

Political Science 202W

Fall 2020

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 10:25-11:15
In-person in Strong Auditorium. Zoom link for lectures available on Blackboard
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 Thursday mornings, 9:00-10:00

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

<https://rochester.zoom.us/j/98833514234>

Recitation leaders: [Olivia Carrara](#), [Hager Elkhidir](#), [Alec Glazier](#), [Jesse Klauber](#), [Dawson Klinger](#),
[Luke Polson](#), and [Elisabeth Rott](#)

Books. Six books are available for purchase in the campus bookstore and at various places online, including [abebooks.com](#) and [amazon.com](#). *Be certain to get the correct translation of Tocqueville; our edition is translated by George Lawrence and edited by J. P. Mayer.* Some of these books are also available as electronic editions through 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 (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.*

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.

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 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 EST on Tuesday, December 15. (If you will be in a time zone that makes it unreasonable to take the exam at this time, please notify Professor Gamm well in advance so we can make alternate arrangements.)***

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/triplets, as follows:

- Paper 1: Unit A or C
- Paper 2: Unit D or F
- Paper 3: Unit G or H
- Paper 4: Unit I or J
- Paper 5: Unit K, 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 or 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 or ten papers (eight paper grades)	60% papers, 20% final exam
Eleven papers (nine paper grades)	65% papers, 15% final exam

Keep papers short and to the point. Papers should be 700-1,000 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 that week's Blackboard assignment folder no later than 1:00 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. 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. 26 Lecture
Aug. 28 Recitation: [The Federalist No. 84](#), first twelve paragraphs
Special recitation on how to write effective, strong papers
- Aug. 31 Lecture
Sept. 2 Lecture
Sept. 3/4 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 1. As sent to the states for ratification in 1787-88, the Constitution of the United States did not include a bill of rights. Drawing on five of the readings (and just these five)—An Old Whig, Federal Farmer, [The Federalist No. 84](#), and the Madison/Jefferson letters—what were the principal arguments made for and against including a bill of rights in the federal constitution?

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

Stacy Schiff, "[The Boston Tea Party Was More Than That. It Was a Riot](#)," *New York Times*, 13 Aug. 2020. [Text version](#)

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

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

[An Old Whig, No. 5](#) (an Anti-Federalist document), 1787.

[Federal Farmer, No. 16](#) (an Anti-Federalist document), 20 Jan. 1788.

[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, [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—Representation

- Sept. 7 *No class—Labor Day*
Sept. 9 Lecture
Sept. 11 Lecture

No paper assignment.

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

[Brutus III](#), 15 Nov. 1787.

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

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 C—Institutional Design

Sept. 14 Lecture
Sept. 16 Lecture
Sept. 17/18 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 15. What is the greatest threat—or threats—to free government, according to *The Federalist* (Madison and Hamilton), the Anti-Federalists (Centinel and Agrippa), and Calhoun? What institutional features does each set of writers propose to counter these threats?

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

Centinel I, 5 Oct. 1787, 65-74 in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*.

[Agrippa IV](#), 3 Dec. 1787.

John C. Calhoun, excerpt from [A Disquisition on Government](#).

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

Sept. 21 Lecture
Sept. 23 Lecture
Sept. 24/25 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 22. In their analyses of the rise of parties in the 1790s, Sheehan and Aldrich both emphasize the role of principle, but they otherwise approach party formation from very different perspectives. How does each of them explain the rise of this new party system?

Colleen A. Sheehan, "[Madison v. Hamilton: The Battle Over Republicanism and the Role of Public Opinion](#)," *American Political Science Review* 98 (2004), 405-24.

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

Unit E—Democratic Tyranny

Sept. 28 *No class—Yom Kippur*
Sept. 30 Lecture
Oct. 2 Lecture

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, 226-35, 246-61, 433-36, 465-74, 503-9, 535-41, 667-79, 690-705.

Unit F—Democratic Liberty

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

Paper due Oct. 6. If Tocqueville were an advice columnist for the *New York Times*, how would he answer questions about social distancing and masks during the Covid-19 pandemic? Your answer should come from a close reading of Tocqueville—from laying out the values, mores, and habits that Tocqueville concluded were necessary to liberty and the healthy functioning of a democracy. Where did Tocqueville believe Americans acquired these good habits, how did Americans learn these values, and how did they apply these lessons to their everyday life? Your paper should be drawn almost entirely from the material in Tocqueville and demonstrate a clear understanding of his argument in *Democracy in America*.

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, 604-5.

Kwame Anthony Appiah, “[The Ethicist: What Do We Do About a Neighbor Who Breaks Distancing Rules?](#)” *New York Times*, 11 Aug. 2020. [Text version](#)

Unit G—Freedom, Slavery, and the Union

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

Paper due Oct. 13. Have slavery and racism been inherent in the American political system or are they instead alien to the founding principles of the country? Analyze how each of these readings answers this question.

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?](#)” Rochester, N.Y., 5 July 1852.

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

State of South Carolina, [Declaration of Secession](#), 1860.

Abraham Lincoln, [Gettysburg Address](#), 19 Nov. 1863.

