since this practice started to be implemented people were evicted and deprived of their lands and their livelihoods. However, by 1604 enclosure became allowed by an act of parliament and the amount of the enclosure bills amounted largely and reached its peak in the nineteenth century which in turn affected ordinary people and increased their miseries; Thomas Moore (a British historian in the Tudor period) described in his book *Utopia* the tragedy of the enclosure system:

> They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them. Those wealthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitude, for when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country resolves to enclose many thousands acres of ground, the owners as well as the tenants are turned out of their possessions by trick or by main force, or being wearied out by ill usage, they are forced to sell them(Moore 1518)

The landowners were the sole benefiters of this system and people of low property and others were the victims who had to pay the price of progress. However, people's

opposition to this policy had never stopped from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century. The peasant revolt, Jack Cade's rebellion of 1450, Kett's Rebellion of 1549, Captain Pouch revolts or the Midland revolt in which between forty to fifty people were killed (1604-1607).

This picture (figure 4) represents a scene from Shakespeare's play *Corliolanus* in which the Midlanders in the picture disguised as the Roman plebeians in order to make a parallel between the political crises that took place in Rome in 100 AD and Midlanders crisis. The plebeians in Rome revolted against the ruling class over corruption and financial abuses, the same way that Midlanders rose up against unfair grain prices and the enclosure system which led to hunger and poverty among the common men. In this play, the citizen opens up the first scene by declaring that

> The rich 'ne'er cared for us / yet: suffer us to famish, and their store-houses / crammed with grain.repeal daily any wholesome act established against the rich, and provide more piercing statutes daily to chain up and restrain the poor.(Shakespeare)

The leaders of this rebellion included Captain Pouch who was hanged and quartered. So the claims, of the two historians who were mentioned previously, that the extent of hardship has been exaggerated and that the discontent which took place between 1815 and 1830 was a side effect of the enclosure system is evidently not objective, in the sense that poverty effectively was the result of this enclosure system which reached its intense peak in this period. Additionally, resistance to this policy has always existed and the discontent of the ninetieth century was part of it.

In addition to the enclosure system, other known factors also played a role in intensifying discontent among ordinary people including the new machines in

agriculture, factories and mines which reduced the demand for labor; for instance the hand loom weavers of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire were largely forced out of business by the power loom and the remaining workers received very low wages "one set of statistics puts the average weekly wages for hand labor weavers at 21s in 1802, 14s in 1809 until it was down to 6s in 1832 '(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 15). The situation was disastrous and the cruelest thing was the long working hours and the hard conditions of working, men had to work up to 16 hours a day and children from the age of 5 could be expected to work 14 hours a day. The striking problem was the way wages were paid in some trades, the truck system was a way in which workers received part of their wages in goods or in vouchers that could only be spent at the truck shop or the Tommy shop kept by the mill or mine owner(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 16-17).

The factory workers became slaves and were treated the way the serfs were treated by landowners. This loss of freedom and the abuse of power created a common resentment among the working classes not only against factory owners but also against parliament which gave legal rights for the money makers to oppress the lower strata. E.P Thompson in his book *the Making of the Working Class* contended that:

> The working classes learned to see their own lives as part of a general history of conflict between the loosely defined industrious classes on the one hand, and the unreformed House of Commons on the other.(Thompson p712)

The unreformed House of commons further more worsened the situation through implementing series of laws that only served the interests of the upper class; the Combination Laws made groupings such as trade unions illegal, the Corn Laws made

the prices of wheat higher which was calamitous to the working people especially the unemployed and it only fitted the Tory landowners. Furthermore, the income tax was abolished in 1816 which had been introduced in 1797, but it was removed because of the pressure from wealthy industrialists, banks and landowners, thus in order to make up for the loss of the revenues of the income tax, the government increased the taxes on a wide range of goods (tea, sugar, tobacco, beer, soap and others) which dramatically worsen the conditions of the poor people at the same time that it relieved the rich from the income tax. Although the conditions that the working classes were getting through were unbearable, the government of the barons never showed any sympathy towards them. Magna Carta was still ineffective in extending the rights granted to the barons who persisted to preserve them for themselves.

In fact, rights have to be taken not granted and the people from the peasant revolt to the nineteenth century up to the twentieth century were fighting to get their legal rights through a sequence of revolutions and riots. The democratic psychology never faded away but it was always awaken especially when economic crises worsened. Some theorists believe that people are never politically aware but they just revolt for economic purposes, however this cannot be wholly true. When people trust their government and its policies, they do not usually revolt in case of economic crisis. But when they are aware that the government is corrupted, that its policies are robberies and that economic crises are an outcome of the greediness of the men who truly hold power in the country to keep the status quo unchangeable, then they rebel and fight at the expanse of their lives.

The discontent of 1815 to 1830 took the form of peaceful marches and demonstrations, it was expressed in pamphlets, speeches and petitions but it ended violently because the government refused to accept the demands or even gave an ear to levy the sufferance of the people but it acted repressively and violently. Interestingly, the remarkable manifestation of the democratic psychology in the nineteenth was strongly matched with the emergence of the radical press in Britain that aimed at giving a new vision of the world different from that presented by the establishment.

In fact, the development of the democratic consciousness is tightly matched to the development of free discourses (including the free press or the media in general) that aims at demonstrating the injustices of the established social order. There cannot be democratic consciousness without autonomous discourses and vice versa. So the first outcome of the radical press was the Luddite Riot (1811-1817),of course there are plenty of motives behind this riot and many historians assign them to the new developing machinery but according to Kevin Benfield

> The movements of the early 19th century should be viewed in the context of the hardships suffered by the working class during the Napoleonic wars rather than an absolute aversion to machinery (kevin p211)

The Marxist historian E.P Thompson believed as well that the moment was not just an economic and industrial protest movement, and that it has political aims as well. He saw it as an important step forward the political consciousness of the working classes. He also suggested that it was a revolutionary movement (Quoted in Hargreaves, september 1995, p. 18). This might be true if it had not been oppressed by the

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government. However, the riot was on a broader term a democratic uprising that aimed at parliamentary reforms and legal rights.

The second important movement to take place in this period was the Spencean movement in 1816 which was organized by the SPA field riots along with some other radicals. This movement urged for the implementation of universal suffrage, voting by secret ballot and annual elections. Some organizers were more or less extreme in their demands in that they asked for the overthrow of the monarch. Weather these demands were radical or moderate, the matter did not depend on that but the government was ready to oppress and suppress any resistance and mercilessly persecute its leaders.

The Radical discourse and its Upshot:

Interestingly, the spiritual leader of this Spencean movement was a very influential figure in England as far as democratic consciousness is concerned. Thomas Spence is rarely mentioned by historians, either because he was too radical or because he was from a very humble origin. He was one of the democratic revolutionary figures who called for the equality of ordinary men and influenced the working class by his democratic ideas. In one of his works writing while he was in prison under the charge of high treason he wrote a very inspiring poem in which he says:

> There are twenty fine schemes help up by the great,
> To deceive silly souls, d'y see?
> And render them passive for pure conscious sake,
> And mould them to fell tyranny,
> Yet for all their fine arts with their priests in their aid

Their threats and their deep policy, I'll taught them to scorn while loudly I sing,

The rights of man boys for me

This world for the poor they say never was made

For rents they must toil, and for taxes to boot

Shake off all vile slavery, and let each man sing till loud echoes ring;

The Rights of Man boys for me(Spence)

In 1793, Spence opened up a shop called "The Hive of Liberty" and he begun to write a periodical named " Pig's Meat" which was used ironically to refer to Burke's disdain for the ordinary people when he said that "Ordinary people could not be trusted with political power as they were too pig ignorant to chose wisely"(Faulkner) . Spence outrage offensively defended the ordinary man and he replied in his first edition with a revolutionary tone:

Awake! Arise! Arm yourselves with Truth

Justice, reason, lay siege to corruption

Claim as your inalienable right, universal suffrage

And annual parliament. And whenever you have

The gratification to choose a representative

Let him be from among the lower order of men

And he will know how to sympathize with you (Quoted in Faulkner, 2021)

Such strong daring words were a heritage of the democratic discourse of John Ball and reflect how democratically aware these people were, they knew exactly what belongs to them and that they have to be treated just like other rich men. Burke's depiction of

the lower class as pigs was very disappointing and it only reflects how a descendantofthe Magna Carta (even after six centuries) still exclude the ordinary men from the un alienable rights of man. In this edition, one can evidently deduce how a free periodical could give a counterpart opinion that is radically different from the established ideological discourse.

The first point that this radical discourse (the use of the term radical may sometimes have a negative connotation or impression that may be associated with violence and anarchy but in reality this discourse was radical because it challenged old established discourses that needed a radical shift) addresses is the corrupted state of parliament, politicians were not working for the interests of the majority but they were serving the interests of the few and they were oppressing the common people who dared to ask for reform.

The second point that this discourse addresses is the universal suffrage which can only be obtained when democratic consciousness is awakened. The last point is that the representative of the people must be one of them, that is to say that democracy must emanate from below, it is not something granted from above. This was a clear example of how the ideas adopted by the radical press brought a new vision and a new spirit which would later on release the working classes from the chains of intellectual and physical slavery. It was thanks to these men of humble origin, who could unite the working class, that the ethos of British democracy is celebrated today.

The political situation in England continued to be impenetrable and in 1817 the March of Blanketeers was set out from Manchester to present petitions to the Prince

Regent in London by the unemployed weavers. The latter were very organized and peaceful but the government suppressed them, arrested 200 persons and the leaders were imprisoned. The same way that they reacted with the Derbyshire Rising in 1817 in which its leaders were executed. However, the most fatal incident was the Paterloo Massacre in Manchester in 1819, when a meeting of 60.000 people including women and children was well organized to ask for reforms but it ended up by eleven deaths and 400 injured.(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 12)

Moreover, the government not only put down these uprising without actual reform, it went further and passed the legislation of the Six Acts which assumed that "every meeting for radical reform is an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against the king and his government"(Bloy).

So all these riots and resentful uprisings failed on the outside to make the government concede and make some immediate reforms. The establishment cared less about the well being of the ordinary man, its main concern was how to curb the radical movement rather than addressing the real problems or elevating the grievances of the majority. It instead wanted to maintain the status quo and preserve the interests of the wealthy landlords who made and supported the Tory government.

However, the sacrifices of the radical movements were not inconsequential; on the contrary, they were the main trigger for reform. Lord Liverpool was the prime minister of the Tories since 1812 and after the turmoil that the country went through, he started to bring into the government in 1822 some liberal elements including George Canning

as a foreign minister and as the leader of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel who became Home Secretary, F.J Robinson who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1823, and William Huskisson as a president of the board of trade. The interesting point is that these new members had more middle class backgrounds than the previous landowning Tories and they were open to moderate new ideas(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 24). Still, Liverpool was more or less ready to make some moderate reforms and relieving some of the causes of distress in order to prevent future uprisings.

The pressure from below and the new consciousness that the working classes manifested were the main cause for the government to make tiny but persistent concessions. It started with a Commons Committee of Enquiry which was set up to study the weaknesses of the legal system; for instance the Penal Code was introduced through which 200 offences were punishable by death (including the stealing of a loaf of bread) but by this code the death penalty was abolished for about 180 offences, additionally, the government stopped using spies who used to report on possible trouble-makers but public hanging continued until 1868(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 38).

In addition to this, William Huskisson was able to bring Britain to its first free trade economy which enabled the country to recover from its economic crisis. The drastic change that Huskisson and the newly imported members achieved was the repeal of the Combination of Laws in 1824 which came from Francis Place, a very famous radical who was supported in parliament by the radical Mps including Joseph Hume and Sir Francis Burdett. This was in the context of the time a very extreme liberal pace

which opened up the way for trade union organizations to make pressure on the government during the twentieth century in order to reform parliament and introduce some democratic rights. This was manifested through series of parliamentary reforms that were introduced in the early 1860s in which the New Model Unions; formed in 1850 and was composed of skilled workers along with other radicals, were able to impress the Liberal party. In 1864, William Gladstone, the Liberal leader in the House of Commons, publically announced that "every man who is not incapacitated by some considerations of personal unfitness or political danger is normally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution"(Lowe, Mastering Modern British History 109) .

