



# MA POLITICAL IDEAS IN A DIGITAL AGE

## SYLLABUS – M1





## **MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s1**

### **History of Political Ideas**

Catherine Marshall, AGORA & Céline Roynier, CPJP, CY Cergy Paris Université

#### **Course description:**

The aim of this seminar is an introduction to the history of political ideas as they have emerged in the western intellectual tradition. The main subject will be to focus on the rise of the tension between power and the people and of what later merged into a new tension, the one between liberalism and democracy. We will use the works of a number of political philosophers from the Renaissance to the modern day to study this subject.

The 36h seminar is organised around two periods. The first 24h are structured chronologically around 8 main moments : ‘The Renaissance and Humanism’ (Céline Roynier), ‘The contract theory’ (Céline Roynier), ‘the Enlightenment’ (Céline Roynier), ‘19<sup>th</sup> century Liberalism’ (Catherine Marshall), ‘The challenges of democracy’ (Catherine Marshall), ‘The nature of politics and democracy in the digital era’ (Catherine Marshall), ‘Illiberal democracy’ (Catherine Marshall) and ‘Governance and Power at the time of Covid 19’ (Céline Roynier); the second period (12h) will focus on the analysis of George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty Four* (Catherine Marshall, 6h). It will then discuss how Democracy is currently torn apart by two opposite discourses: *more* participation of the public in political life through digital communication on the one hand (ex.: participatory democracy) and *no* participation at all on the other hand (ex.: the success of anarchism) (Céline Roynier, 6h). The course is not limited to Anglo-Americans thinkers and will also focus on French, Italian and German thinkers.

Sampling of the works of many political philosophers and theorists will be read each week in relation to the central question of the tension between power and the people, their representation and later on, liberalism and democracy, to highlight some of the most important aspects of each thought and how they are being transformed by the digital age. The students will also be expected to acquire both a theoretical and practical understanding of the methodology of the history of ideas through the reading and use of primary sources.

If the seminars will provide such a critical survey, the second part of the semester (the 12h left) will enable students to discuss the major problems that arise relating to power vs. people and liberalism vs. democracy, experimenting their representations in fiction and in political debate today. In the end, the aim will be to show how the digital age is bringing fundamental transformations for both government and politics and how this is based on a political background which needs to be understood before it is criticised.

A reader will be sent before each seminar.

### Books for the seminar:

- David Boucher and Paul Kelly, *Political Thinkers from Socrates to the Present* (OUP, 2003)
- Iain Hampsher-Monk, *A History of Modern Political Thought*, (Basil Blackwell, 1992)
- George Orwell, *1984* (with an Introduction by Thomas Pynchon), Penguin Classics (2019), ISBN: 9780241416419.
- Pierre Rosanvallon, *Counter-Democracy. Politics in an Age of Distrust*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, University Press, 2008.

### Some academic papers to read:

- Henry Farrell, “The Consequences of the Internet for Politics”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15:35-52, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-030810-110815>
- Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, “Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance”, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, August 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2004.00109.x>
- Philippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl, “What Democracy Is. . . and Is Not”, *Journal of Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Volume 2, Number 3, Summer 1991, pp. 75-88 10.1353/jod.1991.0033
- Archon Fung, Hollie Russon Gilman, Jennifer Shkabatur, “Six Models for the Internet + Politics”, *International Studies Review*, Volume 15, Issue 1, March 2013, Pages 30–47, <https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12028>
- Roberto Stefan Foa, Yascha Mounk, “The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect”, *Journal of Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Volume 27, Number 3, July 2016, pp. 5-17, 10.1353/jod.2016.0049
- Helen Z. Margetts Peter John Scott A. Hale Stéphane Reissfelder, “Leadership without Leaders? Starters and Followers in Online Collective Action”, *Political Studies*, Volume 63, Issue 2, June 2015, Pages 278-299, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12075>
- Tim O'Reilly, “Government as a Platform”, *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization*, Volume 6 | Issue 1 | Winter 2011, p.13-40, [https://doi.org/10.1162/INOV\\_a\\_00056](https://doi.org/10.1162/INOV_a_00056)

### Useful books to consult:

- R. N. Berki, *History of Political Theory* (Dent, 1976).
- W. T. Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System*, (Prentice Hall, 1965).
- Janet Coleman, *A History of Political Thought*, Vols. I and II (Oxford, 2000).
- L. J. Macfarlane, *Modern Political Theory*, (Nelson, London, 1970).
- J. S. McClelland, *A History of Western Political Thought*, (London, 1996).
- John Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Harvard, 2007).
- G. H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, (New York, 1961).
- D. Thomson, *Political Ideas* (Penguin Books, 1970).



**MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age**  
**M1s1 – 6 first weeks of the semester**

**Ethics and Politics**

Carlos M. Herrera, CPJP, CY Cergy Paris Université

The influence of fake news, trolls and shitstorm through the social networks during the last electoral campaign for the presidency of the United States, to which were added other forms of massive intervention on the choice of citizens thanks to data recollection (notably by Cambridge Analytica) has focused attention on the so-called “age of post-truth politics”. It is associated, in a structural sense, with certain elements of the social transformations born from a digital world.

This era would mark a collapse of Enlightenment heritage (some authors speak henceforth of “Dark Enlightenment”), especially with the idea of a “public sphere” as the specific place where politics comes in contact with ethics, by truth, transparency and free will. The consequences for democracy would be tragic, since social and individual freedoms would be conditioned at levels never reached by the past. In fact, this distrust of technology, and therefore of an idyllic, optimist vision of Enlightenment, appeared strongly after 1945 and the generalization of the concept of totalitarianism explain many political experiences of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But now, this technology is also in private hands, without public opinion being able to exercise control. Some authors even imagine an anthropological breakdown, evoking the emergence of “a digital man”.

This course will explore the politics and ethical implications of this unprecedented technological change, with a focus on the question around the conceptual changes of “Truth”, “Transparency” and “Freedom” in our societies. First, we will analyze the origin of the idea of public sphere. In the second half, we came to analyze the critical literature in the fields of political philosophy today. This reconstruction will perhaps allow us to answer a first question: are we really at the end of an age? If the answer is an affirmative one, is there a place for ethics in a post-truth political world? Two historical elements will frame our interrogation: is the question asked differently in non-Western societies? Does the Covid-19 pandemic change the terms of the discussion?

**Literature:**

F. Berardi, *The Second Coming*, Polity, 2019

Byung-Chul Han, *The Transparency Society*, Stanford, Stanford Briefs, 2015.

Byung-Chul Han, *Psychopolitics: Neoliberalism and New Technologies of Power*, London & New York, Verso Books, 2017.

P. Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed. Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, Columbia University Press, 2004.

J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society* (1962), Cambridge, Polity, 1989.

R. Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1988.



**MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age  
M1s1 – 6 last weeks of the semester**

**Ethic of communication**

Joanna Nowicki, LT2D, CY Paris Cergy Université

To discuss the ethics of communication, it is first necessary to distinguish communication from information and "com". Ethical problems arise differently in these three areas with different aims and methods.

The classic scheme of the sender, message, receiver is not suitable for communication, the main issue of which is the Other.

To think of communication is to take into consideration the complexity, ambiguities and fragility of the human relationships it reflects.

This course will first focus on inter-personal communication in its ethical dimension: Ethics is what causes disturbance in the subject" (Levinas). It is "the face" of the Other that breaks into my being and breaks my tranquility.

We will then discuss intercultural communication, at the heart of which is the question of subjectivity and difference (Francis Jacques). Different discursive strategies such as conversation, dialogue or negotiation will be discussed in the light of a relational theory of communication.

The last part will be devoted to political communication and its ethical issues, such as manipulation, the new speech, empowerment by word and violence.

If communication is so interesting today, it is because it is an essential feature of modernity. Communication is what defines a human being because it allows us to express ourselves, to speak and to share with others. To communicate better, we are constantly improving communication techniques by developing technology, but it is the relationship with the Other that is at the heart of the ethical issues it raises.

**Literature**

Books:

- Zygmunt Baumann, *Liquid modernity*, Cambridge, Polity, 2000, *Does Ethic a chance in a world of Consumers*, Harvard University Press, 2009
- Philippe Breton, *Utopie de la communication*, La Découverte, 1997
- Philippe Breton, *Parole manipulée*, Edition de la Découverte, Paris 2000
- Francis Jacques, *Différences et subjectivité, Anthropologie d'un point de vue relationnel*, Paris Aubier, 1982. Traduction anglaise par Andrew Rothwell: *Dialogue and Personal Relation*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1991.

- Gaspard Koenig, *La fin de l'individu, voyage d'un philosophe au pays de l'intelligence artificielle*, Editions de l'Observatoire, 2019
- Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, Penguin Modern Classics, 2009
- J. Nowicki, M. Oustinoff et AM. Chartier, « Les langues de bois », numéro 58 de la revue *Hermès*, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2010
- Dominique Wolton, *Informers n'est pas communiquer*, CNRS Editions, collection Débat, Paris, 2009.
- JJ. Wunenburger, *L'homme à l'âge de la TV*, PUF, 2000

#### Academic papers:

- Philippe Breton, « Internet, Communication contre la parole », S.E.R. | « *Études* » 2001/6 Tome 394 | pages 775 à 784, ISSN 0014-1941
- Joanna Nowicki, « De la relation à l'Autre vers la relation avec l'Autre, méthode d'analyse des interactions: de l'interpersonnel vers l'interculturel ». In *Les recherches en information et communication et leurs perspectives, histoire, objet, pouvoir, méthode*. Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des sciences de l'information et de la communication, SFSIC, 2002. p. 445.
- Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, « Jeux sur écrans, apothéose ou simulacre du spectacle? » Presses Universitaires de France | « *Cités* » 2001/3 n° 7 | pages 51 à 65



## MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s1

### Communication and Public Sphere theory

Axel Boursier, LT2D EA 7518 & Luciana Radut-Gaghi, LT2D EA 7518, CY Cergy Paris Université

Public sphere is impacted by a variety of factors and evolutions of our society. The renewal of public sphere theory during the XXI century allows the research in this field to deal more profoundly with new problematics. One of them is its democratization: everybody has the right and the legitimacy to tell and defend opinions inside the numeric public sphere.

Thus, this seminar will focus on the circulation of information concerning the actuality and the role of media in this circulation. To do so we will choose the angle of controversies studies. This specific domain offers the opportunity to go through public sphere theory, to observe the formation and circulation of controversies in our age: focusing notably on the complex statute of truth and the power of actor in it (expert, journalist, politics,). It will also use the methodological tools offered by discourse analysis to understand the importance of rhetoric strategies.

This seminar is based on participatory teaching: the sharing of knowledge will not go without a true engagement of student who will be involved in the realization of a cartography of one modern controversy. An empirical field study will be built by the whole group of students during the term. Design thinking method will be used by the mix of creativity and strategy to enhance the understanding of a current public issue and for a better understanding of the contemporary age.

### Literature

#### Books

- Akrich, Madeleine, Callon Michel, Bruno Latour, (2006) *Sociologie de la traduction*, Paris, Ecole des Mines.
- Amossy, Ruth (2014), *Apologie de la polémique*, Paris, PUF.
- Balle Francis (2017), *Les médias*. Presses Universitaires de France, « Que sais-je ? », 2017.
- Cardon, Dominique (2019), *Culture numérique*, Paris, Science Po Les Presses.
- Cardon, Dominique (2010), *La démocratie internet*, Paris, Seuil.
- Charaudeau Patrick (2011), *Les médias et l'information. L'impossible transparence du discours*, Bruxelles, De Boeck Supérieur, « Médias-Recherches ».
- Dascal, Marcelo, Han-liang Chang (eds.) (2007), *Traditions of Controversy*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kotras, Baptiste (2018), *La voix du web*, Paris, Seuil.
- Lippmann Patrick (1922), *Public Opinion*, The Macmillan Company.
- Maigret Éric (2015), *Sociologie de la communication et des médias*, Paris, Armand Colin.
- Thompson, John B., (2000), *Political Scandal, Power and visibility in the media Age*, Polity.

## Academic papers

- Crick, Nathan and Joseph Gabriel (2010), « The Conduit Between Lifeworld and System: Habermas and the Rhetoric of PublicScientific Controversies », *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 201-223.
- D'Almeida, Nicole (2014), « L'opinion publique », *Hermès, La Revue*, 3 (n° 70), p. 88-92. URL: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-hermes-la-revue-2014-3-page-88.htm>
- Jackiewicz, Agata (2017), « Outils notionnels pour l'analyse des controverses », *Questions de communication*, 31.
- Lemieux, Cyril (2007) « À quoi sert l'analyse des controverses ? », *Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, vol. 25, no. 1, p. 191-212.
- Rennes, Juliette (2016), « Les controverses politiques et leurs frontières », *Études de communication* 47.

## I – Public sphere theories

- A- The basis of public sphere studies. Habermas (LRG)
- B- Opinions and media (LRG)
- C- Actor-network theory (AB)
- D- Digital public sphere: new possibilities? (AB)

## II- Controversies and public sphere

- A- From the scandal to the controversy (LRG)
- B- Role and status of the truth (LRG)
- C- Framing and representation (AB)

## III- Discourse in the public sphere

- A- Polarization and dichotomization (AB)
- B- On line rhetorical and argumentative techniques (LRG)
- C- Different discursive strategies (AB)
- D- Ethos and controversies (AB)

**Evaluation: building and analyzing the cartography of a controversy during the whole term.  
Final course – oral presentation and written homework. Group work of 3-4 persons.**

- 1- Establishing the chronology of the facts and identifying the actors of a controversy. Chronological frame of the key moments of a controversy.
- 2- Rhetorical procedures: analysis of two opposed editorials.
- 3- Analyzing the ethos of two opposed actors.



## MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s1

### Science, technology and society: theories and issues

Bianca Rutherford, UNESCO Chair ITEN, FMSH, Paris  
& Rosana BAZAGA SANZ, University of Malaga

Recent events such as Donald Trump election, the Cambridge Analytica scandal in the USA or Brexit in the United Kingdom, among others, increasingly show us the relevance of the link between social changes and digital media. In a time that pivots between risk and opportunity, new challenges appear for citizens, who, like never before, have digital tools with the perverse duality of submitting or transforming the society in which we live.