Gordon S. Wood, “[Battle Lines: Recovering the Profound Divisions That Led to the Civil War](#),” *The New Republic*, 28 Nov. 2018.

Nikole Hannah-Jones, “[Our Democracy’s Founding Ideals Were False When They Were Written. Black Americans Have Fought To Make Them True](#),” The 1619 Project, *New York Times*, 14 Aug. 2019, 14-26. [Text version](#)

Sean Wilentz, “[A Matter of Facts](#),” *The Atlantic*, 22 Jan. 2020.

Unit H—Voters

Oct. 19 Lecture
Oct. 21 Lecture
Oct. 22/23 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 20. How have party organization and strategy, political activism, and institutional rules shaped the U.S. electorate through the years? In answering this question, be sure to draw on all assigned readings.

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

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

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "[The 'Lost Cause' That Built Jim Crow](#)," *New York Times*, 8 Nov. 2019. [Text version](#)

J. Morgan Kousser, "[Post-Reconstruction Suffrage Restrictions in Tennessee: A New Look at the V. O. Key Thesis](#)," *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (1973), 655-83.

William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Mitchell D. Sellers, and Daniel A. Smith, "[A Principle or a Strategy? Voter Identification Laws and Partisan Competition in the American States](#)," *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (2015), 18-33.

Unit I—Immigrants

Oct. 26 Lecture
Oct. 28 Lecture
Oct. 29/30 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 27. What was the relationship between the organization of the Know Nothings, the collapse of the Whigs, and the rise of the Republican party in the 1850s? And what have been the sources—and legislative consequences—of nativist sentiment throughout U.S. history? In answering this question, be sure to draw on all assigned readings.

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

Michael F. Holt, "[The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism](#)," *Journal of American History* 60 (1973), 309-31.

Erika Lee, "[The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924](#)," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21 (2002), 36-62.

John Higham, "[American Immigration Policy in Historical Perspective](#)," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 21 (1956), 213-35.

R. Michael Alvarez and Tara L. Butterfield, "[The Resurgence of Nativism in California? The Case of Proposition 187 and Illegal Immigration](#)," *Social Science Quarterly* 81 (2000), 167-79.

Unit J— Women and Labor

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

Paper due Nov. 3. What arguments, debates, and legal strategies culminated in the Supreme Court ruling in *Muller v. Oregon* and the passage of Title VII? How important was Title VII in challenging the gender-based discrimination embodied in *Muller v. Oregon*?

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

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

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, "[Muller v. Oregon: One Hundred Years Later](#)," *Willamette Law Review* 45 (2009), 359-80.

Todd S. Purdum, "[The Three-Letter Word That Triggered a Revolution](#)," *The Atlantic*, 26 Apr. 2019.

Unit K— Race and Public Policy

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

Paper due Nov. 10. What were the political forces in the mid-20th-century Congress that shaped welfare policy, labor legislation, and benefits for veterans? How did governments also shape residential patterns and mass incarceration?

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

Richard Rothstein, "[The Making of Ferguson](#)," *Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law* 24 (2015), 165-204.

James Forman, Jr., "[Racial Critiques of Mass Incarceration: Beyond the New Jim Crow](#)," *New York University Law Review* 87 (2012), 21-69.

Unit L—Congress, Parties, and the Culture War

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

Paper due Nov. 17. How did Congress and the party system begin to change in the 1960s and 1970s, and what role did "culture war" issues play in the transformation of party allegiances?

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).

Greg D. Adams, "[Abortion: Evidence of an Issue Evolution](#)," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997), 718-37.

Geoffrey C. Layman, “[‘Culture Wars’ in the American Party System: Religious and Cultural Change among Partisan Activists since 1972](#),” *American Politics Quarterly* 27 (1999), 89-121.

George Chauncey, “[The Forgotten History of Gay Entrapment](#),” *The Atlantic*, 25 Jun. 2019.

Matthew A. Carr, Gerald Gamm, and Justin H. Phillips, “[Understanding the Partisan Evolution of America’s Culture War](#),” paper presented at the 2019 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

Unit M— Partisan Polarization

Nov. 23 **Zoom Lecture**
Nov. 25 *No class—Thanksgiving Break*
Nov. 27 *No class—Thanksgiving Break*
Nov. 30 Zoom Lecture
Dec. 2 Zoom Lecture
Dec. 3/4 Zoom Recitation

Paper due Dec. 1. What evidence exists of partisan polarization and governmental dysfunction? How did this political situation arise, and what are its chief characteristics?

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

Larry M. Bartels, “[Partisanship in the Trump Era](#),” *Journal of Politics* 80 (2018), 1483-94.

Michael Barber and Jeremy C. Pope, “[Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America](#),” *American Political Science Review* 113 (2019), 38-54.

Gregory J. Martin and Joshua McCrain, “[Local News and National Politics](#),” *American Political Science Review* 113 (2019), 372-84.

Unit N— The Populist Revolt

Dec. 7 Zoom Lecture
Dec. 9 Zoom Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment.

John Judis, *The Populist Explosion*.

Ross Douthat, “[Win or Lose, Trump Will Hold Power Over the G.O.P.](#),” *New York Times*, 22 Aug. 2020. [Text version](#)