PS 355 American Presidency and Congress Spring, 2021 T, Th 9:30-10:50am Harbert 328

Professor Clinton Jenkins Harbert 315 Office Hours: Th 3:30-5:30 (online only, email to set up appointment) 205-226-4329 <u>cmjenkin@bsc.edu</u>

### Course Overview and Goals

An examination of the executive and legislative branches, including the relationship between the President and Congress, as well as how both interact with the bureaucracy, the news media, and the public. This course will primarily focus on the legislative branch, Congress. We'll spend about 2/3 of our time thinking about Congress, and the remained of our time thinking about the president or Congress-president relations and what they mean for the policy-making process.

Why so much time on Congress? As our semester begins, a new Congress and president have been sworn in and are beginning to tackle the issues facing the nation. Yet, in recent years Congress has continued to struggle to legislate, with parties polarized, a divided Congress, and often a president of the opposing party. This continued stalemate leaves the public and politicians deeply skeptical about Congress' ability to solve and address problems facing the nation. In addition, Congress is the first branch, the branch with the most power granted to it by the Constitution, and is generally regarded as the most powerful legislature in the world. Congress is complex, with 541 members from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and other US territories. It is governed by a complex set of rules, norms, laws, and Constitutional mandates.

The electoral context sets the stage for our study of Congress – the oldest popularly elected legislature in the world and the most powerful one. We'll begin our focus, after a brief history of the institution, there, with the electoral dynamics of Congress.

This course has four objectives. By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Recall, explain, and write critically about electoral and institutional features of the U.S. Congress and presidency.
- Accurately apply political science concepts and theories to the study of the U.S. Congress and presidency.
- Demonstrate writing appropriate to the field of political science.
- Be a savvy consumer of political news and current events, both in this class and beyond. This will include gaining the ability to interpret basic quantitative or qualitative data to understand and assess political debates, the behavior of political actors, and America's governmental institutions

In addition, this course is designated as a leadership studies course, and as such, has the following objectives as well. By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Examine how community is shaped by multiple contexts
- Assess competing interests in community decision-making
- Analyze a societal problem from multiple angles or methodologies

### COVID-19 and the Nature of the Course - Spring 2021

Those of you who've had me for other upper-level political science courses before know that I prefer to run these courses as seminars in which we read, and then discuss, social science scholarship related to the topics at hand. We will still do some of that, however, because it is difficult to hold discussion every class period while masked and distant, I will also include more lectures in this class than I normally would. While this is not ideal, it will ensure that the basic, core content is covered in a way that everyone can hear and access. Nonetheless, I still expect active engagement, participation, and discussion during class sessions when appropriate.

You are required to properly wear a face covering (covering both nose and mouth) during the entire duration of class. Per college guidance, if you do not have a face covering on, I must ask you to leave class and you will only be able to return once you have one on. Please help remind each other to bring and wear face coverings so that this moves smoothly for everyone.

Similarly, we are all only be permitted in class if we have received a "green" passport via the BSC Health check. The college administration has asked that faculty begin every class by asking you all to display to me your green passports for the day. I will do the same and show you mine. This will help create a community of accountability among everyone to help prevent the spread of COVID-19. If you have no passport for the day, or it is red, you will have to leave class.

This semester is going to be a strange one as we all try to find ways to interact in the classroom without all of the options traditionally available to us. For students, there will be many changes that require getting used to: academically, socially, residentially, and often even in your personal lives. Similarly, for faculty, many of the best practices of teaching, the tools we've become used to using effectively, and the general feel of the classroom will be either unavailable to us or entirely different. Thus, this semester will likely have some "hiccups" along the way.

We will likely try things as a class that don't work. That's fine; we'll regroup and try something else until it feels better. Similarly, some of the best aspects of courses may simply have to go missing during this period – classes that utilized less lecture and more group work, active learning, and all other sorts of activities and elements may have to rely more on lecture, videos, and online work. Although this may not be the ideal situation, ultimately, we'll get through the semester together. What I ask of you is the same you should expect of me: flexibility, an openness to trying new things, and lots of understanding as we feel our way through this semester.

Finally, I reserve the right to fundamentally alter any aspect of the course that is not working and replace it with alternatives that may work better (even if this takes multiple tries). I do promise that this will be a collaborative process, where I seek and consider all of your input.

## **Readings**

Most readings will come from the two texts assigned for the course. Occasionally, I will assign additional readings. These will usually be posted on Moodle at least one week prior to the class you need them for. It is your responsibility to obtain the readings listed for the class period if they are not posted on Moodle.

