

## Political Science 202W

Fall 2022

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 (PSCI 202W only): Monday afternoons, 1:00-2:00

Additional office hours: Monday afternoons, 2:00-3:00, and Thursday mornings, 10:00-11:00

Recitation leaders: [Adrija Bhattacharjee](#), [Garrett Briggs](#), [Alex Evert](#), [Ryan Hecker](#), [Ha Nguyen](#), and [Taylor Tyburski](#)

**Books.** Five books are available for purchase in the campus bookstore and at various places online, including [AbeBooks](#) and [Amazon](#). *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. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence.
2. John Aldrich, *Why Parties?: A Second Look* (2011).
3. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005).
4. N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer, *Roe v. Wade*, 3rd ed. (2021).
5. 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 exam for this class is on Tuesday, December 20, at 12:30 pm. You must be in Rochester to take the exam in person, so please make your travel arrangements accordingly—taking into account that the exam could run as late as 3:30 pm that day and that you will need additional time to get to the airport or train or bus station.

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

- Paper 1: Unit B
- Paper 2: Unit C or E
- Paper 3: Unit F or G
- Paper 4: Unit H or I
- Paper 5: Unit J or K

### **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 eight papers, we drop the lowest grade. If you write nine 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 or nine papers (seven paper grades) . . . . . 60% papers, 20% 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—Inalienable Rights**

Aug. 31	Lecture
Sept. 2	Discussion: Special class on how to write effective, strong papers Prepare by reading <a href="#">The Federalist No. 84</a> , first twelve paragraphs
Sept. 5	No class—Labor Day
Sept. 7	Lecture
Sept. 9	Lecture/Discussion

*No paper assignment.*

[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. [PDF version](#).

Jack N. Rakove, “[What Remains of Thomas Jefferson?](#)” *Wall Street Journal*, 1 July 2022. [Text version](#)

Danielle Allen, “[A Forgotten Black Founding Father](#),” *The Atlantic*, Mar. 2021. [Text version](#)

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

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—Institutional Design***

Sept. 12      Lecture  
Sept. 14      *No class—Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*  
Sept. 16      *No class—Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*  
Sept. 19      Lecture  
Sept. 21      Lecture  
Sept. 22/23   Recitation

*Paper due Sept. 20.* What is the greatest threat—or threats—to free government, according to *The Federalist* (Madison and Hamilton), Brutus (an Anti-Federalist), and Calhoun (a 19th-century southern politician), and what institutional features does each set of writers propose to counter these threats? Then, drawing on Rosen and on Helmke and Paine, consider whether Madison would be satisfied with the state of American politics today.

*The Federalist* Nos. [10](#), [48](#), [51](#), [62](#), and [63](#).

[Brutus I](#), 18 Oct. 1787.

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

Jeffrey Rosen, “[America Is Living James Madison’s Nightmare](#),” *The Atlantic*, Oct. 2018. [Magazine version](#)

Gretchen Helmke and Jack Paine, “[When Strong Institutions Undermine Strong Democracies](#),” working paper, July 2022.

### ***Unit C— Social Choice and the Origins of American Political Parties***

Sept. 26      *No class—Rosh Hashanah*  
Sept. 28      Lecture  
Sept. 30      Lecture  
Oct. 3        Lecture  
Oct. 5        *No class—Yom Kippur*  
Oct. 7        Recitation. Note: All recitations this week are on Friday.

*If you are normally in a Thursday recitation, you will be assigned to a Friday time.*

*Paper due Oct. 4.* Why did politicians invent parties, and what advantages come from two-party competition? In answering this question, be sure to consider Sheehan and Aldrich’s different accounts of the rise of Federalists and Republicans in the 1790s, including Aldrich’s use of social choice theory, alongside the work of Gamm and Kousser.

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.

Gerald Gamm and Thad Kousser, “[Life, Literacy, and the Pursuit of Prosperity: Party Competition and Policy Outcomes in 50 States](#),” *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming.

