

**GOVERNMENT 97  
THE SOPHOMORE TUTORIAL IN GOVERNMENT  
Harvard University, Spring 2017**

**DRAFT**

**Mondays 2:00-3:30pm, Yenching Library 118  
Weekly sections to be arranged**

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GOV Writes Website: <http://govwrites.fas.harvard.edu/>

## §1. Introduction

Welcome to Government 97! The Sophomore Tutorial is for all Government concentrators. It focuses on democracy to explore some of the problems and methods that are fundamental to the study of politics.

Democracy is central to political self-understanding across the modern world – not only in societies that see themselves as democratic but in many other societies whose lack of democracy is felt urgently by their citizens. There are many puzzling questions, however. Just what *is* democracy? Where does the idea come from and how has it come to be such a dominating ideal in modern politics? How did democracies emerge historically and what determines whether they will remain stable? What are the mechanisms of accountability within modern, mass democracies and how effective are they? How does democracy relate to economic life, and how does democracy affect issues of war and peace? This course will introduce students not only to the theoretical and empirical debates over the study of democratic politics, but also to the diverse approaches that political science offers for understanding politics.

In looking at various issues relating to democracy, you will encounter many of the enormous range of topics and approaches that are included within the field of politics at Harvard – as well as hearing from some of the distinguished faculty members who study them. We hope that this will help you to make good choices about areas to pursue later in your studies. To that end, Government 97 also has an important advising role (more on this below).

Above all, though, the course is, as its name makes clear, a *tutorial*. That is, it is a place to meet with your peers under the direction of one of our outstanding cohort of Teaching Fellows and there develop your own skills, in reading, writing and thinking about politics. We hope that you enjoy the course and that it leaves you feeling well prepared and eager to continue your study of politics.

## §2. Course Policies

### READINGS

All readings are available on the course website (Harvard log-in required and only for the students enrolled in the class).

### WEBSITE

The course website is a vital resource that will keep you informed of course updates and other important information. Please ensure you check the website regularly.

URL: <https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/8462>

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Grades in Government 97 are determined by four components:

- **Paper 1:** due February 17<sup>th</sup> (20%)
- **Paper 2:** due April 7<sup>th</sup> (25%)
- **Paper 3:** due May 11<sup>th</sup> (30%)
- **Class participation** (25%)

The papers are each 7-8 pages in length and are due at 5pm on the dates listed above. The penalty for late submission will be 1/3 of a grade for each 24-hour period the paper is late (e.g. A to A- for the first period). Paper extensions must be requested in advance and are granted at the sole discretion of your TF.

The participation grade depends on weekly lecture and section attendance, contribution to weekly discussions and the quality of submitted section assignments (where applicable).

### COLLABORATION

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you are encouraged to consult with your classmates about your ideas. However, you must ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own independent work and writing, and that it reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc.), you must also acknowledge this assistance.

### SECTIONS

We shall organize sections (as far as possible) by house affiliation. The TFs leading your section will send e-mails well in advance advising you of the time and location of your section. You are expected to attend the section to which you are assigned and changing will only be possible in extraordinary circumstances (conflict with other courses does not count as a sufficiently compelling reason). Please contact the Head TF if there are problems with your section.

### §3. Advising

#### **Your Gov 97 Teaching Fellow (TF):**

Aside from the intellectual component of the course, there is a second, no less important, goal. This is to develop a fulfilling and supportive advising relationship between you and your TF that will continue throughout the semester and (we hope) for the remainder of your undergraduate career.

To facilitate the development of this relationship, we require that you meet with your TF at least twice and consult with him or her about your interest in Government.

- **First meeting with your TF:** first two weeks of the semester
- **Second meeting with your TF:** between April 12 and April 26

Please note that these are the minimum number of meetings. We hope that you will have many more conversations with your TF through the course of the semester and develop a foundation for a relationship that can help you throughout your time at Harvard.