There was absolutely strong opposition to this new discourse but it slowly faded away. The pressure to bring about further reforms was progressive and the government was unwillingly making further concessions (such as the great Reform Act of 1867). However, the matter in the early twentieth century and on became a matter of survival for the party system (for example the Conservative party led by Derby and Disraeli); who would gain popularity and prolong their stay in office (conservative or liberals) and who would get the credit for introducing reform bills.

To conclude, this chapter tried to show how the ethos of British democracy emanated from the sacrifices of the ordinary men but unfortunately they were misrepresented and sometimes absent from historical narrative. The way that the peasant revolt is written about is the best example of how people's revolutions are dismissed. In contrast, Magna Carta, a pact between nobles, is credited for bringing about democracy in Britain. It has been explained how resistance from the fourteenth century and earlier to the twentieth century is the main trigger for parliamentary

reforms and democratic development. Thus, the ethos of British democracy is a long history of the struggle between the ruling elite who controlled both political discourse as well as historical narrative and the common people who had nothing but a strong democratic consciousness that urged them to fight corruption and struggle for the unattainable rights of man.

Chapter 4:

The Making of Political Apathy

In a survey, the authors of " *Is Britain Facing a Crisis of Democracy", ,* maintained that Britain is not supposedly facing a crisis of democracy(J. C. Catherine Bromley). This investigation was based on a four years research in which four aspects of democratic mechanisms are investigated and it includes: patterns of participation in politics, the legitimacy of governments, the impact of constitutional reform and others. This survey assumingly denies that neither the incapacity of governments nor the role of the media is responsible for the decline of political trust as well as political disengagement. Instead it ambiguously suggests that the turnout in 2001 marked a decline in participation rates mainly because people perceived little difference between the agenda of the two main parties and thus they were less inclined to vote.

In fact, the survey assumes through these statistics that public trust and confidence in government is in a way declining and it is lower than it was since 1990. However, it gives another opinion in which people were asked whether parties are only interested in votes and whether MPs lose touch with the people once elected. The opinion poll showed that there is a rise in people who believe so but there is a shark fluctuation. The study assumes that younger generation (those aged 18-24) have more trusting in government and less inclined to believe that parties are only interested in votes.. The evidence is supposedly demonstrated in this table

% of people Who trust government always or most of the time	18-24	25-39	40-59	60-74	75+	ALL
	32	27	26	31	33	28

Source: British Social Attitudes 2001

Table 5: People who trust government by percent

First of all, it is clear that 32% is a very low percentage and it does not effectively prove that younger generations are more likely to trust governments. Secondly, people of 75+ seemed more likely to trust government as compared to those of 18-24. Again, the survey tries to prove that political participation has truly declined but this does not mean that people are apathetic about other political means including demonstrations in the streets as that of the Iraq War in 2003, protest against fuel prices in 2000 and others. This is effectively true, people are apathetic about elections and voting but this does not mean that political participation is not declining as the survey tries to show.

In fact, Demonstrations and protests are ways that express how people were unable to express their opinions through the representative government and the party system. For example, the War on Iraq (or rather attack)'s demonstrations were not evidence that people were active in other forms rather than voting. On the contrary, such demonstrations prove that people failed to express their views through representative systems, Blair acted on his own presumptions and opinion against the will of the people. Thus, the 2003's demonstrations expressed people's dissatisfaction with the representative system that failed to reflect their democratic will.

Additionally, the report claims that "non-electoral participation is an addition to, rather than a substitute for taking part in the electoral process"(J. C. Catherine Bromley 10). This means that people who engage in street demonstrations, for example, are the same people who voted or have the habit of voting. In fact, if one looks at the history of the political struggle in Britain, one can find that strikes, protests and demonstrations were all means that were used to express dissatisfaction

with the political system. It also expresses that the parliament was not representing the interests of the people as well as expressing its views. On the same token, modern citizens express their dissatisfaction with the system through direct engagement rather than the indirect system of representation.

However, the survey has pointed out unintentionally to a very interesting point. In an opinion poll taken between 1986 and 2003, it shows the following trends in political interests:

	% of people With a great deal or quite a lot of interest in politics
1986	29
1989	27
1990	29
1991	32
1994	32
1999	28
2000	33
2002	29
2003	30

Source: British Social Attitudes 2003

Table 6: Interest in politics 1986-2003

The opinion poll surprisingly shows that people who were interested in politics back in 1986 was only 29 percent, a very low percentage and it continued to fluctuate

approximately at the same level. Additionally, the survey maintains that as far as back as 1974, only 15% agreed that voting is the only mean in which people can influence what the government does. However, in 2001 the percentage was only 16 percent while the proportion of those who strongly agree that people like them have no say in government decisions is (only) eight points higher than it was in 1974 and it is no higher now that it was back in 1986(J. C. Catherine Bromley 11). Consequently, what one concludes, from these opinion polls, is that people have long ago distrusted politics and the representative system and the problem of decline in political participations are old problems that have their roots early on and it is intertwined with the democratic representative system and party politics.

Thus the aim of this chapter is to try to prove that political distrust, disengagement, and apathy are not modern crisis of democracy or rather representative democracy; these problems had long existed. Shedding light on the history of party politics in Britain will show how this system created a culture of distrust and political disengagement. Additionally, through shedding light on the history of the radical press in Britain and how it was curbed, this chapter will attempt to show how the mass media, particularly press also contributed in creating this culture. The two elements are strongly intertwined because party politics heavily rely on media campaigns to manufacture consent.

However, this chapter is not going to deal only with the mass media but also with social media mainly face book. The recent scandal of the so called Cambridge Analytica is another proof of how power holders use modern social media to affect

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people's vote behavior. This organization is accused of manipulating people in the Brexit election in order to vote for an opt-out which evidently worked.

Thus, the aim of this chapter is to answer the following questions: what makes people distrust politicians and political parties in general? Why have people always distrusted the representative government? The first part will attempt to trace back one of the factors that contributed in creating the culture of distrust, the party system but before going further one needs to know what is a party? Stephen Ingle defines it as follows:

> Parties are principally groups of people organized to wield or influence political power through agreed constitutional means in the name of some organized opinion or ideology which binds them together and which distinguished them from other groups(Ingle 5)

What interests us is that these groups are bound by some organized opinion or ideology. True, on the outside one sees different parties with different perspectives but; as this part of the chapter will attempt to prove, parties in Britain have always been a catch all party and responsive to circumstances. That is to say, a party in particular situation would react the same way as his adversary and sometimes would adopt the same policies. Can this be called pragmatism? If so, one party would be fair enough to represent different opinions according to circumstances without the need to have two parties. Accordingly, the first part will try to demonstrate the role played by party politics in nurturing the decline of trust.

The second part will try to deal with the press in Britain. Historically speaking, the radical press in Britain was one of the main factor in prompting political activism and democratic awareness but the commercialization of the latter the citizen becomes more

and more treated as a consumer of ideas and products. Thus, the press and the media in general was depoliticized in a way that is making people passive.

After all, the aim in investigate whether this culture of distrust and apathy are intentionally and systematically created for political proposes or is it just an outcome of the previously mentioned factures. In the light of new data, the social media can be blamed for controlling behaviors, opinions and consequently elections turnouts (as it will be demonstrated). More than that, it can even make people choose not to vote.

All in all, the main purpose is to show how the elitist discourse (it existed from the eighteenth century) which maintains that ordinary people are naturally politically ignorant and that democracy is an inefficient system except if public opinion is manipulated. The ethos of British democracy has a long history but unlike what history books tell about the struggle of few parliamentary politicians of aristocratic background to introduce reforms, the narrative represented here aims to show how people of lower strata are the initiators of democratic change. Crucially, the moment that these groups had created their own party; which was supposedly meant to represent their own interests, it was at this moment that their trust in political representation and democratic ideals started to decline. The aim thus is to understand why people had long struggled to obtain their right to vote and be able to represent their views in parliament but when they attained it they partially abandoned the struggle.

Party politics

Political parties in Britain were in the early times composed of the leading figures who had their own groups of supporters and who were most of the time hostile to each other. However, these groups were loosely united factions and they sometimes vote according to their own opinions rather than in accordance to the group mind. It is historically known that the terms Tories and Whigs came from an old division in parliament during the reign of Charles II (1660 -1685). The Tories were actually the MPs with Charles' brother James who wanted to succeed his brother to the throne while the Whigs refused that on the ground that James was a Roman Catholic. From this early dispute, these two groups started to construct distinguished political views from each other.

Still, divisions were apparent in each group and sometimes members from one group might side with the opposite group. This was mainly because both groups were wealthy aristocrats and they had the same intellectual and financial background, therefore they only disagreed on how they should manage politics for their best interests. They additionally had no specific differences or distinct agenda and expressed few different views about governmental policies but to some extent they had some opposed views to disagree on.

On the one hand, the Whigs preferred to support a reduction in crown patronage, they had considerable sympathy visa vis non-conformists such as the Methodists, they also expressed very limited inclination to defend the interests of the bankers and wealthy merchants, and they also expressed quite reluctant tendency to reform the

voting system(Lowe, Modern British History 12). On the other hand, the Tories were exceptionally conservative, in the political sphere they wanted to preserve the privileges of the monarch and they opposed any kind of parliamentary reforms whereas religiously they were not tolerant with the non-conformists. Nevertheless, in each group, members shared the same opinions as other members of the other group, for instance, in the Tories there were many members who were progressive or were keen to some extent to introduce reforms like George Canning, Robert Peel and others who had the same views with some radical members of the Whigs like Sir Francis Burdett and others.(Lowe, Modern British History 14)

Interestingly, this loose and ambiguous parliamentary division between these two groups (in terms of political views) remains substantially at the heart of party system in Britain. However, the reality of the two opposed pressure groups; which held superficially antagonistic policies, is always promoted as part of the political game. After the discontent of 1815 (discussed in chapter three) the government was obliged to make some limited parliamentary reforms in order to relieve the distress of the middle class. This was not virtually a sympathetic initiation but it was rather a haunting fear of a likely repeated French scenario of 1789.

Arguably, these reforms were not represented (as might be expected) by the Whigs (who had many progressive elements) but were introduced by the Tories like Robert Peel, William Huskisson (generally known as the Liberal Toryism). The newly introduced reforms were not an act of philanthropists but were the outcome of people's resoluteness to change their apathetic conditions through strikes and demonstrations. The Factory Act (1819), the Abolition of the Whipping of women (1820) and other

reforms were introduced as a result of the pressure the working men and women (as well as children at a very young age) exercised against the government.

Remarkably, the working class' pressure outside parliament was very effective in making the government succumb to some extent to their demands, an effective political commitment (that had significant impacts on the course of the political history and governmental policies in Britain) on the part of the working class that would rarely be felt in the later centuries (with the development of organisations and parties that supposedly represent the interests of this class).

Progressively, by 1822 free trade was introduced when the Tory Huskisson accepted the demands of the merchants of London and other cities who petitioned the government for free trade and the abolition or at least the reduction of trade duties. At this period (1827-1830), the Tories were disintegrating, Lord George Canning became the Prime Minister but many of his ministers resigned and he was obliged to bring some Whig ministers to make up the government (first evidence that party alliances are so loose).

