

# FORUM

EXPLORING IDEAS + INSTITUTIONS THAT SUSTAIN A FREE SOCIETY







**STUDENTS TAKE A BREAK AT OUR INAUGURAL SOCIETY OF FELLOWS SYMPOSIUM**

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*Cover: Ryan Streeter joins the Civitas Institute as the inaugural Executive Director of Research*



## DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Justin Dyer

**A**s a beautiful Austin spring turned into a hot Austin summer, we marked the one-year anniversary of the Civitas Institute, which fosters study of America's founding principles of individual liberty, rule of law, and private enterprise. We also celebrated the UT System Board of Regents' resolution to create the School of Civic Leadership, a new academic unit at UT-Austin that will house the Civitas Institute (see p. 5). The Board envisions a new interdisciplinary school that "will provide students with foundational knowledge and critical thinking skills steeped in the Western tradition and American constitutional history" and will "educate students in the values and principles of a free society and equip them to be the next generation of leadership for our state and nation." Together, the School of Civic Leadership and the Civitas Institute will create a "comprehensive, interdisciplinary program of research, training and equipping students in the knowledge and aptitudes necessary to lead a free society."

We now have a unique opportunity to build a world-class enterprise at Texas' flagship institution of higher education that will facilitate inquiry into the foundations of a free society. This endeavor has already attracted excellent scholars and created transformative opportunities for our students. At the one-year mark, we have a small but talented staff team; 16 faculty fellows from UT Austin's College of Liberal Arts, LBJ School of Public Affairs, McCombs School of Business, and School of Law; five nationally prominent distinguished fellows; and 26 research, visiting, postdoctoral, or graduate fellows (see p. 21). This summer we launched two signature programs for undergraduates, the Summer Honors Symposium (see p. 12) and the Society of Fellows (see p. 14). We also advanced graduate research (see p. 19) and prepared high school economics teachers for the new school year (see p. 9). This fall, Civitas fellows are offering 26 different courses (see p. 30).

Ryan Streeter is the most recent addition to our team (see p. 6). After seven years as the State Farm James Q. Wilson Scholar and Director of Domestic Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute, Ryan joined Civitas as our inaugural Director of Research. As we attend to academic affairs, curriculum development, and faculty recruitment, Ryan will build Civitas' research and public engagement work. We are excited to have a full house in the Littlefield Home this fall (see renovation update p. 9). There is a lot of work to do, and there is a lot of work worth doing well.

## FEATURE

# UT System Board of Regents Establishes School of Civic Leadership at UT Austin

## The University of Texas at Austin School of Civic Leadership

On May 4, 2023, the UT System Board of Regents established the School of Civic Leadership at UT-Austin. In a motion to establish the new school, Board of Regents Vice Chairman Janiece Longoria called for the School of Civic Leadership to prepare students to lead in a free society through "a unique hybrid of classical and professional education." The SCL will prepare students to work in the areas of public service, national security, the non-profit sector, and the private sector.

UT Austin President **Jay Hartzell** said the "new school reflects an expanded commitment for the next generation of leadership." He added that the new School "will promote excellence in teaching and research, attract and recruit the best scholars and students, and create transformational opportunities for our students, while operating within our University structure and governance." In July, Hartzell appointed Civitas Executive Director **Justin Dyer** as Interim Dean of the School of Civic Leadership.

With a faculty of interdisciplinary scholars, the School of Civic Leadership will equip students to serve their communities in Texas and beyond. Dyer noted, "We have an opportunity to build something significant at UT that will introduce students to the founding principles and great debates of the American political tradition and prepare them for civic leadership in the 21st century."

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## In Service of the Pursuit of Happiness

An Interview with Civitas Executive Director of Research Ryan Streeter



*“We are happiest when we are on the way to a better version of ourselves. The ‘pursuit of happiness’ is based on an old idea that people are at their best when they are free to make a way for themselves of their own choosing.”*

Dr. **Ryan Streeter** joins Civitas as Executive Director of Research. Streeter returns to Texas from the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), where he served as the director of domestic policy studies and oversaw research in education, technology, housing, urban policy, poverty studies, workforce development, and public opinion. Before joining AEI, he was executive director of the Center for Politics and Governance at the University of Texas at Austin.

Streeter has had a distinguished career in government service, which includes advising a U.S. President, governor, and mayor. Outside government, Streeter has served as a senior fellow at the Legatum Institute and a research fellow at the Hudson Institute.

He is the author of *Transforming Charity: Toward a Results-Oriented Social Sector* (Hudson Institute, 2001); the editor of *Religion and the Public Square in the 21st Century* (Hudson Institute, 2001); the coauthor of *The Soul of Civil Society: Voluntary Associations and the Public Value of Moral Habits* (Lexington Books, 2002); and a contributor to Stephen Goldsmith’s book *Putting Faith in Neighborhoods: Making Cities Work Through Grassroots Citizenship* (Hudson Institute, 2002).

Beyond television and radio contributions to BBC News, CNBC, Fox News, MSNBC, and more, Streeter has also published articles in outlets including the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Atlantic*, *USA Today*, the *Hill*, *City Journal*, and *National Review*. Streeter has a PhD in political philosophy from Emory University

*You’ve had an extensive career in academia, policy, and government. What are the meaningful experiences that have shaped your professional life?*

First and foremost, engaging daily with scholars, mentors, and friends who are intellectually curious and rigorous has meant the world to me. There’s nothing like expanding your horizons and

*“I’ve literally watched ideas sketched on the proverbial napkin become multi-million-dollar solutions that improve lives.”*

growing more humble at the same time. Living a life of inquiry with friends who seek the truth has made me a better person.

Second, I’ve been lucky enough to help start and build academic organizations in a number of places, both in the US and overseas. Entrepreneurship is hard, but it’s also rewarding. Starting with a vision, and then recruiting people who do great work onto the team and watching them flourish—there’s nothing quite like it.

Third, my service in the executive branch of government—at the federal, state, and local levels—has enlarged my enthusiasm for the power of ideas. Whether you’re a president, governor, or mayor, when you try to enact a budget or fix a crisis, you do so according to a set of principles. Those principles are shaped by others, and being a bridge between the “others” and those with political power has been one of the most rewarding things I have done. I’ve literally watched ideas sketched on the proverbial napkin become multi-million-dollar solutions that improve lives.

*How would you describe your vision for the Civitas Institute in your role as Executive Director of Research?*

The Civitas Institute will be the leading academic institute on social and economic dynamism, the Constitution’s relevance for today’s institutions, and the importance of virtue and liberty. We aim to be a magnet for talented scholars and students who work in these areas, and plan to promote their work in ways that shape how policymakers, the media, and business leaders think about what matters.

Ideas shape institutions, and institutions shape people and progress. Our mission is to produce the ideas that have the best impact.

*Welcome back the University of Texas at Austin! What are you most looking forward to in your return to campus and to Austin?*

I loved working with the students at UT-Austin, and look forward to connecting with them again. I also found the spirit of inquiry among the faculty admirable; I look forward to learning from them—and sparring with them—again. UT is a great intellectual community.



After seven years in D.C., I’m looking forward to being back in Austin where people make, create, and build things—something hardly anyone in D.C. does. D.C. is filled with first-row students who have the answers to questions. Austin is filled with risk-takers, creators, and doers who arrive at the questions to which we seek answers. I very much like the latter type of community.

*You are well known for your research on human flourishing, urban renewal, and social capital. How do you envision the Civitas Institute engaging on these themes?*

Human flourishing, from Aristotle to the latest social psychology, is about fulfilling potential. We are happiest when we are on the way to a better version of ourselves. The “pursuit of happiness” is based on an old idea that people are at their best when they are free to make a way for themselves of their own choosing. My past and present research shows that people thrive when they can aspire to something presently out of reach but attainable in the future, and that they are happiest when they are in good communities surrounded by good people.

Civitas will produce research and writing and will organize gatherings that advance a robust understanding of personal abundance and achievement rooted in thriving communities.



FEATURE

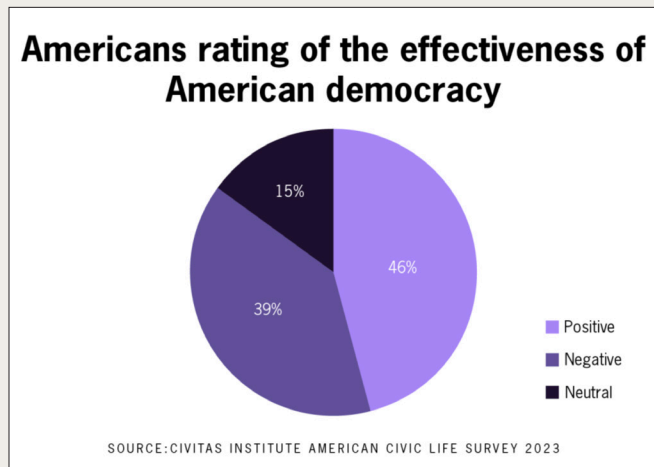
# New Poll Surveys Health of Political Institutions: Civitas Institute Civic Life Survey 2023

How do Americans feel about the current direction of the country? What freedoms do they view as most significant in our system of government? The Civitas Institute Civic Life Survey, a new national poll, measures Americans' responses to these questions.

Dr. **Daron Shaw**, a Civitas Institute Faculty Fellow and Frank Erwin Centennial Chair in the Department of Government, conducted the poll. Shaw is a nationally recognized expert on political behavior and an experienced pollster. In spring 2023, Shaw's team partnered with the polling firm YouGov to ask a sample of 1,200 adults nationwide a battery of questions that probe perceptions of the health of America's political institutions. Questions addressed basic rights, democracy, capitalism, and social institutions. The same team will conduct follow up surveys twice a year for the next three years.

The Civic Life survey results show Americans strongly support the fundamental freedoms in the Bill of Rights, but are also deeply concerned about the future of American democracy. The Civitas poll corroborates what previous surveys on American rights and liberties have found: almost everyone thinks that the basic rights the Bill of Rights enumerates are important to democracy.

Survey responses on eleven key rights show that at least 80% of respondents regard them as either somewhat or extremely important. Only the right to bear arms falls below this level of support, with 65% rating it as important. Respondents split over whether essential rights are secure or under threat. While respondents affirm the importance of free speech to American



democracy, they believe the right disproportionately benefits the most affluent and educated citizens.

Americans are also split over how well democracy and capitalism are working in the United States today. Forty-six percent offered a positive assessment of democracy in the US, while 39% gave it a negative rating and 16% said it was neither good nor bad. With regard to the American economic system, 49% gave positive assessments of capitalism and the free enterprise system, whereas 32% offered negative ratings and 17% gave it a neutral rating.

Americans' general skepticism about how well our country is living up to its ideals is also manifest in their attitudes towards political, civic, and economic institutions. Less than one-third of respondents had a favorable view of large corporations, Congress, and the news media. According to the survey results, Americans most strongly disapprove of social media institutions. At the same time, the survey shows that Americans largely hold favorable views of small businesses, the military, and law enforcement.

The data the Civic Life Survey collects can help scholars understand how Americans think about the relationship between civic ideals and political institutions. The survey results are available in full at <https://civitas.utexas.edu/american-civic-life-survey-2023/>.

