

## Political Science 202W

Fall 2023

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 10:25-11:15

Recitations on Thursdays or Fridays

### Argument in Political Science

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Office hours (PSCI 202W only): Monday afternoons, 1:00-2:00

Additional office hours: Monday afternoons, 2:00-3:00

Recitation leaders: [Garrett Briggs](#), [Nick Cavallerano](#), [Sam Eichel](#), [Alec Ellison](#), [Matan Kotler-Berkowitz](#), [Isabella Rocha](#), and [Elsa Vellone](#)

This course introduces students to the questions, concepts, and analytical approaches of political scientists and emphasizes careful reading and analytical writing. For its subject matter, this class focuses on the tension between majority rule and minority rights in the American political tradition. Topics include tyranny of the majority, slavery, constitutional design, representation, the paradox of voting, collective action problems, political ambition, the development of the American party system, congressional organization, racism and civil rights, women's rights, substantive due process, the politics of contraception and abortion and LGBTQ rights, partisan polarization, and democratic erosion. Readings are drawn from classic texts in American thought—the Declaration of Independence, *The Federalist*, Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, speeches by Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln, Supreme Court cases—as well as from books and articles written by contemporary political scientists.

**Books.** Five books are available for purchase in the campus bookstore and at various places online, including [AbeBooks](#) and [Amazon](#). *Be certain to get the correct translation of Tocqueville; our edition is translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer.* All of these books are available on reserve and some are also available as electronic editions through [Rush Rhees Library](#):

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence.
2. Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congress at the Grassroots*
3. John Aldrich, *Why Parties?: A Second Look*.
4. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*.
5. Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon*

**Course website.** Blackboard contains lots of information essential to the course—selected student papers (for discussion in recitation), links to all required readings not in the books listed above, and folders for uploading your papers each week. To access readings off-campus, you will need to download and run VPN (so that your computer can be viewed as part of the University's network). You can install VPN [here](#). *If any link on the website does not work, please let Professor Gamm know immediately by email.*

**Credit hours.** This course follows the College credit hour policy for four-credit courses. This course meets three times weekly for three hours per week. For the fourth credit hour, students should review the student papers in advance of recitation. This course also includes substantial reading and writing assignments, as well as a midterm and final exam.

**Excused absences from class.** *Please do not attend class if you are sick!* We recognize a number of reasons for legitimate absences from class: illness; severe injuries or other medical conditions; religious or cultural holidays; athletic or debate competitions; or weddings, funerals, or other major life-cycle events. *If you need to miss a recitation or lecture for an excused reason, be sure to notify your teaching assistant in advance.* As long as you notify them in advance, you will not be penalized for the occasional excused absence. We will also gladly share lecture notes for those with excused absences. Absences without prior notification will be treated as unexcused, except in cases of unexpected emergencies.

**Paper guidelines and academic honesty.** Students must conduct themselves in accordance with the University's [Academic Honesty Policy](#). In this class, students are encouraged to discuss readings and course material with anyone they choose—including the professor, TA's, and other students. But, unless all assignments have been submitted, they may not share, receive, or discuss written work for this class, including outlines, plans, and notes for papers, except with Writing Fellows acting in their official capacity. Under no circumstances may students receive help of any sort with their papers from current or former students in this class.

Keep papers short and to the point. Papers should be 800-1,000 words in length (about 3 pages). *No paper may exceed 1,000 words.* Double-space the papers, use 12-point font, and no funny stuff with the margins; an inch on each side is about right. Place your recitation leader's name at the top of your paper. **All papers are due in that week's Blackboard assignment folder no later than 1:00 p.m. on Tuesdays.** Requests for extensions will be granted only on a case-by-case basis; except in the case of a genuine and unforeseen emergency, no late papers will be accepted without prior permission. If you do need an extension, contact your teaching assistant as early as possible.