The impact and transformation capacity of digital technologies is increasing and the arrival of new emerging media such as Machine Learning (better known as Artificial Intelligence) or Blockchain are generating changes that represent advantages as well as potential risks and abusive promises.

Citizens need more than ever reading tools that allow them to better think, understand and analyse the actors, events and consequences of this new complex technological transformation we are undergoing. Science and Technology Studies (STS) is a multidisciplinary field that seeks to overcome the divisions between the disciplines of the two cultures of Sciences (Humanities and Social Sciences as well as Engineering and Natural Sciences) that promote an interdisciplinary approach that allows us to rethink the relationship between science, technology and society (political and social life).

In a society overloaded with information, the reading and evaluation of the image in a context of massive and democratic dissemination such as digital, is vital to understand the complexity of contemporary and historical problems at the same time scientific and social, technological and political, ethical and economic. As Walter Benjamin said, the role of the image in the age of technical reproduction is fundamentally political. Empowering society to be responsible and critical information transmitters and receivers in a visual age is part of a process of digital literacy that is neglected in favour of power groups and social manipulations.

The objective of this course is, through theory and praxis, to incite students to move away from positivist and solutionist perspectives, promoting the exercise of critical thinking and civic responsibility through the management of controversies that represent this science-technology-society alliance, analysing social facts, metabolising them and representing them through the most powerful tool of the 21st century: the image.

## Methodology and assessment

The approach of this course is practical and theoretical, current matters require reflections of now, so we will set out actions which can help carry out this reform leading the student to build up a thinking-in-action approach.

Our pedagogical tools will be of constructivist nature and will include cross-curricular task which trigger our student's creativity and critical thinking. We will encourage intellectual independence, self-learning and active participation, developing the student's communication skills.

Leading from controversial topics and resorting to different pedagogical tools (visual exercises of presentation, debates, readings...), we will break down the main theoretical contents in a way that our students become an active factor in their own learning process.

Hybrid learning (face-to-face and online teaching)

## Qualification framework

40% - Scenario-based practical exercises

10% - Participation in class

30% - Final project

## References

- BAGIOLI, Mario (1999), ed., *The Science Studies Reader*, Routledge.
- BAUDRILLARD, J. (1994). *Simulacra and simulation*. University of Michigan Press.
- BENJAMIN, W. (2015). *La obra de arte en la época de su reproducción mecánica*. Madrid: Casimiro.
- BOULLIER, Dominique (2019), *Sociologie du numérique*, Armand Colin.
- ECO, U. (2015). *Apocalípticos e integrados*. Barcelona: Penguin Random House.
- ELLUL, Jacques (2012), *Le bluff technologique*, Pluriel.
- FRASCARA, J. (2004). *Communication Design: Principles, Methods and Practice*. Allworth Press
- GILLES, Bertrand (1978) *Histoire des techniques: Technique et civilisations, technique et sciences* (dir), Gallimard, collection La Pleiade.
- HORCKHEIMER, Max & ADORNO, Theodor W. (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, Stanford University Press.
- MATTELART, Armand (2003), *The information society, an introduction*, Sage publications.
- MUNARI, B. (2016). *Diseño y comunicación visual*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.
- MOROZOV, Evgeny (2014), *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*, Publicaffairs.
- LATOUR, Bruno *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- LEDESMA, M. (1997). *El diseño gráfico ¿Un orden necesario?* Buenos Aires: Paidós
- SIMONDON, Gilbert (2012) *Du mode d'existence des objets techniques*, Aubier.
- SISMONDO, Sergio (2003), *An Introduction to Science and Technology Studies*, Blackwell.
- WIENER, Norbert (1954), *The human use of human beings*, Da Capo Press.



**MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age  
M1s2**

**New ways of exercising power, networks and communication systems:  
Digital era government and politics**

Lun Zhang, AGORA, CY Paris Cergy Université

Yann Giraud, AGORA, CY Paris Université

Christina Koumpli, Université d'Avignon, Laboratoire Biens, Normes et Contrats

Nobody in our time can refuse to face the fundamental dilemma which humanity has always been confronted with in the progress of civilization. How to use and control the technology that humans have created. For our topic, the ancient thinkers like Aristotle tried to understand the relationship between political power and technology. Political power cannot exist without using technology. It tries to use the most advanced technology of its time. Since the beginning of modern era, the question has become more and more radical. In some ways, that is the question of modernity. We enjoy the benefits and liberty created by modernity that allow political to offer more services and welfare to people. At the same time, we have somehow lost liberty as a consequence of our technical progress.

