

Political Science 202

Fall 2014

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 11:50-12:40

Recitations on Thursdays or Fridays

Argument in Political Science

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Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:30-3:00, and Friday mornings, 9:00-10:00

Recitation leaders: Lilly Camp, Rachel Goldberg, Stephanie Saran, Rachel Sonnet, and Joanna Wallace

The general aim of Political Science 202 is to introduce you to the nature of argument. The course is designed to expose you to the variety of concepts, methodologies, and forms of evidence that characterize political science. You will be taught to recognize arguments in what you read and to develop your own arguments in what you write. This semester we examine the underpinnings of American democracy. Drawing on classic examples of American political thought as well as writings by contemporary political scientists, we analyze the centuries-long struggle to protect democracy against itself. Our central theme is the tension between majority rule and minority rights, which shaped the American War for Independence and continues to define the contours of political discourse today.

Books

Six books are available for purchase at the University of Rochester Bookstore and at various places online, including abebooks.com (which sells used books). ***Be certain to get the correct translation of Tocqueville; our edition is translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer.*** All books are also on two-hour reserve at Rush Rhees Library:

1. David Wootton, ed., *The Essential Federalist and Anti-Federalist Papers*.
2. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence.
3. John Aldrich, *Why Parties?: A Second Look* (2011).
4. Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon* (1996).
5. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005).
6. Richard Fenno, *Congress at the Grassroots* (2000).

Course website

Blackboard contains lots of information essential to the course—selected student papers, supplemental readings for discussion in your recitation, and links to all required readings not in the books listed above. To access these readings off-campus, you will need to need to download and run VPN (so that your computer can be viewed as part of the University's network). You can find VPN at <http://rochester.edu/it/vpn/>. *If any link on the website does not work, please let Lilly Camp (the class webmaster) know immediately by email at <lcamp2@u.rochester.edu>.*

Requirements

Class participation is worth 20% of your grade. You are expected to attend lectures and recitations on a regular basis. The baseline participation grade is determined by participation in recitations. *You must attend recitation on a regular basis to receive credit for the course.*

Short papers and the final exam are worth the remaining 80% of your grade.

To receive credit for the course, you must 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. The final exam schedule is set by the Registrar. ***The final exam for this course will be given at 7:15 pm on Wednesday, December 17.***

You must write between five and eleven papers and write them on a regular basis throughout the semester. For the first paper, the only option is to write on the Unit B question and readings. The remaining paper units are grouped into pairs, as follows:

- 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
- Paper 6: Unit M or N

You must write at least one paper from at least five of the six groupings listed above. Thus you can skip one of the paper groupings—but not more than one—without penalty.*

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 ten papers, we drop the lowest grade. If you write eleven 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)	45% papers, 35% final exam
Seven papers (six paper grades)	50% papers, 30% final exam
Eight papers (seven paper grades)	55% papers, 25% final exam
Nine papers (eight paper grades)	60% papers, 20% final exam
Ten or eleven papers (nine paper grades)	65% papers, 15% final exam

Keep papers short and to the point. Papers should be 600-1,000 words in length (about 2-3 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. **Papers are due in your recitation leader's mailbox in Harkness 314 no later than 12:30 p.m. on Tuesdays.** Requests for extensions will be granted only on a rare, 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 recitation leader or Professor Gamm as early as possible.

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 copy those papers and bring the copies with you to recitation. In later weeks of the semester, a special reading will be posted to the website. You should be prepared to discuss this reading in recitation. Although we will continue posting selected student papers in these later weeks, they are intended for reference purposes only; they will not be discussed in recitation.

* THE FINE PRINT: If you skip two pairs of units, you will receive a "0" as one of your paper grades, and this "0" may not be dropped. If you skip three pairs of units, you will receive *two* paper grades of "0," and these grades may not be dropped. *You may not skip more than three 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

Sept. 3 Lecture

Sept. 5 Lecture

No paper assignment.

Declaration of Independence, 1776.

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.”), 28 May 1788, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*, 301-6.

James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 17 Oct. 1788.

Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 15 Mar. 1789.

Bill of Rights, 1789.