Nevertheless, there were other outbreaks of violence all over England in 1830 but this time the Whigs were ready to support parliamentary reforms because they were afraid of a possible revolution and the Liberal Tories agreed to these reforms. At this period of distress, there was a united government made up of the Whigs, the radicals and the Canningite group (who were a faction of the Tories led by George Canning and who favoured free trade and Catholic emancipation). It is important to note that the reforms introduced by the Tories or at least with their approval raised many

questions. On the one hand, some historians such as PerekBeals believed that the Tories were against reform before 1822 but, because of the changing political climate (including the high pressure from the working class for reforms and the propagation of Liberalism among some MPs(Goodlad). On the other hand, other historians, such as J.E Cookson and Norman Gash, suggested that the Tories were not against reforms before 1822 but they were just cautious (33). Others disagreed about the motives behind the reforms; one party believed that reforms such as the Corn Laws, abolition of the Income Tax only served the interests of the ruling class and the wealthy landowners. However, Boyed Hilton (1977) argued that:

> They acted through disinterested motives, they wanted to secure food supplies and full employment and therefore supported agriculture because it seemed the most promising area of expansion and in 1820 they begun to favour agricultural reforms (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 33)

That is to say, that the Tories acted pragmatically on the needs of the time so that it could not be blamed for distress or an economic crisis, and in order to preserve law and order. Additionally, Jonathan Parry (1996) suggested that the liberal Tories, with the introduction of these reforms, must be credited for laying the foundations of the later ninetieth century liberal party. (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 34)Accordingly, it is neither right to say that the Tories were not reactionary before 1822 nor to say that they have pursued policies that only benefited the wealthy aristocratic landowners.

One can say that the Tories (like the succeeding governments that would come after it) were reactionary; they needed to meet the pressure and the distress as well as to keep peace by making the least concessions it could afford that would meet the needs of the time. These reforms were humbly liberal like the Factory Act of 1819

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(introduced before 1822) that forbade the employment of children fewer than nine in the mills and it also limited the working hours of 9-16 years old to twelve hours a day.

However, the two groups leading the government before 1822 were also aggressive (they would react successively in the same way) when it refused to the demands of the working class. It was only thanks to the recovery in exports that helped in raising employment and a series of good harvests that lowered the prices of bread. These economic recoveries helped to settle down the agitations of 1820 which must be considered as one of the first experiences of the party or rather two party system in Britain, any government (whether Tory or Whig) would be sometimes reactionary and aggressive in some situations, that is to say, the government (of any sort or under any agenda) would react the same way that their opponent would respond to particular situations.

Therefore, one can assume that parties (who supposedly represent the interests of particular groups) are illusions or a political game that gives a democratic fantasy as it will be demonstrated through examples. Actually, Stephen Ingle in his book *the British Party System* exemplified when he refers to the political philosopher Rousseau. The latter considered the party system does not reflect how democratic a state is but it is just a symbol of a failed democracy, simply because they do not represent the will of the people but rather they represented fractions. (Ingle 5)

Evidently, both the Tories and the Whigs, though they seemingly were hostile to each other, shared some common views about the necessity of reforms, new policies and the extent to which the government must be reactionary. Thus, whether it was a Tory or a

Whig government, at a time of discontent, one would track the same pattern of reactions. In short, any government is reactionary and this will be further proven by evidence. For instance in 1830, the Whigs held power and there was a slump in the economy which agitated people who went through Swing Riots across the Midland and South of England. The new government acted violently against the farm labourers by setting up special courts to curb them; 2,000 offenders were tried, 19 were hanged, 600 sent to jail and 500 were transported to Australia(Lowe, Modern British History 52). All these measures were taken in order to preserve peace and to prevent any revolution.

Despite these harsh measures, other strikes broke out in the North of England by the cotton spinners and others who urged the government for making reforms and in 1832 the Great Reform Act was effectively introduced. Indeed, the government was reactionary as the historian Douglas Hurd (who was a British Conservative Party politician maintains:

> The pressure from the public were by now (1832) overwhelming.
> Britain was nearer to a violent outburst of popular feeling.
> Meetings, processions and petitions were organised across the
> nation, factories and shops closed and citizens declared they would
> withhold taxes(Hurd 436)

The Whig government was reactionary to these events because of the resistance of the middle Class as well as the working class. It was obliged to introduce the Great Reform Act which did not change much (no secret ballot, parliament stayed 7years...) and was very disappointing to the working class as G. M Brock (1973) commented:"After the Reform Act, much the same men continued to run much the same system"(p 411). Although the Whigs had so many liberal elements and were less

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conservative than the Tories, they could not introduce more liberal reforms. Either because they were not willing to succumb to the demands of the poor or they were not allowed because of the restrictions of the parliamentary majority vote (many MPs from both groups did not support radical reform).

Consequently, the working class was able to unite nationally and embrace the Chartist Movement (1838/1847) to ask for radical democratic reforms and parliamentary change. The Chartists were founded by different protest groups across the country and they were very aware of the democratic procedures that the country must convert to, they asked for six main demands which were: voting by secret ballot, universal male suffrage, equal electoral district, and payment for MPs, annual elections and no property qualification for parliamentary candidates.

Though these demands were virtually legal and highly legitimate, they were bluntly refused. Chartism failed to realize the dreams of the working classes but it succeeded in expressing the democratic ethos and paved the way for these demands to be realized in the near future. The historian, Boyd Hilton, argues that the chartist movement created a tradition of a working class organisations and institutions and it also helped to transform the Whigs into a more radical Liberal party. Hilton argues too that the Chartist, in one sense, can be seen as the forerunner of the Labour party. (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 337)

By 1884 the manhood suffrage was achieved, secret ballot was also implemented in 1872 and the abolition of the property qualification was abolished in 1858. These reforms were implemented as outcome of the efforts of the Chartists; who as a non-

parliamentary party organization, succeeded in the long term to exercise pressure and unite the working class in a way that a parliamentary party group failed to realize.

To return to the main argument, party illusion continued to play significant role, especially with the Conservative party of 1846 – 1849, led by Prime Minister Robert Peel. In his government, the conservatives produced what is called the Tamworth Manifesto in which the party's principles were set including the readiness of the party to accept moderate reforms whenever necessary but at the same time it would preserve the system as it is (Monarchy, aristocracy and the Anglican Church). This new system was a midway between the old Tories and the Radicals (a catch all system).

However, this government was experiencing tensions between its members on the Corn Law (between those who wanted to repeal it and those who wanted to keep it). Robert Peel in the end was able to pass the Repeal Bill in 1846. In this context the historian Douglas Hind contended that Peel "believed that the institutions of his country were best protected not by resisting change but by measuring it to the needs of the moment" (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 340) clearly then, policies are subject to the needs of the moment rather than the beliefs of a particular party.

Later on in 1847, the Conservative party was split between the Peelites and the Protectionists (those who wanted to preserve the Corn Laws) which made Lord John Russell (the Whig leader) form a government with the Peelites and they subsequently won the election with 325 seats. This newly formed party represented the Liberals who had as slogan "Liberty, retrenchment and reform". They also pioneered the principles of laissez fair in which the government must not interfere much in business and the

economy, in general, while it must only make progress and introduce reforms in order to remove obstacles facing trade.

Another party dichotomy proved how party alliances are so loose, in 1847 the radicals (who were one of the main groups in the newly formed liberal party) opposed the Fielden's Factory Bills which aimed at reducing the working hours of women and children to ten hours a day, believing that this bill would violate the mechanism of laissez faire. Ironically, the Conservative Protectionists (high Tories) voted for the Bill (although it was a tactic to weaken their opponents) which further proves the contradictions of the party system that would persist through the history of British political system. It is important to note that with the principles of laissez faire, the government was not expected to elevate the suffering of the poor or the majority of people because they were expected to rely on themselves to improve their conditions (what is called Self-help virtue).

However, by the time that the conditions were no more endurable, the political economists started to urge the government to tame the harsh excess of Capitalism. Interestingly, the process of introducing reforms were very slow because of major opposition from industrialist, still, the ruling classes, under different governments (whether conservatives or Liberal), succeeded in making compromises and introduced reforms, such as, the Factory Act (1850), the Coal Mines, Regulation Act(1872), the Public Health Act (1875), the Housing of the working classes Acts (1890), the Forster's Education Act of 1870, the Balfour Education Act of 1902and the Fee Grant Act of 1891.

Ironically, all these reforms and improvements, in the life of the working classes, (though they were not yet enough nor truly democratic) were introduced alternatively by both the Whigs and the Tories. This again proves that the government was reactionary and it only adapted to the needs of the time whatever its political views were, as long as its interests are not harmed to a great extent.

What is more is when politicians shift their alliance from one party to the other and many examples can be given in this context. William Gladstone, who was the leader and Prime Minister of the Liberal party in 1868, was a Tory and he was against many reforms that the Whigs introduced. However, when his party was divided between the Peelites and the Protectionists over the Corn Laws, he became a Peelite and then joined the Liberal Party (the previously Whig party) in 1859. He thus became the Prime Minister of the Liberal government and he was obliged to introduce reforms (that he previously was against) because of the needs of the time. He, for example, introduced the Trade Union reform (1871), the Public Health Act of 1872 and the Ballot Act in the same year which made voting secret and the Licensing Act of 1872. Gladstone also wanted to abolish the income tax but many of the industrialist, the ruling class typically the House of Lords were against granting more liberal reforms.

Benjamin Disraeli was also another controversial figure who came from very humble background but he became the leader of the Conservative Party between 1878 and 1880. He was known for his philosophy of New Conservatism (or as controversially known as the Tory Democracy) in which he was keen to introduce virtual reforms in the interest of the poor. He believed that it was the duty of the government to help the majority of people,especially the poor, who were living in hard

conditions. Benjamin also considered that Britain was divided between the rich and the poor and that it was time to unite this divided nation (the concept of one nation). He proposed that the wealthy classes should cooperate with the working class in order to make Britain enjoy powerful and prestigious position in the world (he was an imperialist who supported expansionism and imperial competition). Though the motives behind the reforms he introduced are controversial, but, on the whole, as Paul Smith contended

> The reforms that were introduced were piecemeal responses to particular problems that happened to come to prominence in the first half of his ministry. The 1876 Merchant Shipping Act for example reached the statute book thanks to a campaign by the Liberal MP Samuel Plimsoll (Quted inAngus Hawkins, December 10, 2020)

Therefore, Disraeli's reforms and policies prove that he also acted on the necessities of the time and he was more or less reactionary especially that he was a conservative but still he held strong beliefs in the government's duty to help the poor. It was the duty of the government to build strong and healthy manpower which would be used to defend the imperial ambitions of the country.

In addition to Disraeli, the Liberal leader Joseph Chamberlain (1820-1885) who was eager to introduce social reforms and then he became a liberal unionist, he publically declared in one of his speeches that

> I care little for the party except to promote the objects which I publically avowed when I first entered parliament. In this rich country, an honest, decent an industrious man should be able to earn a livelihood for himself and his family, and should be able to lay aside something for sickness and old age. Is that Reasonable? Is that impossible? (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 285)

Chamberlain admittedly declared that party alliances are not as important as one's personal beliefs and individual endorsement. Still, he was ahead in introducing social reforms that would later become called welfare policies, these reforms included: The Corrupt Practices Act (1883) which aimed at fighting bribery and intimidation of voters, the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1884and the Redistribution of Seats Act 1885. These reforms were revolutionary but they precipitated division between parties; for instance the Liberal party was divided between the radicals who were leftists and the right who were the Whigs (represented mainly by Gladstone).

At the same time, the Conservative Party was also divided, Lord Randolph Churchill(1886) was a Tory democrat and he supported reform and modernization of parliament in order to improve the conditions of the working class. However, he was opposed by his Prime Minister Salisbury who wanted to limit social reforms.

Therefore, all these controversies in the party system (especially that a party can be divided between right and left and at the same time the opposite party is also divided between right and left) rises many questions. Additionally, there were strong elements from outside parliament especially those initiated by the working class, of course no one can know the true motives of the leaders of these organizations notably those from the middle and upper classes (whether they wanted to help the poor working class for humanitarian reasons or they just wanted to win their support to win elections).

