

Political Science 202

Fall 2008

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 11:00-11:50

Recitations on Thursdays or Fridays

Argument in Political Science

<http://my.rochester.edu>

Professor Gerald Gamm

Harkness Hall 331

585-275-8573

gerald.gamm@rochester.edu

Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:00-2:30; Thursday mornings, 10:00-11:30

Recitation leaders: Kali Cohn, David Cutshall, Hilarie Henry, Trevor Kellogg, Zachary Kimball, Anthony Spall, and Judith Tulkoff

The general aim of Political Science 202 is to introduce you to the nature of argument. The course is designed to expose you to the variety of concepts, methodologies, and forms of evidence that characterize political science. You will be taught to recognize arguments in what you read and to develop your own arguments in what you write. This semester we examine the underpinnings of American democracy. Drawing on classic examples of American political thought as well as writings by contemporary political scientists, we analyze the centuries-long struggle to protect democracy against itself. Our central theme is the tension between majority rule and minority rights, which shaped the American War for Independence and continues to define the contours of political discourse today.

Books

Seven books are available for purchase at the University of Rochester Bookstore. These books are also on 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 H. Aldrich, *Why Parties?* (1995).
4. William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, edited by Terrence J. McDonald (1994).
5. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005).
6. Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality* (2008).
7. Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy* (2008).

Course website

<http://my.rochester.edu>

The website 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, either you will need to need to download and run VPN (so that your computer can be viewed as part of the University's network) or you will need to locate the reading through the Rush Rhees website, entering your NetID and password. You can find VPN at <<http://www.rochester.edu/its/vpn/gettingconnected.html>>. *If any link on the website does not work, please let Zack Kimball (the course webmaster) know immediately by email at <zachary.kimball@rochester.edu>.*

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. *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 cannot receive credit for the course.** The final exam schedule is set by the Registrar. The final exam for this course will be given at 7:15 pm on Friday, December 19.

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

Paper 1: Unit B or C

Paper 2: Unit D or E

Paper 3: Unit F or G

Paper 4: Unit H or I

Paper 5: Unit J or K

Paper 6: Unit L or M

You must write at least one paper from at least five of the pairs of units. Thus you can skip one of the pairs of units—but not more than one—without penalty.*

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 ten papers, we drop the lowest grade. If you write eleven or twelve 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 papers (eight paper grades)	60% papers, 20% final exam
Ten or more papers (nine paper grades)	65% papers, 15% 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.

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 two pairs of units, you will receive a "0" as one of your paper grades, and this "0" may not be dropped. If you skip three pairs of units, you will receive *two* paper grades of "0," and these grades may not be dropped. *You may not skip more than three 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

Sept. 3 Lecture

Sept. 5 Lecture

No paper assignment.

Declaration of Independence, 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.”), 28 May 1788, in David Wootton, ed., *Essential Federalist*, 301-306.

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. 8 Lecture

Sept. 10 Lecture

Sept. 11/12 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 9. As he prepared for the constitutional convention, Madison looked to a new federal government to address his concerns about the states. What were those concerns, what were the main solutions he initially proposed, and how did the Framers come to view checks and balances and the federal judiciary as alternative devices for solving some of the problems that Madison feared? In answering this question, be sure to draw on Madison’s writings (including “Vices,” the Virginia Plan, and, where appropriate, *The Federalist*), Hamilton’s writings (especially in *The Federalist* No. 78), and Hobson and Robertson.

James Madison, “Vices of the Political System of the United States,” April 1787.

Virginia Plan, 29 May 1787.

The Federalist Nos. 10, 48, 51, 63, 70, 78.

Charles F. Hobson, “The Negative on State Laws: James Madison, the Constitution, and the Crisis of Republican Government,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 36 (1979), 215-235.

David Brian Robertson, “Madison’s Opponents and Constitutional Design,” *American Political Science Review* 99 (2005), 225-243.

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

Sept. 15 Lecture
Sept. 17 Lecture
Sept. 18/19 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 16. “Whether the vote trade was effective or the questions were resolved through many shifts and bargains,” Aldrich writes (71), “is immaterial for the argument presented here.” Yet Aldrich opens his third chapter with an account of that vote trade. What was the Compromise of 1790, and how does the existence of vote trading play a critical role in Aldrich’s use of social choice theory to explain the rise of parties in the 1790s?

Jacob E. Cooke, “The Compromise of 1790,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 27 (1970), 524-45.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 3-45, 57-96.