Unit B—Institutional Design

Sept. 8 Lecture

Sept. 10 Lecture

Sept. 11/12 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 9. *The Federalist*, Calhoun, and the leaders of consociational democracies look to institutional structures to guarantee liberty against the threats posed by majority tyranny. What are the structural solutions offered by Madison and Hamilton (i.e., the authors of *The Federalist*), by Calhoun, and by consociational democracy? How do these institutions reflect different understandings of the nature of societal cleavages and, thus, the meaning of majority tyranny?

The Federalist Nos. 10, 48, 51, 62, 63, and 70, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*.

John C. Calhoun, speech, United States Senate, 19 Feb. 1847.

John C. Calhoun, excerpt from *A Disquisition on Government*.

Arend Lijphart, “Consociational Democracy,” *World Politics* 21 (1969), 207-25.

Unit C—Democratic Tyranny

Sept. 15 Lecture

Sept. 17 Lecture

Sept. 18/19 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 16. In what specific ways, according to Tocqueville, can democracy and equality threaten individual freedom?

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, xiii-xiv, 9-20, 50-60, 173, 196-99, 205-8, 231-35, 246-61, 433-36, 503-9, 535-38, 667-74, 690-705.

Unit D—Liberty, Slavery, and Union

Sept. 22 Lecture
Sept. 24 Lecture
Sept. 25/26 No class—Rosh Hashanah

No paper assignment.

Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes, 22 Apr. 1820.

William Lloyd Garrison, “On the Constitution and the Union,” *The Liberator*, 29 Dec. 1832.

William Lloyd Garrison, “The American Union,” *The Liberator*, 10 Jan. 1845.

Frederick Douglass, “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?” speech, Rochester, N.Y., 5 July 1852.

Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, seventh joint debate, Alton, Ill., 15 Oct. 1858, Part One and Part Two.

State of Mississippi, Declaration of Secession, 1861.

Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, 4 Mar. 1861.

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 Nov. 1863.

Unit E—Democratic Liberty

Sept. 29 Lecture
Oct. 1 Lecture
Oct. 2/3 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 30. According to Tocqueville, where and how do citizens learn the habits of active participation that preserve their freedom? Consider also how Tocqueville’s description of the virtues of small-town government accords with Oliver’s more recent analysis.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, 61-70, 87-98, 189-95, 199-201, 235-45, 262-76, 286-311, 395-400, 509-28, 604-5.

J. Eric Oliver, “City Size and Civic Involvement in Metropolitan America,” *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000), 361-73.

Unit F—Social Choice and the Origins of American Political Parties

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

Paper due Oct. 7. The decision to locate the national capital in what we now call Washington, D.C., is analyzed by Aldrich and also by Engstrom, Hammond, and Scott. How does Aldrich relate this decision to social choice problems, the “great principle,” and the rise of political parties? And how, according to Engstrom et al., do the locations of the national and state capitals reflect values of representative democracy originally articulated by Madison?

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

Erik J. Engstrom, Jesse R. Hammond, and John T. Scott, “Capitol Mobility: Madisonian Representation and the Location and Relocation of Capitals in the United States,” *American Political Science Review* 107 (2013), 225-40.

Unit G— Civic Engagement

Oct. 13 *No class—Fall Break*
Oct. 15 Lecture
Oct. 17 Lecture

No paper assignment.

Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, “Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation,” *American Political Science Review* 89 (1995), 271-94.

Robert D. Putnam, “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,” *Journal of Democracy* 6 (Jan. 1995), 65-78.

Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, “A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States,” *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000), 527-46.

Theda Skocpol, “Voice and Inequality: The Transformation of American Civic Democracy,” 2003 Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (2004), 3-20.

Unit H—Collective Action, Ambition, and Two-Party Politics

Oct. 20 Lecture
Oct. 22 Lecture
Oct. 23/24 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 21. How does Aldrich explain the surge in voter turnout and the rise of mass political parties in the late 1830s and 1840s? How does Engstrom account not only for those high levels of voter turnout but also the decline in participation at the turn of the 20th century?

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 43-64, 102-59.

Erik J. Engstrom, “The Rise and Decline of Turnout in Congressional Elections: Electoral Institutions, Competition, and Strategic Mobilization,” *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2012), 373-86.

