

Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (PPE) Major
Politics Seminar (PPE011A) and Politics Tutorial (PPE011B)
Spring 2020 [Professor Sinha]

Seminar: Kravis 168, Thursday (and sometimes on Tuesday) 1.15-4.00 pm

Tutorial: Kravis 233, Tuesday, by appointment (starts at 9.00 am)

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Politics is defined by power. Political science seeks to examine how power is used in varying ways to achieve varying goals (freedom, justice, fairness, re-election, economic growth or survival) in different contexts. What is power? How may we recognize it when we see it? How is power embedded in diverse contexts? The politics section of the PPE major seeks to grapple with these questions while undertaking an analysis of three prominent institutions of the modern era: **democracy, market, and governments**. Competing forces—nationalism, populism, and technological changes— are re-shaping how democracies elect their leaders, how markets work, and whether governments have the discretion to protect their citizens. So, we shall also study nationalism, populism, and the role of technology during the semester.

With the global resurgence of the Me-Too movement questions of gender and power are, once again, at the top of the public debate. We analyze issues about gender politics through the prism of power, representation, institutions, development, and political economy. In the process we learn something about when and how gendered voices and claims get addressed or fail, a germane political question.

We approach these issues and the study of power **theoretically, empirically, and comparatively**, using the tools and concepts of political science. Political Science is a large and diverse discipline with many approaches and methods. It encompasses theoretical thinking and conceptual analysis as well as empirical analysis. Theoretical thinking is an attempt to build an argument and to pay special attention to conceptual categories. What is a democracy? Which definitions of rights are more persuasive—negative or positive— and which ones do political actors act upon? Do markets entail a form of exchange (price mechanism) or property rights? What are the implications of the definition that one adopts? In discussing such conceptual and definitional questions, politics intersects directly with philosophy.

Politics is also an empirical discipline. It concerns itself with who defines concepts and who acts. Where does power reside? How can we measure power? The political context is an important part of most empirical analyses. For example, does it matter if a system is a nation-state or state-nation? How does the political context shape normative beliefs of citizens? Rather than assume that democracy is a pure normative ideal we ask empirical questions such as: How do people in Senegal define democracy, a system of government foisted upon them by colonialism? How does democracy translate across cultures?

Importantly, many empirical questions can only be addressed by looking at the context of our categories and data. That context varies across time and across nations. Comparative thinking or thinking about variation is, thus, intrinsic to the study of politics. The comparative method, one type of empirical strategy, is used to look at variation and universal properties of varied political phenomenon. For example, if democracy is the universal form of voter's choices, why does the design of democracy vary across countries? These concerns demand us to engage in abstract and conceptual discussion (intersecting with philosophy) but also go beyond the shores of United States or to historical material before our time. I am excited to think about these issues with you!

THEMATIC STRUCTURE

SECTION I: POLITICS, POLITICAL IMAGINATION, AND POWER [January 21-February 4]

- A. What is politics? What is political science for?
- B. What is Power? Conceptual and Empirical Analysis of Power
 - a. Typology of Power
 - b. Power in US: Coal Country and Appalachia
 - c. Power in International Relations: Soft and Sharp Power
 - d. Gender and Power

SECTION II: DEMOCRACY, NATIONALISM AND INSTITUTIONS [February 6-April 2]

- C. Democratic Theory and Empirical Analysis
 - a. Concepts and definitions
 - b. Voters, Civil Society, Media (Social)
 - c. Political Parties and Politicians
 - d. Populism in US: Rural Resentment
 - e. Nationalism: Theory
 - i. Hindu Nationalism in India
 - f. Translating Democracy and Development in Africa
 - g. Role of Institutions
 - i. Feminist Protest and Institutions
 - ii. Gender in Welfare Economies (Germany etc.)
 - iii. Institutional Design for a State-Nation, e.g. Sri Lanka, India, and US

SECTION III: CONNECTING PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS, TECHNOLOGY, AND ECONOMICS

- D. Technology and Politics: Does technology have beneficial effects or polarize us?
- E. Development as Freedom: Amartya Sen
 - a. Theory; A women's agency perspective
 - b. Democracy and Economic Growth
- F. Government and Markets
 - a. US and Japan

REQUIRED BOOKS

Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, Second Edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (University of Illinois Press, 1982).

Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Perseus Group, 2004).

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, *Faithless and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest Inside the Church and Military* (Princeton University Press, 1998).

Kate Baldwin, *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Frederic C. Schaffer, *Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture* (Cornell University Press, 1998).

Alfred Stepan, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000).

Katherine Cramer. *The Politics of Resentment* (University of Chicago Press, 2016).