At the dawn of modernity, Francis Bacon allegedly wrote: “Scientia est potentia (Knowledge is power), which Michel Foucault famously turned upside down by claiming, “Power is knowledge”. In fact, the sentence was written for the first time in 1668 by Thomas Hobbes, one of the founders of modern political thought who was Bacon’s young secretary at the time. It was not by accident that this thinker wrote it: the question about knowledge, technology and political power is one of the most important issues of modernity. Technology plays a more and more determinant role in the exercise of political power. The history of 20th century was obviously a century that we can qualify as “a totalitarianism century” with the rise and fall of different totalitarian regimes of the right and the left. However, without modern technology, we cannot imagine that totalitarianism could exist. At the same time, democracy has also made remarkable progress in employing new technology against totalitarianism and in extending political participation by its citizens.

This course offers a contemporary perspective on the use of digital technologies in governing people in both democratic and totalitarian regimes, and is complementary to the more historical perspective adopted in “Governing with numbers: from political arithmetic to algorithms” (M1S2, Emmanuelle De Champs et al.) Three aspects are studied: political (Lun Zhang), legal (Christina Koumpli) and economic (Yann Giraud). More details are provided on each aspect below.

Each session will include a mix of lecture and discussion, using one or several texts to do so. The students will be asked to read the texts in advance and react to it. By the end of the semester, they will have to produce a short essay on one of the topics studied.

## **Part 1 Democracy and Totalitarianism: the technical dilemma for political life and the risk of neo-digital totalitarianism in our time (Lun Zhang, 18 hours)**

Today, with the advent of digital technology, we talk about a Third Industrial Revolution being underway. The new century may be qualified as “digital century”. What does the wave of new technology bring to the exercise of political power? We try to examine the question from a different point of view. For the democratic systems, we observe that the Internet offers an unprecedented space for the citizens to express their opinions, but at the same time, it creates challenges, even perversity, for the running of a democracy. How to define “fake news”? What is the limit of collecting and using big data? How to keep the balance between protecting the security of citizens and avoiding violation of citizen’s rights when employing high technological digital for surveillance? How can we redefine the frontier between public and private space, the fundamental question in exercise of political power? The rationality of exercising power requires always some distance between the power and the people, but in our time, the demand for transparency is constantly growing, especially with the invention of social media, what dose transparency mean today? Under the pressure of social media, how avoid the trap of populism?

For the non-democratic countries, we will analyze some neo-totalitarian trends in those countries where political power uses digital technology to strengthen control of people in all fields. One Orwellian world as George Orwell described it in his famous novel 1984 is becoming a reality. Big Brother has power that never existed in human history. Is there still the possibility for the people to defy this kind of neo-digital totalitarian regime? We’ll take China as an exemplary case to develop our analyses. More than any political power anywhere in the world, the Communist Party there uses digital technology to increase its power over its citizens.

### **References**

- George Orwell, *1984*, Secker & Warburg, 1949; Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1983.
- Shoshana Zuboff, *The age of Surveillance capitalism: The fight for a human future at the new frontier of power*, New York, Public Affairs, 2018, Part III: “Instrumentarian Power and a Third Modernity”, pp. 351-495
- Larry Diamond III *Winds, Saving democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese ambition, and American complacency*, Pungun Press, New York, 2019; chapter: “Making the Internet safe for democracy”
- Rongbin HAN, *Contesting Cyberspace in China online Expression and Authoritarian Resilience*, Columbia University Press, 2018.
- Margaret E. Roberts, *Censored, Distraction and Diversion inside China’s Great Firewall*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2018.

## **Part 2 Economic aspects: consent and obedience in the neoliberal era (Yann Giraud, 9 hours)**

Over the past fifty years or so, neoliberalism has made its way into not just the economic and political spheres but also in every aspect of our personal lives. In his famous lectures at Collège de France, Foucault was right in seeing that neoliberal movement not just as a rebirth of classical neoliberalism (the ideology of laissez faire popularized by Turgot, Adam Smith and their contemporaries) but as a new way of exercising power using market and competition to do so. Gary Becker’s analyses of education (using the concept of human capital) and crime do not just apply economic rationality to seemingly non-economic areas of life, they also participate in creating new forms of subjections, where individuals are encouraged to conform to social norms (not committing a felony, losing weight, living a more profitable life, etc.) through market incentives. A feature of this movement, which Foucault hinted at, is that it rarely relies on explicit coercion to operate. If today we tend divulgate important information about our daily behavior, grade our Uber driver, teachers

and pizza delivery persons, this is not because a mysterious group of people has conspired to make us to do so, but because corporations create tools (mobile apps, websites, etc.) which are fun to use and exploit our desires for exposure and for accessing everything all the time (Bernard Harcourt). What we tend to overlook, however, is that these technologies are anything but neutral; they convey judgment and moral characteristics that are often hidden. While we use them thinking they provide a reliable source of information about everything, they end up reinforcing inequalities as well as racial and gender stereotypes, possibly representing a threat to democracy (Cathy O’Neill). On the other hand, libertarian radicals and tech optimists consider that these new tools, if they are used properly, could be used in order to fight against discriminations and build a more equitable society (Posner and Weil).