There are two texts assigned for the class. They are available online and at the bookstore.

Davidson, Oleszek, Lee, and Schickler. 2019. Congress and Its Members, 17th edition, CQ Press.

Mayhew, David. 2004. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

It should not be surprising for a political science course on the Congress and the presidency, that in addition to the assigned readings each week it is expected that you will keep up with the daily news. Reading a newspaper is the best way to do this. If you are not one to read the newspaper there are many other good alternatives online, on the radio, and on television (I, for example, prefer to listen to NPR as my main source of the day's news). The only requirement is that your chosen news source must have frequent coverage of national politics. Our discussions will frequently touch on current events, often as a way to illustrate concepts from lecture or readings. Regularly consuming the news will not only bring course material to life, but it will also make the class more interesting.

## **Evaluation**

Your grade will be determined based on the following (weights in parentheses):

- Quizzes (25%)
- Core Idea Essays (30%)
- Final Exam (20%)
- Scholarship Presentations (10%)
- Attendance and Participation (15%)

Quizzes – The quizzes in this class serve two purposes. First, to reward frequent attendance. Showing up and attempting the quiz will account for 50% of your quiz grade for each class session. That is, if you show up, write your name on the quiz, and proceed to get every question wrong, you will still get a 50% on the quiz. The second purpose of the quiz is to test your reading, comprehension, and understanding of the material. Quizzes will consist of 5 questions, with each question worth 10 points. If you get three questions correct, for example, you will receive an "80" for that quiz. The quizzes will not be particularly difficult, but you will do well only if you keep up with the reading assignments.

There will be 11 quizzes. I will drop your lowest quiz grade before calculating your final grade. Giving you a total of 10 quiz grades from which your final quiz grade will be calculated. Because of this, you may not make up a quiz if you miss class on that day.

*Core Idea Essays* – You will write three essays about an issue relating to one of the "core" ideas affecting Congress or the presidency. There will be four essay opportunities. Everyone will be required to write the first essay, which will be about district drawing. There will then be three more opportunities to write an essay. You are expected to write an essay in response to the prompt for two of those three opportunities. Each essay is worth 10% of your final grade. I will distribute the prompt one week ahead of the due date for each of the four opportunities. Each essay is expected to be between 3 to 5 pages.

*Final Exam* – There will be an in-class final exam during finals period. More information will be made about the exam as we get closer to the final date.

Scholarship Presentations – Once during the semester, each of you will be expected to present one of the academic articles or segments of a monograph that we read for class and then help to guide discussion about the readings, both during class and prior to by submitting discussion questions in advance. Readings with (presentations) after they are listed in the syllabus are eligible to be presented on. Presentations should be around 10 to 15 minutes in length. 1) Your presentation should cover the following items:

- a) The general topic and research question the authors are trying to answer.
- b) How the topic fits into prior work conducted on their research question
- c) The research design the authors use to conduct the research (For example: does it use experimental, observational, or some other methods to answer the question; what are the cases they study, etc.)
- d) The author's main argument or theory
- e) The findings from the authors study (if applicable)
- f) The strengths and weaknesses of their argument, methods, and findings (not all three may be applicable for each reading, but you should discuss as many as are available)
- g) Conclude by discussing how the article relates back to what we've been discussing in class

2) You should also submit at least five discussion questions for the class to discuss about the reading after the presentation

Attendance and Participation – Your attendance and participation grade will be based on my subjective estimate of how frequently you participate actively and respectfully in class discussion and your completion of weekly in-class reflections and small group discussions. Due to social distancing protocols, the traditional way I manage the small group discussions and activities is not feasible. Thus, we'll try a variety of other options and see what works best.

You needn't talk in every class, nor do you need to speak for long. But you should be respectful, engaged, and participate frequently and substantively. I will speak more about how I grade participation during the first day of class.

Woody Allen is attributed as having said 80% of success is showing up. I believe this is true. Part of being a good colleague and college citizen is showing up to do your part. This means showing up to class, listening respectfully to what your fellow students have to share, and offering your own perspectives on the subject matter. We all benefit by having robust discussions surrounding the topics we cover in class. Not only will participating in discussions help reinforce material from class, but it will also help you think about the world in different ways. But, in order to participate you must be there. You are allowed three absences per-semester. **This includes meetings of the class in-person and synchronous meetings online via Microsoft Teams. Missing attendance at either will count as an absence.** Every absence after that will see your final participation and attendance grade reduced by five percentage-points. I do not excuse absences – it is your responsibility to decide when it is appropriate or inappropriate to use one of your "free" absences or to take the grade reduction. If you have a unique situation, such as an extreme illness or other circumstance, that will cause you to miss a large number of classes during the semester come speak with me.

