

**GOVERNMENT 97**  
**THE SOPHOMORE TUTORIAL IN GOVERNMENT**  
**Harvard University, Spring 2014**

**Mondays 2:00-3:30pm, Emerson 210**

**Weekly sections to be arranged**

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## 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 (except where indicated) are available on the course website (Harvard log-in required and only for the students enrolled in the class). We have assembled a small number of readings in a coursepack that is available for purchase from *Gnomon Copy* (1308 Massachusetts Avenue, next door to JP Licks) or on reserve at Lamont Library. Please bring copies of the readings to each section as the detailed interrogations of the texts form an integral part of the course. Readings in the coursepack are denoted by the symbol ¶

### 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: <http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k99515&login=yes>

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Grades in Government 97 are determined by four components:

- **Paper 1:** due February 21<sup>th</sup> (25%)
- **Paper 2:** due April 11<sup>th</sup> (25%)
- **Paper 3:** due May 8<sup>th</sup> (25%)
- **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 producing quality academic work and we do not wish to extinguish this important component of university life. For assignments in

this course, you may find it useful to discuss the topic with your peers, your TF or the Writing Fellow. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in this discipline and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you receive any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc.), you must clearly 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 TFs 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 are mandating that you meet with your TF at least twice and consult with him or her about how to “Chart Your Courses in Government.” You must complete this preliminary plan as part of your section participation.

- **First meeting with your TF:** by February 10, 2pm
- **“Chart your Courses”** due March 14, 5pm
- **Second meeting with your TF:** between April 11 and April 21

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 an advising 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 declaration form 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. (Your Gov 97 TF, however, is also authorized to sign the card.) At the end of the semester, your Gov 97 TF will cede formal advising duties back to the Concentration Advisor in your house. Here is the list of current House CAs.

<b>Adams: Chiara Superti</b> (non-res) - <a href="mailto:csupert@fas.harvard.edu">csupert@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Leverett: Marek Hlavac</b> - <a href="mailto:hlavac@fas.harvard.edu">hstavac@fas.harvard.edu</a>
<b>Cabot: Shelby Grossman</b> (non-res) - <a href="mailto:sgrossm@fas.harvard.edu">sgrossm@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Lowell: Jonathan Bruno</b> - <a href="mailto:jbruno@fas.harvard.edu">jbruno@fas.harvard.edu</a>
<b>Currier: Tae-Yeoun Keum</b> (non-res) - <a href="mailto:tkeum@fas.harvard.edu">tkeum@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Mather: Graham Clure</b> - <a href="mailto:gclure@fas.harvard.edu">gclure@fas.harvard.edu</a>
<b>Dunster: Molly Roberts</b> - <a href="mailto:roberts8@fas.harvard.edu">roberts8@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Pforzheimer: Gabriel Katsh</b> - <a href="mailto:katsh@fas.harvard.edu">katsh@fas.harvard.edu</a>
<b>Eliot: Michael Hankinson</b> - <a href="mailto:mhankins@fas.harvard.edu">mhankins@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Quincy: Brad Hinshelwood</b> - <a href="mailto:bhinshel@fas.harvard.edu">bhinshel@fas.harvard.edu</a>
<b>Kirkland: Jonathan Gould</b> - <a href="mailto:gould@fas.harvard.edu">gould@fas.harvard.edu</a>	<b>Winthrop: Raul Campillo</b> - <a href="mailto:rcampillo@jd14.law.harvard.edu">rcampillo@jd14.law.harvard.edu</a>

### **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 “Statement of Interests” and “Chart your Courses” documents 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 27: Why democracy? (Week 1)

Stephen Ansolabehere and Nancy Rosenblum

- Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship*, Chapter 1
- Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue*, pp. 184-203
- Learned Hand, "Democracy: Its Presumptions and Realities" from *The Spirit of Liberty*
- Michael Walzer, "Deliberation and What Else?" in *Politics and Passions*
- Students for a Democratic Society, Port Huron Statement

Videos: Excerpt to show in class, ~ 1-2 minutes (on website)

- Tea Party:  
<http://youtu.be/-VMXz6xGeqc>  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IUPMjC9mq5Y>
- Occupy Wall Street:  
<http://vimeo.com/29513113>  
<http://vimeo.com/30241489>
- Egypt and Tahrir Square:  
<http://vimeo.com/19559138>

## February 3: Democracy Ancient and Modern (Week 2)

Nancy Rosenblum

- Pericles, "Funeral Oration"
- Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I Ch. 1, 2, 12; Book III Ch. 1, 7 to 13, 15; Book IV Ch. 1, 2, 6 to 8; Book V Ch. 1, 5.
- Benjamin Constant, "The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns" (1819).
- Federalist Papers #10, 14, 39, 63
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Introduction; Vol. I, Part 1, Ch. 8 pp. 149-54; Vol. I, Part 2, Ch. 6 pp. 231-5.

## February 10: Are Elections Undemocratic? (Week 3)

Stephen Ansolabehere

- Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (Harper and Brothers, 1942): pp. 250-64, 269-73, 280-84.
- Morris P. Fiorina (1980), "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics," *Daedalus*, Summer, pages 25-45.
- Anthony Downs, "The Causes and Effects of Rational Abstention", in *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. (Harper, 1975).