EVENTS

# Littlefield Home Restoration

UT-Austin's iconic Littlefield Home has welcomed many guests since San Antonio architect James Wahrenberger designed the Victorian-style residence in 1893. The Littlefield Home now hosts Civitas fellows and students for scholarly inquiry on the principles of a free society. This summer, Civitas began a project to restore the original pine flooring and refinish the paint on the second floor.

The complex project involves contractors and designers; experts in historical architecture guide each phase of the work. When contractors pulled up the carpets, they found most of the original flooring in good condition. The project manager reported that the original pine floors were sound candidates for restoration because they have not been refinished as often as one might have expected over the last 130 years. While most of the original flooring remains usable, some sections have been lost to water damage. To replace these lost sections, contractors carefully milled new pine, piece by piece, to match the original wood.

Once restoration is complete, the Littlefield Home second floor will feature shared offices for Civitas fellows and staff, as well as a library that doubles as a seminar room.



# FREE Initiative Economic Summer Institute



In June, Financial Responsibility and Economic Education (FREE), a partnership between Civitas and UT-Austin's Department of Economics, brought together educators from across Texas for a summer institute. FREE hosted a four-day professional development

course for high school teachers on how to present foundational concepts in microeconomics and financial literacy to students. FREE's faculty—comprised of professionals and university professors from across the country—offered participating teachers overviews on key economic principles such as markets, credit risk, return, and inflation. FREE's faculty also helped teachers develop effective strategies to bring these key concepts to high school students in the classroom.

FREE's speakers included leading economic educators from around the country as well as economists from think tanks, economic education organizations, and the Federal Reserve.

Across sessions, FREE speakers focused on real-world examples for teachers to share with students. For instance, speakers showed how high school teachers can help their students identify economic principles at work in current news stories about the impact of technology on certain industries. Daily networking opportunities allowed speakers and high school teachers to share tips and resources.

As the institute concluded, teachers reported they were most grateful for the practical resources they could take back to their classrooms. In particular, they were excited to have a jump start on new lesson plans. Notably, 100% of attendees said they would attend another FREE event and would recommend the same to their colleagues.



## EVENTS

# Civitas-UATX Symposium: *Reason in Crisis*



On July 23-29, the Civitas Institute at UT-Austin and the University of Austin held a week-long graduate seminar, “Reason in Crisis.” The symposium gathered twenty bright graduate students and young professionals from across the country to discuss the great thinkers who prepared the intellectual and moral ground of the Enlightenment.

We began with Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), the English political philosopher who broke with classical political philosophy through his account of the state of nature and his rejection of happiness understood as “the repose of a mind satisfied.” In his appeal to a state of nature and his description of man in that state as unbound by any norm of justice or stirring of conscience, Hobbes reconceived of man as a being who lacks any sense of right or wrong independent of human agreement. When he rejected happiness understood as the repose of a mind satisfied, Hobbes rejected the idea of happiness as a complete, definitive satisfaction of human desire.



As students explored the implications of Hobbes’ thought, they discussed the status of mortality (or prospective lack thereof) in Hobbes’ philosophic project. Students considered: isn’t the conquest of nature finally fulfilled in the conquest of human nature, and doesn’t the conquest of human nature ultimately entail the conquest of human mortality? Students concluded that the fulfillment of Hobbes’ vision is a state of affairs that perpetually assures human self-preservation. They worried that to attain that degree of self-preservation would destroy what is human about us. Students considered that, theological arguments aside, human beings need a framework in which to order their lives. Contrary to Hobbes’ vision, mortality provides humans with a standard that helps them to distinguish between the important, the urgent, and the trivial. What would human life, considered as the ordered pursuit of a variety of goals and milestones in finite time, even look like in the absence of natural death?



John Locke (1632–1704), the next great English philosopher of the proto-Enlightenment, accepted and even perfected much of Hobbes’ teaching. To do so, he made the case for the existence of a natural right to private property and, crucially, rejected Hobbes’ political absolutism, the view that the ruler or rulers ought to hold absolute power, unconstrained by law. Locke rejected the absolutist state as no better than the state of nature that antedates and motivates man’s turn to civil society. Locke thereby affirmed a right of revolution, which enables the oppressed subjects of a political community to restore the political basis of their natural rights.

In light of the emphasis on natural rights, which are individual rights, students raised the question of civic virtue: did Locke hold that civic virtue was important to the kind of political order he elaborated in his work? And what role, if any, could the law play in helping to foster such virtue? The discussion that followed mirrored present-day political debates about the role of the state in shaping the moral views of citizens—for example, in education. The conversation showed that Locke remains relevant whether students intend to work in or beyond academia. It showed, moreover, that this question of civic virtue has been with us since the beginning of the political tradition that Locke inaugurated.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), for his part, came on the scene as the first critic of modernity. The Swiss-born French philosopher appealed to the classics’ concern with moral virtue as he pushed back against the vanity and atomizing individualism that he discerned in the progress of the arts and sciences and in the Enlightenment project as a whole. His great contribution to the Western intellectual tradition is the claim that there is a tension between virtue and reason. To make his point, Rousseau in his *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* vividly described the difference between the virtue of simple souls who love their traditions and their country, on the one hand, and the sophisticated detachment of intellectuals eager to transcend particular loyalties, on the other.

It was not difficult for seminar participants to see in Rousseau’s critique of liberal modernity an anticipation of present-day anxieties about “globalism” and out-of-touch elites. This concern might appear to make Rousseau a proto-conservative facing off against the uprooting influence of cosmopolitan liberalism. While there is a degree of truth to this appearance, Rousseau would remind present-day conservatives that civic virtue and



patriotism cannot be cultivated in the absence of restraints on human acquisitiveness. He therefore remains an elusive thinker whose work resists the efforts of those who simply wish to enlist him on their side of a given issue in today’s partisan battles.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) built on Rousseau’s moral concern. Kant, however, regarded the intellectual development of humanity, achieved through the freedom to criticize established orthodoxies and especially religion, as more critical to the realization of the Enlightenment project than the establishment of a republican form of government. In Kant, we see one of the beginning points of the Enlightenment’s depreciation of the people in favor of rational expertise. More broadly stated, in Kant we begin to see a growing anxiety in Enlightenment thought about the people’s natural proclivity to become enlightened. The phrase “enlightened despotism,” which is associated with Kant due to his praise of Frederick the Great (1712-1786),

reflects the idea that there is a tension between enlightenment and the popular will, between the new direction in which “enlightened” experts want to move society and the old direction in which the people may prefer to stay.

In sum, seminar participants spent a leisurely week putting Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Kant in conversation with one another. Participants aimed to clarify both the philosophic ground from which modern-day liberal democracy emerged and its prospects in the near and distant future. This practice was valuable in itself for those passionate about political philosophy and eager to gain as much clarity as possible about the human situation, both as it is in itself and as it presents itself today.

For students with a greater interest in the policy issues of the day, and who seek to learn concrete lessons that can be put into practice, the greatest benefit the symposium provided was perspective. By looking at the present and its problems in light of the deepest questions raised by modern political philosophy, participants increased their sensitivity to the difference in rank between the policy problems of the day which, as such, are more or less susceptible to policy solutions, and those genuinely radical problems that are baked into the cake of modern life and entirely transcend today’s partisan divisions. Throughout, participants deliberated on profound political problems in a spirit of moderation.



## EVENTS

# Civitas Summer Honors Symposium: *Friendship and its Philosphic Foundations*

In a world dominated by fleeting connections and virtual interactions, the undergraduates at the Civitas Summer Honors Symposium took a leisurely step back on August 10-13 in order to delve into the theme of friendship. Participants engaged three distinct Western intellectual traditions on friendship—the classical, the Christian, and the modern. Under the guidance of Drs. **Daniel Bonevac** and **J. Budziszewski**, our 2023 Summer Honors Fellows explored the meaning and political implications of friendship in the thought of Aristotle, Seneca, Thomas Aquinas, C.S. Lewis, and Michel de Montaigne, among others.

*The symposium invited students to think about both the languishing state of civic friendship in the United States as well as the conditions for its renewal.*



The symposium began with a seminar on Aristotle (384–322 BC), who addresses friendship in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. Bonevac presented Aristotle's classification of friendships into three types: friendships of utility, friendships of pleasure, and the highest kind, friendships of virtue. Participants engaged in spirited discussions on the nature of selflessness and mutual growth in virtue that underpin friendships of virtue, drawing parallels to their own lives.

The thought of Seneca (c.4 BC-AD 65) provided a bridge between ancient wisdom and Roman thought. Delving into his letters, our students explored the difference between true and false friendship, the relation between philosophy and friendship, and why—respectfully disagreeing with the Stoic teaching on the absolute self-sufficiency of virtue—even the perfectly virtuous human being still needs friends.

Members of the symposium shifted their exploration towards the Middle Ages to focus on the scholastic insights of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Budziszewski sketched Aquinas' synthesis of Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology, with attention

to his claim that divine grace elevates human love beyond its natural powers. Students were especially interested in Aquinas' account of the precise ways in which we should love our neighbors, our enemies, and ourselves. Budziszewski also guided students in a discussion of C.S. Lewis' (1898-1963) major writing on friendship in his book, *The Four Loves*. Lewis's distinction between *eros* (romantic love) and *philia* (brotherly love) resonated deeply with our students, igniting debates on the nuanced interplay between these forms of affection and their contribution to friendship in today's world.

The symposium took an introspective turn with the essays of Montaigne (1533-1592), a pivotal thinker of the late Renaissance. Montaigne's candid, highly personal reflections on his own



experiences allowed participants to explore the subjective character of friendship. Montaigne's skepticism and emphasis on authenticity prompted the attendees to consider the impact of vulnerability and imperfection in their own friendships.

The 2023 Civitas Summer Honors Symposium helped students reflect on how to renew genuine friendship today. As they took an accelerated journey through some of the great works of Western philosophy, our students embraced the challenge of liberal education. Most importantly, the conference provided our students with an opportunity to get to know one another in a way that fostered friendship across differing opinions



## EVENTS

# Society of Fellows: *Liberty and its Critics*

On August 25-26, the inaugural Civitas Society of Fellows explored challenges to liberty in the modern world. Civitas Associate Director **Antonio Sosa** convened students and speakers over two enlightening days to discuss the roots of liberal democracy and the character of the problems it faces.

In the first of the seminars, Dr. **Thomas Pangle** (UT-Austin) led students in an exploration of the philosophical foundations of liberal democracy, the political order most characteristic of modernity. To this end, Pangle contrasted the Hobbesian-Lockean world of modernity, grounded in the individual's pursuit of comfortable self-preservation, and centered around the protection of private property, with the worlds of the ancient polis and the medieval fiefdom, in which the common good had priority over that of the individual, and in which the state supported theological orthodoxies. While the pre-modern world took its bearings by virtue, modernity takes its bearings by freedom. This framing fascinated our students, who showed themselves eager to find hidden affinities between the ancient and modern worlds.

