

Bożena Iwanowska

http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1331-2866 VIZJA University b.iwanowska@vizja.pl

YAN KAPRANOV

http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2915-038X VIZJA University y.kapranov@vizja.pl DOI: 10.35765/HP.2732

Homo Politicus and Res Publica Today: Linguistic Reappraisal with Student Survey Evidence

Abstract

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE: The article aims to analyze the linguistic and philosophical evolution of the concepts *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* within political discourse, focusing on their historical development and contemporary interpretations.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODS: The primary research problem addresses how the classical concepts of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* have been adapted to modern political realities. We combine conceptual–linguistic analysis with a small-scale quantitative survey of 30 third-year students in International Relations and Political Science at a private university in Warsaw. The survey consisted of four closed-ended questions, and descriptive statistics were used.

THE PROCESS OF ARGUMENTATION: The article traces the historical development of these concepts, beginning with classical philosophy, where *Homo Politicus* refers to individuals as political beings driven by the desire for power and influence. At the same time, *Res Publica* pertains to the collective management of public affairs and governance. The study then explores how these terms are understood in contemporary political systems.

RESEARCH RESULTS: The survey results indicate the enduring relevance of *Homo Politicus* as a model of political subjectivity shaped by power, ethics,

Suggested cittation: Iwanowska, B., & Kapranov, Y. (2025). *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* Today: Linguistic Reappraisal with Student Survey Evidence. *Horizons of Politics*, 16(56), 271–290. DOI: 10.35765/HP.2732.

and public engagement. Meanwhile, *Res Publica* remains a crucial component in discussions of democracy and collective governance.

CONCLUSIONS, INNOVATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

The article highlights the persistent significance of the classical concepts *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* in understanding the modern legitimacy of power and governance. It recommends further reflection on how these ideas can be adapted in the analysis of contemporary political systems. The article bridges conceptual history and contemporary perceptions by triangulating linguistic analysis with fresh empirical evidence from students across multiple world regions.

Keywords:

Homo Politicus, Res Publica, linguistic evolution, political subjectivity

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* have long been central to philosophical, political, and linguistic thought, providing frameworks for understanding human behavior in the public sphere, governance, and the language of politics. *Homo Politicus*, rooted in classical political philosophy, represents individuals as political beings driven by power and the desire for influence. *Res Publica*, originating in Roman law as the public affair or commonwealth, refers to the collective management of public interests and the state's relationship with citizens. Both concepts have evolved, reflecting the changing political realities and shifts in language that have occurred throughout history.

In *Politics* I.2 (1253a2-3), Aristotle defines humans as a *zōon politikon* ("political animal"), grounding political life as intrinsic to human nature.

These ideas have been reshaped in contemporary political theory to address modern challenges. Neoliberal ideologies have fundamentally altered our understanding of political subjectivity and governance, necessitating a revisit to the concepts of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* in this context (Faber et al., 2024). Faber (2024) contrasts *Homo Economicus*, the rational self-interest maximizer, with *Homo Politicus*, who plays a crucial role in addressing sustainability and justice, particularly in public disputes and governance.

By examining *Homo Politicus* as a model of political subjectivity, this study explores its influence on perceptions of power in political life. Unlike *Homo Economicus*, *Homo Politicus* also reflects a commitment to justice and societal well-being, reinforcing its relevance in modern governance (Faber et al., 2024). The historical evolution of *Res Publica* further underscores its importance in contemporary debates on governance and responsibility. The linguistic adaptation of these terms shows their ongoing transformation in political and social contexts, reflecting shifts in power discourse and the public good.

This paper explores the linguistic and philosophical implications of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica*, examining how they have been adapted in response to contemporary political developments. By integrating linguistic perspectives with political science, this study reassesses these concepts to reflect the realities of a globalized, digitized world, where new information challenges increasingly redefine political roles. Revisiting these frameworks helps address how political subjectivity and governance are shaped by evolving global dynamics, including the rapid exchange of information and the complexities of political engagement in the 21st century. The linguistic and political perspectives offer a deeper understanding of how these concepts continue to evolve in response to contemporary challenges.