Students are strongly discouraged, but not forbidden, from using AI-powered tools, like ChatGPT, to summarize readings or to write drafts of papers. Not only will the use of these tools undermine the learning objectives of this course—to develop the ability to read with precision, to think clearly, and to respond to prompts with clearly argued papers grounded in evidence from the readings—but the use of these tools will, ironically, also make it *much harder* for students to complete required assignments and could trigger an academic honesty violation. **Every submitted essay must meet these two conditions:**

1. Include 8-10 citations, in parentheses, giving exact page numbers (or paragraph number, for a reading lacking page numbers) for ideas that come from the readings. About 3-5 of these citations should be for brief exact quotes, with the others being paraphrases of ideas. Because of this requirement, it is crucial that all students be using the same editions of the five books. If you do not own or rent the required edition, you should plan to borrow a copy from the library to get correct page numbers for citations.
2. Include no material that does not appear in the assigned readings.

***As long as you do the reading, outlining, and writing on your own—writing down page numbers as you take notes—there is no risk of you violating either of these rules.*** Papers that follow these rules will be graded normally. Should a paper violate one or both of these rules, it will be returned ungraded and with no credit for the assignment, the presumption being that AI-powered tools were used exclusively or primarily to develop the paper. Should a second (or any other subsequent) paper violate these rules, both (or all) papers will be turned over to the Academic Honesty Board, and the absence of accurate citations and/or inclusion of non-assigned material will be regarded as [evidence of academic dishonesty](#).

Should you choose to use AI-powered tools for your papers, therefore, it is essential that you know the assigned material incredibly well—better, in fact, than almost anyone else in the class—since you will be responsible for identifying the specific page numbers where 8-10 of the ideas in the paper originated, and you will be responsible for removing any statements, facts, or ideas that did not appear anywhere in the assigned material. This will be much more time-consuming, and much riskier, than simply doing the work on your own and without any aid. Note that AI-powered tools struggle to provide accurate citations, and they often “hallucinate”—i.e., include material that does not appear in the original source.

**Requirements and basis for grading**

To receive credit for the course—to pass the course—you must, at minimum, attend recitation on a regular basis, submit at least five papers (according to the schedule below), and take the final exam. Anyone who does not fulfill these minimal requirements will not receive credit for the course.

**Participation in recitation (15%).** You are expected to attend lectures and recitations regularly. We will not penalize occasional absences for legitimate reasons, as defined above. Your participation grade is determined by attendance and active, informed participation in recitations. *You must attend recitation on a regular basis—defined, at a bare minimum, as a majority of recitations—to receive credit for the course.* If you cannot commit to doing that, however good your reasons, you should not take this course.

**Brief pop quizzes (5%).** At a handful of lectures, randomly chosen and unannounced in advance, we will distribute pop quizzes. These will be easy—a line or two at most—designed to give full credit to anyone doing the readings and showing up for (and paying attention to) lectures. Students will get half credit simply for writing their names, full credit if they also answer the question correctly. If you are not present, you cannot get credit for the quiz *unless you notified your teaching assistant, in advance of the lecture, that you cannot attend that lecture for some legitimate reason.* Anyone who notifies their TA in advance of the class of a legitimate reason for the absence will get full credit for any pop quiz that day.

**Midterm exam (10%).** Administered in class on Wednesday, October 25.

**Short papers and the final exam are worth the remaining 70% of your grade.**

The [final exam schedule](#) is set by the registrar. The exam for this class is on Tuesday, December 19, at 12:30 pm. You must be in Rochester to take the exam in person, so please make your travel arrangements accordingly—taking into account that the exam could keep you on campus as late as 3:30 pm that day.

You must write between five and nine papers and write them on a regular basis throughout the semester. At least one paper must come from each of these five groupings\*:

- Paper 1: Unit B
- Paper 2: Unit C or E
- Paper 3: Unit F or H
- Paper 4: Unit I or J
- Paper 5: Unit K or L

You must submit at least five papers (according to this schedule) to receive credit for the course. If you write exactly five papers, all five grades count. If you write between six and eight papers, we drop the lowest grade. If you write nine papers, we drop the two lowest grades. Should you wish to count every paper grade, you may do so if you notify your teaching assistant by e-mail before the final exam. *The number of papers you write determines the relative weight of your papers and final exam.* These are the various weightings:

- Five or six papers (five paper grades) . . . . . 35% papers, 35% final exam
- Seven papers (six paper grades) . . . . . 40% papers, 30% final exam
- Eight or nine papers (seven paper grades) . . . . . 50% papers, 20% final exam

In the first weeks of the semester, three anonymous student papers will be posted to the course website each Wednesday evening. You are responsible for reading those three anonymous papers as preparation for your recitation on Thursday or Friday; you should bring copies of those papers with you to recitation. Although we will continue posting selected student papers in later weeks, they are intended for reference purposes only; they will not be discussed in recitation.