## References

- Bernard Harcourt (2015), *Exposed: Desire and Disobedience in the Digital Age*, Harvard University Press.
- Cathy O’Neil (2016), *Weapons of Maths Destruction: How Big Data Increases Inequality and Threatens Democracy*, Crown.
- Eric Posner and Glen Weyl (2017), *Radical Markets: Uprooting Capitalism and Democracy for a Just Society*, Princeton University Press.

## Part 3 Legal aspects: from law to ethics (Christina Koumpli, 9 hours)

The aim of the 3rd part of the seminar is to present the legal aspects of the digital revolution and particularly on the mutation from legal *regulation* to legal *compliance* due to the global digital market. The risk to reduce law to an ethics dimension will constitute the background of our reflection.

In the first part, we will discuss the impact of the digital era on the fundamental legal concepts such as sovereignty, and legal constraint. Through the example of the data protection, we will broach the transition from preventive legal regulation to an accountability logic.

We will observe how the State delegated its competence to supranational legal entities such as the European Union, independent specialised authorities and agencies, to the actors of the digital society as well as to the people themselves through their consent. It will also be discussed to what extent the absence of borders due to the digital society could not coexist any more neither with national legal constraint nor with government by -hard- law (vertical hierarchical order); “soft law” measures and other means of ethical commitment and shared governance (horizontal legal order) became popular. They constitute the new way to regulate new technologies and artificial intelligence. However, with regard to the asymmetric position of users and actors of the digital society, it is legitimate to ask: Who will be the guardian of the “social contract” in the new era?

In the second part, we will discuss the substantive legal aspects, such as the influence of digital technologies on fundamental rights (privacy, freedom of expression, right to be forgotten-mainly through the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union, equality and discrimination through algorithmic profiling). Finally, it will be discussed the impact of the digital era on the guarantees of the fundamental rights (digital justice, penal sanction as arm of the international political arena between USA and EU).

## References

### Books

- Alain Supiot, *La Gouvernance par les nombres*, Cours au Collège de France (2012-2014), ed. Fayard, 2015, 520p.
- Gutwirth S., Pouillet Y., De Hert P., de Terwangne C., Nouwt S. (eds), *Reinventing Data Protection ?*, Springer, Dordrecht, 342p.

## Articles

- Antoinette Rouvroy, [Thomas Berns](#), “[Algorithmic governmentality and prospects of emancipation](#)”, *Réseaux*, Vol. 177, Issue 1, 2012 pp. 163-196
- Antoinette Rouvroy, “[Of Data and Men](#)”: [Fundamental Rights and Liberties in a World of Big Data](#)”, vol. T-PDBUR(2015)09REV, T-PD-BUR(2015)09REV edn, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2016
- Antoinette Rouvroy, “[Privacy, Data Protection and the Unprecedented Challenges of Ambient Intelligence](#)”, *Studies in Ethics, Law and Technology*, Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2008, Art. 3, 54p.
- Rouvroy A., Pouillet Y. “[The Right to Informational Self-Determination and the Value of Self-Development: Reassessing the Importance of Privacy for Democracy](#)”, in Gutwirth S., Pouillet Y., De Hert P., de Terwangne C., Nouwt S. (eds), *Reinventing Data Protection?*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2009, pp. 45-76
- Lee A. Bygrave, Dag Wiese Schartum, Consent, Proportionality and Collective Power, in Gutwirth S., Pouillet Y., De Hert P., de Terwangne C., Nouwt S. (eds), *Reinventing Data Protection?*, Springer, Dordrecht, 2009, pp.

## Reports

- Conseil d’Etat, [Le numérique et les droit fondamentaux](#), Etude annuelle 2014, La documentation française, [Summary](#) (in English), 446 p.
- Fondation pour l’innovation politique, Farid Gueham, [Digital Sovereignty](#), January 2017, 48 p.
- EIT Digital, [European Digital Infrastructure and Data Sovereignty](#), 2020, 66p.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, [Big Data : Discrimination in data supported decision making](#), 2018, 14p.

## Official documents

- European Commission, [White Paper on Artificial Intelligence – A European approach to excellence and trust](#), COM(2020) 65 final, Brussels, 19.2.2020, 27p.
- Council of Europe, *Digital challenges to Justice in Europe*, The Council of Europe’s contribution, Conference of Ministers of Justice of the Council of Europe, 14-15 Octobre 2019, 6p.



## MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s2

### **Scientific Developments and Political Ideas: Governing with numbers: from political arithmetic to algorithms**

Emmanuelle De Champs, AGORA, Guilherme Sampaio, CY-AS/AGORA,  
Yann Giraud, AGORA, Cergy Paris Université

This course provides a historical perspective on issues of governmentality from the Age of Enlightenment to the present days. It studies how from the very early days of the modern State, scientific knowledge – in particular statistical data –, has been used as a way to govern populations. Our course will show how techniques of government have evolved during the period under scrutiny, as have the various conceptions about social and individual behaviours underlying them. The main message we want to convey is that current political and ethical debates surrounding the management of data in our current, digital, age are far from new and that similar questions have arisen for the past three centuries or so. Using historical case studies set in specific national and historical contexts, we aim to shed light on contemporary issues. In that respect, this class must be thought as complementary to “New ways of exercising power, networks and communication systems” (M1, S2, Lun Zhang & Yann Giraud), offering a historical counterpart to the issues raised by the increasing digital-based monitoring of citizens in contemporary societies.

More concretely, the class will consist of a series of reading seminars complemented with short lectures. Students will be asked to read and react to the texts and by the end of the term, to write short essays (510 pages, including a reference list) on a specific aspect studied during the classes.

Class and course evaluation are in English.

### **Course Structure (and respective introductory bibliography)**

#### I. 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Emmanuelle De Champs)

- The birth of political arithmetic: tallying populations during the Enlightenment era (France and Great Britain, 18<sup>th</sup> century)
- Utilitarianism and panopticism: how to reach “the greatest happiness for the greatest number”? (Great Britain, early 19<sup>th</sup> century)
- Statistical and social Darwinism (Great Britain, late 19<sup>th</sup> century)

Daston, Lorraine. *Classical probabilities in the Enlightenment*, 1988

Desrosières, Alain. *Gouverner par les nombres*. 2008

Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*. 1975 Hume,

L. J. *Bentham and Bureaucracy*. 1988

MacKenzie, Donald A. *Statistics in Britain 1865-1930*. 1981

Margairaz, Dominique and Philippe Minard, *L'information économique (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*. 2008

Supiot, Alain. *La gouvernance par les nombres*. 2015

## II. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century to World War II (Guilherme Sampaio)

- How the increased role of the State before and after World War I fractured Liberal thought (Europe-United States, 1900-1920)
- Statistical observation from the hopes of financial globalization to the victories of social-democracy (Europe-United States, 1920s and 1930s)
- The State and Macroeconomics: from the Great Depression to wartime planning (United States-Great Britain, 1930s and 1940s)
- From genocide to economic recovery: statistical expertise in service to the State and its critiques (France-Germany, 1930s and 1940s)

Alchon, Guy. *The Invisible Hand of Planning. Capitalism, Social Science, and the State in the 1920s*. 1985.

Barber, William J. *From new era to New Deal Herbert Hoover, the economists, and American economic policy, 1921-1933*. 1985.

Furner, M. and Supple, B. (eds.), *The State and Economic Knowledge. The American and British Experiences*. 1990.

Porter, Ted. *Trust in Numbers. The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*. 1995.

Skidelsky, Robert. *John Maynard Keynes*. 2003.

Tooze, Adam. *Statistics and the German state 1900-1945: The making of modern economic knowledge*. 2001.

Vanoli, André. *Histoire de la Comptabilité Nationale*. 2002.

## III. The Postwar period (Yann Giraud)

- Algorithmic rationality: the Cold War era and the sciences of policy (United States/Great Britain, 1940-1960)
- The birth of neoliberal rationality (Europe/United States, 1945-1979)
- “Not just neoliberalism?” The Economization of Science and Technology Policies (United States, 1980s-2000s)
- The use of statistical data in the neoliberal era: the Welfare State under pressure (France, 1990s – 2000s)

Berman, Elizabeth Popp. *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine*. 2015.

Brown, Wendy. *Undoing the Demos. Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. 2015. Bruno, Isabelle, Emmanuel Didier. *Benchmarking: l'Etat sous pression statistique*. 2013.

Erickson, Paul, Judy L. Klein, Lorraine Daston et al., *How Reason Almost Lost Its Mind. The Strange Career of Cold War Rationality*. 2015.

Mirowski, Philip. “Neoliberalism: The Movement that Dare not Speak Its Name”. *American Affairs*, 2 (2), 2018.



## MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s2

### The economic and ethical issues of artificial intelligence

Marcus Pivato, THEMA, CY Cergy Paris Université

Artificial intelligence research is progressing very rapidly, and our legal, political, economic and social institutions have not kept up. Soon, society will be confronted with machines that match or exceed human intellectual capabilities across a wide range of problem domains. This course will explore the economic and ethical implications of this unprecedented technological change.

The first part of the course will explore the economic impact of artificial intelligence. In the past, technology acted as a substitute for some forms of labour, but compensated for this by also acting as a complement for other forms of labour, thereby augmenting the marginal productivity of workers in some sectors. Workers who were displaced by technology from one labour sector could migrate to another labour sector where technology made their labour *more* valuable, so that in the end they earned higher wages. Thus, although there were short term dislocations and disruptions of the labour market, the long-term net effect of technology was to massively increase the marginal productivity – hence the income – of workers.