This article contributes by coupling a conceptual–linguistic reappraisal of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* with new survey data, thereby linking classical formulations to contemporary political subjectivities among students of international relations and political science.

METHODOLOGY

To examine the relevance and interpretation of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* in contemporary political thought, a survey was conducted among 30 third-year students of International Relations and Political Science at a private university in Warsaw. The four key questions assessed their understanding of these classical concepts. The diverse geographical backgrounds of the students (from Asia, Africa, Europe, and the USA) provided a wide range of interpretations, offering insights into how these concepts are applied in modern

political contexts, blending historical understanding with contemporary significance.

Procedure, Ethics, and Limitations. The survey was administered in class in Spring [year] to 30 third-year students (International Relations and Political Science). Participation was voluntary, anonymous, and did not affect course assessment. No personally identifying information was collected; informed consent was obtained. The sampling frame consisted of a single private university (a convenience sample), which limits the external validity. Results are descriptive and not intended for causal inference. Percentages are calculated from n=30 and reported to one decimal place; minor discrepancies may occur due to rounding.

LINGUISTIC REFLECTIONS ON HOMO POLITICUS AND RES PUBLICA IN PHILOSOPHICAL-POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The linguistic evolution of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* offers critical insights into their framing and reframing in philosophical and political discourse. Language plays a crucial role in articulating and adapting political ideas across historical periods. By analyzing these transformations, we gain insight into how political thought influences these concepts.

As Brennan (2008) notes, *Homo Politicus* contrasts with *Homo Economicus*, the latter emphasizing self-interest, while the former captures the inherently political nature of human behavior and power dynamics. This distinction highlights how political engagement involves strategic decisions, identity, ethics, and societal participation.

Derived from Latin, *Homo Politicus* denotes a human being oriented towards political action and power. Linguistically, *homo* emphasizes universality, while *politics* narrows this behavior to the political realm. Historically, Aristotle's *zōon politikon* laid the foundation for *Homo Politicus*, emphasizing the essential nature of political engagement for humans. Over time, the term has evolved to reflect contemporary political subjectivity, capturing the aspirations for power and the ethical dilemmas that political actors face (Weber, Djuric).

From a linguistic perspective, *Homo Politicus* represents the dual nature of political life: the drive for authority and the ethical

imperatives of governance. Similarly, *Res Publica* encapsulates the collective dimension of political life, referring to public governance and the common good. Originating in Roman law, it conveyed the idea of governance for the public interest, with Cicero emphasizing its moral and civic dimensions. Over time, the term has evolved to accommodate various political models, such as the Byzantine *politeia*, reflecting shifts in governance structures and public responsibilities.

In modern political theory, the concept of *Res Publica* emphasizes the importance of public engagement and the state's moral responsibilities. The linguistic flexibility of both *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* enables them to adapt to diverse contexts, rendering them enduring frameworks for understanding political subjectivity and governance in modern systems.

HOMO POLITICUS AND RES PUBLICA IN PHILOSOPHICAL-POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Djuric (1979) highlights the intrinsic link between politics, human imperfection, and societal conflict, arguing that political life emerges from social diversity and requires power to mediate these differences. For Djuric, politics is an existential struggle where ideals clash with moral ambiguity (p. 105). This model of *Homo Politicus* reflects the duality of political life, characterized by the tension between idealism and the pragmatic use of power (Weber, 1926).

Chambers (2018) provides a critical analysis of how neoliberalism has transformed *Homo Politicus* into a figure shaped by economic imperatives framed by individual success and competition. He critiques Wendy Brown's view of *Homo Politicus* as a counterpoint to neoliberalism's *Homo Œconomicus*, arguing that neoliberalism alters both economic and political subjectivity. For Chambers, resistance to neoliberalism requires new political practices rather than relying on traditional notions of *Homo Politicus* (Chambers, 2018).