The same successive story went on with the introduction of the democratic right of voting but as said earlier much of the same men continued to run much the same system. Nothing virtually changed, the two party system except that the Liberal party

that was overtaken by the Labor Party (in a way to show the new popular presence in parliament). The Conservative and the leading elite through the British political history continued to dominate parliament whether before or after the extension of the right to vote.

Moreover, the decline of the Liberal party (which raises strong debates among historians) was not an outcome of the party's failure to win support or appeal to the working classes, on the contrary; the Welfare state which the Labor party took the lead in introducing was nothing less than the accumulations of the reforms previously introduced by the Liberals (as well as the conservative),so the fading of the liberals was just a necessary step to react to the new political environment and it was as reactionary as any governmental policies to preserve peace and manipulate the public opinion.

How Far was the Labor Party Faithful to its Origin?

In the Nineteenth century and with changes that the Industrial Revolution brought, many skilled tradesmen felt obliged to work together in order to protect and defend themselves against the abuses of industrialist class but these associations were represented in the press by the ruling class either as a threat as their emergence coincided with the French Revolution which gave a revolutionary impression as well as a kind of alien menace to the Law and Order established by the elites. However, the unskilled workers were not recognized by 1876, like the old Trade unions, they were unprotected and disunited, especially during the depressions that the country went through in the late nineteen century.

Subsequently, the unskilled workers formed the New Unionism 1888 (which included semi-skilled and unskilled workers unlike the old trade union which entailed only skilled workers) which successfully conducted the London Dockers' strike in 1889 in which they asked for a minimum wage and other demands. These movements along with some socialist associations were the spiritual motivation for the creation of the Labor Party. The trade unions come to the conclusion that it was only through having a representative body in parliament that they could be protected by law (though only ten unions affiliated themselves to the Labor party out of 1,300 unions(Lowe, 354). The moment that history proved to them that acting outside parliament through direct action was much effective because the same party that they themselves inspired and some of them joined would come to misrepresent their interests just like any other conservative government.

Evidently, just few years after the formation of the Labour party, Ramsey McDonald (who would become the first Labour Prime Minister in 1924) had declared in 1911 that the party was not socialist but was a federation organized for an immediate political work(Lowe, Modern British History 356) 356. This was, of course, ambiguous and apparently from the beginning of its formation, the conservative and the leading elite wanted to distance this new party from trade unionism, especially with the Osborne Judgment of 1909 which tried to ruin the Labour party and to make the levy or the donations those unions' members gave illegal.

Additionally, McDonald was from the beginning a politician who only wanted to win elections and tame the socialist group in the party, he went as far as to proclaim a state of emergency and allowed the use of armed Lorries for moving essential supplies

against the London Transport workers in 1924(Lowe, Modern British History 465). He also did not give the left a fair representation in his Cabinet and in 1931 he cut the unemployment benefit and sided with the Bank, "it was not long before the left decided that MacDonald himself was really no socialist"(Lowe, Modern British History 465)

The historian, Martin Pugh, argues that "before the first world war, it was difficult for Labour to project itself as a party radically different from the liberals, except by advertising socialism"(Lowe, Modern British History 357),that is to say, socialism was only used to gain popularity and support from the working classes. Additionally, it was apparently clear that the hard right along in the House of Lords would be able later on to tame the socialist wing in the labour party and conceivably convert it to the free market economy (that considered the working classes' demands for reform as a burden on the government, as well as, conceiving trade unionism as a threat to Law and Order).

Most importantly, Brahim Mansouri in his thesisentitled*OLD LABOUR, NEW LABOUR: The Rhetoric of Party Obsolescenc*etried to show that the New Labor Party was a catch all party; a tradition to adapt the party to the different environments and political circumstances in order to remain in power or at least to remain the main opposition party. He additionally maintained that early on in 1917, it had become clear that many union members were losing confidence in their official leaders (106) and that after the election of 1924, the trade union leader W.J Brown, at the TUC conference, was convinced that even if the Labour party had had a majority, there would be permanent difference between the government, on the one hand, and the

trade union, on the other hand. (p118) Consequently, Dr Brahim Mansouri concluded that: "It became clearer that the trade unions and Labor party relationship had by then a major blow and perhaps there were more fictions to come. For the objectives of one could not always meet the goals of the other". (120).

Effectively, the Labour party became detached from his origin and became a national party which is subject to many restrictions. But this early detachment between a party that was supposed to represent a large part of the society and its unionist roots had clearly contributed to create a culture of distrust that the representative system failed to prevent (p118). Dr Mansouri added that the unions have sectional interests while the Labour party is a national party, with wider interests.Butcan we say that a national political party like the Labour party is a representative of minority interests if the unions were really a minority?

In fact, the fragmentation of party traditional supporters and the shift in political allegiance were the first symptoms of a decline in party loyalty and political trust. The detachment between Labour and trade unions were also the first signs of a system that failed to represent the interests of the poor. This was actually not only a situation that was only associated with the Labors but it was growing against all parties:

> Voters questioned the pattern of governance more openly. Increasingly, they found faults with both parties and become gradually less identified with their leaders or policies. As a result, the share of the voters who called themselves as strong or very strong supporters dropped for both the Tories and the Labour(James 154-155)

Evidently, each party failed to deliver political promises that would distinguish them from the other party. Once they hold power they act and adapt to political circumstances just like the opposite party would have reacted if it had held power.

Actually, through all British history, the debate between the ruling classes was never about how democratic the country is or how much people are satisfied or truly represented by the system. The debate was much more between two groups, those who wanted state intervention to help the masses and those who believed in laissez fair with all its ruthless aspects and effects on the working class. On the one hand, Individualism, in the words of Samuel Smiles in his book, *Self Help*, and his opining sentence"Heaven helps them those who help themselves" that every working man should strive in times of prosperity and good wages to save something and accumulate a fund in case of bad times"(Fraser 108)but the fact was that the working classes were at the level of starving, they could merely manage to have a provision of food for one day. The new poor law system was the best example of how harsh this philosophy was on the lower strata of the society, the workhouses were made as much miserable as possible in order to make them less attractive for the poor and in that way the poor would be less if not very much reluctant to rely on the state.

In this context Samuel Smiles added "Whatever is done for men takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing it by themselves"(Fraser 108)which means that the government should never interfere to help the poor economically nor defend the rights of the working classes because if it did so, it would render them helpless and dependent. Through this philosophy, trade unionists were considered as a threat

because they distract the mechanism of free trade and free market, especially that they urged for democratic reforms.

On the other hand, Collectivism urged for state intervention to help the working class, especially during great depressions and high unemployment rates. What trade unions were urging for was only fair wages, equal opportunity for workers to defend their rights and freedom from poverty and unemployment (that would only be realized through democratic equality). Accordingly, some elements in the government started to find those arguments reasonable enough to deserve legal support and the Boer War for example (1899-1902) proved to them that the working men who volunteered for the war were physically very weak and unable to join the troops. Those imperialist ministers (like Disraeli) were among the ones who supported some forms of collectivism in order to preserve the prestigious image the British Empire enjoyed during this period but other reasons helped to trigger this philosophy. Especially that the wealthy people represented only 5% of the population and owned 80% of the nation's wealth(Lowe, Modern British History 615), this was clear evidence that the system, up to the twentieth century,was dominated by aristocratic representatives who served their interests at the expanse of the working classes.

Nevertheless, by 1902 under the conservative government, Arthur Belfour started reforms including the Unemployed Workman Act (1905) and he organized a Royal Commission on the Poor Laws which caused much debates. The division and opposition to the Poor laws proved that the system was only divided between those who wanted to share some of their wealth with the poor and those who did not, the government spending on social benefits would automatically mean that the wealthy

must adhere to some compromises and give a small portion of their wealth to the poor in order to constitute an fair society.

Interestingly, from 1906 to 1914 the Liberals continued to introduce some major reforms, the aim was not exactly to democratize the nation as much as to help the working classes. However, by that time, the Liberal government began to perceive these reforms not as a charitable or philanthropic act on the part of their part, but as its duty and as an entitled right. Lloyd George and Churchill,who headed the Liberal governments, introduced the following reforms (though they would become conservatives later on): the Trade Dispute Act (1906) which gave much power to the unions, they also took measures to help children including free school meals for the needy children, introducing medical inspection in schools with free medical treatment, financing secondary schools to make working class children able to study there, old age pensions was also introduced, a maximum eight-hour working day for miners and above all the National Insurance Act (1911) and other important reforms.

Evidently, these Liberal reforms must be considered as the first stones of the welfare state with less opposition from the Conservative party (who wanted to avert socialism). Many historians and political theorists Like Joseph Grimond (a British politician) believed that the Liberal party had established the most basic essentials and preconditions of the Welfare State but others such as Donald Read (a British historian and a professor of modern British history) believed that although the Liberals were the first initiators of a new philosophy and that they fostered collectivism but they only established a social service state (in which minimum standards are provided) rather

than a welfare state (in which the best possible services are provided by the state) (Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 379)

Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that what the Liberals did (sometimes against their own convictions since they were obliged to react to the social problems) was not revolutionary as much it was evolutionary (the conservatives had already started some very limited reforms). The government's reforms (whether introduced by the Liberals or Conservatives) would evolve and end up by a welfare state under the Labor party (after 1945). The Poor Laws was nonetheless abolished by a Conservative government in 1930 and other major reforms were introduced before the Welfare State. Thus, if the Liberals had continued to exist, they would have introduced the Welfare State themselves with some collaboration with the Conservatives, simply because the post war climate and its new political and economic environment imposed; strong radical reforms would have obliged any government to react to prevent a revolution. The party system and the representative parliament are consequently illusive because the elites or the establishment would react whenever necessary under whatever party, especially with the unavoidable restrictions on the party system (First Past the Post, majority vote and the House of Lords).

The Contradictions of the House of Lords

Another important point with the party system in England was the House of Lords. It is very debatable to speak about voting, election, party competition (mainly a two party system, the conservative versus the Liberals/ Labour) while having a large majority of a whole House, who most of the time (if not always) supports the

Conservatives. This was the main reason why the Conservatives were (still are) more dominant on the political scene than any other party.

In fact, the liberal government of 1906 was the first to question the authority of the House of Lords. Parties in Britain (except the Conservatives) faced two main obstacles when they are in power: even with a majority, they find opposition from the House of Lords when they want to pass bills (especially social reforms) or they win with a minority and they cannot implement much of their intended reforms because they will not obtain a majority support.For example, in 1909 whenLloyd George wanted to introduce the budget (in which he wanted to raise taxes on the wealthy) the whole budget was rejected by the House of Lords and it was attacked as a socialist agenda.

Though the Lords were not traditionally supposed to interfere with the finance bills, their objection to the budget created a constitutional crisis which was not solved until 1911 when parliament was dissolved and the Liberals lost over 100 seats but it was able to pass the Parliament Act (1911) that limited the power of the Lords to some extent. So although the Liberals made such a democratic step in the history of British political system, but they soon declined as a party of government. This incident raises many questions about the electoral system in Britain, about the criteria of winning elections and who really rules the nation and manipulate public opinion?

Politically speaking, a party gains the support of the electorate and wins elections when its manifesto appeals to a large section of the electorate, if it truly represents the interests of the community (especially in the case of the liberal party with the reforms it introduced namely their case with the House of Lords) but in Britain the case is not

the same. There is an overwhelming dominance of the conservatives, although the Labour party (and the Liberals before) has won many general elections with some major reforms but their support has slowly declined. This dichotomy either proves that the electorate never trusts the party in power even when the party is supposed to represent the masses. Or the electoral system in Britain favors (especially with the first pass the post vote) the conservative because they are financially powerful.

Norman Lowe in *Modern British History* found that the conservative have always relied on the support of the majority of the upper classes, people of wealth and property who believe that the conservatives are the only party who would safeguard their interests. They have everything in their hands, financial resources, influence and the support of the press in order to be always at the forefront. Additionally, the conservatives were always ready to adapt to the new circumstance, he said:

> Its basic principles were quite vague, provided the existing capitalist power structure was preserved, so that political power was kept in the hands of the wealthy, property owning class, the conservatives were prepared to introduce important reforms(Lowe, Modern British History 476)

So as far as the capitalist system is preserved, the conservatives are ready to make some concessions in order to protect the country from socialism as well as protect their interests.