\* THE FINE PRINT: If you skip one pair of units, you will receive a “0” as one of your paper grades, and this “0” may not be dropped. If you skip two pairs of units, you will receive two paper grades of “0,” and these grades may not be dropped. *You may not skip more than two pairs of units and still receive credit for the course. Whether or not you skip any pairs of units, you still must write five serious papers to receive credit for the course.*

### ***Unit A—Parchment Barriers***

Aug. 30	Lecture
Sept. 1	Discussion: Special class on how to write effective, strong papers Prepare by reading <a href="#">The Federalist No. 84</a> , first twelve paragraphs
Sept. 4	<i>No class—Labor Day</i>
Sept. 6	Lecture
Sept. 8	Lecture/Discussion

*No paper assignment.*

[Declaration of Independence](#), 4 July 1776.

Jeffrey Ostler, “[The Shameful Final Grievance of the Declaration of Independence](#),” *The Atlantic*, 8 Feb. 2020. [PDF version](#).

Jack N. Rakove, “[What Remains of Thomas Jefferson?](#)” *Wall Street Journal*, 1 July 2022. [Text version](#)

[Constitution of the United States](#), 1787.

[The Federalist No. 84](#), first twelve paragraphs (ending with the words “. . . entirely foreign from the substance of the thing.”), 1788.

James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, [Letter](#), 17 Oct. 1788.

Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, [Letter](#), 15 Mar. 1789.

Bill of Rights, 1791. [First ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States](#).

### ***Unit B—Institutional Design***

Sept. 11	Lecture
Sept. 13	Lecture
Sept. 14/15	Recitation

*Paper due Sept. 12.* Note that Madison is the author of the first three readings (including all five of the assigned papers from *The Federalist*). What are Madison’s primary concerns about democratic self-rule, how does he address those concerns with the Virginia Plan and in the institutional (and geographic) design of the government under the Constitution, and what compromises does he ultimately need to make to secure support for the Constitution? According to Rosen, how would Madison evaluate the current state of American politics? Be sure to draw on each assigned reading.

James Madison, “[Vices of the Political System of the United States](#),” April 1787.

[Virginia Plan](#), 29 May 1787.

*The Federalist* Nos. [10](#), [48](#), [51](#), [62](#), and [63](#).

Charles F. Hobson, “[The Negative on State Laws: James Madison, the Constitution, and the Crisis of Republican Government](#),” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 36 (1979), 215-235.

Jeffrey Rosen, “[America Is Living James Madison’s Nightmare](#),” *The Atlantic*, Oct. 2018. [Magazine version](#)

***Unit C—Representation***

Sept. 18      Lecture  
Sept. 20      Lecture  
Sept. 21/22   Recitation

*Paper due Sept. 19.* Drawing on each assigned reading, consider the ways in which representatives should (or do) relate to their constituents.

Edmund Burke, [Speech to the Electors of Bristol, England](#), 3 Nov. 1774.

Melancton Smith, [Objections to the Constitution in the New York Ratifying Convention](#), 20-23 June 1788.

*The Federalist* Nos. [35](#), [55](#).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congress at the Grassroots*, 1-88.

Daniel M. Butler and David E. Broockman, “[Do Politicians Racially Discriminate against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators](#),” *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2011), 463-77.

***Unit D— Social Choice and the Origins of American Political Parties***

Sept. 25      *No class—Yom Kippur*  
Sept. 27      Lecture  
Sept. 29      Lecture

*No paper assignment.*

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 3-43, 67-101.

***Unit E—Democratic Tyranny***

Oct. 2        Lecture  
Oct. 4        Lecture  
Oct. 5/6      Recitation

*Paper due Oct. 3.* Drawing on Tocqueville and Zakaria, how can democracy (and even equality itself) be in tension with civil liberties, the rights of individuals, and the capacity of individuals for realizing their potential?