Chambers also challenges Brown's historical use of *Homo Politicus*, suggesting that political subjectivity is contingent upon social and economic processes, rather than a timeless construct (Marx, 1973; Rancière, 1999). Neoliberalism fosters a new form of political subjectivity, *the neoliberal Homo Politicus*, which blurs the lines between

politics and economics, positioning individuals as self-investing entities (Chambers, 2018). To resist neoliberalism, Chambers advocates for alternative economic models and collective identities that transcend individualistic, market-driven frameworks (Chambers, 2018).

The concept of *Res Publica* has undergone significant evolution throughout the history of philosophical and political thought. Initially rooted in Roman law, it has influenced Byzantine, Renaissance, and modern political theory.

In ancient Rome, *Res Publica* referred to state affairs concerning the public, in contrast to private matters (*res privata*). In *De Re Publica*, Cicero analyzed *Res Publica* as the embodiment of justice and the common good, foundational to Roman republicanism and emphasizing collective participation and the state's moral duties toward its citizens (Cicero, 54 BCE). Schofield's examination of Cicero, as discussed by Stewart (2022), further emphasizes the role of law and collective morality in Cicero's vision of the *Res Publica*, with the state's legitimacy tied to its ability to uphold these values.

Meier's classic *Res publica* amissa analyzes the fragility and institutional erosion of the late Roman Republic, tracing how elite competition and governance failures precipitated systemic decline (Meier, 1980).

In Byzantine political philosophy, the concept of *Res Publica* was adapted into the Greek term *politeia*, which shifted its linguistic and political meaning. The term *respublica causa* acquired a legal connotation in Byzantine jurisprudence, departing from the Roman republican model and aligning with imperial governance (Vin, 2023).

During the Renaissance, classical political thought revived the concept of *Res Publica*, notably in the works of Machiavelli and Hobbes. Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* emphasized civic virtue and participation as essential for sustaining the *Res Publica* and argued that the decline in civic engagement contributed to the downfall of republicanism (Machiavelli, 1531). In contrast, Hobbes' *Leviathan* portrayed *Res Publica* as needing a sovereign to prevent chaos and maintain order, centering authority around the sovereign as the protector of the commonwealth (Vin, 2023).

In modern political thought, the concept of *Res Publica* has continued to evolve, particularly in discussions of democracy and republicanism. Contemporary scholars have revisited the concept to

explore its application to modern governance systems. A resurgence of interest in republican theory has led to a renewed focus on the collective nature of the state and the importance of public participation in governance.

For instance, in the editorial *Ethics and Administration of the 'Res Publica': Dynamics of Democracy*, Satinder P. Gill (2024) argues that *Res Publica* encompasses not only the administrative functions of the state but also the ethical obligations of governance. The concept, deeply rooted in Greco-Roman traditions, emphasizes the importance of administering public affairs guided by ethics and justice, with a shared responsibility between rulers and citizens (Gill, 2024). This approach emphasizes that *Res Publica* is not merely about the mechanics of governance, but rather a moral commitment to the public good. Gill emphasizes that accurate democratic administration should be based on principles of justice and accountability, reinforcing the centrality of ethics in managing public resources.

Additionally, Josefson (2019) offers a nuanced interpretation of *Res Publica* through the lens of Hannah Arendt's aesthetic politics. In this reading, *Res Publica* is reimagined as a radically democratic space where individuals exercise their freedom by making the public realm their collective property. Arendt's conception moves beyond the classical understanding of *Res Publica* as merely a framework for governance and law. Instead, it becomes a space where civic participation is both an aesthetic and political act, whereby citizens create and define the public sphere through collective actions. Josefson contrasts this reading with more traditional views of civic republicanism, illustrating how Arendt's *Res Publica* integrates elements of Greek and Roman political thought, synthesizing them into a vision of empowered, aesthetically engaged citizens (Josefson, 2019).

Gill's reflection on the Greco-Roman roots of *Res Publica* resonates with contemporary political concerns about how governance models are structured and public officials are held accountable. The Roman concept of *Res Publica*, a system of shared governance between the *populus* (the people) and the *senatus* (the senate), remains relevant today, as it emphasizes the democratic ideal of involving citizens in decision-making processes. This republican ideal contrasts with more centralized or authoritarian systems, where public participation is minimized. By exploring the ethical foundations of public

administration, modern scholars, such as Gill, underscore that the health of the *Res Publica* depends on the integrity and responsibility of those in power.