James Settle, *Frenemies: How Social Media Polarizes America* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Steven Vogel, *Marketcraft: How Governments Make Markets Work* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

All other readings are available at Sakai.

COURSE INSTITUTIONS¹

This course is organized as a seminar; preparation and class participation are accordingly of importance. Similar to other PPE classes, the seminar and tutorial are aimed at all of us grappling with demanding material by going deep into readings. I am looking forward to discovering and rediscovering many of the readings with you!

Each student must do the assigned readings, write regular critical reviews for tutorial and actively participate in seminar discussions. Each week each of you should come to class with one or two **discussion questions** that pertain to the readings. Please read critically and try to relate the readings to each other; many of the weeks are framed as a dialogue among the readings.

I may present some lecture material and pose some targeted questions for further discussion followed by an open-ended discussion. Together we will disagree with each other but in a constructive and friendly way. The tone of the papers and the class discussions should be *respectful but critical*. All of you come from different backgrounds and have different substantive interests. It's important that you bring to the class your own interests and learn to take risks in speaking and building your positions. Please do what you can to respond to one another in a constructive way that encourages participation. Yet, please bear in mind that PPE seminars are places where you are *expected* to question one another's ideas, state reasons for agreement or disagreement, and help one another learn. I hope you will learn to develop analytical arguments in this course and learn how to disagree and debate with each other in a friendly way. All components of both the tutorial and seminar must be completed to earn a passing grade. Participation requires attendance, so too many absences will result in automatic failure.

Except for special circumstances, I do not allow computers or phones in class. This is for a number of reasons, foremost of which is that it draws attention away from class discussion. If there are special circumstances that require you to use a computer in class, please talk to me about it.

TUTORIAL: You will write FOUR tutorial papers over the semester (5-6 double-spaced pages each), as well as four comments on the tutorial paper of your partner (2-3 double-spaced). We will be split into two groups, *X* and *Y*. Each group will have a tutorial paper due every other week, and a comment paper due the alternate week. **Tutorial is Tuesday.**

¹ Some material in this section has been borrowed from other PPE syllabi.
Aseema Sinha

Papers must be e-mailed to me [aseema.sinha@cmc.edu] and to your tutorial partner by **SUNDAY 6.00 pm. MAKE SURE TO CHECK THAT I AM CCED ON YOUR E-MAIL.** TITLE YOUR PAPERS WITH YOUR NAME. The response papers will be due **Monday at 7.00 pm** and should be e-mailed to your tutorial partner and me. Your tutorial and response papers must be in on time. Late papers will be penalized.

We will have 45 minute tutorials throughout Tuesdays, starting at 9.00 am. Your paper and comments will provide the basis of tutorial discussion. Each tutorial paper (including discussion) will be worth 15% of your overall grade; each commentary (including discussion) will be worth 10% of your grade. This includes the participation grade.

Think of your tutorial paper as a Critical review paper. These papers should **not** summarize the weekly readings. Rather, they should choose a particular aspect or theme of the readings to pursue. The paper should be argumentative (make a point).

Important: Your response paper (comment) must be written a formal paper and must have an introduction and a conclusion. Try to come up with a unifying theme in both the tutorial papers and the response papers and not a set of separate points. **I want to train you to build a strong coherent argument and thematic relationship within each paper.** As the writer, you will be expected to defend your analysis, arguments, and criticisms. As the commentator, you will be expected to evaluate the writer's analysis and arguments, particularly the extent to which the writer does justice to the arguments in the relevant text and how effectively the writer speaks to the questions asked.

The following questions may help you as you do the readings and write papers:

What are the central issues at stake in the literature?

What are the principal arguments?

How does each article/book relate to the debates in the field?

How valuable and viable is the theory that each author proposes?

How effectively does each author provide empirical evidence in support of the argument?

In case of empirical comparative work, how are the cases or research sites selected? Do they illuminate the theory?

How well have the scholarly disputes been resolved and what further work might be done to resolve them?

SEMINAR: We will meet on Thursday, though a few times throughout the semester we will meet on Tuesday as well. Please do the readings *prior* to each seminar. Class discussions will elucidate the general problems and concepts we are discussing, but they will not settle such questions. Generally, questions to help focus seminar discussion are on the syllabus, **but you are also expected to come with your own questions and thoughts drawn from the readings.** Given the nature of discussion, it is likely that we will not discuss all facets of what you have read; yet the reading is an essential part of your education. The quality of your participation (including how thoughtfully and carefully you have done the reading) will make up 30% of your grade.

