

Political Science 202W

Fall 2017

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

Recitations on Thursdays or Fridays

Argument in Political Science

Professor Gerald Gamm

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Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:00-2:00, and Friday mornings, 9:00-10:00

Recitation leaders: Prashanta Augustine, Emma Ehrlich, Andrew Klee, Tara McAndrew, Luke Meyerson, Andria Rabenold, and Elliot Schwinn

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. John Judis, *The Populist Explosion* (2016).

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 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 Professor Gamm know immediately by email.*

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 for simple proofreading as specified in the next sentence). They may receive basic help with spelling and grammar from others, including from Writing Fellows, but never substantive help with their written arguments nor help of any sort with their papers from current or former students in this class.

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, though it may be boosted by especially constructive contributions during lecture. *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 12:30 pm on Tuesday, December 19.***

You must write between five and ten papers and write them on a regular basis throughout the semester. The paper units are grouped into pairs, as follows:

- Paper 1: Unit B or D
- Paper 2: Unit E or G
- Paper 3: Unit H or I
- Paper 4: Unit J or K
- Paper 5: Unit L or M

You must write at least one paper from each of the five groupings listed above.*

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 nine papers, we drop the lowest grade. If you write ten 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 or ten papers (eight paper grades)	60% papers, 20% 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. **All 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 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 No class—Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
Sept. 4 No class—Labor Day
Sept. 6 Lecture
Sept. 8 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776.

James Madison, “Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments,” 20 June 1785.

Thomas Jefferson, “Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom,” 16 Jan. 1786.

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

Paper due Sept. 12. What forms of tyranny do *The Federalist*, the Anti-Federalists (Agrippa and Philadelphensis) and Calhoun each worry about? What are the structural solutions offered by Madison and Hamilton (i.e., the authors of *The Federalist*), and why are these rejected by the Anti-Federalists and Calhoun as insufficient to counteracting tyranny?

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

Agrippa IV, 3 Dec. 1787.

Philadelphensis IX, 6 Feb. 1788.

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

Unit C—Democratic Tyranny

Sept. 18 Lecture
Sept. 20 Lecture/Discussion
Sept. 22 No class—Rosh Hashanah

No paper assignment.

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—Democratic Liberty

Sept. 25 Lecture
Sept. 27 Lecture
Sept. 28/29 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 26. As Zakaria writes, “Power accumulated to do good can be used subsequently to do ill.” What features of American democracy, according to Tocqueville, serve as brakes to the tyranny of the majority, as obstacles to the democratic tendency to centralize power, diminish individual voices, and undermine norms and rules? In answering this question, identify the specific places, organizations, and institutions where Tocqueville believes Americans learn how to be free, then consider the features that Zakaria identifies as necessary to the defense of constitutional liberalism.

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.

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

Fareed Zakaria, “America’s Democracy Has Become Illiberal,” *Washington Post*, 29 Dec. 2016.

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

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

Paper due Oct. 3. According to Aldrich, how did dissatisfaction with vote trading—such as what we presume occurred in “the room where it happens”—lead Hamilton, then, later, Madison and Jefferson, to organize the nation’s first political parties? In answering this question, show how Aldrich draws on social choice theory for his analysis. Explain too, drawing on Dahl, how Madison, a staunch ally of Hamilton in the battle to ratify the Constitution, becomes one of Hamilton’s chief adversaries within the decade.

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

“The Room Where It Happens,” *Hamilton*, Original Broadway Cast (2015). Book, music, and lyrics by Lin-Manuel Miranda. Performed by Leslie Odom, Jr., Lin-Manuel Miranda, Daveed Diggs, Okieriete Onaodowan.

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

Unit F—Liberty, Slavery, and Union

Oct. 9 *No class—Fall Break*
Oct. 11 Lecture
Oct. 13 Lecture/Discussion

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.

Address of South Carolina to Slaveholding States, 25 Dec. 1860.

State of Mississippi, Declaration of Secession, 1861.