In modern political thought, scholars like A. Kaldellis have examined how republican ideals persisted even in Byzantine political structures, which incorporated elements of monarchy. The emphasis on public governance and shared responsibility among rulers and citizens reflects the enduring influence of *the Res Publica* concept across various political regimes (Vin, 2023). Kaldellis's work, *The Byzantine Republic*, explores this duality, highlighting the complexity of Byzantine political thought and its relation to the Roman concept of *Res Publica*.

The modern interpretation of *Res Publica* emphasizes the collective responsibility of governance, with ethics and public participation being crucial elements in its evolving application. As seen in Gill's (2024) work and Josefson's (2019) exploration of Arendt's aesthetic politics, *Res Publica* is not merely an ancient concept but a dynamic framework that can guide the ethical administration of democracy and civic engagement in the contemporary world.

LANGUAGE AS A TOOL FOR POLITICAL POWER

In the context of political discourse, language serves as a means of communication and a tool for shaping political realities and outcomes. As Giliberto Capano, Maria Tullia Galanti, and Giovanni Barbato (2023) argue in their analysis of political and policy narratives, political leaders must carefully craft narratives that balance their political vision with policy goals to shape public opinion and policy outcomes effectively. This balance between political and policy narratives illustrates the strategic use of language to navigate the complexities of governance and public persuasion.

Analytically, we treat these leadership accounts as political—policy narratives and apply a light-touch discourse-analytic reading to trace how *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* are strategically invoked.

A crucial aspect of this dynamic is how language constructs political archetypes, such as *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica*. *Homo Politicus*, or the *political human* (*political man*), represents the archetype of an

individual deeply engaged in political life, driven by the pursuit of power and participation in public affairs. Through political narratives, leaders mobilize the concept of *Homo Politicus* to position themselves and their supporters as actors who embody civic engagement and responsibility. For instance, Capano et al. (2023) describe how political leaders utilize language to craft narratives that align with the ideals of political engagement and public duty, portraying themselves as central figures in the ongoing struggle for justice and reform. This linguistic construction reinforces the identity of *Homo Politicus* as a model of political subjectivity, where individuals are portrayed as active participants in shaping governance and political outcomes.

Similarly, the concept of *Res Publica*, or *the public affair*, is integral to understanding the collective nature of political life. Language is critical in framing *Res Publica* as a shared responsibility and public interest domain. Through their narratives, political leaders invoke the concept of *Res Publica* to emphasize the importance of collective governance and the moral obligations associated with managing public affairs. As Capano et al. (2023) explain, political narratives often simplify complex issues into relatable stories that appeal to the public's sense of common good and justice, positioning political leaders as defenders of the *Res Publica* against forces that threaten the public welfare.

This dynamic is evident in the case of Matteo Renzi's reforms in Italy, where Renzi employed political narratives that framed labor and education reforms as essential for the revitalization of the Italian *Res Publica*. By casting himself as a hero fighting against bureaucratic inefficiencies and entrenched interests, Renzi's narrative appealed to the public's sense of civic duty, reinforcing the notion that these reforms were necessary to preserve collective welfare (Capano et al., 2023). In this way, the concept of *Res Publica* is linguistically constructed to represent both the state and its citizens' shared responsibility for governance and public affairs.

Political leaders often face the challenge of aligning their political narratives to gain popular support with their policy narratives, which seek to achieve specific legislative or administrative outcomes. The narrative strategies leaders employ thus become critical to political success and policy implementation. Capano et al. (2023) explain how political narratives act as *grand stories* that frame a leader's

overarching political vision and values, while policy narratives are more targeted, focusing on the specific goals and actors involved in a policy subsystem. This distinction highlights the multifaceted role of language in shaping political power, where broad political rhetoric must be tailored to specific policy contexts without compromising coherence or credibility.