Civitas Research Fellow **Dr. Rowena He** (UT-Austin) gave a sober account of politics without liberty. Her seminar took the

form of a moving autobiographical reflection on the sacrifices required to defend freedom of speech and thought in Hong Kong against a brutal regime. He illustrated the importance of memory as resistance through her report on the long-standing attempt by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to control Hong Kong's destiny by erasing its history. Notably, He emphasized that she did not see herself as a dissident or political activist or resistance figure, but simply as a historian. Her mere attempt to record the recent past of her country, in order to reflect and to invite others to reflect on it, has been enough to win her the enmity of the CCP. The moral integrity of He's story had a powerful effect on our students. He's example showed that freedom endures when courageous spirits defend liberal principles despite the cost. She also showed that the human soul, if animated by the love of liberty, is an indomitable force.

Dr. **Daniel Burns** (University of Dallas) next gave the Society of Fellows an account of the three traditions that frame religious freedom in the United States. Burns addressed the Lockean, Augustinian, and Ciceronian views. The Lockean view grounds religious freedom in natural rights: the sole purpose of the state is to protect the natural rights of citizens—i.e., life, liberty, and property—and it cannot do so effectively if it is empowered to adjudicate religious differences among citizens or if it establishes a state religion. To remain a properly liberal state that protects every citizen's natural rights equally, the state must stay clear of the domain of conscience and so remain neutral on all religiously sectarian questions. In the Lockean account, the state must therefore permit all religious expressions that do not come into conflict with the natural rights of citizens or the basic demands of law and order. Consequently, the Lockean perspective is indifferent to whether a people is religious at all.

The Augustinian view grounds religious freedom in the protection the law provides for what, in the eyes of the Augustinian view, is the one true religion. On this account, if the law protects all religions, it also protects the true religion, and this, not religious freedom as such, is what matters. Because religious freedom is a mere means to the promotion of the true religion, religious freedom is not an absolute or permanent principle of the Augustinian view. In a non-pluralistic setting where public opinion is highly favorable to the true religion, the Augustinian view might very well advocate for the legal establishment of religion. Its defense of religious freedom in a pluralistic setting, where public opinion



does not favor the true religion (for example, the United States), is simply a prudential adaptation. The Augustinian view therefore defends religious freedom on theological grounds.

The Ciceronian view, characteristic of classical political philosophy, does not accept that any one religion is true, or at least that any one religion is true in the sense its sincere adherents believe it to be true. Instead, the Ciceronian view holds that all or most religions hit at or intuit some basic truths about the human condition and the nature of human obligation. These basic truths may be apprehensible by the moral sense, human reason, or natural theology. However, such apprehension, by itself, is insufficient to move most human beings to live in accord with these truths when it matters most. The reason for this lack of application is not that these truths are hard to understand but rather that, when the chips are down, they are hard to live by. A crucial example of such a truth is this: it is better to live morally than immorally. The question is not how many would agree with this precept but how many would choose to live in accord with it when doing so required a considerable sacrifice of health, money, comfort, freedom, reputation, or risk to one's life. Religion affirms these basic truths with certainty and undergirds them with divine sanctions—i.e., the promise of heavenly rewards and punishments. In this way, on the Ciceronian perspective, religion provides an indispensable support to morality and the

good order of society. The Ciceronian view therefore defends religious freedom on socially utilitarian grounds.

Our students found this tripartite analysis of the issue very useful to their own thinking about present-day debates on religious freedom in America. Burns held that the Lockean and Augustinian views had something to learn from the Ciceronians—namely, to help lower the temperature of the national debate over religious freedom. A few of our students responded by asking him what he thought the Ciceronians could learn from the Augustinians and the Lockeanes. In the fascinating discussion that followed, students demonstrated a mature sense of the gravity of pursuing truth in a pluralistic society.







Civitas Associate Director Dr. **Sarah Beth Kitch** then led a seminar on the task of thinking in modern times. Students first engaged with American author James Baldwin’s reflection that the interior life is a real life, and that the condition of our interior lives actually shapes the world. With liberal democracy’s great analyst, Alexis de Tocqueville, students considered the possibility that how we think might shape how we use our liberty. To think about thinking, Kitch proposed political theorist Hannah Arendt as a guide. In 1961, Arendt reported on the trial of Adolf Eichmann, who executed Hitler’s genocidal campaign. Through her reporting, Arendt concluded that it’s possible to participate in evil not only through malice but also through thoughtlessness. She observes that it’s easier to follow orders than to think. With Arendt, students explored how thinking—carrying out the dialogue of conscience—might instead train us for responsibility. Students closed with a discussion of the evil that can come from thoughtlessness in “James Honeyman,” a cautionary poem by Arendt’s friend, W. H. Auden.



Dr. **Anthony Mills** (AEI) capped off the afternoon with a seminar on the limits of scientific expertise in the development of public policy. Scientific expertise offers us the hope that we can minimize our political disagreements and arrive at optimal solutions to our shared problems if we ground public decisions on scientific evidence. This optimism presupposes the idea that political decision-making can and should be placed on a firm, objective, or purely rational foundation. The same optimism presupposes that political decision-making can be insulated from such “irrational” forces as popular opinion, constituent demands, local customs, interest group activity, party loyalty, political ideology, and value disagreements. Mills maintained, however, that this view of public policy has serious problems. For one thing, it entails an unrealistic, undesirable conception of politics. For another, it rests on an inadequate understanding of scientific expertise.



Mills argued that scientific evidence should obviously inform public policy, but science does not and cannot possibly provide policymakers with a repository of value-neutral evidence that reveals, without further ado, what policy they should adopt. Scientific knowledge is instead the result of a complex sifting process that depends on the judgment of, and deliberation among, scientific experts. To use science to make policy decisions is an even more complex task, as it requires expert judgment but also the judgment of nonexperts. The nonexperts’ holistic view of a given policy question, their awareness of their constituents’ priorities, and their practical experience regarding what can and cannot be realistically achieved are all necessary to good deliberation about public policy. Our students found Mills’ talk to be especially relevant in light of their retrospective concerns over COVID policy and in light of their prospective concerns over environmental policy. The seminar led to the most animated and fruitful exchanges of the day.

To bookend these seminars, Civitas Executive Director of Research Dr. **Ryan Streeter** gave two dinner lectures. The first lecture opened the conference with a reflection on the importance of dynamic citizenship in an age of stagnation. The second lecture closed the conference with a reflection on the importance of local or human-scale citizenship in an age of ideology. On both evenings, the Society of Fellows considered what makes cities and local communities thrive as well as what qualities and pursuits most correlate with happiness among individuals.

At the core of Streeter’s argument was the idea that happiness resides in the very act of fulfilling our potential. When an individual strives to achieve a dream or complete a project, whether it be starting a profitable business or publishing a successful book, the actions he takes to reach that goal are more critical to his experience of happiness than attaining the goal itself. Or, as Aristotle would say, the end is in the activity, because the end of man is virtue and virtue is a certain activity of soul. For this reason, the profit a business gives its owner or the reputation a book bestows upon its author do not by themselves constitute the satisfaction the business owner and author experience upon the completion of their respective tasks. It is rather in the very activity of completing these and other such tasks, in this inner dynamism, that the core of human happiness resides. Students met Streeter’s talks with delight and circled around afterward to explore questions. Their energetic responses to both of Streeter’s talks made clear that our students, like many young people today, are especially concerned with the problem of happiness. Students are rightly eager to discover a way to properly measure a successful and satisfying life. The Society of Fellows will continue this journey of discovery throughout the academic year.

*When an individual strives to achieve a dream or complete a project, whether it be starting a profitable business or publishing a successful book, the actions he takes to reach that goal are more critical to his experience of happiness than attaining the goal itself.*





## EVENTS

# Civitas Fellowship Cohort 2023-2024

On August 17, the Civitas Institute welcomed our 2023-24 Fellowship Cohort to Austin with a reception at the historic Littlefield Home. To kick off a year dedicated to scholarship and friendship, fellows shared a dinner and made introductions. Civitas Executive Director **Justin Dyer** welcomed fellows to what became a lively evening of conversation.

This year's cohort convenes an impressive group of scholars and students. The group includes two new Faculty Fellows who have joined the faculty at the UT-Austin and share an affiliation with the Civitas Institute as well as other departments on campus. Also on board are two Visiting Fellows who are enjoying a sabbatical from other institutions to study the practices that sustain a free society. Civitas also welcomed five Texas Fellows—scholars with affiliations at other universities in the Lone Star state—along with four Research Fellows who are housed at Civitas to conduct scholarship in their respective field of expertise. An accomplished group of students, including four Postdoctoral Fellows, three Predoctoral Fellows, and three Dissertation Fellows, will spend the year engaged in study, research, and professional development as members of the Civitas community.

As fellows begin the academic year, a highlight of each week is a research lunch in which fellows share their expertise through a conversational presentation. The interdisciplinary cohort has especially enjoyed the time for Q&A that follows each research talk. Conversations that start here sustain scholarship. While the fellows pursue their own research projects, they also contribute to Civitas' intellectual life by attending events and lectures throughout the year.

A brief biography of each member of the 2023-24 Civitas Fellowship Cohort is available on page 21.



## EVENTS

# A Community for Scholarship: Civitas Summer Research Fellows 2023

How can young scholars translate their understanding of intricate concepts into clear insights that are accessible to wider audiences? On Tuesdays this summer, our seven Civitas Summer Research Fellows gathered for cross-disciplinary conversations on the point of scholarship as well as their individual research projects. Fellows meet in the Littlefield Home and on Zoom to present their ideas in a format that is rigorous yet lively, scholarly yet free of jargon. This year's Civitas Summer Research Fellows are UT-Austin graduate students **Bill Farris, Evan Cree Gee, Bridget Wu Isenberg, Sam Mead, Yul Min Park, Sam Selsky, and Allen Sumrall.**

To open the fellowship, graduate students oriented their work by raising the question of the quest for the good life. They considered the place of citizenship, friendship, and scholarship in that quest. In subsequent sessions, graduate students presented research projects with central questions such as: What is the role of poetry in politics? What gives the U.S. courts power? And, how can we live well in light of the benefits and drawbacks of our modern commercial society? Each fellow anchors his or her presentation in a direct argument with a clear statement of why the work matters to others. After each concise research presentation, other fellows pose questions. In this way, young scholars of political theory, American politics, constitutional development, political communication, comparative politics, and Greek classics draw out a fellow's essential argument, help him clarify his terms, or challenge his assumptions. More than once, as fellows signed off and packed up, the presenter commented, "Now I've got questions to work with!"





## STUDENT VOICES

### Civitas Summer Research Fellows



“I enjoyed seeing everyone present their current work—I think it’s especially useful to see what people in totally different fields think of research, which isn’t an opportunity we tend to get in our ultra-segmented PhD lives. The main highlight for me has been getting the time to really focus 100% on my dissertation without other commitments.

It’s been super helpful for my research.” - Sam Selsky



“I benefited from the eagerness of my fellows with interests beyond but related to my field of study (Classics). The feedback from my presentation helped me restructure my dissertation outline for a more exciting argument.”

- Bill Farris

### Civitas Society of Fellows



“My favorite part of the retreat was getting to make friends with such a diverse group of students. The other fellows are from a variety of majors, interests, and cultural perspectives, but we are all connected by our desire to have intelligent conversations over real-world issues.” - Nathan Comeaux

### Civitas Summer Honors Symposium



“My favorite part of the Summer Honors Symposium was how in depth we explored the topic of friendship. I most enjoyed our nuanced comparisons of philosophical thought across time.”