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, xiii-xiv, 9-20, 50-60, 173, 196-99, 226-35, 246-61, 433-36, 465-74, 503-9, 535-41, 667-79, 690-705.

Fareed Zakaria, “[The Rise of Illiberal Democracy](#),” *Foreign Affairs* 76:6 (Nov/Dec 1997), 22-43.

**Unit F—Democratic Liberty**

Oct. 9           Lecture  
Oct. 11          Lecture  
Oct. 12/13      Recitation

*Paper due Oct. 10.* Drawing on Tocqueville and Dzur, consider how Tocqueville values the deferential aspects of jury service, in contrast to the democratic and participatory venues of town government and civil associations. How, according to Putnam, has associational life changed in the contemporary era, and why does that matter?

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, 61-72, 87-98, 189-95, 235-45, 262-76, 286-94, 301-11, 395-400, 509-28.

Robert D. Putnam, "[Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital](#)," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (Jan. 1995), 65-78.

Albert W. Dzur, "[Democracy's 'Free School': Tocqueville and Lieber on the Value of the Jury](#)," *Political Theory* 38 (2010), 603-30.

**Unit G—Collective Action and the Rise of Mass Party Politics**

Oct. 16          *No class—Fall Break*  
Oct. 18          Lecture  
Oct. 20          Lecture

*No paper assignment.*

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 30-32, 43-50, 102-29.

Paula Baker, "[The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920](#)," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984), 620-47.

**Interlude**

Oct. 23          Review/Q&A  
Oct. 25          Midterm Exam  
Oct. 26/27      Recitation/Discussion

## ***Unit H—Ambition, Slavery, and the Crisis of the 1850s***

Oct. 30      Lecture  
Nov. 1      Lecture  
Nov. 2/3     Recitation

*Paper due Oct. 31.* How does Aldrich draw on ambition theory to explain the rise of the new Republican party in the 1850s? After answering that question, discuss how each of the other readings assesses the crisis of the 1850s and early 1860s as a crisis of the Constitution and the Union. For each reading—including the early Garrison readings—analyze how different authors understand the relationship between slavery, the Union, and the nation’s founding principles.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 50-56, 130-59.

William Lloyd Garrison, “[On the Constitution and the Union](#),” *The Liberator*, 29 Dec. 1832, and “[The American Union](#),” *The Liberator*, 10 Jan. 1845.

Frederick Douglass, “[What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?](#)” Rochester, N.Y., 5 July 1852.

Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, [Seventh Debate](#), Alton, Ill., 15 Oct. 1858.

State of Texas, [Declaration of Causes for Secession](#), 2 Feb. 1861.

Noah Feldman, “[This Is the Story of How Lincoln Broke the U.S. Constitution](#),” *New York Times*, 2 Nov. 2021. [Text version](#)

## ***Unit I—Congress, Racism, and Incarceration***

Nov. 6      Lecture  
Nov. 8      Lecture  
Nov. 9/10   Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 7.* Drawing on Katznelson, identify the central features of the mid-20th-century Congress—including committees, the seniority system, and party organization—and how those features shaped welfare policy, labor legislation, and benefits for veterans. Then, drawing first on Eubank and Fresh, then on Komisarchik et al., analyze the relationship between voting rights and incarceration and the long-term impact of racially targeted incarceration.

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 12-79, 113-41.

Nicholas Eubank and Adriane Fresh, “[Enfranchisement and Incarceration after the 1965 Voting Rights Act](#),” *American Political Science Review* 116 (2022), 791-806.

Mayya Komisarchik, Maya Sen, and Yamil R. Velez, “[The Political Consequences of Ethnically Targeted Incarceration: Evidence from Japanese American Internment during World War II](#),” *Journal of Politics* 84 (2022), 1497-1514.

**Unit J—The Fourteenth Amendment, Title VII, Sex, and Gender**

Nov. 13      Lecture  
Nov. 15      Lecture  
Nov. 16/17   Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 14.* How did the Fourteenth Amendment, substantive due process, and the subordinate place of women in early-20th-century America shape the *Lochner* and *Muller* decisions? After answering that question, analyze the politics and long-term implications of the inclusion of the word “sex” in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, along with the work of Ruth Bader Ginsburg in reshaping the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment for the rights of women.

Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon*, 1-46, 65-73, 93-107, 108-33 (skim), 133-51.

Jo Freeman, “[How ‘Sex’ Got Into Title VII: Persistent Opportunism as a Maker of Public Policy](#),” *Law and Inequality* 9 (1991), 163-84.

Jeffrey Toobin, “[Heavyweight: How Ruth Bader Ginsburg Has Moved the Supreme Court](#),” *The New Yorker*, 11 Mar. 2013. [PDF version](#)

*Bostock v. Clayton County*, [selections](#) (from syllabus, opinion of the Court, and Alito dissent).

**Unit K—The Supreme Court and the Culture War**

Nov. 20      Lecture  
Nov. 22      No class—Thanksgiving  
Nov. 24      No class—Thanksgiving  
Nov. 27      Lecture  
Nov. 29      Lecture  
Nov. 30/Dec. 1   Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 28.* How did the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Griswold*, along with the work of political activists and state-level legislators in the 1960s and early 1970s, lay the groundwork for the Court’s majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade*—and how did the Court’s majority in these decisions and in *Obergefell* root its logic in the Fourteenth Amendment? Consider, too, how the dissent in *Dobbs* relates to this logic. Then analyze how opponents of the three earlier decisions justified their dissents in *Roe* and *Obergefell*, along with their logic as the majority in *Dobbs*, which reversed *Roe*.

*Griswold et al. v. Connecticut* (1965), [opinion of the Court](#).

Linda Greenhouse and Reva B. Siegel, “[Before \(and After\) Roe v. Wade: New Questions about Backlash](#),” *Yale Law Journal* 120 (2011), select pages only, 2034-52.

Linda Greenhouse and Reva B. Siegel, [Before Roe v. Wade](#) (New Haven: Yale Law School, 2012), 121-25, 223-251.

*Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015), [selections](#) (from syllabus, which summarizes the opinion of the Court, and Roberts dissent).

*Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* (2022), [selections](#) (from syllabus, which summarizes the opinion of the Court; Thomas concurring opinion; and dissent of Breyer, Sotomayor, and Kagan).



**Unit L—The South and Partisan Polarization**

Dec. 4       Lecture  
Dec. 6       Lecture  
Dec. 7/8     Recitation

*Paper due Dec. 5.* How have politics and the nature of representation in the South changed over the last few decades, since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and how do scholars understand the origins of contemporary partisan polarization and political dysfunction?

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congress at the Grassroots*, 89-152.

Nicholas A. Valentino and David O. Sears, "[Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South](#)," *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2005), 672-688.

Richard H. Pildes, "[Why the Center Does Not Hold: The Causes of Hyperpolarized Democracy in America](#)," *California Law Review* 99 (2011), 273-333.

Jonathan Rauch, "[How American Politics Went Insane](#)," *The Atlantic*, July/Aug. 2016, 50-63. [Magazine version](#)

**Unit M—The Attack on American Political Institutions**

Dec. 11       Lecture  
Dec. 13       Lecture/Discussion

*No paper assignment.*

Presidential concession speeches:

Richard Nixon, [speech on election night](#), 8 Nov. 1960, video, from 3:50 to 6:19 of speech.

Hubert Humphrey, [speech on election night](#), 5 Nov. 1968, video, first 1:30 of speech.

Jimmy Carter, [speech on election night](#), 4 Nov. 1980, video, first 1:48 of speech.

George H. W. Bush, [speech on election night](#), 3 Nov. 1992, video, first 1:18 of speech.

Mitt Romney, [speech on election night](#), 6 Nov. 2012, video, first 1:08 of speech.

Hillary Clinton, [speech the day following the election](#), 9 Nov. 2016, video.

Donald J. Trump, [video statement during the attack on the Capitol](#), 6 Jan. 2021.

David Remnick, "[The Devastating New History of the January 6th Insurrection](#)," *The New Yorker*, 22 Dec. 2022. [PDF version](#)

*United States of America v. Donald J. Trump*, [grand jury indictment](#), filed 1 Aug. 2023, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

Peter Baker, "[Trump Indictment, Part IV: A Spectacle That Has Become Surreally Routine](#)," *New York Times*, 14 Aug. 2023. [PDF version](#)