Language in political power plays a dual role: it creates a sense of shared identity and vision while also serving as a mechanism to influence the policy process. Political leaders, such as Matteo Renzi, employ narratives that position themselves as heroes confronting systemic villains, including unions or bureaucracies, to garner public support (Capano et al., 2023). This hero-villain dynamic, articulated through political narratives, simplifies complex policy debates into morally charged stories that resonate with the public and provide legitimacy to policy changes. In doing so, the leader linguistically aligns their actions with the ideals of *Homo Politicus*, portraying themselves as the embodiment of civic responsibility and presenting their reforms as essential to the preservation of *Res Publica*.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of political language lies in its ability to mobilize external support and maintain internal coherence within the policy subsystem. Capano et al. (2023) note that successful political leaders strategically deploy language that expands the conflict beyond the immediate policy issues, seeking support from outside coalitions while ensuring that the narrative aligns with the belief systems of the dominant actors within the subsystem. This strategic use of language underscores its centrality in navigating the political terrain, where the leader's narrative must simultaneously persuade multiple audiences with differing interests.

Language serves as a crucial tool for exerting political power by shaping both the broader political vision and the specific policy solutions proposed by leaders. By invoking the archetypes of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica*, political leaders use language to create compelling narratives that align political action with civic responsibility and collective welfare. The strategic use of language in crafting coherent narratives that balance political and policy objectives, as demonstrated in the work of Capano et al. (2023), illustrates how narratives serve as vehicles for persuasion and governance. Political leaders must continually adjust their language to the evolving political and

policy landscapes, ensuring their narratives remain persuasive and effective in achieving their goals.

STUDY SAMPLE AND SURVEY RESULTS

The research was conducted with 30 third-year students enrolled in the *International Relations* and *Political Science* programs at a private university in Warsaw. The sample was diverse, reflecting a wide range of geographical backgrounds, which included students from Asia, Africa, Europe, and the USA. This group offered a diverse range of perspectives on the political and philosophical concepts of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica*.

The students were selected based on their enrollment in upperlevel political science courses, ensuring a high familiarity with the theoretical frameworks and political discourse central to this study. All participants were informed about the purpose of the research and agreed to participate in the survey, which consisted of questions to explore their understanding of these key political concepts.

This research was co-authored by two scholars (the authors of this paper), each bringing expertise in linguistic and political analysis, ensuring a comprehensive approach to examining the responses.

SURVEY FINDINGS

The survey included four key questions, each designed to explore students' linguistic and conceptual understanding of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* in modern political discourse.

Note: Percentages are calculated from n = 30 and reported with one decimal; minor discrepancies may occur due to rounding.

- 1. How would you define *Homo Politicus* in modern political discourse? (n = 30)
 - A: *Homo Politicus* represents individuals who actively engage in political processes, viewing political participation as a central part of their identity and societal role.

- B: It describes people primarily motivated by power and influence within the structures of government and politics, often prioritizing political goals over personal or economic interests.
- C: In the modern context, *Homo Politicus* could be seen as a public figure or leader who seeks to shape public policy and political decisions for the collective good.
- D: I see *Homo Politicus* as someone who is inherently political, using their position, whether in politics or civil society, to influence and direct political outcomes.

Most students (40%) view *Homo Politicus* as representing political participation as part of one's identity. This perspective highlights the role of political engagement in shaping individual and collective identities. Additionally, 25% focus on *Homo Politicus* as someone driven by the desire for power and influence. Another 20% associate *Homo Politicus* with public figures who shape policy for the common good, while 15% view the concept in terms of influencing societal outcomes through political activity.

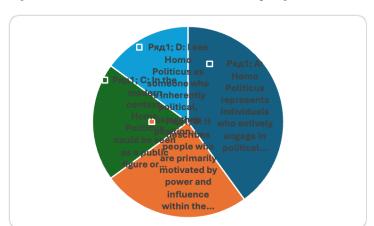


Figure 1. Definitions of *Homo Politicus* (n = 30; Spring 2024).