CROSS-TRACK ACTIVITIES AND CLASS INTERACTION: This semester I have coordinated with both Prof. Hurley and Professor Martin to create some cross-track interactions. We will have a joint class session and partial tutorial exchange with Professor Hurley's class for the week of April 16th and April 21st, when we read and discuss Amartya Sen's book, *Development as Freedom*. These interactions will give us an opportunity to see how a Philosophy and Politics class approaches the same readings and you will interact with students and faculty from the other class (Sophomores in the Sexton and Murty Track).

For that week both the classes—ours and Prof. Hurley’s class— will read the same material (Amartya Sen). Please make a note that the tutorial readings are Sen, chapters 6 and 10). The readings are a little heavy for two weeks. We will also swap tutorial partners for April 21st tutorial. Make a note of the following activities and logistics:

- (i) When we discuss Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, we will have a joint class with Professor Hurley’s class (Thursday April 16th at 1.15-4.00 pm)
- (ii) We will also have a joint combined dinner at the Ath on April 22nd with Professor Hurley and his class. Make sure that you keep that evening free. **This joint class dinner is required.**
- (iii) On April 21st the pairings will change and the X paper writers will be joined by B’s from Professor Hurley’s class for the tutorial sessions. Our Ys will respond to A’s from the Sexton’s track.
- (iv) On April 1st we will discuss how our respective classes have discussed gender during the joint track dinner with Murty Sophomores. Use it to revisit readings on gender you did with Prof. Martin and how we are discussing gender in Politics-PPE.

TUTORIAL GRADE STRUCTURE (including the participation grade)

- 1. Reading/Tutorial papers including Tutorial Discussion (4): 60%
- 2. Respondent papers including discussion (4): 40%

SEMINAR GRADE STRUCTURE

- 1. Field Survey (Due: January 23, 2020). (0%)
- 2. Response Paper: 20% (**Due: February 3rd, 2020, 10.00 am**).
- 3. Class Participation including in the debate and discussion questions: 30%.
- 4. Newspaper/Current Events Presentation and Paper: 30%.
- 5. Final Paper: Biography Paper **or** Policy Brief: 20% (Due May 11, 2020)

I. First Assignment: Field Survey. Due: January 23, 2020.

Short Paper 1-2 pages (Ungraded): Write a short paper based on your “survey.”

- i. Ask your friends or family about their definition of politics.
- ii. Ask 2 Gov/IR majors the same question.
- iii. Ask 2 PPE students how they define politics.
- iv. Then, write out your reflections on what you think politics is. Has your own definition changed as you talked to different people? Do different groups of people (friends/family; Gov. majors, PPE majors, or professors) have distinct notions of politics?

II. Response Paper (20%). Answer any ONE question in 5 to 7 pages. Due February 3rd at 10.00am.

- A. What is a political imagination? How does the study of politics differ from the study of economics and philosophy?
- B. Review the debate over faces of power. Which “face” is analytically useful and why?
- C. Can you suggest some ways to measure the three dimensions of power? Are you persuaded by Gaventa’s study?
- D. How would Steven Lukes respond to Nye’s concept of soft power?

- III. **Class Participation and Discussion Questions** on the readings due each week (part of the class participation grade). (30%). Please aim to write 1-2 discussion questions by 9.00 am the morning of our class). Each student should write discussion questions for at least 10/15 seminar classes. Each one of you should also aim to write responses to students' discussion questions at least 4 times during the semester.
- IV. **Newspaper Reading Paper** (3-5 pages) and **Report** (PowerPoint presentation) (30%): Each one of you will present a Newspaper Report in class and write a short paper to accompany your presentation. This report should report on a current event. *Try to identify news stories that are relevant to this class.* You should also provide background information related to the news story and try to relate the newspaper story to the class themes and class questions. A short paper of 3-5 pages (double-spaced) should accompany this presentation.

You should start reading the *New York Times*, or *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times* or *LA Times* or any other current events source of your choosing. Another good source is “the Monkey cage” or the blog Fivethirtyeight. Found at:
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/about-the-monkey-cage/> ;
<https://fivethirtyeight.com/>

The newspaper report should: (1) focus on an issue or theme (for example, power, soft power, gender, development, political institutions); (2) attempt to connect the current events to a theme in class; (3) do some background research on that story; and (4) **IMPORTANT**: Draw out the implications of the current events story to the concept or idea we have discussed in class. How does the argument or theory in the readings fare faced with the facts of the current event?

The Newspaper reading paper is due on the day of your presentation. Write a short paper –3-5 pages –describing how the theories and class readings relate to the newspaper events you are describing. This will work best if you see a resonance with something we discuss or read for class in what’s happening in the world around us. It may be beneficial to read one newspaper regularly. The purpose of this assignment is to apply the concepts and theories in the course to our understanding of current events.

