

Political Science 202W

Fall 2018

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

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

Recitation leaders: Lucas Avelar, Skylar Cerbone, Jenna Kent, Joey Loffredo,
Matt Sharon, Bri Terrell

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.

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 either the student papers or the supplementary readings in advance of recitation. This course also includes substantial reading and writing assignments, as well as a final exam.

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 18.***

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 F

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. 29 Lecture
Aug. 31 No class—Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
Sept. 3 No class—Labor Day
Sept. 5 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

Declaration of Independence, 4 July 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.”), 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. 7 Lecture
Sept. 10 No class—Rosh Hashanah
Sept. 12 Lecture
Sept. 13/14 Recitation

Paper may be turned in on Tuesday, Sept. 11, or by the start of class on Wednesday, Sept. 12. What forms of tyranny should we fear most, and how can we best structure political institutions to combat these threats to liberty? Analyze the different ways that *The Federalist*, the Anti-Federalists (Brutus and Cato) and Calhoun each answer this question.

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

Brutus I, 18 Oct. 1787

Letters of Cato, 4 and 5, Nov. 1787, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*.

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

Unit C—Democratic Tyranny

- Sept. 17 Lecture
Sept. 19 No class—Yom Kippur
Sept. 21 Lecture/Discussion

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. 24 Lecture
Sept. 26 Lecture
Sept. 27/28 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 25. According to Tocqueville, what features of American life, government, society, and habits sustain human liberty in the face of the challenges posed by equality? How would Tocqueville react to Putnam’s evidence of changes that have occurred in recent decades?

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.

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

Robert D. Putnam, “Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 28 (1995), 664-83.

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

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

Paper due Oct. 2. According to Aldrich, how did voting cycles lead politicians to create political parties? In answering this question, be sure to discuss both the nature of social choice problems generally as well as the specific circumstances of American politics in the 1790s.

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

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

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

Paper due Oct. 9. How does Aldrich draw on ambition theory to explain the rise of the Republican party as a major party in the 1850s, and how does Ron account for the transformation of American politics in the same era?

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

Ariel Ron, “Summoning the State: Northern Farmers and the Transformation of American Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of American History* 103 (2016), 347-74.

Unit G— Women and Labor

Oct. 15 *No class—Fall Break*
Oct. 17 Lecture
Oct. 19 Class discussion

No paper assignment.

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 H—Liberty, Slavery, and Union

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

Paper due Oct. 23. How deeply embedded was slavery in the American constitutional order between the foundation of the republic (1776) and the Civil War (1861-65)? In answering this question, draw on the several primary sources, analyzing whether each writer believed that slavery was inherent to the American political system or was instead alien to the principles of the country. Consider, too, Ericson’s argument about the role of the military in the rise of the American state.

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.

State of Mississippi, Declaration of Secession, 1861.

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 Nov. 1863.

David F. Ericson, “The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the Early Republic,” *Studies in American Political Development* 31 (2017), 130-48.

Unit I— Race, Sexuality, Congress, and the New Deal

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

Paper due Oct. 30. What were the politics of the GI Bill? Drawing on Katznelson, Mettler, and Canaday, examine the forces that led to the passage of the act in Congress (and to the passage of other pieces of legislation in this era), the implementation of the bill, and its impact on African Americans and gays and lesbians.

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

Ira Katznelson and Suzanne Mettler, “On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill,” *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (2008), 519-37.

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 J—The “Textbook Congress”

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

Paper due Nov. 6. What were the norms and institutional features that characterized the mid-20th-century Congress, and how did those features emerge? In answering this question, be sure to consider how Cooper and Brady explain the transformation of leadership (and thus of the House of Representatives more broadly) in the first half of the 20th century and to consider how Fenno, Weingast, and Marshall characterize the mid-20th-century committee system.

Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady, “Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn,” *American Political Science Review* 75 (1981), 411–25.

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— Congressional Reform and the Rise of Polarized Politics

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

Paper due Nov. 13. How did the “textbook Congress” unravel between the 1960s and 1980s? Drawing on Shepsle, Lee, and Aldrich, discuss how and why new institutional arrangements emerged in this era regarding parties, committees, and leaders in Congress.

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. 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. 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 the Anti-Federalists (Brutus and Federal Farmer), 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*.

Brutus III, 15 Nov. 1787

Federal Farmer VII, 31 Dec. 1787

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 and Disagreement

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

Paper due Dec. 4. In what ways have political polarization and dysfunction come to define American politics in the 21st century?

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.

Jacob M. Grumbach, “From Backwaters to Major Policymakers: Policy Polarization in the States, 1970-2014,” *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (2018), 416-35.

Unit N— The Populist Revolt

Dec. 10 Lecture
Dec. 12 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

John Judis, *The Populist Explosion*.