- 2. Do you think the concept of *Res Publica* is still relevant in today's political systems? Why or why not? (n = 30)
 - A: Yes, *Res Publica* is still relevant because it embodies the idea of collective governance and shared responsibility, which is fundamental in modern democracies.

- B: No, because in today's political systems, the influence of private interests and corporate power has diminished the relevance of the public good (*Res Publica*).
- C: *Res Publica* remains relevant as it reminds us of the critical role of citizens' participation in governance and accountability in public office in a democracy.
- D: It is somewhat outdated because modern political systems have evolved to be more complex than the republican model of governance that *Res Publica* represents.

The survey revealed that 45% of students believe *Res Publica* is still relevant, as it embodies collective governance and shared responsibility, essential elements in modern democracies. Another 25% of students agree that the concept remains significant for ensuring citizen participation and accountability in governance. However, 20% feel that private interests and corporate power have diminished the relevance of *Res Publica*, while 10% argue that the concept is somewhat outdated, given the complexity of modern political systems.

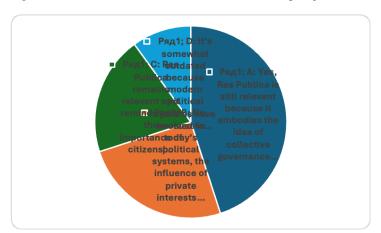


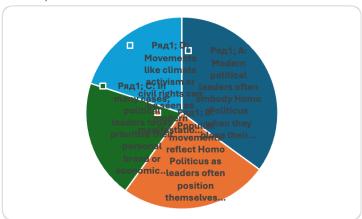
Figure 2. Perceived relevance of *Res Publica* (n = 30; Spring 2024).

- 3. How do you see *Homo Politicus* reflected in modern political leaders or movements? (n = 30)
 - A: Modern political leaders often embody *Homo Politicus* when they place their political careers and ambitions above personal gain, focusing on governance and power for the public good.

- B: Populist movements reflect *Homo Politicus* as leaders often position themselves as champions of the people, actively engaging in the political struggle for influence and control.
- C: In many cases, political leaders today prioritize their personal brand or economic success, which contrasts with the traditional *Homo Politicus*, who is deeply committed to political service.
- D: Movements like climate activism or civil rights can be seen as modern manifestations of *Homo Politicus*, as they are driven by a desire to reshape political discourse and influence societal change.

When asked how *Homo Politicus* is reflected in modern political leaders or movements, 35% of students stated that they see it embodied in leaders who prioritize public good over personal gain. A further 25% associated the concept with populist movements, where leaders often position themselves as champions of the people. Another 20% noted that many modern leaders seem more focused on building their personal brand or economic success, which contrasts with the classical view of *Homo Politicus*. An additional 20% saw *Homo Politicus* reflected in activist movements, such as those for climate change or civil rights.

Figure 3. Manifestations of *Homo Politicus* in leaders/movements (n = 30; Spring 2024)

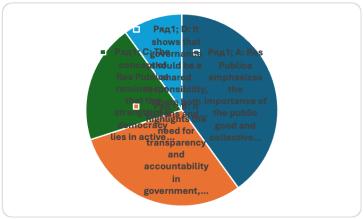


4. How does the concept of *Res Publica* influence your understanding of democracy and governance? (n = 30)

- A: *Res Publica* emphasizes the importance of the public good and collective governance, reinforcing my belief that democracy should serve the people's interests.
- B: It highlights the need for transparency and accountability in government, ensuring that public officials act in the best interest of citizens rather than for private gain.
- C: The concept of *Res Publica* reminds me that the strength of a democracy lies in active citizen participation and the protection of public resources and interests.
- D: It shows that governance should be a shared responsibility, where citizens and leaders work together to ensure a fair and just society.

Most students (40%) stated that *Res Publica* underscores the idea that democracy serves the public good and collective governance. Another 30% emphasized the importance of transparency and accountability, which are central to the concept of *Res Publica*. Meanwhile, 20% of students highlighted the role of citizen participation as key to democracy, and 10% viewed *Res Publica* as a reminder that governance should be a shared responsibility between citizens and leaders.