Moreover, The Post War Consensus (1945-1979) was another controversy in which both parties failed to represent a distinguished party agenda. The conservative and labour policies were supposedly very close to each other, especially when the Labor

party wanted to introduce, in 1969, 'In place of Strife' in which they wanted to reduce the power of the Trade unions ; whether the decision to curb the power of the unions in order to abate anarchist strikes was right or wrong, it should not have been introduced by Labors against their own supporters. If it had been that inevitable, the Conservative would have passed it. This decision led to confusion about the significance of the party politics, a party would react against his own supporters (no one can deny that the TUC and even some Labors protested against the White Paper) the same way that the adversary party would react. David Marquand in 1992 in his book *The Progressive Dilemma* described the Wilson years as an era of lost innocence, of hopes betrayed.(Quoted in Lowe, 2009, p. 475). With all these controversies with the representative system, people started to lose their trust in this system.

The Thatcher Legacy on the electorate :

With the rise of Thatcher, the Conservative party showed its real face by returning to economic liberalism in which the market forces control the economy (that Victorian liberalism was known for). This time Thatcher did not care about unemployment; because she had created conditions in which the workers would be thankful for having a job (whatever the wage was). It was an age of the survival of the fittest in which only those people and companies who were competitive would survive. This was urged by the policy of Monetarism in which the money supply was controlled via the Bank of England through high rates of interests. It was thus not the responsibility of the governments to neither provide employment nor lend give loans to firms and individuals.

Additionally, Thatcherism was based on individualism and self-help (two materialist concepts) in which the state was not expected to care for the sick or the old people. It was their duty to save money or provision for hard times. Furthermore, the character of Thatcher was despotic and authoritarian; anyone who defended or spoke for the rights of the poor was accused of socialism (such as the Anglican bishops) and she removed all who criticized her in the party (such as Michael Heseltine and Sir Ian Gilmour). Thatcher considered the Trade Unions as an enemy that should not have a say in the government because they represented socialism. When the National Union of Miners voted for a national strike (because 20,000 jobs were expected to be lost as the National Coal Board announced of 21 uneconomic pits), Thatcher accused them of fighting democracy and outlaws. The regulations imposed on the trade unions or people who wanted to defend the rights of the unemployed or the bad conditions were so tight that many of them lost hope in active engagement and political struggle. This was so drastic to democracy, people started to lose their faith and trust in the government. Democracy is based on equality, freedom of opinion, and active participation but all these principles were deprived.

Moreover, the de-industrialization process that Thatcher promoted made Britain lose up to 25 percent of its manufacturing industry in which entire communities were left without employment, these measures consequently led to a balance of payment defect.(Lowe, Modern British History 747) The gap between the poor and the rich widened; the income tax reductions benefited the rich more than the poor. Joseph Rowntree Foundation concluded that between 1979 and 1991 the incomes of the top 10 percent rose by more than fifty percent while the real incomes of the bottom sixth

actually fell(Lowe, Modern British History 747). In addition, in order to maximizes profits, managers started to employ part time workers who usually are not protected by law; they can be paid at a very low wage and can be fired at any time. Thatcherism also gave a significant power to the City of London, as well as, the banking system which were given power to regulate their own affairs. Furthermore, some historians argued that Thatcher aim was not only to destroy socialism and with it the dream of the equality of wealth but also to destroy the Labor party (and its ties with the Trade Unions); the supposedly representative body of the working classes.

Significantly, it is not the scope of this work to delineate the achievements of Thatcher but to show how she was able to change the psychology of the electorate to vote for the conservatives and to leave a legacy into which the worldview must only be seen through a conservative angle. This was feasible because she was successful in imposing her ideology and knowing how to attack her enemy both by using propaganda and elitist discourse. All those who expressed disquiet with the unfairness of the system and defended the rights of the working class were accused of socialism. Socialism became the religion of the enemy and must be curbed. Psychologically speaking, socialism (and its supporter trade unionists as well the Labors) in the mind of the people became associated (in their imagination) with anti-democratization, anti-government and above all as a threat.

The New Labor party carried Thatcherism ahead as a way to appeal to the electorate especially that Thatcher and her policies were backed by the giant international media corporations (especially those owned by Robert Murdock and Conrad Black). She was able to change the economic circumstances that forced the New Labor to adapt to it

(for example more than fourteen major companies were privatized, a step that was difficult to retrieve).

How the Radical Press nurtured Democracy?

 Many people question the significance of the radical press in the history of British democracy and disdain the relationship between the radical press and democracy. In fact, the radical press in Britain helped to create a common consciousness and the democratic ethos among the working class. However, early on, the government failed to curb this class conscious press (especially with the stamp duty) by using all means; fines, prosecutions and imprisonment. In 1836, the left wing*Weakly Police Gazette* had a circulation of over 40,000 and in 1838 the *Northern Star* gained the largest circulation in that year(Seaton 20). This large circulation clearly indicates the growing consciousness among the working class which consequently helped to trigger organizations and movements such as Chartism and Trade Unionism.

Today, many political theorists speak about apathy, political disengagement and distrust; distrust has always existed in Britain but as discussed earlier each time a government introduced reforms, it failed to gain the trust of the electorate and the evidence is each time there was a crisis in the economy; people react through strikes and demonstrations against the government. This indicates that distrust in politicians has always existed in Britain especially before the decline of the radical press. The most remarkable point about this press is that it was free from advertisement and commercial proprietors which helped to insure its autonomy from elitist discourse. The

radical press was based on news reports that were prepared voluntarily by readers themselves and many of these papers were owned by trade union journalists who:

> Unlike the institutionalized journalists of the later period, they intended to see themselves as activists rather than as professionals…….. Many of them were also political organizers for the National Union of the working classes or the Chartist movement. They sought to describe and expose the dynamics of power and inequality rather than to report hard news as a series of disconnected events.(Seaton 25)

So these journalists (though they are found today but they are restricted from reporting the whole picture) considered themselves as representing the interests of the working class, as activists who wanted to make the working class active and politically aware, especially about their rights. They were free to expose the injustices of capitalism, of the concentration of wealth in the hands of the very few. The radical press "deepened and extended radical consciousness, helping to build support for the working class movement"(Seaton 13). The significance of the radical press in the ninetieth century was its large geographical distribution and that it succeeded to maintain a nationwide circulation.

Consequently, it helped to unite the voice of the working class, to represent the suffering of one group as a suffering of the whole population of the lower strata. It helped to create a strong solidarity between them by representing the misery and hardship of a small constituency to the entirenation; by showing that they had common objectives and that they were the victims of the same system such as long working hours, wage reductions and bad conditions of working. The Chartists leader Feargus O'Connor described the radical press as "the link that binds the industrious classes

together and he added that before the emergence of the chartist movement "I found that the press, while I was working myself to death and that a meeting in one town did nothing for another' (Quoted in Seaton, 2003, p. 13) which means that the radical press helped to promote national meetings which fostered the emergence of the National Union of the working classes and the Chartists movement.

Additionally, the articles of the newspapers were read collectively, discussions were held and everyone participated in workshops and public meeting. This helped to make people politically active, as well as, aware especially with the six radical democratic points that the Chartist movement had demanded. More importantly, the radical press convinced people that they were living under an unfair system where wealth was concentrated in the hands of their masters, where the wealth of the nation was built on their back while they lived in poverty and harsh circumstances.

Thus, this active press helped to convince them that they have and they can change their circumstances through political activism, through strikes and united movements. The radical demands of the early chartists' movement (which were espoused by the chartist's newspaper the *Northern Star* 1837-1852) such as universal male suffrage, voting by secret ballot, equal electoral districts and no property qualification for parliamentary candidates helped to create a radical consciousness against the false consciousness established by the ruling class and gave a world picture different from the one established by the elites.

However, parliamentary protests started to urge for press freedom by lifting taxes on knowledge (the stamp duty) in order to make it open to free competition and

consequently be controlled by the forces of market. Francis Place (the organizing secretary of the repeal campaign) commented in 1832 that "there would not have been a singly trade union either in England or Scotland if the stamp duty had been repealed some years earlier"(Place 2054). In the political discourse of these campaigners, one can clearly link the relationship between democratic movement (embodied in the trade unions) and the free press.

Interestingly, the campaigners clearly linked the growing consciousness of the labouring classes (asking for better wages, better condition of working, vote, representation...) to the radical press. They believed that the government failed to stop this counter-class journalism through lawful means and they believed that "the social order would be rendered more secure if it was based on consent fostered by an extended capitalist press" (Seaton 20). So the aim of the campaigners was to secure a social order most favorable to them and to manufacture consent that would render the lower class more obedient to rules and more conformist to the law of order.

Effectively, the market-based press was not aelement that helped in freeing the press from governmental control as much as it was a weapon of social control. So the repeal the Stamp Duty in 1855 and the Paper Duty in 1861 made the radical press tried to attract more readers from the working class in a way that distracted them from political objectives which they were supposed to foster. With capitalist competition, new print technologies (like web rotary machines and linotype machine) and the new graphic reproduction led to huge rise in fixed capital costs, that is to say, the new technologies made it much more expensive to even launch a newspaper. Launching and financing radical newspaper became restricted to the well to do.

Additionally, before the repeal of the Stamp Duty, state censorship was dominantly present, but after the repeal the economic structure was transformed and newspapers became dependent on advertising (in order to remain in business). These new economic structure (market economy) created a new censorship more authoritarian that the state. Therefore, the radical press and its class conscious discourse could not survive financially except if it moderated its radicalism in order to attract advertisers. For example, *the Reynolds News* was tamed because of the new economic structure, though it kept recording the hardship that the working class went through but it was described as a chronic that cannot be cured (invoking passivism).

Thus, with the commercialization of the press "workers became consumers but not the producers of meaning"(Seaton 34) consequently, the working class continued to fight for freedom and equality but the source of its motivation was not a united and a strong consolidation of a radically different discourse that was propagated by the radical press. The working class started to adhere to the system both by unconsciously succumbing to the commercial press and by being uncritical of the social order. Of course, the radical press left a legacy and many effects on this class as it created elements in the society that could survive to the twentieth century like Trade unions but the latter could not survive as a class conscious group but they had become misrepresented and depicted as the enemy within in newspapers.

Indeed, with the commercial elitist hegemonic discourse, propaganda was used to manipulate public opinion and instill submission and obedience. Here, Seaton describes how the monarchy, the Queen in particular, was depicted both in the radical press and in the new commercialized one, he states:

> The Queen was vilified as politically artisan and reactionary. The
> head of a system of organized corruption.The mother of a brood
> of royal cadgers, and the friend and relative of European Tyrants.
> In contrast, the new press portrayed the Queen as a dutiful and
> benign, who symbolized in an almost talismanic way the moral
> and material progress of her reign(Seaton 35)

So the commercial press became in a structural way pro-system aiming at giving an ideological legitimization of the social order in order to establish consent and curb class consciousness. Above all, the aim of the ruling elite was to foster political passivism and conformism, an aim that was not fulfilled until the age of Thatcher.

Additionally, from the mid nineteenth century, few people could afford to establish and finance a newspaper except from those who possess wealth and thus papers across the country was controlled and concentrated in the hands of the few. Men such as Beaverbrook (who was also a politician) and Rothermere were most of the time politically interventionists in the politics of their papers. Notably, these commercialized newspapers wanted to maximize profits and increase readership and the only way was to de-politize their content as a way of distracting public psychology.