#### **Your House Concentration Adviser (CA)**

Many of you will already have established a connection with the Government Concentration Adviser in your house, who may have helped you fill out your “Plan of Study” and “signed you up” to the Government concentration. Because you may need advice before Gov 97 begins, and because tutorial assignments may not be entirely stable until near study card day, it is likely that your House CA will sign your study card. Here is the list of current House CAs:

<b>Adams</b>	<b>Naima Green</b> ngreen@g.harvard.edu
<b>Cabot</b>	<b>Gabriel Katsh</b> (non-res) katsh@post.harvard.edu
<b>Currier</b>	<b>Gabriel Katsh</b> katsh@post.harvard.edu
<b>Dunster</b>	<b>Soledad Prillaman</b> soledadartiz@fas.harvard.edu
<b>Eliot</b>	<b>Michael Hankinson</b> mhankins@fas.harvard.edu
<b>Kirkland</b>	<b>Becca Goldstein</b> (non-res) beccagoldstein36@gmail.com
<b>Leverett</b>	<b>Taylor Lane</b> taclane@post.harvard.edu
<b>Lowell</b>	<b>Sarah James</b> (non-res) sarahjames@g.harvard.edu
<b>Mather</b>	<b>Carolyn Killea</b> ckillea@jd18.law.harvard.edu
<b>Pforzheimer</b>	<b>Gabriel Katsh</b> (non-res) katsh@post.harvard.edu
<b>Quincy</b>	<b>Rush Doshi</b> rdoshi@g.harvard.edu
<b>Winthrop</b>	<b>Aaron Watanabe</b> awatanabe@g.harvard.edu

## **Advice from Faculty**

Gov 97 is designed to introduce you to several distinguished faculty in the Government Department, whose research touches on the themes of the course. They, as well as the Course Heads, are all eager to discuss matters further with you during office hours. In addition, the “New Concentrator Questionnaire” form that you submit will be used to match you (as much as possible) with a faculty member who will reach out to you sometime during the spring for a conversation to discuss mutual interests in politics and political science.

Please note that Faculty members in Government do not have a technical advising function, i.e., they are not responsible for signing study cards or other forms, explaining requirements, or meeting regularly with students about course selection, etc. **Thus, the faculty member who emails you for a faculty conversation is not your faculty “adviser.”** Nevertheless, we encourage undergraduates to discuss their substantive and research interests with faculty during office hours and to seek faculty advice about how the study of politics can inform their research and career goals. This initial conversation is only one way of encouraging meaningful connections between undergraduates and faculty. (Others are taking a Gov 94 seminar or perhaps a 92r research assistantship for credit.)

## January 23: Why democracy? (Week 1)

Michael Rosen

- Adams, John. "Marchamont Nedham. The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth Examined." In *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1856. 10 volumes. Vol. 6. (Extracts).
- Burke, Edmund. "Speech to the Electors of Bristol." In *Select Works of Edmund Burke: A New Imprint of the Payne Edition*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999. Vol. 4. Read from: "I am sorry I cannot conclude ..." to the end. (Extracts).
- Dworkin, Ronald. *Sovereign Virtue: the Theory and Practice of Equality*, 184-203. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Taylor, Charles. "Democratic Exclusion (and its Remedies?)." *Eurozine*, February 21, 2002. Available online: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-02-21-taylor-en.html>
- Hirschman, Albert. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 1970. Ch. 3, Voice, pp.30-43; Ch.4 A Special Difficulty in Combining Voice and Exit, pp.44-54; Ch.6 On Spatial Duopoly and the Dynamics of Two-Party Systems, pp.62-75.
- Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics" *Harper's Magazine* (Nov 1964).
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *National Interest* (Summer 1989).

## January 30: Democracy Ancient and Modern (Week 2)

Danielle Allen

- Pericles, "Funeral Oration",  
<http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/education/thucydides.html>
- Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I Ch. 1, 2,12; Book III Ch. 1, 7 to 13, 15; Book IV Ch. 1, 2
- Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns" (1819). <http://www.indiana.edu/~b356/texts/Constant.htm>
- American Declaration of Independence:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/declare.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/declare.asp)  
DO NOT USE THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES' TEXT TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DECLARATION
- Federalist Papers #10, 14, 39, 63,  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/fed.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp)
- Alexander Hamilton, New York Ratifying Convention,. Notes for Speech of July 12, [12 July 1788]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified October 5, 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-05-02-0012-0060>
- French, Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen,  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/rightsof.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp)
- Purna Swaraj (Indian Declaration of Independence)

<http://www.indiaofthepast.org/contribute-memories/read-contributions/major-events-pre-1950/283-purna-swaraj-the-demand-for-full-independence-26-january-1930->

- UN Declaration of Human Rights, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