Unit D— Collective Action and Two-Party Politics

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

Paper due Sept. 23. According to Aldrich and Altschuler and Blumin, what was the role of party organizations and party leaders in the dramatic expansion of voter participation between the 1820s and 1850s? Drawing on Baker, discuss also the implications of the rise of white manhood suffrage for the political engagement of women in the 19th century.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 45-50, 97-125.

Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, “Limits of Political Engagement in Antebellum America: A New Look at the Golden Age of Participatory Democracy,” *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 855-85.

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

Unit E—Liberty, Slavery, and Union

Sept. 29 Lecture
Oct. 1 *No class—Rosh Hashanah*
Oct. 3 Lecture
Oct. 6 *No class—Fall Break*
Oct. 8 Lecture
Oct. 9/10 Recitation

Students observing Yom Kippur should plan to attend a Friday recitation.

Paper due Oct. 7. Analyze how Lincoln and S. Douglas differed in their approaches to the expansion of slavery into the western territories. Then explain how Aldrich and Gienapp each accounts for the success of the antislavery Republican party in emerging as the major alternative to the Democratic party in the late 1850s, rather than the Whigs or Know Nothings.

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.

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, 19 Nov. 1863.

John Aldrich, *Why Parties?*, 51-57, 126-56.

William E. Gienapp, “Nativism and the Creation of a Republican Majority in the North before the Civil War,” *Journal of American History* 72 (1985), 529-59.

Unit F—Democratic Tyranny

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

Paper due Oct. 14. Drawing on Zakaria, define “constitutional liberalism.” According to Tocqueville and Zakaria, what are the threats that democratic social and political conditions can pose to constitutional liberalism and personal freedom?

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, xiii-xiv, 9-20, 50-60, 173, 196-99, 231-35, 246-61, 395-400, 433-36, 503-8, 535-38, 667-74, 690-705.

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

Unit G—Democratic Liberty

Oct. 20 Lecture
Oct. 22 Lecture
Oct. 23/24 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 21. If Tocqueville could read Putnam’s analysis of contemporary America, how would he react? In answering this question, be sure to identify the institutions, habits, and beliefs that Tocqueville identified as crucial to the maintenance of liberal democracy in the United States.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer and transl. George Lawrence, 61-70, 87-98, 189-95, 235-45, 262-76, 286-311, 508-28, 604-5.

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

Unit H—Political Machines

Oct. 27 Lecture
Oct. 29 Lecture
Oct. 30/31 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 28. How do Jane Addams and Lincoln Steffens explain the success of aldermen and ward bosses in attracting the loyalty of voters, and in what ways does Riordon’s portrayal of Plunkitt exemplify the same characteristics identified by Addams and Steffens?

William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, edited with an introduction by Terrence J. McDonald, vii-ix, 1-134.

Unit I—Race and the New Deal

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

Paper due Nov. 4. According to Katznelson, what were the primary ways that federal programs discriminated against African Americans in the 1930s and 1940s, and what were the political forces that led the national government to enact these policies?

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, 1-149.

Unit J—Partisanship and Income Inequality

Nov. 10 Lecture
Nov. 12 Lecture
Nov. 13/14 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 11. What evidence does Bartels offer to support his argument that there is a partisan basis for the growth in income inequality in the United States, and, given this evidence, how does he explain the success of Republican presidential candidates in recent decades?

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 1-126.

Unit K—Participation

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

Paper due Nov. 18. According to Verba and Bartels, why does the federal government pursue policies exacerbating economic inequality in a country where most citizens express support for egalitarian values?

Sidney Verba, “Would the Dream of Political Equality Turn Out To Be a Nightmare?” *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (2003), 663-79.

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, 127-96, 252-82.

Unit L—Representation

Nov. 24 Lecture
Nov. 26 No class—Thanksgiving Break
Nov. 28 No class—Thanksgiving Break
Dec. 1 Lecture
Dec. 3 Lecture
Dec. 4/5 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 2. According to Ansolabehere and Snyder, what factors explained the existence and persistence of malapportionment, and what arguments were made in its defense? Consider, too, how Madison and Hamilton defended representation in the United States House of Representatives during the debate over the Constitution: what qualities did Madison and Hamilton regard as essential to effective representation, and what position would they have taken in the apportionment battle of the 1960s?

The Federalist Nos. 35, 52, 55, 57.

Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality*, 1-122.

Unit M—One Person, One Vote

Dec. 8 Lecture
Dec. 10 Lecture

Paper due Dec. 9. Why did the Supreme Court adopt the standard of mathematical equality in *Reynolds v. Sims*, and what were the long-term implications of the apportionment revolution for state policy and politics?

Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., *The End of Inequality*, 123-288.