Being subject to quarantine or self-isolation measures due to suspected, diagnosed COVID-19 or novel coronavirus infection, or contact with someone who has been diagnosed with it, will count as a unique situation, for which you will not be penalized. We will work out a plan for how to handle this situation should it arise.

Similarly, if you feel unwell, your absence will be excused. In order to receive an excused absence for feeling unwell all you need to do is send me a screenshot of your red BSC Health check passport (which should be red if you are unwell). I will then mark you as excused for that day, with no further questions asked.

I will not stream the course via Microsoft Teams unless at least one student is quarantined or isolated. Similarly, only those who are under quarantine, isolation, or feeling unwell and receive a red passport should access the Teams stream of the course. You should plan on attending class in person if you are not subject to quarantine, isolation, or feeling sick and received a red passport.

At the end of the semester your final grade will be calculated using your grades on each of the metrics above and their respective weights, and you will receive a letter grade based on the following grading scale:

A (93-100), A- (90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B- (80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C- (70-72), D (60-69), and F (0-59).

Here are some final notes about grading in the class:

- If you have questions about the grade you received on an assignment, please come see me during office hours or send me an e-mail to schedule an appointment to meet in person. I do not discuss grades over e-mail but am more than happy to sit down with you in person and help you understand why you earned the grade you did and help you get the grade you wish next time.
- If you do not believe that the grade you received is not indicative of your work, I will regrade your assignment for you. You must contact me in writing, sending a memo about why you believe you did not deserve the grade that you received. You must contact me within one week of receiving back your work, if you do not you waive the right for me to reconsider your grade for that assignment. Once I receive your

petition in writing I will regrade your work, and the resulting grade, whether higher or lower than your original, will be your final grade for that assignment.

- Late assignments will be penalized by 10-points per business-day that it is late (Monday through Friday).
- The only acceptable excuses for not completing an assignment on time are illness or family emergency. If either circumstance arises, I will give you extra time, but only if you (1) communicate with me before the assignment is due, and (2) provide documentation of the circumstance. After that is completed we will discuss a new due date.
- If you fail to complete an assignment, you will receive a 0 for that assignment.
- There is no extra credit

### Religious Observances

Birmingham-Southern College is committed to the spiritual development of a diverse student body. The College makes every reasonable effort to allow students to observe religious holidays of obligation without academic penalty. Holidays of obligation are those holidays during which the observant person, according to religious practice, cannot work. Within the first 15 days of the term, students should review course syllabi for potential religious conflicts and notify me of potential conflicts. I will then work with you to make arrangements concerning missed work. Should you fail to alert me of this during the first 15 days of the term you forfeit your right to reschedule.

### Scholastic Dishonesty and Academic Integrity

Please don't cheat. Seriously, do not do it. It's not worth it and will be a big headache for both of us. It's really just easier, and far more beneficial, to do the work.

Every BSC student has agreed under the Honor Code, "not to give or receive aid unfairly or dishonestly in any academic work or in any way act dishonestly in any student activity." Academic dishonesty is a violation of the Honor Code and will not be tolerated. If you are unsure as to whether a particular act will violate the Honor Code and be in any way academically dishonest, do not hesitate to ask me for clarification. Should an act of academic dishonesty take place, everyone involved will receive a zero on the assignment. In addition, depending on the severity, the act of academic dishonesty may be taken before the Honors Council and additional sanctions pursued.

## Office of Accessibility/Accommodations

If you have completed the process to receive academic accommodations with the Office of Accessibility, please make an appointment with me as soon as possible to discuss these accommodations. If you have a disability but have not contacted the Office of Accessibility, please contact them as soon as possible at one of the following email addresses: accessibility@bsc.edu. If you prefer to call the office, the number is (205) 226-7909.

## Academic Freedom

Each student is strongly encouraged to participate in class discussions. In any classroom situation that involves discussion and critical thinking, particularly about political ideas, there are bound to be many differing viewpoints. Students may not only disagree with each other at times, but the students and instructor may also find that they have disparate views on

sensitive and volatile topics. It is my hope that these differences will enhance class discussion and create an atmosphere where all of us will be encouraged to think and learn from each other. Therefore, be assured that students' grades will not be affected by any beliefs or ideas expressed in class or in assignments. Rather, we will all respect the views of others when expressed in classroom discussions.