Moreover, one may wonder why the working class in Britain was anti-communist and they even sometimes had doubt about socialism itself. The answer is that these press barons were actively making manipulative discourse in order to represent trade unions as a minority that have no common links with the working class and it also represented them as a kind of terrorists. For example in the General Strike of 1926, *the Observer* declared that "Trade unionists in this country are and always will be a minority and they seriously try to break the majority"(Seaton 48) . Modern readers of

British history often have the impression that trade unions are law-breakers that they are detached from their true aims and their origin in a way that made them look like foreigners who want to terrorize the democratic social order.

Interestingly, what is remarkable about the enlightened narrative that James Curran offers is that he pays attention to every unnoticed detail that other historians try to intentionally neglect. For example, Curran analyzed Stephen Koss's argument in which he tries foster that political journalism in Britain became completely independent of party loyalty and political partisanship after the Second World War and thus it became a power under popular control, Koss declares that :

> Newspapers grew steadily more catholic and less partisan in their ordinary news coverage. When confronted by a general election they usually expressed a party preference, but always with at least a gesture of pragmatism and often for a different party from the one they had previously endorsed.(Quoted inSeaton, 2003, p. 67)

Robert Murdock was one of the few examples that Koss referred to, he is a businessman who cared for profit and was interested in commercial issues rather than promoting a particular political ideology. However, James Curran points out to a very remarkable fact by questioning why one third of the national press's circulation did shift its political affiliation from supporting the Conservative to the New Labor? Was this a pragmatic democratic approach as Koss claimed? The answer is that in 1990, the Murdock giant press kingdom attacked the Conservative government of John Major simply because he lost authority of his government; especially with Britain's forced exist out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992 and other financial scandals. At the same time, the New Labour party was backed by the majority of the press in Britain

simply because Blair espoused Thatcherism and because New Labor would attract the support of the working class and the majority with its new name. Thus, Curran concluded that "The Murdock press thus changed its political loyalty but not its politics"(Seaton 69).

Furthermore, press ownership became more and more concentrated in the hands of international conglomerates who at the same time owned shares in business corporations like oil, banking and other industries. These large corporations became the only section that can own large media corporations and thus the politics of the media became intertwined with the politics of these industrial international corporations which fostered consumerism and entertainment. *The Daily Harold* was a left wing newspaper before 1950 but with the new economic structure that required large circulation in order to get profits, it started to devote less space to economic and political coverage and to give more importance to entertainment. It also moved to the right in a way that could attract middle class readers but they failed. Instead they re-launched the paper under a new name *The Sun* and consequently the TUC was obliged to sell its share of the paper in 1964. Still, *the Sun* failed to attract both the working class readers as well as social radicals and in the end it was sold to Murdock.

Consequently, the press in the hands of men such as Murdock started to treat people as consumers rather than democratic citizens. *The Sun* increased its entertainment coverage, developed a more explicit style of soft porn and shrank its coverage of public affairs(Seaton 90). In fact, what remains of the left was very simplistic criticism of the established order and the capitalist system rather than proposing socialist alternatives. Thus the popular press, if compared with the radical press, was

depolitized in the twentieth century. This might be an outcome of the changing public psychology that was radically influenced by the content of these papers. As analyzed before, state censorship and later on press barons control (indirect censorship) have always sought to make the working class conform to the capitalist social order; by subjugating radical press to a fierce capitalist competition.

However, public consciousness was soon to become a hostage of media propaganda, the radical discourse that once supported the left principles no more exists and the Labour party which was supposed to represent the left views tamed its discourse once in parliament and even conformed to the right wing. Thus, the working class, by the twenty first century, has become depolitized and in return the commercial press succeeded in distracting public opinion from the real power holders. It is focusing on entertainment and scandals rather than hard news. On the other hand, papers like *the Daily Telegraph* and *the Observer* (which have a large readership) increased their political coverage in a way that created a dichotomy between mass popular press (tabloids) and these upper class papers or Quality papers. The existence of this dichotomy between these two kinds of press proves that the Elite have succeeded in creating a break between themselves and the masses and they also were able to prove that their theory of popular ignorance is evident. The modern press also succeeded in building:"Support for the social system in less direct way. Its focus on political and state office as the seat of power tended to mask the central influence of economic elites and global markets in shaping public policy"(Seaton 103). This is another critical point about the press, besides, there are some critics who believe that in our

modern time the press are playing a large role in making people distrust politicians, the representative government, elections and even democracy.

The Modern Press and anti-democratization:

Before dealing with this point, one needs to keep in mind that first, as James Curran maintains, the aim of the media, through focusing on the government and parliament as the seat of power; as the ones which apparently represent the interests of the whole community and are the true policy-makers, is to distract public opinion from the true power holders. It is important to discuss how the press in particular has contributed to the fall of trust in democratic organizations. It seems that the media are politically free to criticize the state and act as a watchdog against the government and politicians, but in reality this is one of the arguments that the media use to distract public opinion.

After all, it does not matter whether, in modern times, people trust their governments or not as long as there is no alternative for representative government. Apathetic citizens do not threaten the system; on the contrary, they are ignorant of how politics is working, unaware of the true power holders, unconscious of the hidden messages and ideological discourse of the ruling classes. Therefore, apathy and disengagement areintentionally created with the development of the commercialized press.

Evidently, Tony Wright, chair of the Commons Committee on Public Administration stated that Newspapers trumpet the collapse of trust in politics and politicians as though they had not had a major role in bringing it about. They nourish a

culture of contempt engulfing the whole of public life (Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 3). In this context, Trevor Philips (a former Journalist and Chair of the Commission of Racial Equality) suggested that "journalist do now seem to believe that the person in charge is always wrong" (Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 5). This is, in fact, not a new tradition; it is as old as the party system itself. Party competition imposes that the one party derides, misrepresents and delegitimizes the other party. This old tradition consequently has created a culture of distrust, disdain and mockery not only on the part of the media but also on its victims.

Thus, the media has inherited this tradition especially in the modern time and party competition which has been based on fierce media campaign is nourishing this culture. The effect on the electorate is unexpectedly negative; it did not make them vote for a particular party against the other but it made many of them abandon politics all together. Party fierce competition does not truly reflect a democratic image as much as it reflects a market competition to satisfy or rather to manipulate the consumers to buy a certain product. Thus, the Media are not the only responsible part in feeding this culture but the representative system which is based on party competition is also blamed for this. Lance Price (a British writer, broadcaster and political commentator) commented in this context that: Politicians, when they are heard today they are treated as toxic, never to be taken at face value, only to be handled as almost certainly unreliable version of truth"(Price 11). So how did the media nurture this culture?

Interestingly, some critics such as Malcolm Dean believe that the media have three main sins (as far as this work is concerned). The first sin is distortion; the media often tend, in electoral campaigns, to distort reality in order to defend or attack a party. For

instance, the three yearlong broken Britain campaign run by David Cameron in the run up to the 2010 election is the best example to deal with in this context. Cameron wanted to depict in the party manifesto how Britain was economically, morally and socially corrupted, Broken Britain was "always a rather odd bundle of very different issues: anxiety about the rise in binge drinking, youth crime, dysfunctional families, multiculturalism and a general sense that material wealth had not brought wellbeing"(Bunting). The tabloids particularly *the Sun* and *Mail* were very active in fostering an image of a broken England; dysfunctional families, welfare dependency; youth crime, teenage pregnancies and anti-social behavior were all used as weapons to attack the failed government of the Labor party.

In this way, the Labor party was apparently responsible for making Britain sink in the swamp of moral decay. For example, in February 2009, *the Sun*unearthed the story of the UK's youngest father who was only thirteen years old, Alfie who was an East Sussex boy was portrayed as a father of an unknown child and the story represented a shameful spot for the Labour. However, it appeared later on that the boy was not the father of the child(Dean 404).

Consequently, this media campaign of a Broken Britain had serious effects on the people, in the February 2010; a poll in *the Times*revealedthatsixty four percent believed that British society was truly in decay. This is a clear evidence of how the media could play on the public opinion and create false views and perceptions in order to misrepresent the other party. On the other hand, *the Economist* produced a long special report in order to debunk the allegations that Britain was in moral decay. It stated:

> The broken Britain of legend is one where danger stalks the streets as never before. In the real Britain, the police have just recorded the lowest number of murder for 19 years. In mythical Britain, children are especially at risk. Back in the real life, child homicides have fallen more than two thirds since 1970 (Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 388)

The report evidently presents a different view about the moral situation in Britain, it totally debunk what the press (which was backing the Conservative party) were trying to manipulate. However, the fact is that people would not believe in these reports, nor would they withdraw their belief in the Broken Britain. Their distrust in the Labour government had consequently led them to vote for the Conservatives, a vote that was based on misconception of reality and of distrust against the labor party. The distortion of reality and its effects on people psychology cannot be hampered by scientific reports and statistics, because people had already received a psychological unconscious reaction that cannot be altered easily, and secondly, people do not bother reading such reports (they are domesticated to read only scandals, bad news and shocking incidents rather than articles based on scientific research).

The second misrepresentation of reality was the opposite of the first, now from a Broken Britain to a campaign for how Great Britain was and how prosperous it was in 2012. The evidence showed that Britain in 2012 was under the sharpest annual decline since 1981 (unemployment, economic recession and other problems) and that the government was failing to address these economic issues with the right policies. The Governor of the Bank of England had predicted in 2011 that there would be "the most prolonged fall in living standard for more than eighty years" (Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 389). This image of a Broken England would not serve or give a good picture of the

newly elected Conservative party and it was the task of the media to distort this negative picture. So, all popular and elitist press (left and right) began to foster a positive image of how prosperous was England. For instance, the Sun declared on its front page "We Are World Beaters" (13 August 2012) and the star glorified "It is Great Britain".

Accordingly, reality is created or rather re-created and this is what Jean Baudrillard, a French philosopher and cultural theorist, called Hyper-reality in one his books like *The Gulf War did not take place* published in 1995 . This concept assumes that reality is misrepresented by the use of false images, ideological discourse and strong manipulation in a way that makes the consumer of these false ideas unable to discern the truth from the falsehood. Once this misrepresented reality is established in people's unconsciousness, it cannot be altered and thus hyper-reality can make people believe in false realities because they have no alternative means to know the truth except from the media. "The Broken Britain and the Great Britain" is the best example to conclude many points before moving forward.

First, people have no alternative means to know what is truly going on and thus they are obliged to construct their conception of the world upon the worldview represented to them through the media, consequently their constructed views change their electoral behavior. Second, party politics has become more interested in power and how to stay in power at the expense of transparency and ethics. Thus representative democracy in modern capitalist societies has created a culture of the survival of the fittest (by manipulative means) rather than a culture of transparency. Lastly, the press proves once again that it is backing the Conservatives and that is why they have certain

hegemony on the British political system. This has created (as said before) a culture of distrust and sometimes disengagement from politics. After all, one cannot know whether modern apathy is intentionally created or it is an outcome of these factors.

The second most important defect of modern press is that they focus of politics rather than policies. In May 2002, Robert Finlayson (a Labor politician and a former leader of the House of Commons), in a speech dealing with proposed reforms of parliament, he seriously attacked this aspect of the media which focuses more on personalities (how politicians speak, what they wear, their personal relationship..) rather than cultivating public opinion about particular political policies. He said:

> We may know that the public outside want to see a Common that is more concerned with the public interest rather than with scoring party political advantage. But we also know that what we will get reported in the media is not the serious and mildly boring, business of scrutinizing social policy.Politics is reported as a soap opera of personality conflict" (Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 404)

Additionally, a former labor MP, Fred Daly, commented on this issue by saying that media coverage concentrates on the mistakes and maneuvers of politicians rather than the parliamentary debates. These commentaries about how the media try to distract public opinion from the real political issues have been dealt with previously, the de-polarization of the media content was intentionally fostered by media barons in order to curb radical press and the left wing papers.