7- Anna Grace Holloway

### Civitas Intern



This summer, Civitas hosted its first intern, **Kate Rogge**, who assisted with research projects and program logistics.

#### Tell us about yourself.

I’ve lived in Austin my whole life and am a Junior in Public Relations at the University of Texas. I am also pursuing a minor in business and

an interdisciplinary certificate in public policy through the Bridging Disciplines Program. I love being involved in different areas on campus, trying new things, and meeting different kinds of people. I cheer for the football and basketball team as a member of the Texas Pom Squad and I’ve enjoyed writing for *The Daily Texan*. I’ll be working and studying in New York City next summer as a participant in the UT in New York Program. I look forward to advancing my career in public relations.

#### Do you have any new insight about your work after spending the summer with the Civitas Institute?

Getting to be around such intellectually driven people at the Civitas Institute has definitely been a highlight of my summer! After my summer with Civitas, I’ve become a lot more interested in pursuing a master’s degree right after I finish my undergraduate degree.

This summer I’ve learned a lot about what I want my work and life to look like. Most importantly, I’ve learned how to make my actions reflect my beliefs. One of my biggest takeaways is that my career doesn’t have to be a linear path and my skill set can be valuable in many different roles!

## CIVITAS FELLOWS

### Distinguished Fellows



**Paul Carrese**

Paul Carrese is Distinguished Fellow of the Civitas Institute at The University of Texas at Austin and is the founding director of the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University. For nearly two decades he was a professor at the U.S. Air Force Academy, where he co-founded a new honors program blending liberal arts education and leadership education. His teaching and research interests are in political theory, constitutionalism, and civic education. His most recent book is *Democracy in Moderation: Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Sustainable Liberalism*. He also is author of *The Cloaking of Power: Montesquieu, Blackstone, and the Rise of Judicial Activism*, and co-editor of three other books – on George Washington, constitutionalism, and American grand strategy. He has held fellowships at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar; Harvard University; the University of Delhi (as a Fulbright fellow); and the James Madison Program, Politics Department, Princeton University. He co-led a national study funded by the NEH and US Department of Education, *Educating for American Democracy*, on improving American history and civics education in K-12 schools with partners from Harvard and Tufts Universities and iCivics (released in 2021). He completed his Ph.D. in Political Science at Boston College.



**Chiyuma Elliott**

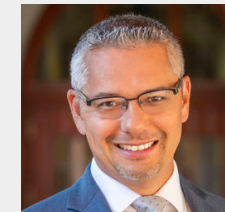
Chiyuma Elliott is Distinguished Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Associate Professor of African American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, where she directs the African American Intellectual Traditions Initiative, a project that explores religious and classical influences on African American intellectual life. Her scholarly work and teaching focus on poetry and poetics, African American literature, intellectual history from the 1920s to the present, and Black Geography/Cultural Geography. Prof. Elliott is the author of four books of poems: *Blue in Green* (2021), *At Most* (2020), *Vigil* (2017), and *California Winter League* (2015). She is the co-host of *Old-School*, a podcast about Black Studies and the classics, and is currently at work on a poem cycle about technology and migration and a scholarly monograph about

rural life and art in the 1920s tentatively titled *The Rural Harlem Renaissance*. She completed her Ph.D. in American Studies at The University of Texas at Austin.



**Jesús Fernández-Villaverde**

Jesús Fernández-Villaverde is Distinguished Fellow of the Civitas Institute at The University of Texas at Austin and Howard Marks Presidential Professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania, where he directs the Penn Initiative for the Study of Markets. He has also been a National Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and a Kenen Fellow in International Economy at Princeton University. Prof. Fernández-Villaverde’s research and teaching focus on macroeconomics and econometrics, and he has also developed a popular series of undergraduate courses on the relationship between markets and human flourishing. He has made the lecture notes for those courses available at his personal website. He is a Research Associate for the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) and Penn’s Population Studies Center, and a Research Affiliate for the Centre for Economic Policy Research. He completed his Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota.



**Vincent Phillip Muñoz**

Vincent Phillip Muñoz is Distinguished Fellow of the Civitas Institute at The University of Texas at Austin and Tocqueville Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, where he is the founding director of the Center for Citizenship & Constitutional Government. Prof. Muñoz writes and teaches across the fields of constitutional law, American politics, and political philosophy with a focus on religious liberty and the American Founding. He won a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship to support his most recent book, *Religious Liberty and the American Founding: Natural Rights and the Original Meanings of the First Amendment Religion Clauses* (University of Chicago Press, 2022). The author of numerous articles in leading political science journals and law reviews, Prof. Muñoz’ first book, *God and the Founders: Madison, Washington, and Jefferson* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), won the Hubert Morken Award from the American Political Science Association for the best publication on religion and politics in 2009 and 2010. He completed his Ph.D. at Claremont Graduate School.



## Visiting Fellows



**Kody Cooper**

Kody W. Cooper is UC Foundation Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, where he teaches courses in political thought, public law, and American politics. He is the coauthor of *The Classical and Christian Origins of American Politics: Political Theology, Natural Law, and the American Founding* (Cambridge University Press, 2022) and author of *Thomas Hobbes and the Natural Law* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2018). He lives with his wife and ten children in a 150-year-old house in Chattanooga, TN.



**Bernard Haykel**

Bernard Haykel is a scholar of the Arabian Peninsula, focusing on the politics, economics and history of the Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) and Yemen. He is professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. His interests relate to how religious movements and ideologies as well as how heavy dependence on oil rents affect politics and societies in the Middle East. The persistence of authoritarian rule and its repressive practices are a particular feature of this region, and explaining this is an animating feature of Haykel's scholarship. Professor Haykel is the author of "Revival and Reform in Islam" and editor of "Saudi Arabia in Transition," both published by Cambridge University Press. At Civitas, Haykel will be completing a book on the modern political history of Saudi Arabia that is titled "Saving the Family Business: the Transformation of Saudi Arabia under MBS." Haykel is considered an authority on Islamist political movements and Islamic law and is the author of articles on the politics of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, Salafism, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. He has supervised over 10 PhD dissertations that deal with Arabian politics and history and has received several prominent awards, such as the Prize Fellowship at Magdalen College, University of Oxford, the Carnegie Corporation and Guggenheim fellowships and the Old Dominion Professorship at Princeton. Professor Haykel appears frequently in print and broadcast media. These include interviews in and articles for PBS, NPR, the New York Times, Project Syndicate, Al Arabia, Al Jazeera, and the BBC among others. He earned his doctorate from the University of Oxford.

## Texas Fellows



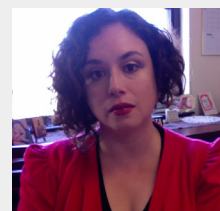
**Alexander Duff**

Alexander S. Duff, assistant professor of political science at the University of North Texas, writes widely in the history of political philosophy, and his research on classical, modern, and contemporary political philosophy has appeared in both scholarly and popular publications. He has held fellowships from the Tocqueville Program for Inquiry into Religion and American Public Life at the University of Notre Dame and from the Program for the Study of the Western Heritage at Boston College, and he taught at Skidmore College and College of the Holy Cross.



**Benjamin Kleinerman**

Benjamin A. Kleinerman is the R.W. Morrison Professor of Political Science at Baylor University where he teaches classes on political thought and political institutions. He also is on the Board of Directors of the Jack Miller Center. Kleinerman is the Chair of the American Political Thought section of the American Political Science Association (APSA), and he has published articles in *Perspectives on Politics* (APSA), *American Political Science Review*, *Texas Law Review*, and several edited volumes including *Nomos* and *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. He has also been invited to give talks at Yale University, the University of Notre Dame, Xavier University, Kenyon College, and the University of Cincinnati. Kleinerman's first book, *The Discretionary President: The Promise and Peril of Executive Power*, has been reviewed in *The New Republic* and *Political Science Quarterly*. He has also published on other subjects including literature and politics and American political history.



**Ashleen Menchaca-Bagnulo**

I am an Associate Professor of Political Science at Texas State University and received my PhD from the University of Notre Dame in 2013. I have held postdoctoral positions at Princeton University, the United States Naval Academy and Furman University. I received the 2021-22 Presidential Distinction Award in the College of Liberal Arts and the 2018-2019 College of Liberal Arts Award for Excellence in Teaching at TXST. I co-edited the volume *Augustine in a Time of Crisis: Politics and*

*Religion Contested* and have contributed to multiple anthologies and journals, including the *European Journal of Political Theory*, *Perspectives on Political Science*, and *European Legacy*.



**Randall Smith**

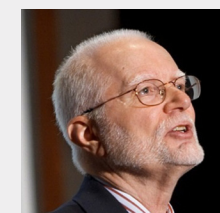
Randall B. Smith is Full Professor of Theology at the University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas. His most recent books include: *Reading the Sermons of Thomas Aquinas: A Beginner's Guide* (Emmaus, 2016); *Aquinas, Bonaventure and the Scholastic Culture of Medieval Paris* (Cambridge, 2021); and *From Here to Eternity: Reflections on Death, Immortality, and the Resurrection of the Body* (Emmaus, 2022). His book *Mapping Bonaventure's Journey Into God* is under review with Cambridge University Press. He is finishing a book on the moral theology of Thomas Aquinas for Emmaus Press. His wife Tamara Nicholl-Smith is an accomplished, published poet.



**David Upham**

David R. Upham is Associate Professor of Politics and Director of Legal Studies at the University of Dallas. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Dallas, and a J.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. At the University of Dallas he regularly teaches in the fields of political theory, American political thought, American constitutional law and history. His research and publications have focused on the meaning and history of the Fourteenth Amendment. During the fellowship year, he will complete the manuscript of a book tentatively entitled "Taking American Citizenship Seriously and the Recovery of the Fourteenth Amendment."

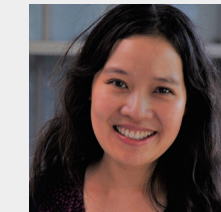
## Research Fellows



**Richard Burkhauser**

In 2017 Richard V. Burkhauser became Emeritus Sarah Gibson Blanding Professor of Public Policy in the Department of Policy Analysis and Management at Cornell University. Previously Burkhauser held tenured Professor positions in the Economic Department at Vanderbilt University and Syracuse University. Between September 2017 and May 2019, he was a Member of President Trump's Council of Economic Advisers. His professional career has focused on how public policies affect

the employment and well-being of vulnerable populations. In 2010 he was the President of the Association for Public Policy and Management. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Chicago.



**Rowena X. He**

Rowena He is Senior Research Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Associate Professor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Her first book, *Tiananmen Exiles: Voices of the Struggle for Democracy in China* was named Top Five Books 2014 by the Asia Society's China File. Her research has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Harvard's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and the National Humanities Center. For teaching, she received the Harvard University Certificate of Teaching Excellence for three consecutive years and was awarded twice the Faculty of Arts Outstanding Teaching Award at CUHK. Professor He speaks widely within and beyond the academy. She has been a keynote speaker for the Canada Human Rights National Symposium, testified at a U.S. Congressional hearing, and delivered lectures for the U.S. State Department and the Canada International Council. Her op-eds have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *The Nation*, *The Guardian*, *The Globe and Mail*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. Her scholarly opinions are regularly sought by international media, and she was designated among the Top 100 Chinese Public Intellectuals of 2016. Born and raised in China, she received her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto.



