FYSM 10100-31: Dysfunctional Democracy? Fall 2021

Location: Kauke Hall 142

Teaching Apprentice: Austin Piatt
Time: MWF 12-12:50pm

Email: apiatt24@wooster.edu
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 7-8pm

Instructor: Dr. Avi Muñoz
Office: Kauke Hall 107
FYS Peer Mentor: Alana Rivas-Scott
Email: amunoz@wooster.edu
Email: arivas-scott24@wooster.edu

Office Hours: TTh 9:30-11am & by

Office Hours: email Alana

appointment

Course Description

We live in a representative democracy, or so we have been told. But what does it mean for democracy to be "representative"? Who is represented in American democracy? These questions have been central to discussions about American society and politics in the last few years, especially when confronted with jarring disparities in Congress: 6 senators from 3 states represent the same number of people as the senators of the 31 least-populous states combined; women account for half of the US population but only about 25% of Congress; and Latinx people comprise about 20% of the population but only 10% of members of Congress. In this seminar, we will talk and write about how representation has evolved in America over time, and how the answers to the above questions are affected by a variety of factors including but not limited to race, gender, class, and partisan affiliation.

Learning Goals

The primary purpose of first year seminars is to help students develop their writing skills for academic success, develop meaningful interpersonal relationships with members of the campus community, and introduce them to the many campus resources that will help them succeed inside and outside the classroom. With that in mind, the learning goals of this FYS are as follows:

- 1. Students will be able to analyze complex texts, artifacts, events and/or ideas.
- 2. Students will be able to demonstrate information literacy by finding, evaluating, and using complex texts, artifacts, events and/or ideas.
- 3. Students will be able to communicate effectively in writing.
- 4. Students will be able to reflect on their academic growth.
- 5. Students will be able to apply multiple perspectives to a topic or issue (at the appropriate level for a first-semester, first-year student).

Advising Objectives

As your first academic advisor, my goals will be to help you thrive in the following areas:

- **Relationship Building** Faculty will develop a relationship with advisees and will encourage students to develop relationships among other college faculty and staff
- **Academic Planning** Faculty will monitor advisees' academic progress and work with advisees to develop short and long-term academic plans and professional goals
- Resource Use Faculty will introduce students to and engage them with using campus resources

Course Grading

Engagement & Participation (10%)

Writing Assignments (10% each)

- Concept paper
- Analysis paper
- Critical response paper
- Position paper

Annotated bibliography & thesis statement (8 sources) – 15%

Final paper – 25%

Final paper presentation – 10%

The writing assignments are intended to get you to think about representation in different ways, and to get you familiar with writing for a college class. During the semester we will have multiple workshops with the Writing Center in addition to some peer editing sessions in class; the Writing Center is also available to you outside of class if you need any assistance with the assignments. Below is some more information on each of the assignments, though more details will come later in the semester.

Concept paper: In this paper, you are asked to articulate your concept of representation. You will be expected to articulate what representation means to you in a definitional sense, how we know if that definition is being met or not, and how this conceptualization of representation is or is not currently realized in American society and/or politics.

Analysis paper: Building on your concept paper and our class discussions, here you are asked to evaluate a sitting member of Congress. Is s/he a good representative for their constituents? Why or why not? If not, what could they do that would make them a better representative for the people living in their congressional district? Each student will be randomly assigned a House member from one of Ohio's sixteen congressional districts.

Critical response paper: The critical response paper allows students to forward their original thoughts inspired by course readings. Students will critically engage with the Mansbridge (1999) article "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'," which we will be reading in Week 9. These papers should integrate information presented in the readings, lectures, and discussions into an original synthesis in service of an argument about the article. Is there something the author missed that significantly affects the argument? Is there new information that ought to cast the author's argument in a new light? Do you have a counterargument to a theoretical claim made by the author?

Position paper: In this paper, you are asked to take a position on a specific policy solution to one or more of the problems of representation that we discuss in class. More specifically, I want you to consider whether an alternative type of representation system would or would not work to resolve those issues.

Annotated bibliography: Students will submit EIGHT annotated bibliography entries and submit a thesis statement that summarizes their understanding of a specific sub-topic on the issue of representation. This assignment will be due in stages: a draft that includes at least FOUR entries and a working thesis statement will be due first, and then the final submission with all eight entries and revised thesis statement.