### **February 6: Democracy, Rights, and Courts (Week 3)**

*Eric Beerbohm*

- U.S. Constitution, Article 3: <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/articleiii>
- The Bill of Rights
- Hamilton, *Federalist Papers #78*, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/fed.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp)
- Alexander M. Bickel, *The Least Dangerous Branch: The Supreme Court at the Bar of Politics* (1962), pp. 16-38.
- Jeremy Waldron, "The Core of the Case Against Judicial Review," 115 *Yale L.J.* 1346 (2006), pp. 1348-58, 1379-86, 1390-1401
- Christopher Eisgruber, "Judicial Review and Democratic Legitimacy" (*Constitutional Self-Government*, pp. 46-78)
- *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972): <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/406/205>
- *Birth Control At The Supreme Court: Does Free Coverage Violate Religious Freedom?*: <http://www.npr.org/2016/03/23/471003272/birth-control-at-the-supreme-court-does-free-coverage-violate-religious-freedom>
- Oral Argument, *Zubik v. Burwell* (listen until 22:22): <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2015/14-1418>

**\*\*First paper assigned**

### **February 13: Representation: Of Whom and How? (Week 4)**

*Daniel Smith*

- *Federalist Papers #35, 57, 62*, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/fed.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp)
- Hanna F. Pitkin (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Ch. 1.
- David J. Samuels and Matthew S. Shugart (2010). *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 2-3.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr. (2000). "Political Representation in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7: 273-96.
- John M. Carey and Matthew S. Shugart (1995). "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies*, 14(4): 417-440.
- Gilens, M., & Page, B. I. (2014). Testing theories of American politics: Elites, interest groups, and average citizens. *Perspectives on politics*, 12(03), 564-581

- (optional) Jennifer L. Lawless (2015). "Female Candidates and Legislators." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18:349-66.

## February 27: Accountability (Week 5)

Daniel Carpenter

- Federalist Papers #72, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/fed.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp)
- Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy* (Princeton U.P., 2008): Ch. 1 "The New Gilded Age" (excerpts), Ch. 4 "Partisan Biases in Economic Accountability", Ch. 6 "Homer Gets a Tax Cut."
- James Fearon, "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians: Selecting Good Types versus Sanctioning Poor Performance", in *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*
- Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy* (Times Books, 2008): Ch. 13 "Making Democracies Work", pp. 303-13 "Creating Horizontal Accountability"
- Dennis Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Democracy" in *Restoring Responsibility* (Cambridge U.P., 2005).
- Lily Tsai, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability and Local Public Goods Provision," *American Political Science Review* 101:2: (May 2007): 355-72.
- *Optional for those especially interested in the subject:* Maggie McKinley, "Lobbying and the Petition Clause," *Stanford Law Review* 68 (May 2016): 1131-1205.

## March 6: Democracy and Minorities: Problems of Exclusion (Week 6)

Tommie Shelby, Danielle Allen, Ryan Enos

- Hannah Arendt. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, "The Perplexities of the Rights of Man," Part II, Chapter 9: pp. 290-302 Harcourt edition.
- Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*, (Harvard U.P., 1991): "Voting" pp. 38-61 and "Earning," pp. 70-99.
- Michael Walzer, "Membership" in *Spheres of Justice* (Basic Books, 1983)
- Susan Okin, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" *Boston Review*, October/ November 1997.
- Samuel Huntington, "The Hispanic Challenge," in *Foreign Affairs*
- Jack Citrin et al responses in *Perspectives on Politics*
- Jytte Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge*, (Oxford U.P., 2005): Ch. 2 and 5.
- Tommy Shelby, *Dark Ghettos* (selections)
- Elizabeth Anderson, *The Imperative of Integration* (selections) xx

## March 20: Capitalism and Democracy (Week 7)

Peter A. Hall



- Friedman, Milton. "The Relation between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom." In *Capitalism and Freedom*, 7-12. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Lindblom, Charles. "The Market as Prison." *Journal of Politics* 44, no. 2 (1982): 324-36.
- Marshall, T. H. "Citizenship and Social Class." In *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, 71-134. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Wolfgang Merkel, "Is Capitalism Compatible with Democracy?" *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* 8:2 (2014): 109-28.
- Peter A. Hall, "The Political Origins of Our Economic Discontents: Contemporary Adjustment Problems in Historical Perspective." In *Politics in the New Hard Times: The Great Recession in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Miles Kahler and David Lake. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2013: 129-149.