**William Simpson**

William Simpson is a Research Fellow of the Civitas Institute at the University of Texas at Austin, and a Research Associate of the University of Cambridge. He has held Visiting Fellowships at Oxford and Durham, and a Junior Research Fellowship at Cambridge. He holds a doctorate in philosophy from Cambridge (2020) and a doctorate in physics from St Andrews (2014). In 2020, he was honored with the Expanded Reason Award. In 2021, he was awarded the Cardinal Mercier Prize. He is the author of *Hylomorphism* (CUP, 2023) and has co-edited two volumes on neo-Aristotelian philosophy.



**Constantine Vassiliou**

Constantine Vassiliou is Visiting Research Fellow of the Civitas Institute at The University of Texas at Austin. He is a political theorist and historian of ideas specializing in Enlightenment political thought. His forthcoming book, *Moderate Liberalism and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh University Press, August 2023) examines how Montesquieu, Hume, Smith, and Ferguson’s foundational liberal theories responded to the moral and civic challenges of early capitalism. Vassiliou also co-edited and contributed chapters to *The Spirit of Montesquieu’s Persian Letters* (Lexington Press, 2023) and *Liberal Education and Citizenship in a Free Society* (University of Missouri Press, 2023).

**Postdoctoral Fellows****Joey Barretta**

Joey Barretta is a Postdoctoral Fellow of the Civitas Institute at UT-Austin. Prior to joining Civitas, he received his Ph.D. and M.A. in American politics and political philosophy from Hillsdale College and his B.A. in Political Science and History from Ashland University.

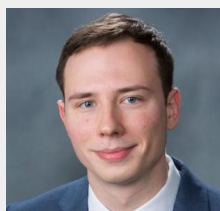
Barretta’s scholarship focuses on the political thought of Frederick Douglass. His research aims to show that Douglass’s political project after the end of slavery deserves greater treatment than it has received. His scholarly work on Douglass’s constitutional thought can be found in the *New North Star: A Journal of the Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.

**Reid Comstock**

Reid Comstock is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Civitas Institute at the University of Texas at Austin. He specializes in ancient philosophy, ethics, and the philosophy of law. He is interested in the nature of human flourishing, and the social, political, and legal institutions which make it possible. He has co-authored a paper on the Socratic Elenchus (Rev. Archai, 2023), and he has written several papers on Aristotle’s activity as a teacher of ethics. He received his PhD at Notre Dame, writing a dissertation on some issues in Aristotle’s ethics and moral psychology under the direction of Sean Kelsey.

**Abby Staysa**

Abby Staysa is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Civitas Institute at the University of Texas at Austin. Her area of teaching and research is the history of political philosophy, with a particular focus on the thinkers of ancient Hellas. Her current research is a book-length study of Aristotle’s intricate treatment of pleasure and pain in his philosophy of moral and philosophic education. Before coming to the Civitas Institute, Abby was a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Politics and in the James Madison Program at Princeton University. She earned her B.A. from Hiram College (2015) and her Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame (2023).

**Tyler Thomas**

Tyler Thomas approaches the study of politics as fundamentally a philosophical enterprise—a thorough examination of the nature, limits, and purpose of political organization. His primary research interest concerns the intersection of science and politics, particularly the relationship of scientific expertise and political authority. His current project investigates the contributions of the philosopher René Descartes to the emergence of a scientific culture in the West.

He comes to the Civitas Institute from Emory University, where he taught for the past two years after having completed his graduate studies at the University of Notre Dame. Tyler holds a BA (2014) from Hiram College and a PhD (2021) from the University of Notre Dame.

**Predoctoral Fellow****John Petrakis**

John Petrakis is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. Previously, he obtained degrees in law and political science from McGill University (M.A., J.D., B.C.L., B.A.) and clerked at the Federal Court of Canada. John studies pressing issues of constitutional law and theory in comparative perspective, focusing on how different constitutional systems meet the challenges of federalism and human rights protection. He

is writing a dissertation examining the origins and development of euthanasia and medically assisted suicide regimes across the world from an empirical and normative perspective.

**Dissertation Fellows****Stella Fillmore-Patrick**

Stella Fillmore-Patrick is a fifth-year doctoral candidate in Philosophy at the University of Texas at Austin, whose research interests encompass the history and philosophy of science, philosophy of statistics, and formal epistemology. Her previous work has explored topics such as action at a distance, Rudolf Carnap’s contributions to semantic information and inductive logic, and interpretations of probability. Stella’s current research centers on the meaning and logical foundations of statistical inference, the differences between Bayesian and frequentist methodologies in statistics, and the history of the development of hypothesis testing.

Stella’s academic credentials include a Master of Science degree in Statistics and a Master of Arts degree in Philosophy from the University of Texas at Austin and Central European University, respectively. She earned her Bachelor of Arts degree from St. John’s College, an institution known for its ‘great books’ curriculum.

**David Futscher Pereira**

David Futscher Pereira is a PhD candidate in political theory at the University of Texas at Austin. He is writing a dissertation on natural sociality, comparing the iterations of the early modern doctrine of the state of nature with each other and with Aristotle’s Politics. Before coming to UT, David Futscher got a Master of Arts in security and diplomacy at the Tel Aviv University, and a bachelor’s degree in economics and law at the Paris Sciences et Lettres Research University.

**Candace Terman**

Candace Terman is a third-year Ph.D. student in the Government Department. Her research focuses on legal and political theory, with a particular emphasis on the natural-law tradition. She has been cultivating this research interest since her early days at Hillsdale College and continued to do so in her time as a law student at William & Mary Law School. She is particularly interested in how natural law has influenced

Western jurisprudence throughout history and is currently writing a dissertation addressing that subject. Her other writing has focused on Shari’a law as well as Locke’s and Montesquieu’s theories of religious toleration.

**Summer Research Fellows****William Farris**

William Farris is a Summer Research Fellow of the Civitas Institute and a PhD student in Classical Languages in the Classics Department at The University of Texas at Austin. Farris is writing a dissertation on the poetry of Hesiod and the Argonautica by Apollonius of Rhodes. His recent article, “Sirens, Lions, and Wrestlers in Ring Composition in Lycophron’s Alexandra,” appeared in the *Melita Classica* in August 2022. Previously, he taught a plethora of subjects in secondary education after earning a BA in Classical Philology and a Masters in Humanities from the University of Dallas.

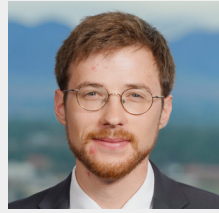
**Evan Cree Gee**

Evan Cree Gee is a PhD student in the Government Department, where he focuses on political philosophy and American politics. His current research deals with the character of factious conflict between elites and the masses as it comes to light in classical and early modern political theory. In 2018, he earned his A.B. in political science at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, where he completed a year-long honors project on Plato’s Laches. After graduating, he went to work for two years at the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) before arriving in Austin in 2020.

**Bridget Wu Isenberg**

Bridget Wu Isenberg is a Ph.D. student in government at the University of Texas at Austin. She researches commerce and its effect on our understanding of the human good and freedom. Bridget is currently working on Montesquieu’s view and use of prejudice in *The Spirit of the Laws*. She earned her bachelor’s from St. John’s College, Santa Fe.





**Sam Mead**

Samuel Mead is a PhD candidate in political theory at UT, Austin. His research focuses on the political psychology of mortality in the history of political philosophy, and his dissertation is on this theme in Plato's Laws. He received a B.A. from St. John's College, Santa Fe, and a Masters from UT, Austin. His other research interests include the dialogue between political theology and political rationalism in the history of political thought; Classical political philosophy; early modern political philosophy; and Nietzsche.



**Yul Min Park**

Yul Min Park is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research areas include American politics, political communication, and quantitative methodology, with a particular emphasis on media effects on public opinion and political behavior. She analyzes pressing social policy problems using survey experimentation, textual analysis, and computational methods. Her research focuses on how the media influence the public and policymakers with respect to issue salience, opinion, and behavior. She received her M.A. and B.A. from Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, and is currently a Graduate Research Fellow at the Irma Rangel Public Policy Institute.



**Sam Selsky**

Sam Selsky is a PhD student in the Department of Government. His dissertation explores the role of religion in shaping the integration of refugees in countries of the developing world. More generally, his research uses quantitative methods to study the dynamics of minority exclusion and inclusion in diverse societies, with a regional focus on the Middle East and North Africa.



**Allen Sumrall**

Allen Sumrall is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. Allen's research interests include American political and constitutional development and the separation of powers. His work has appeared in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *Elon Law Review*, *Texas Law Review*,

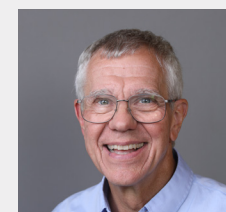
*Law & Politics Book Review*, *NBC News*, *The Constitutionalist*, and *House Divided*. Allen served as a law clerk to Honorable James O. Browning, US District Judge for the District of New Mexico. Allen holds a J.D. with Honors from the University of Texas School of Law in 2021, where he served as an Articles Editor for the *Texas Law Review*, and a B.A cum laude with Honors in Politics from Bates College in 2016.

### Faculty Fellows



**Charity-Joy Acchiardo**

Charity-Joy Acchiardo is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Associate Professor of Instruction in the Department of Economics at the University of Texas at Austin. She is the faculty lead for UT's OnRamps microeconomics course for high school students and is director of the Financial Responsibility and Economic Education program, both joint projects of the Civitas Institute and the Department of Economics. She is an Economic Educator Fellow at the Fraser Institute, Canada's top-ranked think tank, and has served as the Executive Director of the *Journal of Economics Teaching*. Her websites econkahoots.com and econshark.com are dedicated to making the economics classroom more engaging. Professor Acchiardo's passion is sharing her joy about economics with others, and she is a frequent speaker, both domestically and internationally, at workshops for educators and students. She completed her Ph.D. in Economics at George Mason University.



**Daniel Bonevac**

Daniel Bonevac is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Professor of Philosophy and Human Dimensions of Organizations at the The University of Texas at Austin, where he teaches and does research in logic and ethics, especially organizational ethics. His book *Reduction in the Abstract Sciences* received the Johnsonian Prize from *The Journal of Philosophy*. His other books include *Deduction* (Blackwell), *Simple Logic* (Oxford), *Worldly Wisdom* (Mayfield), and *Historical Dictionary of Ethics* (Rowman and Littlefield). Among his edited volumes are *Today's Moral Issues* (McGraw-Hill, seven editions) and *World Philosophy* (Oxford, with Stephen Phillips). Professor Bonevac's articles have appeared in such journals as *Philosophical Review*, *Mind*, *Noûs*, *The Journal of Philosophy*, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, *Synthese*, *Journal of Philosophical Logic*, *Ethics*, *Philosophical Studies*, and *Erkenntnis*. He was Chairman of the Department

of Philosophy from 1991 to 2001. He earned his PhD at the University of Pittsburgh.