Final paper (and presentation): In your final paper, you are asked to analyze the effect of redistricting on representation in the House of Representatives. Using the same congressional district you are assigned for your analysis paper, you must report on demographic changes that occurred in the district when it was most recently redistricted (i.e. after the 2010 Census), who represented the district before and after redistricting, and how those changes do or do not speak to the representativeness of that district and/or legislator. You will also consider the normative implications of these shifts and the redistricting process on representative democracy as a whole.

Weekly Schedule

Week 1: Introductions & Defining Representation

- Wednesday, August 25th
 - o Introductions
 - o Review of Syllabus
- Friday, August 27
 - o ***Concept paper assigned***
 - Gonçalves, Isabel. 2020. "Why Representation Matters: Black, Latinx, and Indigenous Leaders Share Their Thoughts." Salesforce, September 30. https://www.salesforce.com/blog/representation-matters-black-latinx-indigenous/>
 - Ward, Marguerite, and Inyoung Choi. 2020. "All the history-making moments for diversity and representation in the 2020 election." *Business Insider*. November 6. https://www.businessinsider.com/history-making-moments-diversity-representation-2020-election-2020-11>

Week 2: The Concept of Representation

- Monday, August 30
 - O Hoffman, John, and Paul Graham. 2006. *Introduction to Political Concepts*. Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited. Pp. xxiii-xxvii.
- Wednesday, September 1
 - o Mill, John Stuart. 1991. *Considerations on Representative Government*. New York: Prometheus Books. Pp. 64-69, 80.
- Friday, September 3
 - o Writing Workshop: Intro to the Writing Center
 - Dovi, Suzanne. 2018. "Political Representation." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Sections 1 and 2. < https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/political-representation/
 - O Pitkin, Hanna F. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction.

Week 3: Representation at the Founding

- Monday, September 6
 - o Federalist Paper No. 10
 - o Federalist Paper No. 51
- Wednesday, September 8
 - o Writing Workshop: Thesis Design
- Friday, September 10
 - o Constitution of the US (esp. Article I)

o de Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 10 (pp. 370-376, 398-426).

Week 4: Representative Democracy

- Monday, September 13
 - o Plotke, David. 1997. "Representation is Democracy." Constellations 4(1): 19-34.
- Wednesday, September 15
 - O Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 2004. "Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27(3): 335-342.
- Friday, September 17
 - o ***Concept paper due***
 - o Debate: Is representation essential to democracy?

Week 5: (Mal)Apportionment & the Census

- Monday, September 20
 - o ***Analysis paper assigned***
 - o Federalist Paper No. 54
- Wednesday, September 22
 - Crocker, Royce. 2011. "House Apportionment 2010: States Gaining, Losing, and on the Margin." Congressional Research Service. January 13. https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20110113 R41584 750cd7eef2ea834dd4437 a5ccb051d80d339cd41.pdf>
 - Eckman, Sarah J. 2021. "Apportionment and Redistricting Following the 2020 Census." Congressional Research Service. August 13. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN11360>
- Friday, September 24
 - O Debate: how do we fix the Senate?
 - Millhiser, Ian. 2020. "America's anti-democratic Senate, by the numbers." Vox. November 6. < https://www.vox.com/2020/11/6/21550979/senate-malapportionment-20-million-democrats-republicans-supreme-court
 - Orts, Eric W. 2019. "The Path to Give California 12 Senators, and Vermont Just One." The Atlantic. January 2.
 https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/01/heres-how-fix-senate/579172/>

Week 6: Redistricting & Gerrymandering

- Monday, September 27
 - Smith, Michael A. 2021. "A Redistricting Primer." Midwest Political Science Association. July 7. < https://www.mpsanet.org/a-redistricting-primer/>
- Wednesday, September 29
 - Dews, Fred. 2017. "A primer on gerrymandering and political polarization."
 Brookings. July 6. < https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2017/07/06/a-primer-on-gerrymandering-and-political-polarization/>
 - o Lublin, David. 1997. The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 7.
- Friday, October 1
 - O Debate: state legislatures or independent commissions?

o Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (2015) – syllabus only

Week 7: Alternative Systems of Representation

- Monday, October 4
 - o ***Peer Review! Bring a draft of your member analysis to class***
- Wednesday, October 6
 - Editorial Board. 2018. "America Needs a Bigger House." The New York Times.
 November 9.
 - https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/09/opinion/expanded-house-representatives-size.html>
 - Editorial Board. 2018. "A Congress for Every American." The New York Times. November 10.
 - https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/10/opinion/house-representatives-size-multi-member.html>
 - Kambhampaty, Anna Purna. 2019. "New York City Voters Just Adopted Ranked-Choice Voting in Elections. Here's How It Works." *Time*. November 6. https://time.com/5718941/ranked-choice-voting/>
- Friday, October 8
 - o ***Analysis paper due***
 - o Panchal, Krishna. 2020. "How a Parliamentary System Works." The Borgen Project. May 1. < https://borgenproject.org/how-a-parliamentary-system-works/>
 - o Ranking of women in national parliaments: https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=6&year=2021

Week 8: FALL BREAK (Oct. 11-15)

Week 9: Representation and Social Groups

- Monday, October 18
 - o Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-657. Pp. 628-630.
- Wednesday, October 20
 - o Mansbridge, pp. 630-641
- Friday, October 22
 - o Mansbridge, pp. 641-654

Week 10: Class, Money, and Representation

- Monday, October 25
 - O Carnes, Nicholas. 2013. White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1.
- Wednesday, October 27
 - o "Big Sky, Big Money" (PBS Frontline in class)
- Friday, October 29
 - o ***Response paper due***
 - O Debate: the effect of money on representation

Week 11: Race & Representation in Congress

- Monday, November 1

- o Canon, David T. 1999. Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 6.
- Wednesday, November 3
 - Swain, Carol M. 1993. Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.
- Friday, November 5
 - o ***Draft of annotated bibliography due***
 - Wallace, Sophia J. 2014. "Representing Latinos: Examining Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(4): 917-929.

Week 12: ADVISING WEEK (Nov. 8-12)

- No class meetings – meet individually with Dr. Muñoz

Week 13: Representing Women

- Monday, November 15
 - O Swers, Michele L. 2002. The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1.
 - o Wineinger, Catherine. 2021. "Republican women are becoming key party messengers. Here's how it happened." *The Washington Post*. February 15. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/02/15/republican-women-are-becoming-key-party-messengers-heres-how-it-happened/
 - O Wineinger, Catherine. 2021. "House Republicans kept a woman in their third-highest post. What stops GOP women from climbing higher?" The Washington Post. May 20. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/05/20/house-republicans-kept-woman-their-third-highest-post-what-stops-gop-women-climbing-higher/
- Wednesday, November 17
 - Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." American Political Science Review 97(4): 529-550.
 - o Miss Representation documentary (in class)
- Friday, November 19
 - o ***Position paper due***

Week 14: THANKSGIVING BREAK (Nov. 22-26)

Week 15: Representation in the Future

- Monday, November 29
 - Sergent, Jim, et al. 2021. "5 visuals explain the shifting House seats and how the changes could affect the 2022 midterm elections." USA Today. April 26. https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/politics/elections/2021/04/26/census-count-reallocates-7-house-seats-could-affect-2022-midterm/7385392002/
- Wednesday, December 1
 - McCammond, Alexi. 2021. "Black women will be a force to be reckoned with in the 2022 midterm elections." NBC News. May 12. < https://www.nbcnews.com/know-your-value/feature/black-women-will-be-force-be-reckoned-2022-midterm-elections-ncna1267133>
- Friday, December 3
 - o ***Final annotated bibliography due***

- O Debate: how representative is American democracy?
- O Bailey, Jeremy D. 2019. *The Idea of Presidential Representation: An Intellectual and Political History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. Introduction.

Week 16: Presentations

- Monday, December 6
- Wednesday, December 8
- Friday, December 10

Final Exam: Wednesday, December 15, 4pm-6:30pm (final papers due)

Academic Honesty & Code of Academic Integrity

The academic program at the College seeks to promote the intellectual development of each student and the realization of that individual's potential for creative thinking, learning, and understanding. In achieving this, each student must learn to act rigorously, independently, and imaginatively.