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

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 Nov. 1863.

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

Oct. 16 Lecture
Oct. 18 Lecture
Oct. 19/20 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 17. How does Aldrich explain the emergence of a mass-based party system in the 1820s and 1830s and the rise of the Republican party as a major party in the 1850s? Be specific in showing how he applies the concepts of collective action and ambition theory to the historical record.

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

Unit H— Women and Labor

Oct. 23 Lecture
Oct. 25 Lecture
Oct. 26/27 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 24. How did activists, Progressive reformers, and lawyers make the case for protective legislation and sex discrimination in *Muller v. Oregon*, and how, according to Toobin, did the Supreme Court come to conclude in the 1970s that the Fourteenth Amendment forbade sex discrimination?

Nancy Woloch, *Muller v. Oregon*, 1-83, 93-107, 108-33 (skim), 133-50.

Jeffrey Toobin, “Heavyweight: How Ruth Bader Ginsburg Has Moved the Supreme Court,” *The New Yorker*, 11 Mar. 2013, 38-47.

Unit I— Race, Congress, and the New Deal

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

Paper due Oct. 31. According to Katznelson, what were the primary ways that federal programs discriminated against African Americans in the 1930s and 1940s? What were the specific institutional features of Congress and the party system that contributed to the enactment of these discriminatory laws?

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 1-141.

Unit J—The “Textbook Congress”

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

Paper due Nov. 7. What were the norms and institutional features that characterized the mid-20th-century Congress? According to Fenno, how did the House Appropriations Committee function, and, according to Weingast and Marshall, what explains the strength of the committee system in this era?

Donald R. Matthews, “The Folkways of the United States Senate: Conformity to Group Norms and Legislative Effectiveness,” *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959), 1064-89.

“I’m Just a Bill,” *Schoolhouse Rock!* (1976).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., “The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System: The Problem of Integration,” *American Political Science Review* 56 (1962), 310-24.

Barry R. Weingast and William J. Marshall, “The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets,” *Journal of Political Economy* 96 (1988), 132-63.

Unit K— Reform and the Rise of Polarized Politics

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

Paper due Nov. 14. Drawing on Shepsle, Lee, and Aldrich, analyze how Congress and the parties changed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

Kenneth A. Shepsle, “The Changing Textbook Congress,” 238-66 in *Can the Government Govern?*, eds. John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1989).

Frances E. Lee, *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016, chap. 2.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 169-71, 176-201, 206-12, 238-92.

Unit L— Voice, Representation, and Inequality

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

Paper due Nov. 28. In *The Federalist* No. 35, Hamilton writes that “the idea of an actual representation of all classes of the people by persons of each class is altogether visionary.” How do Madison and Hamilton (writing in *The Federalist*), on the one side, and Melancton Smith (an Anti-Federalist), on the other, define effective representation? Does recent scholarship by Carnes and Butler and Broockman support the view of either side in this debate?

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

Speeches of Melancton Smith, 20-23 June 1788, pp. 42-58 in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*.

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

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— Dysfunction

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

Paper due Dec. 5. How do Abramowitz and Saunders, Fukuyama, Aldrich, and Rauch explain the political dysfunction that characterizes American politics and government in the 2010s?

Alan I. Abramowitz and Kyle L. Saunders, “Is Polarization a Myth?” *Journal of Politics* 70 (2008), 542-55.

Francis Fukuyama, “America in Decay: The Sources of Political Dysfunction,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, 5-26.

John Aldrich, “Did Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison ‘Cause’ the U.S. Government Shutdown? The Institutional Path from an Eighteenth Century Republic to a Twenty-first Century Democracy,” *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (2015), 7-23.

Jonathan Rauch, “How American Politics Went Insane,” *The Atlantic*, July/Aug. 2016, 50-63.

Unit N— The Populist Revolt

Dec. 11	Lecture
Dec. 13	Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

John Judis, *The Populist Explosion*.