**J. Budziszewski**

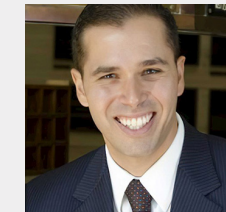
J. Budziszewski is Faculty Fellow in the Civitas Institute and Professor of Government and Philosophy at The University of Texas at Austin, where he also teaches courses in the law school and the religious studies department. He specializes in political philosophy, ethical philosophy, legal philosophy, and the interaction of religion with philosophy. Among his research interests are classical natural law, virtue ethics, conscience and moral self deception, human happiness or fulfillment, the institution of the family in relation to political and social order, religion in public life, and the problem of toleration. Professor Budziszewski is the author of nineteen books, including his recent four-part commentary on the works of *Thomas Aquinas: Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's Treatise on Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), its free online partner volume, *Companion to the Commentary* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), *Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's Virtue Ethics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), *Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's Treatise on Happiness and Ultimate Purpose* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), and *Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's Treatise on Divine Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).



**Scott Carrell**

Scott Carrell is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Professor of Economics at The University of Texas at Austin. At Civitas, he leads a new undergraduate program on leadership and research. Carrell writes and teaches in the fields of Public and Labor Economics. He is the author of 27 peer-reviewed journal articles. Carrell's early work focused on ways to improve military retention through local labor market forces, while most of his more recent work specializes in the economics of education. Specifically, his research examines policies and practices to improve educational outcomes at the primary, secondary and post-secondary levels taking into account both costs and benefits. Carrell previously served twenty years in the U.S. Air Force, retiring as a Lieutenant Colonel in 2015. His previous academic appointments include the U.S. Air Force Academy, Dartmouth College, and the University of California, Davis. Carrell served as the Senior Economist for Public Finance

and Labor Economics on the staff of President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers in summer 2004. Additionally, Carrell is a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, a Research Fellow at Institute for the Study of Labor, and a Co-Faculty Director of the California Education Lab. From 2015-2022, he co-edited the *Journal of Human Resources*.



**Carlos Carvalho**

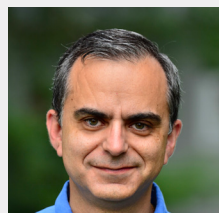
Carlos M. Carvalho is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and the La Quinta Centennial Professor of Business in the McCombs School of Business at The University of Texas at Austin. He is also Executive Director of the Salem Center for Policy, a research center that draws from multiple disciplines and empirical methods to help navigate the trade-offs of public policy decisions in pursuit of human flourishing and the preservation of a free society. Originally from Brazil, Professor Carvalho received his Ph.D. in Statistics from Duke University in 2006 and was assistant professor at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business before joining UT in 2010. His research, which focuses on Bayesian statistics in complex, high-dimensional problems with applications ranging from economics to genetics, has been published widely in top journals including *Bayesian Analysis* and *Annals of Applied Statistics*.



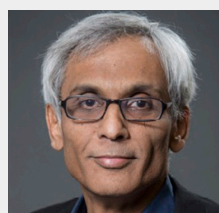
**Sheena Chestnut Greitens**

Sheena Chestnut Greitens is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Associate Professor of Public Affairs at The University of Texas at Austin. She also directs UT's Asia Policy Program, a joint initiative of the Clements Center for National Security and the Strauss Center for International Security and Law, and in 2022, is concurrently a Jeane Kirkpatrick Visiting Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Prof. Greitens' teaching and research focus on American national security, East Asia, and the politics of democracy and dictatorship. She is the author of *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), which won several academic awards. Her current book projects focus on authoritarianism and diaspora politics in North Korea, and on internal security as a driver of Chinese grand strategy. She completed her Ph.D. in Government at Harvard University.



**Patricio Fernandez**

Patricio A. Fernandez received his Ph.D. in Philosophy and Economics from Harvard University. Before joining UT-Austin, he taught at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In 2022-23, he was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, and he previously held a Humboldt research fellowship at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. He has published in ancient philosophy, action theory, ethics, and the economic analysis of law. His research focuses on ancient and contemporary approaches to practical reasoning, human action, and the normative standards that apply to them.

**Kishore Gawande**

Kishore Gawande is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute, Century Club Professor, and Chair of the Business, Government and Society Department in the McCombs School of Business at The University of Texas at Austin. Professor Gawande was previously Professor of International Economics and Development at Texas A&M University. He has served as a consultant to the World Bank and has been a Visiting Associate Professor at the Stigler Center, University of Chicago. Professor Gawande's areas of research include international trade policy, international political economy, conflict and development. His research has been published across disciplines in Economics, Political Science and Management. He holds an MBA from the Indian Institute of Management and a PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles.

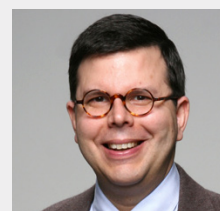
**Adam Klein**

Adam Klein is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Director of the Robert Strauss Center on International Security and Law at The University of Texas at Austin. He also serves as Senior Lecturer at the University of Texas School of Law, where he teaches courses on national security, intelligence, and counterterrorism. Before joining the Strauss Center, Adam served as Chairman of the United States Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board, the independent, bipartisan federal agency responsible for overseeing counterterrorism programs at the NSA, FBI, CIA, Department of Homeland Security, and other federal agencies. Previously, Adam practiced law at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr, LLP and

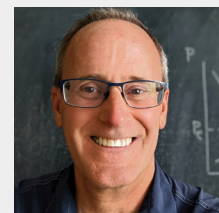
served as a law clerk to Justice Antonin Scalia of the U.S. Supreme Court and Judge Brett Kavanaugh of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. He received his BA from Northwestern University and his JD from Columbia Law School.

**Rob Koons**

Rob Koons is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Professor of Philosophy at The University of Texas at Austin, where he has taught for 35 years. He is the author or co-author of five books, including: *Realism Regained* (Oxford University Press, 2000) and *The Atlas of Reality: A Comprehensive Guide to Metaphysics*, with Timothy H. Pickavance (Wiley-Blackwell, 2017). He is the co-editor (with George Bealer) of *The Waning of Materialism* (Oxford University Press, 2010), (with Nicholas Teh and William Simpson) of *Neo-Aristotelian Perspectives on Contemporary Science* (Routledge, 2018), and (with William Simpson and James Orr) of *Neo-Aristotelian Metaphysics and the Philosophy of Nature* (Routledge, 2021). He has been working recently on an Aristotelian interpretation of quantum theory, on defending and articulating Thomism in contemporary terms, and on arguments for classical theism. His forthcoming books include: *Is Thomas Aquinas's Philosophy of Nature Obsolete?* (St. Augustine Press) and *Classical Theism* (Routledge), co-edited with Jonathan Fuqua. He completed his M.A. at Oxford University and his Ph.D. at the University of California at Los Angeles.

**David Leal**

David L. Leal is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute, Professor of Government, and Professor (by courtesy) of Mexican American Studies and Religious Studies at The University of Texas at Austin. Since 2018, he also has been a Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Professor Leal is a scholar of Latino politics, and his work explores the political and policy implications of demographic change. He has published over fifty journal articles and edited or co-edited a dozen scholarly books and journal symposia. Recent classes include Latino Politics, Immigration Politics, Politics and Religion, and British Politics. He has been an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, a Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer in Japan, and an Associate Member of Nuffield College at Oxford University. In 2021, he was recognized with the Distinguished Career Award from the Latina/o Caucus of the Midwest Political Science Association. He completed his Ph.D. in Government at Harvard University.

**Dirk Mateer**

Dirk Mateer is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Professor of Instruction in the Department of Economics at The University of Texas at Austin. He helps to develop UT's OnRamps microeconomics course for high school students and is Senior Teaching Fellow in the Financial Responsibility and Economic Education (FREE) program, both joint projects of the Civitas Institute and the Department of Economics. Prior to coming to UT, he received Penn State University's highest teaching award and was voted the best overall teacher in the Smeal College of Business. While at the University of Arizona, Dirk received the University's Koffler Teaching Prize, a quadrennial award for his contributions in economic education. While at UT-Austin, he received the Kenneth G. Elzinga Distinguished Teaching Award from the Southern Economic Association. He is the author of *Economics in the Movies, Essentials of Economics and Principles of Economics*. His most recent publication is "ChatGPT has Aced the Test of Understanding in College Economics: Now What?"

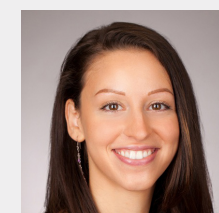
**Brian Roberts**

Brian Roberts is Faculty Fellow in the Civitas Institute, Professor of Government in the College of Liberal Arts, and Professor of Business, Government and Society (by courtesy) in the McCombs School of Business at The University of Texas at Austin. Professor Roberts' teaching and research are in the fields of American political institutions, interest groups, and positive political economy, with a focus on politics and financial markets, corporate political participation, and distributive politics. His scholarship has contributed to the literature in political science, economics, and finance, and has served in the past as Associate Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and UT's Vice President of Information Technology. He is the co-author, with Daron Shaw and Mijeong Baek, of *The Appearance of Corruption: Testing the Supreme Court's Assumptions About Campaign Finance Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

**Daron Shaw**

Daron Shaw is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Frank Erwin Centennial Chair in the Department of Government at The University of Texas at Austin. His research and

teaching interests include campaigns and elections, political parties, public opinion, and voting behavior. Professor Shaw is the author of *The Appearance of Corruption* (Oxford University Press, 2021) *The Turnout Myth* (Oxford University Press, 2020), *Unconventional Wisdom: Facts and Myths about American Voters* (Oxford University Press, 2008), *The Race to 270* (University of Chicago Press, 2006) and numerous articles in leading political science including *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, and *British Journal of Political Science*. He is co-director of the Fox News Poll, co-director of the University of Texas/Texas Tribune Poll, director of the Texas Lyceum Poll, and associate Principal Investigator for the 2020 and 2024 American National Election Studies. He completed his Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California at Los Angeles.

**Dima Shamoun**

Dima Shamoun is Clinical Assistant Professor in the Department of Finance and a Scholar with the Salem Center in the McCombs School of Business, where she teaches economics in the

MBA and BBA programs. Dima has been with UT Austin since she joined the Department of Economics as a Lecturer and the Center for Politics & Governance as the Associate Director of Research in May of 2016. She has been teaching both graduate and undergraduate students in introductory and advanced courses since spring 2011. She also serves on the MBA Programs Committee, the Wealth Management Student Recruiting and Placement Committee, and the Behavioral Lab Committee.

**Devin Stauffer**

Devin Stauffer is Faculty Fellow of the Civitas Institute and Professor of Government at The University of Texas at Austin. He specializes in classical and early modern political philosophy. Prior to coming to The University of Texas in 2004, Professor Stauffer taught at Kenyon College and St. John's College in Annapolis. During his time at Kenyon College, he received two awards for teaching excellence, and he has since received two more teaching awards at UT. Professor Stauffer's books include *Plato's Introduction to the Question of Justice* (SUNY, 2001), *The Unity of Plato's Gorgias* (Cambridge, 2006), and *Hobbes's Kingdom of Light* (Chicago, 2018). His articles have also appeared in some of the top journals in the field, including *Review of Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, and *American Political Science Review*.