Although, it may seem that the media is acting as a watchdog to discern the truth and report the corruption of some politicians, but it far exceed the limits. Media content has, more or less, created hollow democratic citizens who care about appearances rather than the essence. Today, trustworthy politicians who have no

speech skills and good looking cannot have a strong impact on the electorate simply because the modern media has created a standard commercial image of how a politician must be. The image and the discourse play now more important rule than true commitments. Thus by focusing on personalities rather than policies, the media stimulate more distrust and disdain for politicians and make the electorate more and more ignorant and less active in politics (since they are not cultivated about policies and their significance). Thus the picture of popular ignorance that the elite promoted has become fully true.

The third and the last defect of press is that they concentrate always on the negative. David Bell (the chief inspector of schools maintained that "a lack of coverage of positive stories can create the impression that a system is in perpetual state of crisis"QuotedinDean, 2013, p. 412). Moreover, GoeffMulgan (former head of the Government's Strategy Unit) declared in 2005: "the government's worst nightmare is not that its policies will fail, rather, that they might succeed but no one would believe"(Quoted in Dean, 2013, p. 413). This is, of course, very evident because it serves particular purposes. The media, as it is generally known, are controlled by men of power (Capitalist and rich men) who always have an agenda and they want to promote a certain image.

Focusing on the negative may first depend on which government is holding power, on which party the media are sided with. One cannot discern the true motives behind representing a particular reality to the public. But evidently, the aim is to make people distrust politicians, disengage from politics, lose their faith in their government and focus more on entertainment and consumerism.

Although Malcolm Dean in his book *Democracy Under Attack: How the Media Distort Policy and Politics* was able to show how the media attack democracy but he failed to link them with how they are used for particular purposes. He acknowledged that, for instance, the Conservatives are overwhelmingly backed by the media, but he never mentioned that the sin (as he called it) is not caused by the media but it is the failure of the political system. Representative democracy is based on opinion or rather how to control opinions in order to reach power. The media are only means used to achieve this goal, to manipulate people and keep them in perpetual servitude.

How do Social Media Control the democratic vote?

In a Netflix documentary entitled, *The Great Hack,* in 2019 a lot is revealed about how large technology companies (such as Google, Face book, Amazon...) have become the most valuable companies that are largely more important now than oil companies. In this section, all the quotes and information are taken from this documentary which reported directly what the owners and workers of this company have confessed. The reason is that they possess data more precisely personal data about a very large number of people around the world which can be used or is actually used as a full propaganda machine. The data from people's online activities, especially, on Face book and Instagram do not actually disappear as everything is digitally recorded. People regularly share their stories, their experiences, their thoughts, their way of thinking and their preferences on these social platforms, However, these information are collected to construct a personality profile or a collection of data about a particular person, then it can be used as a weapon against him.

These free communication platforms are actually used to build a psychological profile of a targeted person in order to influence his thought and consequently his behavior in a very personalized targeted content. To make this point clear, one need to know more about companies such as Strategic Communication Laboratories (SCL) or as it defines itself as a global election management company founded in 1990. The company is actually a private British company which aims at changing behaviors through using personal data. This company was initially created to be used as a psychological warfare instrument to influence the behavior of the enemy country as well as to construct opinions that most serve its interests. Such strategies were used in the Afghan war, as well as, the War on Iraq as way of manufacturing consent and constructing a propaganda model that would justify both wars.

The company and its specialists work with their clients, whether parties, presidential candidates, as well as, political campaigners, in order to influence people's vote "because it is personality that drives behavior and behavior that obviously influences how you vote" (Noujaim). The SCL have, according to an article published by David Brown in *the Sunday Times* in 2018, strong ties with the Conservative party and even the royalty and have long been used to back the Conservative party (many of the party donors are actually shareholders of this company).

In 2013, the SCL created the Cambridge Analytica company in England which was intended to become involved more on election campaigns and to build strong election business in order to serve the interests of its clients (commercial companies, party leaders, presidential candidates). The Cambridge Analytica relied actually on a data driven behavior change company or a voter-profiling company in which its

specialists use personal data (collected by Facebook and other platforms) to change how people think about particular matter through using personal advertisement, that is to say, when someone opens his Facebook, for instance, the posts, videos, publications, articles and images do not appear on his screen accidently but they are targeted, they are created in order to influence his unconscious. Even if he does not read the article, even if he does not like the picture or the post, it will automatically leave an unconscious influence on him. Thus, his view about the targeted topic will change through these accumulative impressions that the targeted posts left on his unconsciousness.

Brittany Kaiser was one of the key figures that worked as a director of business inquiry for Cambridge Analytica and she revealed how the company worked. For example, in the Brexit campaign, the company was used to work for the 'opt out'. She said that the company made large scale research, throughout the nation, in order to understand first why some people wanted to stay in and why other people want to leave. When they collected information and data, they chose to target first time voters, more unregistered voters and more apathetic voters because they seemed less informed about the consequences of Brexit. She also confessed that Facebook is the best platform in order to conduct such experiment and that the company personalized team, after collecting data, designed personalized content to influence those individuals. She said:

> we bombarded them through blogs, websites, articles, videos, ads and every platform you can imagine until they saw the world the way we wanted them to and until they voted for our candidate. You send your data out, it get analyzed and comes

back at you as targeted messaging to change your behavior(Noujaim)

Thus, this digital surveillance does not only violate the right or privacy and the protection of personal data but it also runs against the core democratic principles. Through hacking the electorate, the democratic process or voting became a mere manipulative act that does not reflect the true free opinions of the electorate. More importantly, apathy which is considered as an outcome of party illusion and the press attack on politicians (which triggered distrust and disengagement) can be considered, in the light of the mechanism of this company, as an intentionally created phenomenon.

Explicitly, it means that these methods (changing behavior in order to make a particular candidate or a particular topic like the Brexit triumph) can be used to create apathetic citizens who by not voting can change the result of elections. This is what exactly happened in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, Caribbean island, in its 2010 elections. Cambridge Analytica was extensively involved in this election. In this little wealthy island, parties were divided on an ethnic basis: a pro Indian and pro black or Afro Caribbean electorate. CA worked for the Indian party, People's Partnership, which won the election with a landslide victory thanks to the campaigns by this company.

What the Cambridge Analytica did was to increase apathy especially among the black youth. After collecting deep investigations about both communities (black and Indians), CA found first that youth in both groups felt disfranchised and that they were not interested in politics but the second thing that it found was mind-blowing and can

change the course of election turnout which was that the Indians were hierarchal and that the youth obey and follow their parents and their grandparents (when it comes to voting, they have to vote just like their parents do) unlike the black. Consequently, the targeted group in this campaign was the black youth through creating a non-political gang or movement called "DO SO" which means do not vote, do not be involved in politics. They were successful in making the black youth disengage from voting for the party of the black and hence the Indian party won the election.

Therefore, what can be concluded from this experience is that apathy and political disengagement can be strategically created in order to make a party win or lose an election. Cambridge Analytica was dissolved but the strategy that it created in influencing people's behavior and how they would vote has certainly continued to be used. It appears then that neither party programme confusion nor the propaganda of the mass media are wholly responsible for creating the apathy culture. It seems, more or less, that there is doubt whether people choose freely to disengage from politics. All in all, if representative democracy is based on opinions; which is orchestrated through voting and the decision to choose a person or a party against the other, then opinion is manipulated and can probably never be free in the modern digital world.

CONCLUSION

The present work has tried to give a holistic analysis of the democratic phenomenon; it tries to track the development of the rule of the people back from its origin in the Athenian City-State to our modern world. The shift from a direct participatory system to a representative one had a tragic effect on the ideal of democracy and the consequences on modern man have created an inevitable dilemma in a world that has already started crumbling.

It was important to deal with direct democracy in Athens in order to find its main characteristics and what made the Athenian citizen actively engaged in politics. In fact,the legal institution of Athens gave a large number of citizens some direct experience of the process of law (they learnt by practice). Athenians were engaged in litigation themselves; they conducted their own cases, whether as prosecutors or defense. The same was with the dicastry, each year, 6.000 volunteers were assigned by lot to sit on court panels and the verdict was determined by majority vote. Thedicastry did not only ensure that every citizen participates in the mechanism of the judiciary system but it also "proved solidarity against intimidation, lessened the chances of bribery and made the administration of justice a more democratic process". (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

Furthermore, direct democracy in Athens; which was based on the council of 500, allowed citizens from the different parts of Attica to have the experience of working closely together, address the vital matter of designing the agenda for the citizen assembly. It constituted a thorough education in the values of equality and group based decision making. Consequently knowledge was learnt by experience and practice as well as constant and active participation. Man could learn from the daily activities he

is appointed to do. Moreover, the common man could learn from elite advisers and leaders who presented to the voters some alternatives, advice and choices before any vote. This conditional privilege did not mean that the elite controlled the ideological climate of opinion, on the contrary, "the constant attacks between different orators tended to prevent their developing into cohesive ruling elite" (Dun, 328). Furthermore, there were also professional writers who wrote speeches for other to deliver which made the common man learn how to use the power of rhetoric by practice.

On the other hand, the modern man is remarkably politically un-educated, politically irrational and consequently vulnerable to propaganda. The modern man is neither politically active nor involved, because he has his representative in parliament doing the job for him. The modern democratic system is meant to keep people out of the spot. So the less the citizen is involved in politics, the more he becomes subject to propaganda, brain washing and the more he becomes ignorant and intellectually hollow. The more he is passive, the more he becomes an outcast from the political arena, drawn in his daily routines; he thus becomes an object for someone else's verb. The herds are made to eat, drink, and follow the shepherd even when he drives them to the slaughterhouse. This is the case with direct democracy; the more citizens engage in politics, the more they become qualitatively better citizens and the opposite is right. Consequently, rotation, equality before the law, sortition and the wide participation of Athenian citizens in politics made it very difficult for aristocratic classes to have a tight control over the demos or even to challenge popular hegemony.

The dissertation has also attempted to find out why western intellectuals (British amongst them) refuted direct democracy by analyzing some of their main arguments. I

have tried to prove three points: the first is that representative system and democracy are two different concepts that cannot work together, as Montesquieu (as well as Rousseau) stressed, in the early eighteenth century, that representative government merged self-government and direct government (democracy), and created a firm opposition between representation and democracy. The gap that exists between representative system and democracy has created the modern political dilemma as Bernard Manin contended "Representative government remains what it has been since its foundation, namely a governance of elites distinguished from the bulk of citizens" (1997, 237).

Representative system was thus chosen consciously as the right alternative to popular rule. The conception that there exists a system called representative democracy and its use of the democratic ethos is the main reason for the bewildering that modern British citizens are witnessing or living.

The second most key point which I have found is that representative system was created and meant to create this modern apathy. Democracy was historically rejected because it is based on equality, a quality that is highly rejected by elitist theorists. The latter strived for an aristocratic order that must be constructed on the subjection and passivity of the many to the will and dominant values of the few. In this way, representative system can be served as a balanced system. The third point is that representative system carries with it the scraps of aristocratic system. Representative system in the contemporary world highly requires an expert leadership; the power of determination comes to be considered as one of the specific attributes of leadership

and is gradually withdrawn from the masses to be concentrated in the hands of the expert leaders alone.

Psychologically speaking, party leaders and even representatives of each constituent acquire a moral right to guide the blind masses (duty becomes a right). This moral right generates a sense of superiority on the part of the leaders, because once in office they start to see themselves as different from the bulk of the people. Party leaders and representatives now see themselves as commanders rather than the representatives of the will of the people.

Above all, the dissertation has sought to track the development of the psychology of democracy in Britain and how historical narratives are elitist in their views. The Peasant Revolt and the Magna Carta are two important events in the history of democracy in Britain but the first is misrepresented while the second is well immersed and praised in political discourses. The barons and the landlords had financial power to force change in government and to defend their interests in a more effective way.

The struggle of the common man for liberty is always bitter but it is unfortunately unrecognized and his contributions are evermore disregarded. Though the peasants in 1381 struggled against the same abuses as the barons in 1215 (and the series of conflicts between Parliament and the Stuart monarchy later on), they all asked for the same demands and rights but the demands of the first were oppressed and considered as violating the law of order while the second were obtained appreciably.