- V. **FINAL PROJECT/PAPER (20%), [Due May 11, 2020, 10.00 am]. You may do the final project on any ONE of the three projects:**

a. Policy Brief (10-12 pages)

Take a policy issue germane to any country or globally and write a policy brief advising a specific actor (the government or social group or International Organization) what they should do. Your policy brief should draw upon the interests, and incentives of the political leaders/parties you are addressing to. Think about what your addressee’s interests, the power dynamics, institutional context, and other facts that may be pertinent. Use the readings in the course.

b. Biography Paper (10-12 pages)

Do some research into how authors arrived at their big ideas. Choose some author that is well-known and go back to his or her first or major idea and do some biographical research into how they got interested in that idea. What debates are they responding to? Why do they frame their study in that specific way? This assignment will urge you to do an intellectual biography of an idea. Please consult with me regarding which author you would like to

write about. You could write your biography paper on any one of the following but need not limit itself to this list: Herbert Simon, Alexander Gerschenkron, J. Schumpeter, James Scott, William Riker, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Adam Smith, or Douglas North. These are just illustrative names and you can choose any other big thinker that has inspired you. You can also focus on any author that we read for this course. I can also provide more resources for this biography paper.

POSSIBLE ATH TALKS: One is required (1/30); try attending others if possible.

1/29: Susan Hockfield, “Living Machines: How the Next Tech Revolution will Change our lives,”

REQUIRED: 1/30: Sheri Berman, “Democracy, Populism and Fascism,”

2/17: Katherine Forrest, “When Machines Can be Judge, Jury and Executioner: AI and Justice,”

2/27: Steve Smith, History of Philosophy

4/1: Vivan Marwah, CMC alum, Economic aspirations, social views, and political attitudes of Indian millennials

4/9: Valerie Hudson, “Gender and IR

DATE-WISE ORGANIZATION

SECTION I: POLITICS, POLITICAL IMAGINATION AND POWER

Week One: Politics and Political Imagination

[Seminar or S] **January 21:** Introduction and Organization

[S] **January 23:** What is Politics?

****Survey on “What is Politics” is due in Class****

Discussion Framing: How are “politics” and the study of it—political science—distinct from the subject matter of economics and philosophy? We start this course by asking if a “political imagination” is different from an economic one? How and where do they overlap? How should the subject matter of politics shape how we study it?

Required Readings:

Becker, Gary S. 1976. “*The Economic Approach to Human Behavior.*” Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 1.

Almond, Gabriel and Stephen Genco. 1977. “Clouds, Clocks and the Study of Politics.” *World Politics*, 29 (4): 489- 522, Read especially: pp, 489-498, 518-522.

Neil Irwin, “What if Sociologists had as much Influence as Economists?” *New York Times*, March 17, 2017.

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/17/upshot/what-if-sociologists-had-as-much-influence-as-economists.html?ribbon-ad-idx=4&rref=upshot&_r=0

Mansbridge, Jane. 2015. “What is Political Science for?,” Presidential Address, *Perspectives on Politics*. 12 (1): 8-17.

Week Two: Power: Conceptual and Empirical Analysis

[S] January 28: Power

Discussion Questions and Framing: While economists talk of rationality or utility, and philosophers debate the values of freedom, justice or fairness, power is the idea of central importance to politics. This week we assess what we mean by power? What are different ways to think about power? How can we measure and study it? Harold Lasswell defined power as the ability to produce intended effects on other people. Robert Dahl in his famous definition said: “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.” What are the strengths of these definitions? What are their weaknesses? Steven Lukes offers a new perspective that challenges these ideas. How would you defend Dahl’s view if you had a chance? How would Steven Lukes respond to your defense?

Even if we manage to define and fine-tune our concept of power, how can we study and measure it? Gaventa represents an approach to design an empirical study of power. Which face of power is confirmed by his empirical account? How is your view of American politics changed as a result of these empirical studies of power? How would you design a study of power?

Required Readings:

Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*, Second Edition. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillian, Introduction, Ch. 1, pp. 1-59. Ch. 2 if possible.

Gaventa, John. 1982. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Paperback edition. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Chs. 1, 2, and 3.

Podcast of various stories about coal country in recent times:

<https://www.npr.org/2018/05/09/607273500/in-the-coal-counties-of-central-appalachia-will-trump-s-promises-come-true>

Recommended Readings:

Clara Bingham and Laura Gansler. 2003. *Class Action: The Landmark Case that Changed Sexual Harassment Law (Anchor)*.

Films: North Country [126 minutes]; Harlan County [103 minutes]

Robert Dahl, “The Concept of Power,” *Behavioral Science* 2-3 (1957).

Culpepper, Pepper and Raphael Reinke, “Structural power and Bank Bailouts in the United Kingdom and United States,” *Politics and Society*, 42(4): 427-454.