# Fall 2023 Course Descriptions

## BARRETTA, JOEY

GOV 335G: AFRICAN AMERICAN SOCIAL & POLITICAL THOUGHT

This course will apply a core text approach to the study of the African American experience in America from the institution of slavery to the struggle for civil rights in the 1960s. Additionally, it will conclude with a look at contemporary authors on racial equality today. This course will focus on four core thinkers and their critics. Elements of the biographies of these core thinkers will be consulted to situate their ideas in context, but the primary focus will be on the content of their ideas.

1. **Frederick Douglass:** Douglass will serve as the foundation for the course because the other three are in some ways building on or departing from his project. He knew the evils of slavery personally. Nevertheless, Douglass argued that America could and should be home to African Americans even though they did not have equal status in a white-dominated society.
2. **Booker T. Washington:** Washington argued that through industrial training and hard work African Americans could elevate their status in society. Washington described the status of African Americans in the aftermath of slavery, particularly addressing the practical problems they faced as they sought a more equal station in society.
3. **W. E. B. Du Bois:** Du Bois was critical of Washington's "gradualist" approach, instead encouraging the most intellectually capable to pursue higher education to elevate their race as a whole. Du Bois will also help to illustrate the conditions African Americans faced in the first half of the twentieth century.
4. **Martin Luther King, Jr.:** King is the final core thinker who represents a time approximately a century following the Emancipation Proclamation. This section will explore the principles and goals of King's nonviolent direct action program as well as the content of the "dream" he spoke of in 1963.
5. **Critics of Core Thinkers:** We will study critics who opposed the four core thinkers, directly or indirectly, including Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and Kwame Ture & Charles Hamilton, among others.

6. **The Dream Today:** The question of whether Martin Luther's dream has been attained will provide the transition point to reading some modern-day authors who have different views on the status of African Americans today. Contemporary authors to be examined include Cornel West, Ta-Nehisi Coates, Ibram X. Kendi, and John McWhorter.

## BONEVAC, DANIEL

HDO 285 ORGANIZATIONAL ETHICS

This course examines ethical questions relating to organizations from theoretical and practical points of view. In an organizational context, these questions arise at several different levels. We can ask about my obligations

1. to the organization
2. to my coworkers
3. to my supervisors
4. to the people I supervise
5. to shareholders
6. to the public.

We can ask about the organization's obligations to its members, its shareholders, and the public. And we can ask about ways of structuring institutions to encapsulate the values of the organization and minimize ethical risks. Finally, we can ask about the extent to which ethical problems can be addressed by formal codes, policies, and institutional structures.

Our hypothesis throughout the course will be that ethics, strategy, psychology, and organizational structure interact in important ways and need to be studied together. Readings will come from philosophers such as Confucius, Aristotle, Kant, Mill, and Ross, psychologists such as Peterson, Seligman, Kahneman, Tversky, and Haidt, anthropologists such as Fiske and Rai, and strategists such as Sun Tzu, Boyd, Axelrod, and Taleb.

PHL 325K ETHICAL THEORIES

How should I live? What kind of person should I try to become? What should I do? How do I decide? Those questions about how to live—what to be, what to do, how to decide—form the subject matter of ethics. This course examines classic texts of several different approaches to answering them. We will read selections from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Immanuel Kant's *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, Jeremy Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation* and *Pannomial Fragments*, John Stuart Mill's *Utilitarianism*, and W. D. Ross's *The Right and the Good*—classic statements of important approaches to ethical theory.

UGS 303 IDEAS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Friedrich Nietzsche predicted that the twentieth century would be a century of great wars. It was. More than one hundred million people died in wars. About the same number died at the hands of their own governments. In its early years, philosophers, scientists, psychologists, artists, musicians, poets, and writers of fiction overthrew our understanding of the physical world, of human behavior, of thought and its limits, and of our understanding of art, creativity, and beauty. The challenge of totalitarianism confronted those committed to freedom. The devastation of two World Wars raised deep questions about the nature and meaning of human existence. This course will explore these themes as they develop in twentieth-century philosophy, history, literature, and art. Readings will be from authors such as Dostoevsky, Nietzsche, Shaw, Doyle, Unamuno, Eliot, Yeats, Kipling, Christie, Fitzgerald, Freud, Ortega y Gasset, Pirandello, Churchill, Lewis, Camus, Borges, Ionesco, Hayek, Lyotard, Sontag, Didion, Rawls, Nozick, Havel, and Solzhenitsyn.

## CARVALHO, CARLOS

B A 286T STATISTICS (MBA LEVEL)

This course focuses on the application of data analytic, statistics tools in business decisions. The main topic of the course is regression analysis. Students will learn how to use regression to analyze a variety of complex real-world problems. Numerous empirical examples from finance, marketing, economics, politics, sports, etc. illustrate applications of the material covered.

STA 280N ADVANCED STATISTICS AND ECONOMETRICS IN R (MBA LEVEL)

This course is on the use of advanced statistical and machine learning tools applied to economic questions. Loosely speaking, this is a class where "Economics" meets "Big Data Analytics." The goal is to understand a number of modern statistical techniques and apply them to answer cause-and-effect questions in economics, finance, marketing, etc.

UGS 302 TRADE-OFFS, VALUES, AND DATA

This course is about policies and the trade-offs inherent in choosing which policies get enacted into law. To understand the current policymaking environment, students should understand three components: where we are as a society today (progress); what goals/values we are trying to attain/promote with policy (values); and how we evaluate the effects of these policies (empirical policy evaluation). We achieve these goals by exploring ideas in philosophy, economics and statistics.

## COMSTOCK, REID

PHL 318K: INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The state is a unique thing. It can demand our wealth in the form of taxes, our obedience in the form of laws, and even our lives in the form of the draft. No other entity exerts such power over our lives. In this course, we will explore some of the basic questions about the state through a close study of the foundational texts in the history of political thought. We will begin with Aristotle's *Politics*, one of the first works of political theory. Through that work, we will become familiar with one of the main approaches to political thought, an approach which holds that the goal of political life is to promote the common good—the happiness of the citizen body. We will then examine some of the writings of the early modern thinkers who developed an alternative political philosophy, namely, liberalism, which holds that the state's purpose is not to promote anyone's good but to protect the freedoms of her citizens. And finally, we will conclude the semester by considering some of the criticisms of liberalism that have been formulated more recently by contemporary thinkers. In the course of this survey, we will reflect on a number of questions, including the following: What is happiness, the goal at which political life (according to some) is supposed to aim? What authority does the state actually have to intervene in the lives of her citizens to promote their happiness? If the state's purpose is not to promote the happiness of her citizens, what is its purpose? To secure liberty? To promote equality? What liberties do we in fact have? And why after all is liberty so important? Is civil disobedience ever justified? Should there be a free market? What are the virtues of citizenship? And should the state intervene to help promote those virtues?

## CREE GEE, EVAN

GOV 312P: CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES: CORE TEXTS

This class is devoted to the underlying principles of liberal democracy in America and American political life. We will proceed mainly through a close reading of primary sources. Topics discussed will include: contemporary critiques of liberal democracy; the principles of the Declaration of Independence; the debate over the Constitution of 1787 between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists; the nature of democracy as a social condition; the tyranny of the majority; the phenomena of individualism and materialism; the problem of slavery in the founding and the early republic; the moral and constitutional issues at stake in the Civil War; and the question of civil disobedience. The class carries a Cultural Diversity in the U.S. Flag; our final unit will explore the writings of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and other



African-American authors. The class also carries an “Ethics” flag: we will consider the difficult practical questions faced by leaders such as Douglass, Washington, Du Bois, Lincoln, Madison, and others.

### **DYER, JUSTIN**

GOV 357G STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

One purpose of the U.S. Constitution is to secure individual rights and liberties through a written constitution. In this course, we consider original constitutional understandings and debates, evaluate arguments for and against the Constitution’s first ten amendments (known now as the Bill of Rights), and then trace the development of U.S. constitutional liberties jurisprudence over time through formal constitutional amendment and judicial interpretation.

### **GAWANDE, KISHORE**

BGS 374 GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

The course explores the relationship of business to its many stakeholders in the global context. These stakeholders include governments, bureaucrats and citizens. The goal of the course is to prepare students, as future managers in a global world, to develop effective business strategy. Because global business strategy involves both unforeseen risks and costly investment of resources, it is crucial to understand the sources of future opportunities as well as future uncertainty. We will see how applying political economic analysis can open the door to viable market and non-market strategies in global business.

The course is case-based, plus a few lectures. It is divided into two parts.

The first part is designed to gain a deep understanding of political economy from the experience of countries. A country-case is analyzed for its political economy context, followed by a business-case situated in this environment which requires strategic decision-making by a manager.

The second part is issue-based, covering International Institutions, Trade Disputes, Global Supply Chains, the Resource Curse and Monopolies. Institutional cases and business cases that highlight an issue in the political economy context of a country will be used. How do we approach business strategy in such circumstances?

### **KITCH, SARAH BETH**

GOV 312P CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES: CORE TEXTS

The purpose of this course is to help students carefully engage texts that shed light on constitutional principles and their role in the American story. The themes the founders set forth in the Declaration—equality, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—frame our inquiry. We begin with an Introduction on thinking about the American founding. Then in Part I, we examine traditions that shape Americans’ pursuit of happiness. Part II leads us to investigate the meaning of liberty as well as its conditions. Part III invites us to consider equality in America in light of our common humanity as well as our uniqueness as persons. We conclude with a reflection on ethical imagination in the work of justice.

To examine these themes, we’ll think with authors such as Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Aristotle, John Locke, Alexis de Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, James Madison, Harriet Jacobs, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Malcolm X, Fannie Lou Hamer, Martin Luther King, Jr., Margaret Walker, Hannah Arendt, and James Baldwin. Along the way, we attend to ethical awareness and moral courage as essential to our work.

### **KLEIN, ADAM**

LAW 397S: SURVEILLANCE, LIBERTY, AND PRIVACY

This course explores rapidly evolving debates around government surveillance, new technologies, civil liberties, and personal privacy. It considers surveillance by the U.S. intelligence community, police, and U.S. allies and adversaries abroad, examining key legal instruments and court decisions in light of broader policy debates. The class will also examine the interbranch allocation of responsibility for authorizing, implementing, and overseeing surveillance programs. In particular, the course will focus on surveillance activities affecting new and emerging technologies and those technologies’ potential to shift the balance between citizen and state.

### **KOONS, ROB**

PHL 382: CONTEMPORARY HYLOMORPHISM

Alexander Pruss (Baylor) and I will cover recent developments in Aristotelian metaphysics and philosophy of nature. First, we will delineate and categorize the variety of contemporary accounts that claim the label ‘hylomorphism,’ exploring the logical space beyond both physicalism and various kinds of dualism or vitalism.

Second, we will investigate whether hylomorphic models can shed light on problems in the interpretation of contemporary scientific theory, including quantum physics, chemistry, and biology. Third, we will fill out a distinctively Aristotelian account of the metaphysics of space, time, causal powers, grounding, and essence. Fourth, we will look for an Aristotelian third way between standard versions of Platonism and nominalism, evaluating its advantages and costs.