**Unit D—Democratic Tyranny**

Oct. 10      *No class—Fall Break*  
Oct. 12      Lecture  
Oct. 14      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 E—Democratic Liberty**

Oct. 17      Lecture  
Oct. 19      Lecture  
Oct. 20/21   Recitation

*Paper due Oct. 18.* According to Tocqueville, why are order, limits, and social connectedness important to the maintenance of a free people, and in what arenas do Americans learn these values, mores, and habits? How do Putnam and Skocpol understand the changes that took place in civic engagement in the late 20th century and the relationship of these changes to democratic health?

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.

Robert D. Putnam, "[Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital](#)," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (Jan. 1995), 65-78.

Theda Skocpol, "[The Tocqueville Problem: Civic Engagement in American Democracy](#)," *Social Science History* 21 (1997), 455-79.

**Unit F—Citizens and Voters**

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

*Paper due Oct. 25.* Inclusion and exclusion have both been hallmarks of the American political system. Drawing on the problem of collective action, discuss how Aldrich accounts for the development of a modern mass party system in the 1820s and 1830s. Then examine three groups left out of the electorate or out of the bounds of citizenship entirely. How did women create a parallel political realm, what was the path to citizenship and voting rights for Native Americans, and how did the battle to exclude Chinese immigrants shape American immigration policy more broadly?

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 30-32, 43-50, 102-29.

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

Willard Hughes Rollings, "[Citizenship and Suffrage: The Native American Struggle for Civil Rights in the American West, 1830–1965](#)," *Nevada Law Journal* 5 (2004), 126-40.

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

### **Unit G—Slavery and the Rise of the Republican Party**

Oct. 31      Lecture  
Nov. 2        Lecture  
Nov. 3/4     Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 1.* How does Aldrich draw on ambition theory to explain the rise of the new Republican party in the 1850s? After answering that question, discuss the different ways in which Americans regarded the relationship between slavery and the Constitution in the decades before the Civil War—and how, in Feldman’s telling, Lincoln effectively rewrote the Constitution through his wartime actions.

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

William Lloyd Garrison, “[On the Constitution and the Union](#),” *The Liberator*, 29 Dec. 1832, and “[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 Georgia, [Ordinance of Secession](#), 29 Jan. 1861.

Noah Feldman, “[This Is the Story of How Lincoln Broke the U.S. Constitution](#),” *New York Times*, 2 Nov. 2021. [Text version](#)

### **Unit H—Congress and Civil Rights**

Nov. 7        Lecture  
Nov. 9        Lecture  
Nov. 10/11   Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 8.* What were the central features of the mid-20th-century Congress—including committees, the seniority system, and party organization—and how did those features shape welfare policy, labor legislation, benefits for veterans, and action on civil rights? How, when, and why did northern Democrats come to supplant Republicans in supporting civil rights for Black Americans?

Julian E. Zelizer, “[Confronting the Roadblock: Congress, Civil Rights, and World War II](#),” in *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, eds. Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

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

Eric Schickler, Kathryn Pearson, and Brian D. Feinstein, “[Congressional Parties and Civil Rights Politics from 1933 to 1972](#),” *Journal of Politics* 72 (2010), 672-89.

### ***Unit I—Abortion and the Right to Privacy***

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

*Paper due Nov. 15.* What people and groups led the movement for contraception and abortion rights in the middle decades of the 20th century, and what arguments did they employ? How did the Supreme Court majority draw on the Constitution to justify its rulings in *Griswold*, *Roe*, and (briefly) *Dobbs*?

*Griswold et al. v. Connecticut* (1965), [opinion of the Court](#), 479-86 only.

N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer, *Roe v. Wade*, 3rd ed., 1-179.

Brent Kendall and Jess Bravin, "[Supreme Court Overturns Roe v. Wade, Eliminates Constitutional Right to Abortion](#)," *Wall Street Journal*, 24 June 2022. [Text version](#)

Jan Wolfe, "[Clarence Thomas's Abortion Opinion Revisits Same-Sex Marriage, Contraception](#)," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 June 2022. [Text version](#)

### ***Unit J—Partisan Polarization***

Nov. 21      Lecture  
Nov. 23      *No class--Thanksgiving*  
Nov. 25      *No class—Thanksgiving*  
Nov. 28      Lecture  
Nov. 30      Lecture  
Dec. 1/2     Recitation

*Paper due Nov. 29.* What is the evidence of partisan polarization, and, according to each of these authors, what are the causes of this growing divide?