Katzenstein, Peter J. and Lucia Seybert. 2018. “Protean Power and Uncertainty: Exploring the Unexpected in World Politics.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 62: 80-93.

Brian Barry, “Is it Better to be Powerful or Lucky? Part I and II,” *Political Studies*, 1980, Issue 2, and 3.

Mathew Crenson, *The Un-politics of Air pollution: A study of Non-Decision Making in the City (A direct application of Lukes)*.

[S] **January 30:** Power in International Relations: Soft Power? Sharp Power?

Discussion Questions: In contrast to American and Comparative politics, power is usually regarded in a positive way in international relations. Why is that case? How can we conceptualize power in international relations? How can we measure soft power?

Required Readings:

Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Perseus, 2004), Chs. 1-2.

Joseph Nye. 2019. "American Soft Power in the Age of Trump," *Project Syndicate*, May 6 2019. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/american-soft-power-decline-under-trump-by-joseph-s-nye-2019-05?barrier=accesspaylog>

Christopher Walker, 2018. "What is 'Sharp Power'?" *Journal of Democracy*, 29(3): 9-23.

Joseph Nye. 2018. "How Sharp Power Threatens Soft Power," *Foreign Affairs*, January 2018.

Recommended Readings:

Felix Berenskoetter and M.J. Williams ed., *Power in World Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Edward Wong, "A Chinese Empire Reborn," *New York Times*, January 5, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/sunday-review/china-military-economic-power.htm>

****Plan on Attending Sheri Berman's Talk at the Ath., 1/30.****

****Response Paper Due, Monday, February 3rd, 10.00 am***

Week Three: Gender, Power, and Democracy

[S] **February 4: Gender, Power, and Representation**

Discussion Framing: How does thinking about representing women change our definitions of a democracy and politics? What does a political analysis of gender look like?

Required Readings:

Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics*, Chapter 2, Feminism and Political Representation: Ideas and Struggles, pp., 12-44

Raka Ray, 1998. *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India* (University of Minnesota Press) Chapter 1.

SECTION II: DEMOCRACY: CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

[S] February 6: Concepts of Democracy

Discussion Framing: What are the implications of Dahl's two dimensions of democratization? What does Przeworski focus on "when parties lose elections" tell us about how to design democracies? What should a successful democracy look like? Levitsky and Ziblatt focus on social norms as essential to a democracy. How does their argument differ from Przeworski's?

Required Readings:

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971, Read: pp. 1-32.

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, 1991, Chapter 1, pp., 10-40.

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die*, Penguin Random House, 2018, Chapter 5-6.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2019. "By Numbers Alone," *The Indian Express*, August 17, 2019 at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/by-numbers-alone-bjp-jammu-and-kashmir-bifurcation-article-370-5911290/>

Recommended Readings:

Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty" in Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: oxford University Press, 1969).

Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Belknap Press, 1998).

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.13, No. 2, April 2002.

Week Four: Theories of Democracy: Voters, Civil Society, Media, and Populism

[Tutorial or T I] February 11: Democracy Concepts [X Paper, Y Comment]

Tutorial Questions: Question 1: What is the implication of Dahl's two dimensions of democratization? Evaluate Dahl's theory and offer a critique. **OR**
Question 2: What does Przeworski's focus on "when parties lose elections" tell us about how to design democracies? Why is Przeworski's account important? What does he miss (hint: Levitsky and Ziblatt's argument)?

[S] February 13: Theories of Democracy: Voters, Political Society, and Civil Society

Discussion Framing: Democracies have to find ways to represent the preferences and wishes of the people. How does political science study the "will of the people"? This week and next we look at three kinds of "people": voters, parties or political society, and civil society. The most germane question regarding voters has to do with why do people vote or vote at all? What do we learn about voting motivations from voters in India? Civil Society has been long regarded to be the sine qua non of a healthy democracy. Let's look at Sheri Berman's interesting argument about the preconditions of democratic breakdown and civil society. Do you agree with her claims?

Required Readings:

Sheri Berman, 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics*, April 1997, pp., 401-29.

Amit Ahuja & Pradeep Chhibber, 2012. "Why the Poor Vote in India: "If I Don't Vote, I Am Dead to the State" *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 2012.

Ronald J. Deibert, "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Three Painful Truths about Social Media," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 30, No. 1 January 2019: 25-39.

Recommended Readings:

John B. Judis. 2016. *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics* (Columbia Global Reports).

Sheri Berman, "The Promise of the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2013.

Peter Beinart, "There is a Reason Many Voters have Negative Views of Warren--But the Press Won't Tell You Why," *The Atlantic*, January 2, 2019.

