

Professor David Primo
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Spring 2022, Mon. 2:00 – 4:40 PM
Classroom: Meliora 206
Office Hours (Zoom): Tues. 10:30 AM – 12:30 PM or by appt.
Office Hours Link: <https://rochester.zoom.us/j/948872840>

PSCI 232/PSCI 232W: Disagreement in a Democratic Society

This Version: April 4, 2022

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Is consensus overrated? In this seminar course we will study the role of disagreement in a democratic society. Topics will include the causes and consequences of political polarization, academic freedom and viewpoint diversity on college campuses, and conflict as a tool for innovation.

READINGS

The required readings for this course are available on Blackboard. In addition to the required readings, students should regularly read the news (including *Inside Higher Ed* and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*) to identify current events relating to the themes of the course. We will set aside time each week to discuss relevant articles.

PROFESSOR PRIMO'S PERSPECTIVE ON SEMINAR COURSES

Seminar courses are spaces where ideas should be shared, debated, and challenged, as this is how we strengthen our understandings and beliefs about the world. To that end, Professor Primo will often encourage students to question their beliefs and further refine their arguments. In other situations, Professor Primo may articulate arguments for or against an idea in ways that do not necessarily reflect his own views. When appropriate, he may choose to articulate his own opinions, and students are encouraged to challenge him, as well.

In order to foster an open exchange of ideas and allow for the frank discussion of controversial topics, class sessions will not be recorded. There may be times when class gets “uncomfortable.” This is a positive, not a negative, so long as it is clear we are all working together toward a shared end of deeper understandings about the world. To use an analogy, you can go to the gym and sit on an exercise bike pedaling slowly and texting friends. You are likely to be quite comfortable doing so. Alternatively, you can get on the same bike with a heart rate monitor and push yourself hard, to the point that you are quite uncomfortable. Which is the better workout? Think of a seminar course in the same way—as a workout for your mind and your ideas.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- **Prepare for, attend, and be an active participant in class.** A small seminar of 15-20 students requires the active involvement of all students. Students are expected to attend all classes (health permitting), complete the readings in advance of class, and share their ideas during class discussions.
- **Set the stage for class discussions.** For classes in weeks 2 through 11, you must submit one question to Professor Primo that you would like discussed during class (think of it as a “conversation starter”) along with a brief explanation (1 or 2 paragraphs) of why you selected that question. *These conversation starters should be based on the readings for the week.* These conversation starters should be submitted on Blackboard by 8 AM on the day of class under Assignments; late conversation starters will not be accepted except in unusual circumstances.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS (cont.)

- **Complete a project (proposals due on Blackboard by 7 PM on March 1; required peer group workshops will take place the week of April 18, with a brief follow-up survey that should be completed on Blackboard by April 25 at 8 AM; projects due via email by 7 PM on May 3).**
 - Students are required to complete a project on a topic of their choosing. Possible project formats include a traditional, 3,500 word research paper or a non-traditional approach such as a writing a set of op-eds related to the themes of the course. (W students must complete a project with 3,500 words of writing.)
 - The project format and topic must be approved by Professor Primo. Professor Primo will tailor his guidance and project requirements to the specifics of the proposals.
 - In an effort to encourage students to make progress on their papers well in advance of the deadline, in lieu of class on April 18, students will instead participate in a peer group workshop in which students will meet in small groups to offer feedback on each other's projects. Participation in the workshop is required and will be part of your project grade.
 - Additional details regarding this requirement are available in a separate Project Guidelines document available on Blackboard.
 - The bottom line: this project should be one that you are invested in and are excited about. Professor Primo will be there to help along the way.