Unit I—Women and Labor

Oct. 27 Lecture
Oct. 29 Lecture
Oct. 30/31 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 28. At a time when women lacked many of the basic rights enjoyed by men, how may the law respond? In answering this question, draw on the arguments of Louis Brandeis (including the Brandeis Brief), the brief for Curt Muller, the opinion in *Ritchie v. People* (1895), the opinion in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), and the majority and dissenting opinions in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923).

Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon*, 1-83, 93-105, 108-33 (skim), 133-51, 157-65.

Unit J—Race, Gender, Sexuality, and the New Deal

Nov. 3 Lecture
Nov. 5 Lecture
Nov. 6/7 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 4. Focusing on the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and the G.I. Bill of 1944, analyze the achievements and limitations of these landmark pieces of legislation. In what ways were these laws discriminatory, and what were the political forces that resulted in these biases?

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 1-79, 113-41.

Suzanne B. Mettler, "Federalism, Gender, & the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938," *Polity* 26 (1994), 635-54.

Margot Canaday, "Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship under the 1944 G.I. Bill," *Journal of American History* 90 (2003), 935-57.

Unit K—One Person, One Vote

Nov. 10 Lecture
Nov. 12 Lecture
Nov. 13/14 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 11. Why did state legislatures—and, in the case of California, voters themselves—reject the principle of "one person, one vote" throughout most of American history? Why was the Supreme Court reluctant to intervene for so many years, and what evidence and arguments (including those made by Lewis) finally shaped the decision in *Baker v. Carr*? What implications, if any, did the adoption of "one person, one vote" have for budget allocations within the states?

Stephen Ansolabehere and Samuel Issacharoff, "The Story of *Baker v. Carr*," 297-323 in *Constitutional Law Stories*, ed. Michael C. Dorf (New York: Foundation Press, 2004).

Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Jonathan Woon, "Why Did a Majority of Californians Vote To Limit Their Own Power?" (Unpublished paper, August 1999).

Anthony Lewis, "Legislative Apportionment and the Federal Courts," *Harvard Law Review* 71 (1958), 1057-98.

Stephen Ansolabehere, Alan Gerber, and James Snyder, "Equal Votes, Equal Money: Court-Ordered Redistricting and Public Expenditures in the American States," *American Political Science Review* 96 (2002), 767-77.

Unit L—Representation

Nov. 17 Lecture
Nov. 19 Lecture
Nov. 20/21 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 18. How do Burke, *The Federalist*, the Anti-Federalist leader Melancton Smith, and Jack Flynt each define the qualities of an ideal representative? Would any of these figures *not* be surprised by the findings of Butler and Broockman?

Edmund Burke, Speech to the Electors of Bristol, 3 Nov. 1774.

The Federalist Nos. 35, 52, 55, and 57, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*.

Melancton Smith, speeches before the New York Ratifying Convention, 20-23 June 1788, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*, 42-58.

Fenno, *Congress at the Grassroots*, 13-50.

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 M—The Transformation of the 1960s and 1970s

Nov. 24 Lecture
Nov. 26 No class—Thanksgiving Break
Nov. 28 No class—Thanksgiving Break
Dec. 1 Lecture
Dec. 3 Lecture
Dec. 4/5 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 2. How did parties change in the 1960s and 1970s? In answering this question, be sure to consider the relationship between parties, candidates, and voters.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 255-92.

Fenno, *Congress at the Grassroots*, 51-152.

Unit N—Polarization and Dysfunction

Dec. 8 Lecture
Dec. 10 Lecture
Dec. 11/12 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 9. What are the sources of party polarization, political decay, and institutional gridlock that have come to define American politics in the 21st century?

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 169-71, 187-201, 206-12, 238-54.

Justin Grimmer, “Appropriators not Position Takers: The Distorting Effects of Electoral Incentives on Congressional Representation,” *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2013), 624-42.

Francis Fukuyama, “America in Decay: The Sources of Political Dysfunction,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014.

John Aldrich, “Did Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison ‘Cause’ the Government Shutdown?” 2014 Presidential Address, American Political Science Association.