Figure 4. Effects of *Res Publica* on views of democracy/governance (n = 30; Spring 2024)



These findings reflect the diverse perspectives of the students, with responses demonstrating a solid understanding of both *Homo*

Politicus and *Res Publica* in contemporary political discourse. The students' interpretations illustrate the enduring relevance of these classical concepts in today's global political landscape, shaped by their educational background and regional experiences.

Specifically, the fact that 40% of students define *Homo Politicus* as individuals who actively engage in political processes highlights how the concept remains a central figure in democratic participation and civic duty. This suggests that for a significant portion of students, political identity is inseparable from active engagement in governance, supporting the idea that *Homo Politicus* is not merely an ancient construct but a living framework through which individuals understand their political roles.

Moreover, 25% of the students associate *Homo Politicus* with a desire for power and influence, suggesting that political ambition remains a driving force in contemporary politics. This reflects a recognition that power dynamics are crucial in shaping the decisions of political leaders. The remaining 35% (divided between those who view *Homo Politicus* as public figures shaping policy and those who see them as politically influential individuals) further reinforces the view that the modern political landscape is one where individuals, whether in formal office or civil society, exert considerable influence on governance and policy formation.

Regarding *Res Publica*, the findings show that a majority of students (70%) still find this concept relevant to modern political systems, either as a framework for collective governance (45%) or as a reminder of the importance of citizen participation (25%). This reinforces the idea that *Res Publica* continues to serve as a critical foundation for understanding how public institutions and governance should function in serving the common good. Interestingly, 20% of students felt that the public good has been overshadowed by private interests, reflecting growing concerns about corporate influence and the erosion of democratic accountability in today's political systems. A small proportion (10%) considered *Res Publica* somewhat outdated, indicating that while the concept remains influential, its application may be limited in increasingly complex global political structures.

The students' diverse backgrounds, particularly with a majority coming from Asia and Africa, offer insight into how regional

and cultural contexts shape their perceptions of these classical ideas. For instance, students from countries with emerging democracies or where political participation is transforming may find *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* particularly relevant in shaping their understanding of governance and citizen engagement. Meanwhile, those from more established democracies might focus on the challenges these concepts face in modern contexts, such as the rise of populism or the encroachment of corporate power.

Overall, the data highlights that *International Relations* and *Political Science* students view these classical concepts as not only historically significant but also as active frameworks for understanding and engaging with the complexities of modern political life. Their responses underscore the relevance of *Homo Politicus* and *Res Publica* in navigating the intersections between individual political identity, governance, and the collective responsibility of the state in an increasingly interconnected world.

CONCLUSIONS

Homo Politicus reflects the intrinsic connection between politics and human imperfection. As society remains diverse, with competing interests and values, the figure of *Homo Politicus* continues to be central to understanding both social organization and political behavior (Schmitt, 1927). This archetype highlights the political nature of human beings, driven by the pursuit of power, governance, and engagement within societal structures.

Samuel A. Chambers offers a critical perspective on the limitations of using *Homo Politicus* as a counterpoint to neoliberalism. His analysis reveals that opposing neoliberalism requires more than simply resurrecting an idealized political figure. Instead, it necessitates active engagement in creating new social and political realities that foster alternative forms of subjectivity capable of challenging the pervasive influence of neoliberalism (Chambers, 2018). Chambers' critique highlights the need to reassess traditional notions of political subjectivity in contemporary contexts.

Implications. For political theory and civic education, the persistence of *Homo Politicus* as identity-work and of *Res Publica* as an

ethical horizon suggests that curricula should explicitly reconnect classical notions to contemporary dilemmas (e.g., platform politics, technocratic governance). Small-N survey evidence can inform course design by revealing how students currently map these concepts onto leaders, movements, and institutional accountability.

Res Publica remains a crucial concept for understanding the evolution of political thought from antiquity to the present. Its progression from the Roman Republic through Byzantine law into modern political theory reflects its enduring significance in public governance and collective responsibility. The concept's continued relevance in contemporary discussions on republicanism, democracy, and state responsibility illustrates its foundational role in shaping modern governance systems. Res Publica not only underscores the importance of public affairs but also serves as a reminder of the ethical and civic duties required for sustaining just and effective governance.