GRADING

- *Conversation starters* count toward 20% of your course grade. Conversation starters will be graded on a credit/no-credit basis. Questions that are submitted without an explanation or with an explanation that fails to demonstrate a connection to the readings will receive no credit. You can receive credit for a conversation starter even if you do not attend class, so long as it is submitted on time. Following the "life happens" rule, you may skip two conversation starters without penalty.
- *Class participation* counts toward 20% of your course grade. Students are expected to do the reading in advance of class and come prepared for discussion. Students should "take ownership" of the seminar by sharing their ideas, asking questions, challenging each other's ideas (and those of Professor Primo), and keeping up with the news to participate in the "current events" portion of class discussion. *Class attendance factors into class participation. However, please do not come to class if you are not feeling well or it would present a hardship to do so; just give Professor Primo advance notice when possible.*
- *The project* counts toward 60% of your course grade. 5% of your course grade is based on fulfilling all aspects of required participation in the workshop. 55% of your course grade is based on the final project submission. Additional details regarding the grading of the workshop and the project are available in a separate Project Guidelines document available on Blackboard.

PROFESSIONALISM

Professor Primo strives to create a professional atmosphere in class where all are treated with respect. To help achieve this goal, please

- make every effort to attend and be on time for each class meeting
- silence mobile phones and other electronic devices
- keep texting and other non-course-related activities to a minimum
- come to class prepared to engage with others and be open to perspectives that may differ from your own.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Note: Topics are subject to change as the course evolves. Readings will go on Blackboard one week in advance of each class meeting. Conversation starters are due by 8 AM on the day of class for weeks 2 - 11.

Date	Topic
1. January 24	Introduction and Course Preliminaries
2. January 31	Foundations
3. February 7	Elite Political Polarization
4. February 14	Mass Political Polarization
5. February 21	Higher Education I: The Campus Speech Climate
6. February 28	Higher Education II: DEI vs. (?) Free Speech
→March 1 @ 7 PM	Project topics due on Blackboard
7. March 14	Higher Education III: Scientific Advancement
8. March 21	Disagreement in the Workplace
9. March 28	Disagreement, Diversity, and Innovation
10. April 4	Disagreement Around the World
11. April 11	Disagreement: A How-To
12. Week of April 18	Peer Group Workshops (in lieu of class meeting)
13. April 25	Course Wrap-Up (Post-workshop survey due April 25 @ 8 AM on Blackboard)
→May 3 @ 7 PM	Final projects due via email

READINGS

January 31: Foundations

- Mill, John Stuart. 1859. *On Liberty*, ch. 2
- Stanley, Jason. 2018. *How Fascism Works*. New York: Random House, excerpt.
- Orwell, George. 1946. "Politics and the English Language." *Horizon*, April.
- Loury, Glenn C. 1994. "Self-Censorship in Public Discourse." *Rationality and Society* 6(4):428-261.
- Rauch, Jonathan. 2021. *The Constitution of Knowledge*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, ch. 1.
- Nernst, John. Undated. "What is Erisology?," Blog.

February 7: Elite Political Polarization

- Barber, Michael, and Nolan McCarty. 2015. "Causes and Consequences of Polarization." In *Political Negotiation: A Handbook*, ed. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Klein, Ezra. 2020. *Why We're Polarized*. New York: Simon & Schuster, excerpt.
- McGinnis, John O., and Michael B. Rappaport. 2021. "Presidential Polarization." CSAS Working Paper 21-42.
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review* 107(1):57-79.

February 14: Mass Political Polarization

- Fiorina, Morris P. 2016. "Has the American Public Polarized?" Hoover Institution.
- Iyengar, Shanto, et al. 2019. "The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22:129-46.
- Mason, Lilliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chs. 2-3.

- Gibson, James L., and Joseph L. Sutherland. 2021. "Keeping Your Mouth Shut: Spiraling Self-Censorship in the United States." Working Paper.
- Knight Foundation. 2022. "Free Expression in America Post-2020."
- Rasmussen Reports. 2022. "COVID-19: Democratic Voters Support Harsh Measures Against Unvaccinated."
- Optional: Edsall, Thomas. 2022. "America Has Split, and It's Now in 'Very Dangerous Territory.'" *New York Times*, January 26.