### **March 27: Democracy and New Technologies (Week 8)**

*Latanya Sweeney*

- Sunstein, Cass. 2008. "Neither Hayek nor Habermas." *Public Choice*, 134: 87-95
- Diamond, Larry. 2010 (July). "Liberation Technology." *Journal of Democracy* 21, 3: 69-83
- Garrett, R. K. 2006. "Protest in an Information Society: A Review of Literature on Social Movements and New ICTs." *Information, Communication & Society*, 9, 2: 202-224
- Evgeny Morozov. 2011. *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of the Internet*. Washington: Public Affairs Press. Introduction and Chapters 6, 7 and 8.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2014. Reverse-engineering censorship in China: Randomized experimentation and participant observation, *Science* 345, No. 6199: 1-10.
- Sweeney, Latanya. Discrimination in Online Ad Delivery. *Communications of the ACM*, Vol. 56 No. 5, Pages 44-54.
- Sweeney, Latanya. Online Ads Roll the Dice. Tech@FTC Blog of the Chief Technology Officer. <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/blogs/techftc/2014/09/online-ads-roll-dice>

**\*\*Second paper assigned**

### **April 3: Democratization and persistent authoritarianism: The Case of the Middle East (Week 9)**

*Melani Cammett*

- Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36: No. 2 (2004), pp. 139-157.
- Larry Diamond, "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21: No. 1 (2010), pp. 93-104.
- Michael Ross, *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2012. Chapter 3.

- Sean Yom, *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East*. NY: Columbia University Press, Chapters 1 and 2.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. "From Dynamic Events to Deep Causes: Outcomes and Explanations for the Arab Spring," *Middle East Law and Governance* 7:1: 3-15.

#### **April 10: Democracy and War (Week 10)**

*Iain Johnston*

- Russett, Bruce. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post Cold War World*, 3-42. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. (Skim Chapter 1; read Chapter 2 for its hypotheses.)
- Rosato, Sebastian. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (2003): 585–602.
- Jarrod Hayes, "The democratic peace and the new evolution of an old idea" *European Journal of International Relations* 81(4) (2012) pp. 767-791.
- Michael Tomz and Jessica Weeks, "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace", *American Political Science Review* 107:4 (2013), pp. 849-865.

#### **April 17: Does Globalization Advance or Threaten Democracy? (Week 11)**

*Jeffry Frieden*

- Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, W.W. Norton, 2011, Chapter 9, pp. 184-206 ("The Political Trilemma of the World Economy")
- Arthur Stein, 2016. "The Great Trilemma: Are Globalization, Democracy and Sovereignty Compatible," *International Theory* 8:2: 297-340.
- Jeffry Frieden. "Will Global Capitalism Fall Again?" *Bruegel Essay and Lecture Series*. 2006
- Helen V. Milner and Bumba Mukherejee. 2009. "Democratization and Economic Globalization," *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 163-81.
- Robert O. Keohane, Stephen Macedo and Andrew Moravcsik, "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism," *International Organization* 63:1: 1-31.
- *Optional for those especially interested in the subject:* Barry Eichengreen and David LeBlang, "Democracy and Globalization," *Economics and Politics* 203:3 (Nov 2008): 289-334.

#### **April 24: Challenges for Democracy, Alternatives to Democracy (Week 12)**

*Yuhua Wang, Jorge Dominguez, Gwyneth McClendon*

- Perry, Elizabeth. "Chinese Conceptions of Rights: From Mencius to Mao to Now." *Perspectives on Politics* 6, no. 1 (2008): 37-50.

- Nathan, Andrew J. 2003. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 14, No. 1: pp. 6-17.
- Eric Li's 'Ted' talk at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0YjL9rZyR0> (optional)
- Dan Slater, "Democratic Careening," *World Politics* 65:4 (October 2013): 729-63.
- Gerardo L. Munck, "The Origins and Durability of Democracy," In Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics* (2012), pp. 3-14
- Adam Przeworski, "Latin American Political Regimes in Comparative Perspective," In Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics* (2012), pp. 542-558.
- Opalo, Kennedy Ochieng, "African Elections: Two Divergent Trends." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (2012): 80-93.
- Kate Baldwin, "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia," *American Journal of Political Science* 57:4 (2013): 794-809.
- *Optional for those with special interest in the subject:* Leonard Wantchekon, "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin," *World Politics* 55:3 (2003): 399-422.

**\*\*Third paper assigned**