Illustration of a Berman-like argument. Skim: Vickie Langohr, "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics': Egypt and Liberalizing Arab Regimes," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 2, January 2004: 181-204

Week Five:

[T II] February 18: Theories [Y Paper, X Comment]

Question: Civil society is regarded to be good for democratization. Sheri Berman (1997) challenges this idea. Do you agree or disagree with her argument? What mechanisms does she focus on?

[S] February 20: Political Rationality: Parties' Motivations

Discussion Questions: One of the most important and yet difficult questions central to "politics within PPE" is what politicians want. For any theory of politics to work it needs to build a theory of leader's motivations. Another way to pose this question is to ask: What is political rationality? This week reviews various salient models of what political leaders want from their power.

Required Readings:

Kaare Strom, "A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34, No. 2, (May 1990), pp. 565-598.

Barry Ames, *Politicians and Public Policy in LA*, Introduction, Ch. 1. pp. 1-33.

Kanchan Chandra, "Counting Heads: A Theory of Voter and Elite Behaviour in Patronage-Democracies," In Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson eds, *Patrons, Clients and Policies* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Eric Lipton and Alexander Burns, "The True Source of NRA's Clout: Mobilization, Not Donations," *The New York Times*, February 24, 2018.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/24/us/politics/nra-gun-control-florida.html>

Recommended Reading:

Kathleen O'Neil, 2003. "Decentralization as Electoral Strategy," *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(9): 1068-1091

Week Six: Nationalism, Populism and Rural Resentment in the US

[T III] **February 25:** Parties [X Paper; Y Comment]

Question: Evaluate and discuss the different theories of parties' motivations. Should these theories be general enough to apply to both democratic and authoritarian leaders? Are politicians' motivations independent of the overall political context?

[S] **February 27:** Populism in US

Discussion Framing: What led to the rise of Trump? What explains the upsurge of rural populism sweeping the advanced western world? This week we explore this question by travelling to Wisconsin, USA. Kathy Cramer, in seeking to understand the rise of Scott Walker, WI's Governor, uncovered a fascinating underlying dynamic of how rural people think of their economy and their place in it. Resonating with these developments, many countries (UK, US, etc.) are witnessing an explosion of populism. Is populism good or bad for democracy?

Required Readings:

Kathy J. Cramer. *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the rise of Scott Walker*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5. Skim Ch. 4.

Emily Badger, 2018. "Rural and Urban Americans, Equally Convinced the rest of the Country Dislikes them," *New York Times*, May 22, 2018.

C. Kaltwasser, 2012. "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy," *Democratization*, Vol. 19, No. 2, April 2012, 184-208.

Week Seven:

[T IV] **March 3:** Rural Resentment [Y Paper; X Comment]

Question: Cramer emphasizes the development of a rural identity in Wisconsin that creates resentment and perception of losing out. On page 60 she writes: ". . . People conveyed their identity as rural folks as well their sense of injustice over the distribution of power and resources." Which faces of power are most evident in the rural consciousness that Cramer uncovers? Does her account add something new to Lukes theory of power?

[S] **March 5:** Nationalism and Hindu Nationalism in India

Discussion Framing: The world is experiencing a revival of nationalism and nationalist parties. How do we understand this phenomenon? Benedict Anderson transformed our ways of thinking about nationalism with his now famous book, *Imagined Communities* (1983). The book has been reprinted four times pointing to its widespread influence. How does Ben Anderson define

nationalism? What is distinctive about Ben Anderson's idea of nationalism? How does Ben Anderson's theory of imagined communities combine politics, technology, and economics? What are the weaknesses of his theory of nationalism?

Required Readings:

Benedict Anderson, 2016. *Imagined Communities*, Chs. 1 and 3.

Trevor Noah, The Daily Show, Trevor responds to the French Ambassador.

Amrita Basu, *Violent Conjunctions*, Chapter 1-2.

Ashutosh Varshney, 2019, "Modi Consolidates Power: Electoral Vibrancy, Mounting Liberal Deficits," *Journal of Democracy*, October 2019.

Week Eight:

[T V] **March 10:** Nationalism [X Paper; Y Comment]

Question: Ben Anderson's view of nationalism is largely beneficent. Use and deploy Basu to critically evaluate Ben Anderson's theory of nationalism. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches?

[S] **March 12:** Democracy and Development in Africa

Discussion Framing: How should people committed to democratic values and institutions analyze non-democratic or hybrid democratic societies where some democratic institutions combine with many non-democratic institutions? Many countries in Africa embody the role of traditional chiefs in their political institutions. What do these traditional chiefs do within a political order? Kate Baldwin answers this question. What are the implications of her theory for democratic theory and practice?