Gerald Gamm, Justin Phillips, Matthew Carr, and Michael Auslen, "The Culture War and Partisan Polarization: State Political Parties, 1960-2018," working paper, Sept. 2022.

Richard H. Pildes, "[Why the Center Does Not Hold: The Causes of Hyperpolarized Democracy in America](#)," *California Law Review* 99 (2011), 273-333.

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

Kelsey L. Hinchliffe and Frances E. Lee, "[Party Competition and Conflict in State Legislatures](#)," *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16 (2016), 172-97.

Jonathan Haidt, "[Why the Past 10 Years of American Life Have Been Uniquely Stupid](#)," *The Atlantic*, May 2022. [Magazine version](#)

### ***Unit K—Populism***

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

*Paper due Dec. 6.* How does each of these writers define populism, and what is populist about Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump? What concerns do these scholars have about the impact of populism on the political system?

John Judis, *The Populist Explosion*, 12–87.

George Packer, “The Populists,” *The New Yorker*, 7 Sept. 2015. [Text version](#)

Joshua Zeitz, “[Historians Have Long Thought Populism Was a Good Thing. Are They Wrong?](#)” *Politico Magazine*, 14 Jan. 2018.

Uri Friedman, “[What Is a Populist? And Is Donald Trump One?](#)” *The Atlantic*, 27 Feb. 2017. [PDF version](#)

William A. Galston, “[The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy](#),” Brookings, 17 Apr. 2018.

Frances E. Lee, “[Populism and the American Party System: Opportunities and Constraints](#),” *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (2020), 370-88.

### ***Unit L—The Attack on American Political Institutions***

Dec. 12       Lecture  
Dec. 14       Lecture/Discussion

*No paper assignment.*

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, “[How Wobbly Is Our Democracy?](#)” *New York Times*, 27 Jan. 2018. [Text version](#)

Yoni Appelbaum, “[How America Ends](#),” *The Atlantic*, Dec. 2019. [Magazine version](#)

Mitt Romney, [speech on election night](#), 6 Nov. 2012, first 1:08 of speech.

Hillary Clinton, [speech the day following the election](#), 9 Nov. 2016.

Donald J. Trump, [video statement on Capitol protestors](#), 6 Jan. 2021.

Rosalind S. Helderman, “[Trump’s Choices Escalated Tensions and Set U.S. on Path to Jan. 6, Panel Finds](#),” *Washington Post*, 20 July 2022. [Text version](#)

Nate Cohn, “[Why Political Sectarianism Is a Growing Threat to American Democracy](#),” *New York Times*, 19 Apr. 2021. [Text version](#)

David A. Graham, “[The Insurrection Was Just Part of the Plot](#),” *The Atlantic*, 30 July 2021. [PDF version](#)

***Readings continue on next page***



Jess Bidgood, "[They Kept the Wheels on Democracy as Trump Tried To Steal an Election. Now They're Paying the Price](#)," *Boston Globe*, 3 July 2021. [Text version](#)

Tim Alberta, "[The Senator Who Decided To Tell the Truth](#)," *The Atlantic*, 30 June 2021. [PDF version](#)

Catie Edmondson, "[Cheney Embraces Her Downfall, Warning G.O.P. of Trump in a Fiery Speech](#)," *New York Times*, 11 May 2021. [Text version](#)

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, "[The Biggest Threat to Democracy Is the GOP Stealing the Next Election](#)," *The Atlantic*, 9 July 2021. [PDF version](#)

Nick Corasaniti, Karen Yourish, and Keith Collins, "[How Trump's 2020 Election Lies Have Gripped State Legislatures](#)," *New York Times*, 22 May 2022. [Text version](#)

Amy Gardner, "[Election Deniers March Toward Power in Key 2024 Battlegrounds](#)," *Washington Post*, 15 Aug. 2022. [Text version](#)