### **BSC Resources for Writers and Readers**

Located in Humanities 102, the Writing Center will offer in-person tutoring Sunday-Thursday 4-8 pm beginning September 6th. The Writing Center's tutors are students from a wide variety of majors on campus and have the range to address student writing needs with discipline specificity. Supervised and assisted by Writing Center directors, our tutors provide one-on-one consultations for any student at any point in the writing process. During these consultations, tutors will not "edit" papers; instead, they will assist students in addressing any potential writing issues, including content development, grammar usage, and citation formatting. Each tutorial is about 30 minutes long, free of charge, and available on a drop-in basis. There is no limit to how many tutorials a student may attend. In light of COVID-19, the Writing Center asks that all students bring digital copies of their assignments and any other relevant materials, such as assignment sheets and rubrics, to their tutorials; we will not be using any hard copies this year. We also ask that all students abide by the BSC guidelines and wear a mask during the entirety of their tutorials in the Writing Center. If you have any additional questions, please contact Laura Tolbert (<u>letolber@bsc.edu</u>) or MK Foster (<u>mkfoster@bsc.edu</u>).

### BSC's Academic Resource Center (ARC)

The Academic Resource Center (ARC), located on the ground floor of the Library, offers tutoring and one-on-one assistance for all BSC students. Tutoring will be available virtually this year. For more information or to make an appointment email arc@bsc.edu or visit the Academic Resource Center web page and submit a form. Reach out to us, we can help!

### Technology

Technology's great. It has made us more efficient as a people and has provided humankind with more ability and power than we've ever had before. But, the fact is that laptops, smart phones, and other electronic devices are a distraction to your classmates and to me. Not only that, but research has shown that we learn more when we take notes by hand:

http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2014/05/to-remember-a-lecture-bettertake-notes-by-hand/361478/

Thus, you may not use electronic devices in class, unless I have asked you to use them for the some aspect of the class. However, should you have a unique reason for needing a laptop to take notes, please contact me and we can make accommodations as necessary.

### Course Schedule and Readings

(Note: This is subject to change at the will of the instructor as the semester progresses)

### Part I: Congress a Historical and Contemporary Perspective

Week 1: Introduction; Congress: The Troubled Institution

Tuesday 2/2:

- Reading
  - $\circ$  No reading. Get a head start on Thursday's (2/2)
- Due
  - Nothing due this week

## Thursday 2/2: Congress: The Trouble Institution

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 1, "The Two Congresses"
- Due
  - o Nothing

### <u>Week 2: Historical Development of Congress; Congressional Districts</u> *Tuesday 2/9: Historical Development of Congress*

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al. Chapter 2, "Evolution of the Modern Congress"
  - o Toobin, "Our Broken Constitution," The New Yorker, Dec. 9, 2013
- Due
  - Nothing due.

## Part II: Members, Elections, Representation, and the Incumbent Advantage

## Thursday 2/11: Congressional Districts and Their Drawing

- Reading
  - Davidson et al., Chapter 3, "Going for It: Recruitment and Candidacy," pgs. 40-57.
- Due
  - o Quiz 1 in class on readings for week 2 (Davidson et al. readings)

## Week 3: Congressional Districts

Tuesday 2/16: Gerrymandering Simulation

- Reading
  - o Roth, "Will the Court Kill Gerrymandering?" NY Review of Books, January 2018
  - Liptak, "<u>Supreme Court Bars Challenges to Partisan Gerrymandering</u>," NYT, June 27, 2019
  - Cohn and Bui, "<u>How the New Math of Gerrymandering Works</u>," NY Times, Oct. 3, 2017
- Due
  - 0 Nothing

Thursday 2/18: Is Redistricting to Blame for Polarization or High Re-election Rates?

- Reading
  - Freidman, John N. and Richard T. Holden. 2009. "The Rising Incumbent Reelection Rate: What's Gerrymandering Got to Do with It?" *Journal of Politics* 71 (April): 593-611.
  - McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2009. "Does Gerrymandering Cause Polarization?" American Journal of Political Science, 53(3): 666-680.
- Due
  - Presentations on Freidman and Holden (2009) and on McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal (2009)
  - o First Core Idea Essay prompt handed out

## Week 4: The Electoral Connection

Tuesday 2/23: Running for Congress: Recruitment, Ambition, and Elections

- Reading:
  - Davidson et al., Chapter 3, "Going for It: Recruitment and Candidacy," pgs. 58-66
  - Davidson et al., Chapter 4, "Making It: The Electoral Game," pgs. 69-85; 99-104
- Due
  - o None