February 21: Higher Education I—The Campus Speech Climate

Placing Current Debates into Historical Context

- Chemerinsky, Erwin, and Howard Gillman. 2017. *Free Speech on Campus*. New Haven: Yale University Press, excerpt.
- Lukianoff, Greg, and Jonathan Haidt. 2015. "The Coddling of the American Mind." *The Atlantic* 316(2):42-52.
- Lukianoff, Greg. 2022. "The Second Great Age of Political Correctness." *Reason*, January.
- Optional: Gonzales, Richard. 2014. "Berkeley's Fight for Free Speech Fired Up Student Protest Movement." *NPR*, October 5.
- Optional: Fuller, Thomas. 2017. "A Free Speech Battle at the Birthplace of a Movement at Berkeley." *New York Times*, February 2.

The Chicago Principles

- Background on the Chicago Principles (skim web page).
- The Chicago Principles.
- Ben-Porath, Sigal. 2018. "Against Endorsing the Chicago Principles." *Inside Higher Ed*, December 11.

Survey Says...

- College Pulse/FIRE/RealClear Education. 2021. "College Free Speech Rankings."
- Knight Foundation. 2022. "College Student Views on Free Expression and Campus Speech 2022."
- Sachs, Jeffrey Adam. 2018. "There Is No Campus Free Speech Crisis: A Close Look at the Evidence." Niskanen Center.
- Wilson, John K. 2022. "The Inevitable Problem of Self-Censorship." *Inside Higher Ed*, January 11.
- Optional: Rothschild, Neal. 2021. "Young Dems More Likely to Despise the Other Party." *Axios*.

February 28: Higher Education II—DEI vs. (?) Free Speech

- Whittington, Keith. 2019. "Free Speech and the Diverse University." *Fordham Law Review* 87(6):2453-2477.
- Baer, Uhrlich. 2019. *What Snowflakes Get Right*. New York: Oxford University Press, excerpt.
- Kronman, Anthony. 2019. "The Downside of Diversity." *Wall Street Journal*, August 2.
- Diversity Statements in the University of California system
 - Jerry Coyne's discovery that diversity statements are used to screen out job candidates out in the UC system
 - UC Berkeley's Rubric for Assessing Candidate Contributions to Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Belonging
- Campus Controversies
 - Anderson, Greta. 2020. "Hand-Delivered Hate or Free Speech Exercise?" *Inside Higher Ed*, February 7.
 - Anderson, Nick. 2020. "A Stanford Law Professor Read a Quote with the N-word to His Class, Stirring Outrage." *Washington Post*, June 3.
 - Powell, Michael. 2021. "M.I.T.'s Choice of Lecturer Ignited Criticism. So Did Its Decision To Cancel." *New York Times*, October 20.

March 14: Higher Education III—Scientific Advancement

Ideological Diversity in the Academy

- Shields, Jon A. 2018. "The Disappearing Conservative Professor." *National Affairs* 37:138-150.

- Rom, Mark Carl. 2019. "Does Political Science Lack Diversity? Ideologically, That Is." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 52(4):701-705.
- Phillips, James C. "Why Are There So Few Conservatives and Libertarians in Legal Academia?" *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 39(1):153-207.

The Effects of Ideological Diversity on Scientific Inquiry

- Duarte, Jose L., et al. "Political Diversity Will Improve Social Psychological Science." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 38:e130. Note: Read the main article by Duarte et al. and then the replies from Baumeister, Eagly, Gelman and Gross, and Hibbing et al.
- Ceci, Stephen J., and Wendy M. Williams. 2018. "Socio-Political Values Infiltrate the Assessment of Scientific Research." In *The Politics of Social Psychology*, ed. Jarret T. Crawford and Lee Jussim. New York: Routledge, 156-167.
- Whittington, Keith E. 2021. "The Value of Ideological Diversity among University Faculty." *Social Philosophy* 37(2):90-113.
- Primo, David M., and Jeffrey D. Milyo. 2020. *Campaign Finance and American Democracy: What the Public Really Thinks and Why It Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, selected tables.

March 21: Disagreement in the Workplace

Research and Data

- SHRM. 2019. "Politics in the Workplace."
- Weber Shandwick. 2019. "Employee Activism in the Age of Purpose: Employees (Up)Rising."
- Miles, Stephen A., et al. 2021. "Protests from Within: Engaging with Employee Activists." Stanford Closer Look Series, Corporate Governance Research Initiative.