Required Readings:

Frederic Shaffer, *Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture*, Cornell University Press, Preface, Chs. 3, 1. Read Ch. 2 if possible.

Kate Baldwin, *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 2016, Chs. 1-2, 4.

SPRING BREAK, MARCH 16-20, 2020

Week Nine: March 23-27: No Class. Start work on your final paper. Also, read ahead. Next week we will have two seminar days in one week.

Week 10: Institutional Analysis and Gender

[S] **March 31:** Gender, Power, and Political Institutions in Comparative Perspective

Discussion Framing: The Me-Too movement has re-energized a women's movement and raised questions about gender and power. It may be argued that gender is not an additional dimension but affects all dimensions of power. Yet, the possibility of feminist claims are also shaped by the political contexts and the specific institutional 'field' in which they are placed. How does the

distribution of power affect the nature of gender claims? This week's readings urge us to add a new dimension to our analysis of power by focusing on feminist protest and how it varies across countries as well as across institutions (church and military in the US). In doing so, we deepen our understanding of key concepts of political analysis such as the role of institutions and distribution of power.

Required Readings:

Mary F. Katzenstein, *Faithless and Fearless*, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5.

Margarita Esteveze-Abe, "Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: A Study of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Advanced Industrial Societies," *World Politics*, 59 (October 2006), 142-75.

Recommended Readings:

Emanuela Lombardo and Petra Meier, 2009. "Power and Gender: Policy Frames on Gender Inequality in Politics in the Netherlands and Spain," *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, 30:357-380.

*****April 1st: Joint Dinner with Murty Sophomores at the Ath.*****

[S] April 2: Federalism and Institutions

Discussion Framing: Stepan, Liz and Yadav offer a different theory that seeks to challenge the homogenous concept of nationalism found in Ben Anderson. A former US Speaker of the house, Tip O'Neill said once: "All politics is local." That statement can mean several things but at the very least it asks us to pay attention to the geographic basis of politics. Most countries are divided by regional and geographic differences and federalism or decentralization is an attempt to give shape to such regional interests and identities and ensure that "national" politics pays attention to "local" views and ideas. Lets also adopt a comparative perspective and analyze how the organization of territorial and ethnic claims plays out in different countries such as India, Sri Lanka and United States. What are the consequences of the institutional design of federalism and ethnic constitutions?

Required Readings:

Alfred Stepan, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), Chs. 1 (Theory and Argument), 2 (India), 4, 5, (Sri Lanka and India), and 8 (US).

Milan Vaishnav, "From Nation-state to State-Nation," *The Hindustan Times*, December 18, 2019, Accessed: shorturl.at/uvT25

SECTION III: CONNECTING PHILOSOPHY, STUDY OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

Week Eleven:

[T VI] April 7: State-Nation vs. Nation-State [Y Paper; X Comment]

Question: We know that political institutions matter. Now, we need to ask how they matter. Evaluate how the design of institutions shapes identities and cultural expression of identities

using examples from more than one country. Assess if your conclusions confirm or challenge Ben Anderson's definition.

[S] **April 9:** Special Topic: Technology and Politics: How Social Media Divides Us

**** We will have a class debate on this topic****

Required Readings:

Jaime E. Settle, 2018. *Frenemies: How Social Media Polarizes America*, Chapter 1, 2, 4.

Sarah Jackson, "Twitter Made us Better," *The New York Times*, December 29, 2019.
Accessed at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/12/27/opinion/sunday/twitter-social-media.html>

Emma Goldberg, 2020. "Techlash Hits College Campuses," *The New York Times*, January 12, 2020. Accessed on January 2020:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/11/style/college-tech-recruiting.html>

Malcolm Gladwell, "Small Change: Why the Revolution will not be tweeted." *The New Yorker*, September 27, 2010.

NY Times article: <https://www.power3point0.org/2019/12/17/authoritarian-technology-and-disinformation-a-conversation-with-natalia-antelava/>

Recommended Reading:

Sarah Jackson, Moya Bailey, and Brooke Wellnes, *#Hashtag Activism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice*. MIT Press, 2020.

Siva Vaidhyanathan. 2018. *Anti-Social Media: How Facebook Disconnects us and Undermines Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sLczAgIBHUK>

Xiao Qiang, "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Pres X's Surveillance state," JOD, 2019.

Week Twelve: Re-Conceptualizing Development as Freedom

[T VII] **April 14:** Tutorial on Technology and Politics [X Paper; Y Comment]

****Come up with your question****

April 16: Seminar on Amartya Sen [Cross Track Interaction]

This week, I and Prof. Hurley have coordinated to create some cross-track interaction between the Sexton and Murty tracks. We will interact with Prof. Hurley's class as we discuss Amartya Sen's theory of 'development as freedom.' This cross-track dialogue and exchange will allow us to see how different disciplines and tracks approach the same readings. I encourage you to take full advantage of this cross-class and cross-disciplinary interaction.