In fact, the liberties and rights obtained by the working classes or the ordinary folk (in the words of Peter Kellner) were not the outcome of the Magna Carta established

principles as Kellner puts it, it was not simply an extension of the rights originally designed for few people to include the rest of the people. On the contrary, these few people have always sought to limit these rights and to oppress others in order to preserve the privileges they enjoyed at the expense of the other classes that were deprived of the least advantages.

Interestingly, the history or the true history of Britain from the Magna Carta to the twentieth century is a history of the struggle of the Barons and their descendants to preserve the prerogatives granted by the Magna Carta against the rest of the people. And the elitist narrative aimed to present this world picture in order to justify the failure of direct democracy which is run by the common people, for them they are unable to make significant contributions and that is why they must be absent from the history of political struggle. This historical narrative presented the common man as passive and politically unaware, a representation that best reflects the situation of modern man. Thus apathy is intentionally created by the elitist discourse.

Finally I have aimed to understand the other factors that have contributed in the making of the culture of apathy and disengagement. Actually, through all British history, the debate between the ruling classes was never about how democratic the country is or how much people are satisfied or truly represented by the system. The debate has been much more between two groups, those who wanted state intervention to help the poor and those who believed in 'laissez faire' with all its ruthless aspects and effects on the working classes.

Politically speaking, a party wins elections and gains the support of the electorate if it promises to introduce democratic reforms, if it truly represents the interests of the working class (especially in the case of the liberal party with the reforms it introduced namely their case with the House of Lords) but in Britain the case is not the same. There is an overwhelming dominance of the conservatives, although the Labour party (and the Liberals before) made some major reforms but their support quickly declined. This dichotomy either proves that the electorate never trusts the government (in whatever party the authority disguises itself) even when the party is supposed to represent the Labour force; or the electoral system in Britain favors (especially with the first pass the post vote) the conservative because they are financially powerful. The conservatives have always relied on the support of the majority of the upper classes, people of wealth and property who believe that the conservatives are the only party who would safeguard their interests. They have everything in their hands, financial resources, influence and the support of the press in order to be always at the forefront.

Additionally, as far as the media are concerned particularly the press, public consciousness became a hostage of media propaganda, the radical discourse that once supported the left principles (the radical press) no more exists and the Labour party which was supposed to represent the left views tamed its discourse once in parliament and even conformed to the right wing. Thus, the working classes by the twenty first century have become depolitized and in return the commercial press succeeded in distracting public opinion from the real power holders. It is focusing on entertainment and scandals rather than hard news. Consequently, the press in the hands of men like Murdochhas started to treat people as consumers rather than democratic citizens. In

fact, Representative democracy headed by party competition is based on opinion or rather how to control opinions in order to reach power. The media are only means used to achieve this goal.

Moreover, the digital surveillance (exemplified through the company of Cambridge Analytica) does not only violate the right or privacy and the protection of personal data but it also runs against the core democratic principles. Through hacking the electorate, the democratic process or voting has become a mere manipulative act that does not reflect the true free opinions of the electorate.

More importantly, apathy which is considered as an outcome of party illusion and media attack on politicians (which triggered distrust and disengagement) can be considered, in the light of the mechanism of this company, as an intentionally created phenomenon. That is to say these means (changing behavior in order to make a particular candidate or a particular topic like the Brexit triumphs) can be used to create apathetic citizens who by not voting can change the result or elections. All in all, apathy is not only an outcome of party politics and mass media but it is purposefully created by the elitist discourse and modern social media in order to make a party win or lose. Thus, if representative democracy is based on opinion; which is orchestrated through voting and the decision to choose a person or a party against the other, then opinion is manipulated and can never be free in the modern digital world.

Modern intellectuals may have failed to adopt direct democracy to our modern circumstances and representative democracy has also failed to satisfy people's psychological urge for equality and freedom but as Eliot maintains "For last year's

words belong to last year's language. And next year's words await another voice and to make an end is to make a beginning" (1942)this age may have become the age of democratic disillusionment, of apathy and distrust but alas hope never dies away. Many political theorists (as maintained before) believe that (after analysing different statistics) the number of people participating in strikes, demonstrations, signing petitions and expressing collective solidarity in other ways may suggest that our age is not all together an apathetic one. On the contrary, this may suggest a revival of the pure direct democracy where citizens engage in politics themselves and that citizenship has only changed in nature, people prefer direct involvement to express their complaints and dissatisfaction other than voting.

Hence, the present moment is of post-representative democracy, as Brito Vieira and David Runciman have called it, citizens disengaged from representative democracy because they are seeking more direct engagement and expressing their own selves. Thus, the age is of anti-party parties and post-political parties. In this context, the French philosopher Jacques Rancière defines post-representative democracy as:

> A certain recuperation of the sense of democracy as the affair of the demos themselves, it is not their representatives who do the job for them. It speaks to recognition that noise, resonance, direct engagement on the streets, in the squares and outside parliament is part of democratic life. The affair of anyone and everyone used to be held to be intrinsic to democracy before the guardians, technocrats and politicians took over (Quoted in David, 2008, 14)

One may say that democracy in its pure sense can have a rebirth in the form of active and direct engagement. It is what Chomsky has called "Vivid democracy" in which responsibility lies on the back of citizens. A revival might happen only if modern

citizens know their true power in managing their own political affairs and start to reconsider politics as a personal concern rather than the affair of someone else.

Still, challenges and obstacles will always remain as long as interests and hegemony will remain. More and more questions need further investigation in order to deeply understand how power and politics function. This work has tried to understand the illusion of our modern time in a country (Britain) that is celebrated as a democratic state. What is important for any reader or a researcher is that understanding history needs two criteria, the first is reading different narratives from different sources in order to have thorough vision on events and interpretations.

Therefore, the reader will be able to distinguish the opposed views, their arguments and their ideologies. The second criteria is theory and methodology, the researcher must approach history from a critical point of view using theories (like Marxism, Critical Discourse Analysis and/or any suitable concept) that will help them in understanding the misrepresentations and misconceptions of historical events. Thus, in order to understand the mechanism of power and politics, one needs to read between the lines and never believe what is watched or read.

Propaganda Model by Noam Chomsky and Ed Herman is one of the very few eye-opening books that have attempted to explain how the mechanism of power functions and how the agenda-setting institutions and the big corporations work for their interests. This book is a very significant tool that every student and even citizen must read in order to become aware and be able to discern the truth and to understand how propaganda function in the realm of politics and culture.

Democracy, after all, can hardly be obtained today even with radical reforms and political concessions. The reason is that the modern world can no more hold authentic realities and pure ideals. In political discourse, words like democracy, the war for peace, war on terror, humanitarian agencies are always deployed to manufacture reality, a reality that does not match to the authentic definitions of these concepts. Instead, we are faced with poverty, authoritarianism and protecting authoritarian regimes, the making and funding of terrorism, the robbing of the weak countries in the name of democratization, wars for profits and interests.

It is in this double discourse that the dilemma of democracy lies; on the one hand, an ideal definition is well established and absorbed by the majority that the people are the true holders of power and that the rule of the people is attainable but in reality there is always ambiguity and deception of who really is running the country, controlling the national discourse and propagating false consciousness

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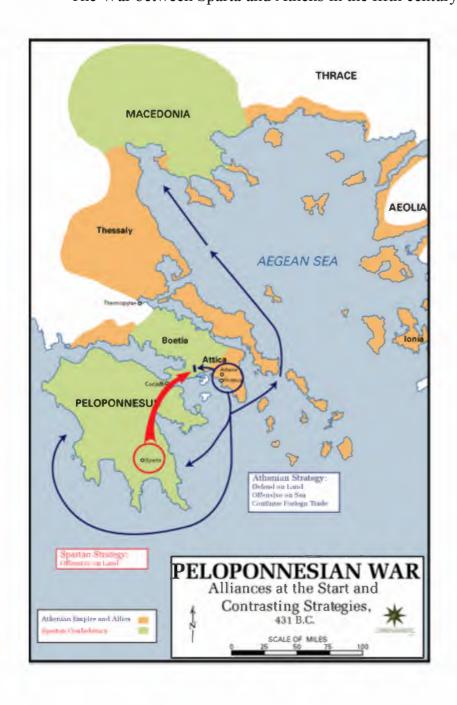College, July 2010.

Appendices

Appendix 1

The use of potteries in voting

Appendix 2

The War between Sparta and Athens in the fifth century until 411 BC

Appendix 3

The Degradation of Intellectual and Mental Quality
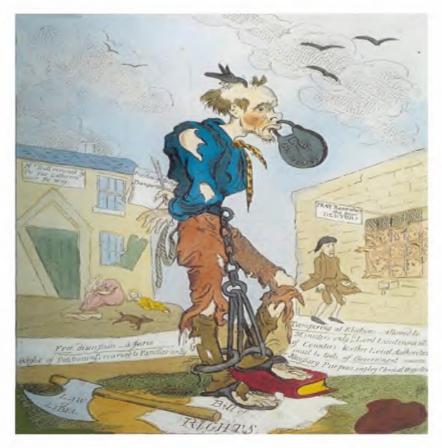
The Degradation of Intellectual and Mental Quality

Appendix 4

A Scene from Shakespeare's play *Corliolanus*

Appendix 5

A contemporary cartoon depicted the effects of the Six Acts as the shackling and gagging of (Bloy)British freedoms

Appendix 6

The symbol of DO SO to mean do not vote

العنوان : أطر الديمقراطية البريطانية

دراسة حول الصحة السياسية للمواطنين في بريطانيا اتجاه التمثيل السياسي (بين الفاعلية والسلبية)

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى البحث في الثقافة السياسية المعاصرة والتي تتمثل في الانطواء السياسي للمواطنين تحت النظام الديمقراطي مما قد يوحي بوجود أزمة ديمقراطية .من خلال هذا الموضوع يحاول هذا العمل أن يجد ما إذا كان الانطواء السياسي تحت النظام الحالي والمتمثل في التمثيل السياسي هو المسئول عن جعل المواطن ينعزل عن ممارسة بعض الحريات الديمقراطية كالانتخاب والمشاركة الحزبية أم هو انطواء الغرض منه إيجاد طرق أخرى فعالة (غير الانتخاب والأحزاب) لها تأثير أكبر على المسار السياسي كالمظاهرات والإضراب وغيرها من الوسائل التي لها تأثير مباشر .في الحقيقة هنالك عدة تيارات فكرية تتكلم اليوم عن الفترة البعد تمثيلية والبعد حزبية وهو عهد جديد لا يؤمن بالتمثيل السياسي والحزبي ، إنما يؤمن بالمشاركة الفعلية المباشرة للمواطن في المسار السياسي .لهذا يقوم هذا البحث كخطوة أولى في البحث عن الديمقراطية في أثينا والتي تميزت بالمشاركة الفعلية والمباشرة للمواطن والتي بدورها نجحت في جعل شعبها يتمتع بمواطنة حقيقية وفعالة .

في الحقيقة وجود نظام مباشر كهذا والذي يشارك فيه المواطن البسيط يهدد ليس فقط مصالح النخبة المسيطرة بل وجد أيضا هجوم خطابي من طرف هذه النخبة. الخطاب النخبوي في الحقيقة يهدف إلى تصوير المواطن البسيط على أنه جاهل وغير قادر على المشاركة السياسية لذالك يهدف هذا العمل إلى دحض هذا الخطاب عن طريق استخدام نظرية ماركسية وتحليل الخطاب النقدي في البحث عن دور المواطن البريطاني البسيط في تغيير المسار السياسي في بريطانية نحو نظام ديمقراطي .ومع ذالك تبقي الأزمة الديمقراطية الحالية هي جوهر الموضوع فالهدف هو إيجاد الأسباب التي جعلت المواطن البريطاني يتحول من مناضل من أجل الديمقراطية إلى مواطن تخلى عن روح الديمقراطية التي أساسها الكفاح السياسي المستمر والمباشر.