Cases and Commentaries

- Rall, Ted. 2021. "Free Speech Has Consequences, but Should Firing Be One?" *Wall Street Journal*, September 30.
- Damore, James. 2017. "Google's Ideological Echo Chamber." July Memo.
- Grind, Kirsten, and Douglas MacMillan. 2018. "Google vs. Google: How Nonstop Political Arguments Rule Its Workplace." *Wall Street Journal*, May 1.
- Armstrong, Brian. 2020. "Coinbase is a Mission Focused Company." Blog, September 20.
- Sey, Jennifer. 2022. "Yesterday I Was Levi's Brand President. I Quit So I Could Be Free." Blog, February 14.

March 28: Disagreement, Diversity, and Innovation

- Edmondson, Amy C. 2012. *Teaming: How Organizations Learn, Innovate, and Compete in the Knowledge Economy*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, ch. 2.
- Sawyer, Keith. 2017. *Group Genius: The Creative Power of Collaboration*. New York: Basic Books, ch. 4
- Kudesia, Ravi. 2021. "Diversity Is Not Enough: Why Collective Intelligence Requires Both Diversity and Disagreement." Blog, July 21.
- Johansson, Frans. 2004. *The Medici Effect: Breakthrough Insights at the Intersection of Ideas, Concepts, and Cultures*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, ch. 6.
- Chua, Roy Y.J. 2013. "The Costs of Ambient Cultural Disharmony: Indirect Intercultural Conflicts in Social Environment Undermine Creativity." *Academy of Management Journal* 56(6):1545-1577.

April 4: Disagreement Around the World

Cross-Country Polarization

- Boxell, Levi, et al. 2021. "Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization." Forthcoming in *Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Reiljan, Andres. 2020. "'Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines' (also) in Europe: Affective Polarisation in European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 59(2):376-396.

Free Inquiry and Free Speech

- Scholars at Risk. 2021. “Free to Think 2021.” Report of the Scholars at Risk Academic Freedom Monitoring Project.
- Wike, Richard, and Katie Simmons. 2015. “Global Support for Principle of Free Expression, but Opposition to Some Forms of Speech.” Pew Research Center Report.

April 11: Disagreement—A How-To

What Scholarship Tells Us

- Brooks, Arthur C. 2019. *Love Your Enemies: How Decent People Can Save America from Our Culture of Contempt*. New York: Broadside Books, ch. 8.
- Grant, Adam. 2021. *Think Again: The Power of Knowing What You Don’t Know*. New York: Viking, ch. 8.
- Hartman, Rachel, et al. 2022. “Interventions to Reduce Partisan Animosity.” Preprint.
- Podcast: Ted Radio Hour on NPR featuring Adam Grant.

What Is Happening On Campus and Off

- Bennett, Jessica. 2020. “What if Instead of Calling People Out, We Called Them In?” *New York Times*, November 19.
- Miller, Jennifer. 2022. “What College Students Really Think About Cancel Culture.” *The Atlantic*, February 4.

How-to Guides and Organizations Committed to Bridging Divides

- Here are several short guides from various organizations about having difficult conversations. Look for commonalities!
 - Heterodox Academy
 - OpenMind (try to do the simulation!)
 - Listen First Project
 - Institute for Humane Studies
- Here are four organizations which have or will host events with the explicit goal of having difficult conversations. Just glance at each webpage to get a sense of the approaches (and again, commonalities).
 - America in One Room
 - America Talks
 - Braver Angels
 - Crossing Party Lines

ADDITIONAL COURSE POLICIES

Intellectual Property

No photography, video recording, or audio recording of any kind is allowed during class. In addition, no reproduction or dissemination of course materials, slides, or lectures—electronically or through other means—is allowed.

Academic Honesty

All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester’s Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at www.rochester.edu/college/honesty.

Statement on Credit Hours

This course follows the College credit hour policy for four-credit courses. This course meets once per week for a total of 150 minutes per week of faculty-led instructional time. The course also includes independent out-of-class activities for 50 minutes per week; specifically, students will read novel academic papers and will be asked to read reputable news sources to identify current events related to the themes of the course.