The College's understanding and expectations in regard to issues of academic honesty are fully articulated in the Code of Academic Integrity as published in The Scot's Key and form an essential part of the implicit contract between the student and the College. The Code provides framework at Wooster to help students develop and exhibit honesty in their academic work. You are expected to know and abide by these rules.

Dishonesty in any of your academic work is a serious breach of the Code of Academic Integrity and is ground for serious penalties. Such violations include turning in another person's work as your own, copying from any source without proper citation, violating expectations for a group project, submitting an assignment produced for a course to a second course without the authorization of all the instructors, and dishonesty in connection with your academic work. You will be held responsible for your actions. Particular attention should be directed to the appropriate use of materials available online. Whether intentional or not, improper use of materials is a violation of academic honesty. If you are unsure as to what is permissible, please contact your course instructor.

The Academic Resource Center

Academic Support, Disabilities, and English Language Learning Contact: Amber Larson, <u>alarson@wooster.edu</u>, (330)263-2595, <u>ARC Website</u>

The Academic Resource Center, which is in APEX (Gault library) offers a variety of academic support services, programs and 1:1 meetings available to all students. Popular areas of support include time management techniques, class preparation tips and test taking strategies. In addition, the Academic Resource Center coordinates peer-tutoring for several academic departments. Students are encouraged to schedule an appointment.

The Academic Resource Center also coordinates accommodations for students with diagnosed disabilities. At the beginning of the semester, students should contact the Academic Resource Center to make arrangements for securing appropriate accommodations. Although the Academic Resource Center will notify professors of students with documented disabilities and the approved accommodations, students are encouraged to speak with professors during the first week of each semester. If a student does not request accommodations or does not provide documentation to the Academic Resource Center, faculty are under no obligation to provide accommodations.

For more information or to schedule an appointment, please visit the Academic Resource Center's webpage: https://inside.wooster.edu/arc/

The College Libraries & Research Help Desk

Contact: library@wooster.edu, 330-263-2493, https://wooster.edu/library

Your librarian for this course is Zach Sharrow (<u>zsharrow@wooster.edu</u>). You can ask your librarian for help with research in this class and can make an appointment with them using the research consultation form for help with your research and information needs, including finding and using items we have in the Libraries; learning expert tips to refine your search for articles in magazines, journals, and newspapers; making an appointment with a librarian for help on a project; and learning how to evaluate the information you discover.

Inclusive Learning Statement

Your success in this course is important to me. If there are circumstances that may affect your academic performance or impact your learning in particular portions of the class, please let me know as soon as possible. You do not need to share specifics, but together we can develop strategies to meet both your needs and the requirements of the course. I encourage you to visit the Academic Resource Center to determine how you could improve your learning as well. If you need official accommodations, the ARC can work with you to make sure your needs are met. There are also a range of resources on campus, including the Writing Center, Math Center, STEM Success Initiative, and APEX.

It is also important that we all be respectful of everyone's privacy around health concerns, vaccination status, and any accommodations that are necessary in the classroom. It is not appropriate to question why someone requests physical distancing, chooses to wear a mask, or requires any other accommodations. As part of our participation together in this class, we commit to showing respect to each other as individuals, to working together to create a learning environment that fosters a sense of belonging and inclusion to all members, and to understanding that our differences are also strengths. Your suggestions are encouraged and appreciated, and please contact me—via email, office hours, or after class—if you have any concerns or questions.

Names, Pronouns, and Pronunciations

All people have the right to be addressed and referred to as they prefer. I will do my best to address and refer to all students by the names and pronouns that they share in class, regardless of what is listed on the roster, and I support classmates in doing so as well. Please share the name you prefer to be called and pronouns you wish to use in this class with me via classroom introductions or privately.

If you are interested in changing your chosen name and/or including your pronoun(s) in The College of Wooster system, <u>you can find additional information here</u>. What appears in The College of Wooster system is what will display in all platforms across Microsoft Teams. At present, there is no alternative way to change your name or to add pronouns in Teams, but you can add a background that includes these for any video platform (see <u>instructions for Microsoft Teams here</u>).