UGS 302: CLASSICAL PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

An introduction to the philosophy and literature of ancient Greece and Rome, including Homer’s *Iliad and Odyssey*, Sophocles’ *Antigone*, selections from Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cicero’s *On Obligations*, and Virgil’s *Aeneid*. The course will include a historical simulation from *Reacting to the Past* (developed at Barnard College), set in ancient Athens at the time of Socrates’ trial. Students will be assigned different roles, e.g., Thrasylbulus, a radical Democrat, Oligarch, Supporter of Socrates, Rich Athlete-derived from the historical setting. Students will determine on their own, however, how best to attain their goals, receiving guidance from important texts in the history of ideas. Before and after the game, the course will be conducted in a seminar style, with heavy emphasis on student participation.

### **LEAL, DAVID**

GOV 310L: AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

This course will introduce you to government and politics in the United States. We will cover topics such as the Constitution, political institutions, elections and public opinion, rights and freedoms, and public policy. We also introduce approaches to the social scientific study of politics, particularly data analysis, and make comparisons between American government and Texas government throughout. The class begins with the basic principles of politics, followed by a discussion of the creation of the nation and its fundamental features, including the Constitution, the development of democracy, the importance of federalism, and fundamental rights and liberties. We then explore the institutional building blocks of government – the Congress, presidency, bureaucracy, and federal courts. The class then examines public input into the political system, particularly public opinion, elections, political parties, interest groups, and the mass media. We conclude with the key social, foreign policy, and economic issues facing the nation.

### **MATEER, DIRK**

ECO 304K: INTRO TO MICROECONOMICS

The purpose of the class is to provide a firm understanding of the structure and workings of the micro-economy; topics include: supply and demand; elasticity; efficiency and equity; markets in action; utility; preferences and choices; the theory of the firm; output and costs; market structures; behavioral economics; and public goods and externalities. Microeconomics is the basic building block for all upper-level courses.

UGS 303: WEALTH AND WELL-BEING

This class provides a firm understanding of the structure and workings of the economy and surveys the ethical frameworks in order to evaluate whether the market outcomes observed in the economy are ethical or not. This course equips students to be better citizens, become knowledgeable decision makers, and be able to discern good economic policy.

### **MEAD, SAM**

GOV 312P: CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES: CORE TEXTS

Citizens of American liberal democracy live under the oldest codified constitution in use today. Yet the age of a constitution does not permit us to take its principles for granted. Far from it. Each of us, in one way or another, is deeply shaped by these principles – in what we admire and detest, praise and blame, fear and love, in our opinions on the mundane and the lofty alike. Therefore, if we wish not to take our opinions for granted, if we wish to achieve genuine self-knowledge, and if we are to be responsible democratic citizens, we must engage in a searching and thoughtful analysis of the theoretical basis for the American Constitution and the ways of life it fosters and requires. Such an analysis is all the more necessary today; liberal democracy now draws criticism not only from abroad but also from home on both sides of the political spectrum. If we are to meet those criticisms adequately, we owe it to ourselves to recover the original intention of those who shaped our regime. This course is designed to help students begin such a recovery. We will focus on the fundamental principles of American political life: democracy, equality, and liberty. Our guides – a select few authors of the American political tradition’s foundational texts – will show us how these principles took hold in the US and what arguments were made for and against them. Our authors will not always agree with each other – they will even vehemently disagree. But from their agreements and disagreements alike, we can begin to recover for ourselves those crucial questions



informing our country, and hopefully start on the path towards genuine intellectual liberation.

We will read Aristotle, John Locke, The Federalist Papers, select Anti-Federalists, Alexis de Tocqueville, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, Martin Luther King, Jr., James Baldwin, Abraham Lincoln, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

## ROBERTS, BRIAN

GOV 370R/LAH 350: MONEY IN U.S. POLITICS

This course explores the nature and consequences of money in American politics and why, at this point in history, we find ourselves embroiled in the most significant debate over campaign finance reform in well over forty years. The debate goes to the heart of the U.S. Constitution, pitting the First Amendment rights of speech and assembly against notions of equality challenged, some claim, by the scale and distribution of money in contemporary US politics.

Campaign finance issues lie at the crossroads of a bewildering number of analytical perspectives. We examine the work of historians, social scientists, legal scholars, and interested parties on all sides of the argument in an effort to assess current policy debates and to understand how we got here.

The objective of the course is not to persuade you of any particular point of view but, rather, to arm you with the substantive knowledge, theoretical foundation, and analytical tools needed to be resolute in whatever conclusions you draw from this experience.

## SHAW, DARON

GOV 310L: AMERICAN AND TEXAS GOVERNMENT

This course is an introduction to American government and politics. While our main focus is on the national level, additional attention is paid to the state and local governments of Texas. In some instances, the American case is placed in a comparative context derived from the experience of other western democratic nations. In other instances, we focus on changes over time within the American political system to demonstrate how principles often change with context. At all times, we are interested in a better understanding of how this particular system has developed and what it means for citizens of the United States.

There are three primary objectives in this course. The first is to provide basic descriptive information about the American and Texas political systems by examining important political processes, institutions, and actors. The second is to develop analytical skills with which to understand complex relationships

and phenomena. The third is to introduce the work of the political scientist by concentrating on the paradigms and techniques of the discipline.

GOV 325: POLITICAL PARTIES

This course focuses on the role political parties play in representative democracies. We will study the variables that distinguish party systems in different countries, the historical development of parties, and the nature of parties in contemporary democratic societies. We will also explore how parties mobilize mass populations for political purposes, as well as the character of party elites, activists, and supporters.

The first three weeks of the course are largely general and theoretical. Examples are drawn from different countries to illustrate questions and arguments. The remainder of the course deals almost exclusively with the American parties.

My approach will be thematic. By studying institutions and processes that are generally characteristic of parties in democratic systems, you will recognize that many features of the American parties are a particular configuration of more general phenomena. Through the readings and lectures on the U.S. party system you will develop a conceptual and theoretical understanding of not only the American parties, but of political parties across the globe.

## SOSA, ANTONIO

GOV335M: TOCQUEVILLE'S DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

The course will consist in a close reading of the two volumes of Tocqueville's Democracy in America. The purpose of the course is to introduce students to Tocqueville's moderate defense of liberal democracy. In contrast to the extreme views held in his day—the radical aristocratic view seeing democracy as inherently tyrannical and the radical democratic view seeing democracy as inherently just—Tocqueville's study of America was a qualified vindication of democracy as a political order in which liberty and equality, enlightenment and religion, self-interest and the common good, regard for human greatness and respect for the little guy, could be substantially harmonized, given the right laws and political institutions and, most importantly, the right mores. One among many valuable lessons that students can draw from Tocqueville's book is how deeply a thinker can criticize democracy while remaining its thoughtful friend—as opposed to its flatterer.

In the first volume, we will cover the following topics: (a) Tocqueville's analysis of America's political institutions, particularly at the local level, as they existed in the 1830's, (b) his study of the interplay between American democracy and

prominent civil institutions (e.g., political parties, the press), (c) his diagnosis of and prescription for the peculiar democratic ailment he calls "tyranny of the majority," (d) his understanding of the relation between religion and liberty, and (e) his account of the political and social relations between the "three races" that compose the United States and of what those relations portend for the future of American democracy.

In the second volume, we will cover the following topics: (a) Tocqueville's concern with the diminution of the intellectual horizon of the democratic mind, (b) his argument about how to "enlighten" self-interest in democratic times, (c) his account of the high status that pity occupies in democratic times (d) his general outlook on the prospects for liberty and the preservation of man's humanity in democratic times.

## STAUFFER, DEVIN

GOV 382M: DESCARTES: ORIGINS OF MODERNITY

Descartes is a pivotal figure in the history of philosophy, so much so that he is often described as the founder of modern philosophy. In this course, we will consider whether that title is warranted and what was new about Descartes' thinking by reading Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, *Meditations*, *Principles of Philosophy*, and *Passions of the Soul*. We will look backwards, by considering Descartes' difference from classical thinkers, and forwards, by considering his influence on modern thinkers. But above all we will be taking a deep dive into Descartes' own texts to try to understand his fundamental reflections.

## STAYSA, ABIGAIL

GOV 351C: THE CLASSICAL QUEST FOR JUSTICE

It is obvious that a concern for justice affects our expectations of one another and our obligations to others. It also lies at the foundation of our thinking about governmental policies and our hopes for political society. And yet, despite of our continued concern for justice, we seldom, if ever, pause to reflect on its nature. What is justice? What does it require of individuals and political communities? In this course, we will focus on these and other fundamental questions of political philosophy through a careful study of seminal texts from antiquity. Beginning with Sophocles' *Antigone*, we will attempt to think through the questions of justice, civic and familial obligation, nobility, mortality, and the relationship of the human to the divine, and to understand Sophocles' artful and complex presentation of the deepest puzzles connected with those themes. We will then read Xenophon's *Regime of the Lacedaemonians* and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* to examine one legislator's attempt to attain perfect

justice in a city through institutional and educational reforms aimed at total devotion to the common good, and to appreciate the authors' ironic treatment and subtle criticisms of that regime. Turning then to Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, Plato's *Republic*, and Aristotle's *Politics*, our focus will be on the relationship of the philosopher to the political community, the meaning of Socratic philosophy as a way of life, its need for a political defense, and the distinctive forms that that defense takes in the works of Plato and Aristotle.

## VASSILIOU, CONSTANTINE

GOV 312P: CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES: CORE TEXTS

This course will introduce students to the study of politics by considering the constitutional order of the United States. The course examines the ideational roots of the United States' foundational principles as instantiated in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and in classical political and legislative writings that informed the Founders' Constitutional Designs. Throughout the semester, students will interrogate the relationship between practical politics and constitutional design by reflecting upon the following questions: How does the U.S. Constitution lay the foundation of American government and organize its powers in a manner that affects our safety and happiness? In what ways has our original constitutional design been either advanced or frustrated by historical developments with respect to our political institutions? How democratic was the founding? Is democratization always conducive to deliberation? Does institutional rivalry rooted in separation and blending of constitutional powers foster increased deliberation in republican self-government, or does it merely cause political gridlock? When is a constitutional commitment to limited government in tension with the necessities required to protect our civil rights and liberties? Careful reflection upon these perennial questions in American political thought will enable students to establish connections between foundational ideas in classic political texts and established theories of liberty and equality, in a manner that forges innovative insights on how to strengthen our public institutions.





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## Civitas Institute Events **Fall 2023**

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|-------------|----------|--|
| September 8 | 12:00 PM | <b>Hadley Arkes</b> on The Moral Grounds of a Free Economy                                 |
| October 12  | 7:00 PM  | <b>Arthur Brooks</b> on Happiness  |
| October 13  | 12:00 PM | <b>Roosevelt Montas</b> on Liberal Education (co-sponsor with Thomas Jefferson Center)     |
| October 18  | 12:15 PM | <b>Free Speech Panel</b> with <b>Kyle Duncan, Vincent Lloyd, Ilana Redstone</b>            |
| November 6  | 6:30 PM  | <b>Braver Angels Debate</b> on Ukraine (co-sponsor with Bridges USA)                       |
| November 16 | 4:00 PM  | <b>Robert C. Barlett</b> on Aristotle's Rhetoric (co-sponsor with Thomas Jefferson Center) |



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