But there is no guarantee that future advances in technology will continue this trend. Whereas heavy machinery and dumb automation act as *complements* to human labour, it seems likely that advanced artificial intelligence will act more as a pure *substitute* to the sort of labour which many people are able to provide. These workers – the less educated, the less skilled – may simply be rendered redundant, and driven entirely out of the labour market. We thus risk entering an age of permanent mass unemployment. We may need to develop the social, economic, and political institutions to accommodate this new economic reality.

### Literature

#### Books

- Erik Brynjolfsson and Andrew McAfee (2016). *The Second Machine Age: Work, Progress, and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Martin Ford (2016). *Rise of the Robots: Technology and the Threat of a Jobless Future*. Basic Books.
- Jerry Kaplan (2015). *Humans Need Not Apply: A Guide to Wealth and Work in the Age of Artificial Intelligence*. Yale University Press.

#### Academic papers

- Acemoglu, Daron and Pascual Restrepo (2019). Automation and New Tasks: How Technology Displaces and Reinstates Labor. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* “Symposium on Automation and Employment” 33 (2).

- Acemoglu, Daron, and Pascual Restrepo (2018). The Race between Man and Machine: Implications of Technology for Growth, Factor Shares, and Employment. *American Economic Review* 108 (6): 1488-1542.
- Autor, David (2015). Why are there still so many jobs? The history and future of workplace automation. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29 (3), 3-30.
- Frey, Carl Benedikt, and Michael A. Osborne (2017). The future of employment: how susceptible are jobs to computerisation? *Technological forecasting and social change* 114:254-280.
- Graetz, Georg, and Guy Michaels (2017). Is modern technology responsible for jobless recoveries? *American Economic Review* 107 (5), 168-73.

The second half of the course will examine the challenges raised for moral philosophy by artificial intelligence. How can we guarantee that robots and other autonomous systems will behave in an “ethical” way? For example, self-driving cars may be confronted with ethical dilemmas analogous to “trolley problems”, in which the car must choose between two courses of action, both of which will cause harm to some people; the car must therefore choose the least bad option. Another example arises in the increasing use of robots as personal care assistants (for example, in nursing homes for elderly people); these robots may often be placed in a somewhat paternalistic role over their clients, which raises issues about human autonomy and dignity. A third obvious example is the increasing use of automated weapons systems in the military.

In all cases, the question is how to adapt our legal and political institutions to accommodate the emergence of *artificial moral agents*. But in the longer term, we may also confront another question: how to accommodate *artificial moral patients*. At some point, artificial intelligences may become advanced enough to deserve the status of “moral persons”. We need to start thinking now about how society will recognize and protect their moral personhood.

## Literature

- Anderson, Michael and Anderson, Susan Leigh, eds. (2011) *Machine ethics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lin, Patrick, Keith Abney, and George A. Bekey, eds. (2014) *Robot ethics: the ethical and social implications of robotics*. The MIT Press.
- Lin, Patrick, Keith Abney, and Ryan Jenkins, eds. (2017) *Robot ethics 2.0: from autonomous cars to artificial intelligence*. Oxford University Press.
- Bostrom, Nick (2017). *Superintelligence*. Dunod.
- Yampolskiy, R. V., ed. (2018). *Artificial Intelligence Safety and Security*. Chapman and Hall/CRC.



## MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s2

### Digital law

Matthieu Quiniou, UNESCO Chair ITEN, FMSH, Paris

#### Introduction

Digital law has become an important issue to govern activities on the Internet and the relationship between digital platforms and consumers. This field of activity marked by its international character cannot be approached exclusively from the angle of a single legal system and requires a more global opening.

Digital law is a subject which is still in the process of stabilization and which evolves through the gradual consideration of ethical and business aspects.

#### Module course

- Presentation of the issues, provisions and practice in the area of personal data law (GDPR, CNIL, cookies, privacy policies, etc.)
- E-business law and choice of legal qualifications for disruptive business models
- Cyberdroit, digital territory and connections between domain name and trademark law
- Artificial intelligence at the service of legal actors and the predictability of justice: prospective, limits and ethical issues
- Blockchain and the renewal of contract and evidence law

#### Bibliography

- Lawrence Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*, Basic Books, 1999.
- Luc Grynbaum, Caroline Le Goffic et Lydia-Haidara Morlet, *Droit des activités numériques*, Dalloz 25 juin 2014.
- General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679.
- Richard Susskind, *Tomorrow's Lawyers: An Introduction to Your Future*, OUP Oxford, 25 mai 2017.
- Karen Yeung et Martin Lodge, *Algorithmic Regulation*, OUP Oxford, 12 septembre 2019.