I encourage everyone in this classroom to create a space of mutual respect and support by also giving each other some grace around pronouns, pronunciation of names, etc., if or when we make

mistakes. This is not at all to absolve anyone of responsibility for using correct pronouns, names, and pronunciations. But I find it useful to acknowledge that even with the best of intentions, sometimes we can all still make mistakes.

Title IX Reporting Policy Regarding Sexual Misconduct, Harassment, Relationship Violence, and Stalking

Contact: Lori Makin-Byrd, lmakin-byrd@wooster.edu, (330) 263-2017, Title IX website

The College of Wooster is committed to fostering a campus community based on respect and nonviolence. To this end, we recognize that all Wooster community members are responsible for ensuring that our community is free from discrimination, gender bias, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. In accordance with Title IX, Wooster is legally obligated to provide supportive options for all reports of sexual harassment and sexual assault that occur on our campus. Faculty who become aware of an incident of sexual violence, including harassment, rape, sexual assault, relationship violence, or stalking, are mandated reporters at the College and are required to notify Wooster's Title IX Coordinator. The purpose of this disclosure is to ensure that students are made aware of their reporting options and resources for support. For more information about your rights and reporting options at Wooster, including confidential and anonymous reporting options, please visit https://inside.wooster.edu/title-ix/

Discriminatory or Bias-Related Harassment Reporting Policy

Contact: Kayla Campbell, kcampbell@wooster.edu; or visit the Bias Reporting website

The College of Wooster is committed to promoting its mission of inclusivity and equity in all aspects of the educational enterprise. This commitment extends to all rights, privileges, programs and activities, including housing, employment, admissions, financial assistance, and educational and athletic programs at the College. The College's Bias Incident Reporting Process is designed to effectively respond to bias concerns raised by faculty, students, staff, alumni and visitors to the College. If you or someone you know are the victims of bias, you can:

- File a report online (where you may choose to identify yourself or not)
- Contact Campus Safety: 2590 (from campus phone) or 330-263-2590
- Call the Anonymous Tip Line: 2337 (from campus phone) or 330-263-2337
- Contact the Dean of Students Office: 2545 (from a campus phone) or 330-263-2545
- Contact the Chief Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Officer representative for students: Kayla Campbell, kcampbell@wooster.edu, 330-263-2607

Well-Being at Wooster

Contact (24/7): (330) 263-2319, or visit the Wellness Center website

The College of Wooster is committed to supporting the wellbeing of our students. During the course of their academic careers, students experience challenges that may interfere with their learning & health (both physical and mental), including but not limited to: strained relationships, adjusting to a new environment, chronic worrying, persistent sadness or loss of interest in enjoyable activities, family conflict, grief and loss, domestic violence, unwanted sexual experiences, difficulty concentrating, drug/alcohol problems, significant changes in eating and sleeping patterns, microaggressions, challenges with organization, procrastination and/or lack of motivation. Counseling Services at the Longbrake Student Wellness Center is a free and confidential resource

providing short-term counseling and connections to community agencies for students needing longer term or specialized resources. You can make an appointment by calling 330.263.2319 between 8:30am-4:30pm during weekdays or by emailing Lori Stine (lstine@wooster.edu). You can also find helpful resources on the Counseling Services website at https://inside.wooster.edu/health/counseling/.

Students also have free access to TimelyCare, a telehealth service providing scheduled medical and counseling appointments as well as 24/7 crisis consultation with licensed professionals. Students use their Wooster email to establish an account at <u>TimelyCare</u>: <u>Telehealth for Scots</u>. TimelyCare also provides students access to nutritionists and health coaches about issues of sleep and exercise, and psychiatry (with a referral from doctor or counselor).

If you or a friend is in crisis, please call Campus Safety at 330-287-3333 or the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline (1-800-273-TALK) or connect with the Crisis Text Line by Texting "4HOPE" to 741-741.

For financial concerns: Dean of Students Office, dos@wooster.edu, (330) 263-2545, DoS website For safety concerns: Campus Safety 330-263-2590 or cow-security@wooster.edu, Campus Safety website. In the care of an emergency, call: 330-287-3333