References

- Aristotle (1998). *Politics*. Trans. C.D.C. Reeve. Indianapolis–Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Ascher, I. (2016). *Portfolio society: On the capitalist mode of prediction*. New York: Zone Books.
- Brennan, G. (2008). *Homo Economicus and Homo Politicus: An introduction. Public Choice*, 137(3/4), 429–438. DOI: 10.1007/s11127-008-9321-9
- Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. New York: Zone Books.
- Capano, G., Galanti, M.T., & Barbato, G. (2023). When the political leader is the narrator: The political and policy dimensions of narratives. *Policy Sciences*, *56*, 233–265. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-023-09505-6
- Cicero, M.T. (54 BCE). De Re Publica. Trans. C.W. Keyes.
- Chambers, S.A. (2018). Undoing neoliberalism: Homo Œconomicus, *Homo Politicus*, and the Zōon Politikon. *Critical Inquiry*, 44(4), 675–708.
- Djuric, M. (1979). *Homo Politicus*. In *Praxis, society, politics and revolution* (pp. 101–119). Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Faber, M., Manstetten, R., Rudolf, M., Frick, M., & Becker, M.Y. (2024). Homo economicus and *homo politicus*: How we see ourselves as humans and why that can change everything. In *Sustainable action in economy and society* (pp. 41–53). Berlin: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-69122-9_5

- Ferguson, K. (2014). Why does political participation matter? *Political Theory*, 42(2), 179–208.
- Finlayson, A. (2003). *Making sense of New Labour*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979.* Trans. G. Burchell. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freund, J. (1965). L'essence du politique. Paris: Sirey.
- Gehlen, A. (1962). *Der Mensch: Seine Natur und seine Stellung in der Welt.* Bonn: Athenaum Verlag.
- Gill, S.P. (2024). Ethics and administration of the 'Res publica': Dynamics of democracy. AI & Society, 39, 825–827. DOI: 10.1007/s00146-024-01963-7
- Hennis, W. (1963). *Politik und praktische Philosophie*. Neuwied-Berlin: Luchterhand.
- Hobbes, T. (1651). Leviathan. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Josefson, J. (2019). *Res publica*. In *Hannah Arendt's aesthetic politics* (pp. 189–245). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18692-0 6
- Kaldellis, A. (2015). *The Byzantine republic: People and power at new Rome*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Machiavelli, N. (1997). *Discourses on Livy*. Trans. H.C. & N. Tarcov. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mannheim, K. (1936). *Ideology and utopia*. London: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Marx, K. (1973). *Grundrisse: Foundations of the critique of political economy*. Trans. M. Nicolaus. New York: Penguin Books.
- Meier, C. (1980). *Res publica* amissa: Eine Studie zur Verfassung und Geschichte des spätrepublikanischen Rom (2nd ed.). München: C.H. Beck.
- Rancière, J. (1999). *Disagreement: Politics and philosophy*. Trans. J. Rose. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Read, J. (2009). A genealogy of homo-economicus: Neoliberalism and the production of subjectivity. *Foucault Studies*, *6*, 25–36.
- Russell, B. (1938). *Power: A new social analysis*. London: Allen & Unwin. Schmitt, C. (1927). *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, *58*, 1–33.
- Spranger, E. (1927). Lebensformen. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Stewart, G.M. (2022). Malcolm Schofield: Cicero: Political philosophy. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 25, 521–523. DOI: 10.1007/s10677-022-10291-y
- Terravecchia, G.P. (2022). Liberty in the Renaissance: Political. In M. Sgarbi (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy. Cham: Springer, 1908–1913. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-14169-5_605

Vin, Y.Y. (2023). The concept of *Res Publica* and its reception in Byzantine law: Transliteration and legal transformations. *Theoretical and Applied Jurisprudence*, 1(15), 310–338.

Copyright and License



This article is published under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution – NoDerivs (CC BY- ND 4.0) License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/