Discussion Framing: To grow, develop and modernize is considered a universal goal. But what is development and growth? Mainstream economists define development in terms of **wealth or income** of an individual household or a country (GDP). Amartya Sen, a nobel prize winning

economist, puts forward a radically different definition of **development in terms of freedoms and opportunities that it engenders**. In doing so, he brings in philosophical issues of justice, fairness and human agency and how we may think about “competing principles of income, utility and happiness” (chapter 3, pp. 55) with practical concerns of how to allocate markets and state responsibility (chapter 5). What are the implications of thinking of “development as freedom”? Is it possible to implement Sen’s distinct concept in specific political contexts? Once we begin to think in Sen-ian terms, it is difficult to think of economics, philosophy and politics as separate. In keeping with the focus on gender in this course, we will discuss chapter 8 during our class, where Sen discusses how to think about women’s agency in development.

Required Reading:

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Introduction, Chs 1, 2, 3 (philosophical basis), 5, 8.

Week Thirteen:

[T VIII] **April 21:** Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Chapters 6, and 10 [Y Paper; B (Prof. Hurley Class) Comment; Our X’s will comment for Prof. Hurley’s A]

Question: On page 147 Sen argues that political freedoms and economic needs are “interconnected.” What does Sen mean? Elaborate and evaluate the varied meanings of these interconnections outlined by Sen in Chapter Six. Do these arguments mean that only democracies with reasonable political rights can achieve development the way Sen defines development?

OR

Question: In Chapter 10 of *Development as freedom* Sen defends his appeal to human rights, including democratic political rights, against what he characterizes as a the “cultural critique” (Sen 1999, 228). What is the cultural critique? What is Sen’s defense against it? Critically evaluate both the critique and Sen’s defense against it.

*****April 22nd: Joint Dinner with Sexton Sophomores at the Ath*****

[S] **April 23:** No Class

Week Fourteen: Political Economy

[S] **April 28th:** Politics of Economic Growth

Discussion Framing:

Economists know that economic growth is extremely important and have devoted lots of analytical attention to the subject. In recent times growth theory has seen a revival with the emergence of endogenous growth theory and human capital theory. Yet, we don’t enough about how political factors matter for growth. For a political consideration, there can be a number of questions but we focus on a specific one this week. What is the effect of the regime type –democracy or authoritarian systems—on economic growth? There is a lot of debate about this possible linkage among political scientists. This week we survey the debates and try to disentangle the **mechanisms** that may link regime type to economic growth.

Required Readings

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, “Political Regimes and Economic Growth,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, 3 (1993): 51-69.

John Gerring, Philip Bond, William Barndt, and Carola Moreno, "Democracy and Economic Growth: A Historical Perspective," *World Politics*, 57 (April 2005): 323-64.

John Gerring, Peter Kingstone, Mathew Lange, Aseema Sinha, "Democracy, History and Economic Performance: A Case Study Approach," *World Development*, 2011, 39(10).

[S] April 30: How Rules (Institutions) and Governments Create and Shape Markets

Discussion Framing: Markets are usually defined as decentralized interaction between consumers and producers moderated by prices and property rights. But as many economists acknowledge "markets rest on institutions" such as the legal system and rule of law that protect contracts and market interchange but also constrains governments from taking over market actor's property right. Vogel offers a powerful argument that markets are also institutions. What are the implications of this view? One question that emerges is: What is role of a government in creating, shaping and regulating markets?

Required Readings:

Steven Vogel, 2018. *Marketcraft*, Chapters 1-3.

Fredrick von Hayek, "The Use of Knowledge in Society," *The American Economic Review* 35:4 (Sept 1945) pp. 519-30,

OPTIONAL: If you are curious about what we—professors--do when we do research!: Aseema Sinha, *Globalizing India*, Chs. 1-3; Ch. 3 is the most relevant to "Marketcraft" thesis. A few CMC's students helped me do some research for this book.

Recommended Readings:

Jean Ensminger, *Making a Market: The Institutional Transformation of an African Society*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Suzanne Mettler, *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies undermine American Democracy*, University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.

Peter Hall and David Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford University Press, 2001), Ch. 1.

Alice Amsden, *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization* (Oxford University Press, 1989), Ch. 1.

Week Fifteen:

[S] May 5: Summary and Wrap Up ****Final Policy Brief or Biography Paper Due: May 11, 2020. 10.00 am****