- Stephen Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. (Longman, 1993): Introduction, Ch. 2, 7, 8.
- Maurice Duverger, “Introduction: The Origin of Parties” and “Parties and the Representation of Opinion” (372-93) in *Political Parties*.
- E. E. Schattschneider, *Semi-Sovereign People*, chs. 1, 2 and 5 (pp 1-45, 76-94)
- Robert Dahl, *Who Governs?* Ch. 28, pp 311-325.

\*\*First paper assigned

### **February 24: Democracy, Rights, and Courts (Week 4)**

Noah Feldman

- U.S. Constitution, Article 3 and the Bill of Rights
- Hamilton, *Federalist Papers #78*
- 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
- *West Virginia v. Barnette* [Excerpts]
- *Marbury v. Madison* [Excerpts]

### **March 3: How Democratic is the United States? (roundtable) (Week 5)**

Larry Lessig

Kay Schlozman

Nancy Rosenblum

Introduce panel with recording of Leonard Cohen, “Democracy”

- Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), Introduction and Ch. 6.
- Schlozman, Verba, and Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* pp. 1-10, Chapters 5 and 14.
- Sandy Levinson, *Our Undemocratic Constitution*, Chapters 3 and 4
- Lawrence Lessig, *Republic Lost*, pp. 91-171

### **March 10: Capitalism, Democracy, and the Welfare State (Week 6)**

Peter Hall

- Friedman, Milton. "The Relation between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom." In *Capitalism and Freedom*, 7-12. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Marshall, T. H. "Citizenship and Social Class." In *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, 71-134. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Lindblom, Charles. "The Market as Prison." *The Journal of Politics* 44, no. 2 (1982): 324-36.
- Streeck, Wolfgang "The Crisis of Democratic Capitalism." *New Left Review* 71 (2011): 5-29.

### **March 24: Wealth, Income, and Democracy (Week 7)**

Robert Bates

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), chapter 2.
- Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James, *Why Nations Fail* New York: Crown Books, 2012, chapters 1 and 3.
- Chapter 9, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*
- Robert H. Bates, Ghada Fayad and Anke Hoeffler, "The state of democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa" *International Area Studies Review* (2012) 15: 323-338

### **March 31: What Causes Democratic Revolutions? (Week 8)**

Daniel Ziblatt

- Dankwart Rustow, 1970. "Transitions to Democracy," *Comparative Politics*, 2: 337-63.
- Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World" *World Politics* 54.2 (2002) 212-244
- M. Steven Fish, "The Structural Problem: Grease and Glitter" in *Russia Derailed* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 114-138
- Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, Andrew Reynolds, "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy* October 2013: 29-44
- Daniel Ziblatt, "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth Century Germany" *American Political Science Review* 2009: 1-21.

\*\*Second paper prompt distributed

### **April 7: What is the Future of democracy? (roundtable) (Week 9)**

Jorge Dominguez

Meg Rithmire

Tim Colton



- Elizabeth Perry. "Chinese conceptions of rights: from Mencius to Mao to now." perspectives on politics. January 2008.
- Rustow, Dankwart and Robert Dahl. List of democratic regimes compiled at the end of the 1960s.
- Huntington, Samuel. List of democratic regimes compiled in the early 1990s.
- Book review by Jorge Dominguez of *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America* (2011) edited by Daniel H. Levine and Jorge E. Molina
- Fragments of a Defunct State by Stephen Holmes (a review of Mafia State by Luke Harding)
- The Myth of the Authoritarian Model by McFaul and Stoner-Weiss

### **April 14: Democracy at War (Week 10)**

Matt Baum

- Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B. K. Potter. The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science* (Volume 11: 2008).
- Fearon, James D. 1994. Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88(September): 577-92.
- Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 3-42.
- Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor. 1991. Election Cycles and War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35:2: 212-244.
- Lake, David A. 1992. Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War. *American Political Science Review* 86:1: 24-37.

### **April 21: Democracy and New Technologies (Week 11)**

Ruxy Paul

Molly Roberts

Evann Smith

- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts. 2013. How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 2 (May): 1-18.
- Onorato, Massimiliano Gaetano, Kenneth Scheve, and David Stastaveage. "Technology and the Era of the Mass Army." November 2013.
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *American Economic Review*, 101(7): 3253-85.
- Supreme Court case: Near v. Minnesota, 1931

- Supreme Court case: United States of America v. Progressive, Inc., Erwin Knoll, Samuel Day, Jr., and and Howard Morland, 1979

## **April 28: Globalization(Roundtable) (Week 12)**

Beth Simmons

Michael Hiscox

Kathryn Sikkink

- Robert Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik, "Democracy Enhancing Multilateralism," *International Organization*, 63:1 (Winter 2009): pp. 1-31.
- Baron, David. "Private Politics." *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 12, no. 1 (2003): 31-47.
- Ruth Grant and Robert Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99:1 (February 2005), pp. 29-43.
- Buchanan, Allen and Russell Powell. "Survey Article: Constitutional Democracy and the Rule of International Law: Are they Compatible?" *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 16, no. 3 (2008): 326-349.
- Simmons, Beth. "Globalization, Sovereignty and Democracy: The Role of International Organizations in a Globalizing World." In *International perspectives on contemporary democracy: Democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law* edited by Peter F. Nardulli, 158-182. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.