

Political Science 202

Fall 2012

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 11:00-11:50

Recitations on Thursdays or Fridays

Argument in Political Science

Professor Gerald Gamm

Harkness Hall 319

585-275-8573

gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:00-2:30; Thursday mornings, 11:00-12:30

Recitation leaders: Peter Berris, Sarah Canny, Andrew Cutillo, Nick Feinman, Jonathan Johnson, Neal Kennedy, and Tiffanie Tam

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. Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon* (1996).
4. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005).
5. Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality* (2008).
6. Barbara Sinclair, *Party Wars* (2006).

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 Peter Berris (the class webmaster) know immediately by email at <pberris@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 Thursday, December 20.

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 D
- Paper 3: Unit F or G
- Paper 4: Unit H or I
- Paper 5: Unit J or K
- Paper 6: Unit L or M

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 more 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

Aug. 31 Lecture
Sept. 3 No class—Labor Day
Sept. 5 Lecture
Sept. 7 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

Declaration of Independence, 1776.

Articles of Confederation, 1781.

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*, 301-306.

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

Paper due Sept. 11. What role did Roger Sherman play in shaping the United States Constitution? In answering this question, draw on all the readings to examine Madison’s analysis of the problems of the existing constitutional order (which he laid out in “Vices of the Political System”) and his plan for a new national government (i.e., the Virginia Plan), then compare this vision to the features of the final Constitution, which Madison and Hamilton describe in *The Federalist*.

James Madison, “Vices of the Political System of the United States,” April 1787.

Virginia Plan, 29 May 1787.

The Federalist No. 45.

The Federalist Nos. 39, 62, 63, 70, 78.

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.

David Brian Robertson, “Madison’s Opponents and Constitutional Design,” *American Political Science Review* 99 (2005), 225-243.

Unit C—Democratic Tyranny

Sept. 17 *No class—Rosh Hashanah*
Sept. 19 Lecture
Sept. 21 Lecture
Sept. 24 Lecture
Sept. 26 *No class—Yom Kippur*
Sept. 28 Recitation (offered only on Friday this week)

Note: If you are assigned to a Thursday recitation, you should attend a Friday recitation instead. Check available times and rooms online.

Paper due Sept. 25. How do Tocqueville, Madison, and Calhoun each define the problem of majority tyranny, and why does Calhoun reject the solutions outlined by Madison in *The Federalist*?

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, 395-400, 433-36, 503-9, 535-38, 667-74, 690-705.

The Federalist Nos. 10, 48, 51.

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

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

Unit D—Democratic Liberty

Oct. 1 Lecture
Oct. 3 Lecture
Oct. 4/5 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 2. What set of institutions, groups, habits, and beliefs does Tocqueville identify that help protect individual freedoms? Does King draw on this same foundation in the battle for civil rights, or does he offer a different approach?

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, 509-28, 604-605.

Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” 16 Apr. 1963.

Unit E—Faction and Party

Oct. 8 *No class—Fall Break*
Oct. 10 Lecture
Oct. 12 Lecture

No paper assignment.

Thomas Jefferson, Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bill for Establishing a National Bank, 15 Feb. 1791.

Alexander Hamilton, Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank, 23 Feb. 1791.

Andrew Jackson, Veto Message regarding the Bank of the United States, 10 July 1832.

Robert A. Dahl, “James Madison: Republican or Democrat?” *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (2005), 439-48.

Richard P. McCormick, “New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics,” *American Historical Review* 65 (1960), 288-301.

Unit F—Liberty, Slavery, and Union

Oct. 15 Lecture
Oct. 17 Lecture
Oct. 18/19 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 16. How did Americans in the years surrounding the Civil War understand the relationship between slavery and union? Was slavery integral to the American union and the principles embodied in it—or was slavery a perversion of the founding principles?

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. (Be sure to use both links to read the entire debate.)

State of Mississippi, Declaration of Secession, 1861.

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

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 Nov. 1863.

Frederick Douglass, Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, 14 Apr. 1876.

Unit G— Women and Labor

Oct. 22 Lecture
Oct. 24 Lecture
Oct. 25/26 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 23. Do laws protecting women in the workplace undermine or strengthen gender equality and the full participation of men and women in the political sphere? In answering this question, be sure to consider the arguments and evidence of Woloch, *Ritchie v. People*, Louis D. Brandeis, the brief for Curt Muller, and *Muller v. Oregon*.

Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon*, 1-83, 93-96, 99-105, 109-33 (skim), 133-50.

Unit H— Race, Unions, and the New Deal

Oct. 29 Lecture
Oct. 31 Lecture
Nov. 1/2 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 30. According to Katznelson, what were the primary ways that federal programs discriminated against African Americans in the 1930s and 1940s, and what were the political forces that led the national government to enact these policies? According to Schickler and Caughey, what other factors limited liberal policies in these years?

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

Eric Schickler and Devin Caughey, “Public Opinion, Organized Labor, and the Limits of New Deal Liberalism, 1936-1945,” *Studies in American Political Development* 25 (2011), 162-89.

Unit I—Malapportionment

Nov. 5 Lecture
Nov. 7 Lecture
Nov. 8/9 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 6. According to Ansolabehere and Snyder, what factors explain the existence and persistence of legislative malapportionment in the mid-20th century, and why did the federal courts refuse to intervene? On what basis does Lewis call for federal action?

Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality*, 1-122.

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

Unit J—One Person, One Vote

Nov. 12 Lecture
Nov. 14 Lecture
Nov. 15/16 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 13. What changed in the 1960s? Why did the Supreme Court take up the issue of malapportionment and how did the majority reach their decision in *Baker v. Carr*? What were the long-term implications of this decision?

Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality*, 123-288.

Unit K—Voice, Representation, and Inequality

Nov. 19 Lecture

Nov. 21 *No class—Thanksgiving Break*

Nov. 23 *No class—Thanksgiving Break*

Nov. 26 Lecture

Nov. 28 Lecture

Nov. 29/30 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 27. Whose voices are advantaged in the American political system, and how has this changed over time?

Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, “Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation,” *American Political Science Review* 89 (1995), 271-294.

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.

Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady, “Weapon of the Strong? Participatory Inequality and the Internet,” *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2010), 487-509.

Nicholas Carnes, “Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37 (2012), 5-34.

Unit L—Partisan Polarization and the House of Representatives

Dec. 3 Lecture

Dec. 5 Lecture

Dec. 6/7 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 4. What explains the polarization of political parties in recent decades, and how has this polarization affected the functioning of the House of Representatives?

Barbara Sinclair, *Party Wars*, 3-184.

Unit M—Partisanship and the Contemporary Senate

Dec. 10 Lecture

Dec. 12 Lecture

Paper due Dec. 11. In what ways has party polarization transformed the Senate as well as the relationship between the president and Congress?

Donald R. Matthews, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 92-117.

Barbara Sinclair, *Party Wars*, 185-307.

George Packer, “The Empty Chamber: Just How Broken Is the Senate?” *The New Yorker*, 9 Aug. 2010, 38-51.

Steven S. Smith, "The Senate Syndrome," Brookings Institution, *Issues in Governance Studies* 35 (June 2010), 1-30.