## Thursday 2/25: Representation and the Incumbent Advantage

- Reading:
  - Mayhew, Part I, "The Electoral Incentive," pgs. 1-77 (this seems like many pages, but the pages are small, the print big, and the writing fairly clear).
- Due:
  - Presentation on Mayhew Part I (two people may sign up to work on Mayhew together because it's so long)
  - Quiz 2 Week 4 readings due in class (Davidson et al. only)

#### Week 5: The Electoral Connection; Congressional Committees Tuesday 3/2: TBD – Section Wrap Up

- Reading
  - Start reading Mayhew, Part II, "Policies and Processes" from *Congress: The Electoral Connection* for Thursday since it's long.
- Due
  - Core Idea Essay 1 due by start of class (a little extra time for this one)

# Part III: Congress in Action: Organizing and Legislating

## Thursday 3/4: Theories of Congressional Committees

- Reading
  - Finish Mayhew, Part II, "Policies and Processes," Congress: The Electoral Connection

- Due
  - Presentation on Mayhew Part II (two people may sign up to present Mayhew together due to length)
  - Quiz 3 on Week 5 readings in class (only Mayhew Part II)

# Week 6: Committees in Congress

Tuesday 3/9: Theories of Congressional Committees

- Reading
  - Krehbiel, Keith. 1992. Chapter 3, "Informational Theories of Legislative Organization," *Information and Legislative Organization*.
  - Maltzman, Forrest and Steven S. Smith. 1994. "Principals, Goals, Dimensionality and Congressional Committees," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
- Due
  - Presentations on Krehbiel (1992) and Maltzman and Smith (1994)
  - o Second Core Ideas Essay Prompt handed out

## Thursday 3/11: Structure and Function of Congressional Committees

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 7, "Committees: Workshops of Congress"
- Due
  - Quiz 4 on Week 6 readings in class (Davidson et al. and Krehbiel only)

# Week 7: Parties in Congress

Tuesday 3/16: Parties in Congress

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 6, "Leaders and Parties in Congress"
- Due
  - o Nothing

# Thursday 3/18: Do Parties Matter and How?

- Reading
  - Cox, Gary and Matthew D. McCubbins. 1994. "Bonding, Structure, and the Stability of Political Parties: Party Government in the House," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 19 (May): 215-231.
  - Binder, Sarah A., Eric D. Lawrence, and Forrest Maltzman. 1999.
    "Uncovering the Hidden Effect of Party," *Journal of Politics*, 61 (May): 815-831.
- Due
  - Quiz 5 on Week 7 readings in class (Davidson et al. and Binder et al. only)
  - Presentations on Cox and McCubbins (1994) and Binder et al. (1999)

# Week 8: Conditional Party Government; Legislating

## Tuesday 3/23: Conditional Party Government

- Reading
  - Rohde, David. 2013. "Reflections on the Practice of Theorizing: Conditional Party Government in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Politics* 75(4) 849-

864.

- Aldrich, John H., Brittany N. Perry, and David W. Rohde. 2013. "House Appropriations After the Republican Revolution," Congress & the Presidency, 39 (3): 845-859.
- Due
  - o Presentation on Rohde (2013) and Aldrich et al. (2013)

## Thursday 3/25: Legislating Pt I.

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 8, "Congressional Rules and Procedures"
- Due
  - o Quiz 6 on Week 8 readings in class (Davidson et al. only)

Week 9: Legislating Pt. II; Presidential History and Constitutional Arrangement Tuesday 3/30: Legislating Pt II

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 9, "Decision-Making in Congress"
- Due
  - Third Core Idea Essay Prompt handed out

# Part IV: Presidential Power

Thursday 4/1: Presidential History and Constitutional Arrangement

- Reading
  - Article II of the U.S. Constitution
  - o Morris, Irwin. 2010., Chapter 2, *The American Presidency: An Analytical Approach*.
- Due
  - Quiz 7 on Week 9 reading (only on Davidson et al.)

Week 10: Theories of Presidential Power and the Modern Presidency *Tuesday 4/6: Theories of Presidential Power* 

- Reading
  - o Neustadt, Presidential Power (1960), Chapter 3
  - o Kernell, Going Public (1997), Chapters 1 and 2
- Due
  - o Presentations on Neustadt (1960) and Kernell (1997)

## Thursday 4/8: The Modern and 'Institutional" Presidency

- Reading:
  - o Howell, William. 2003 Power without Persuasion, Chapter 4.
- Due
  - o Presentation on Howell (2003)
  - o Quiz 8 on Week 10 readings in class (all readings this week)

# Part V: Electing a President

### Week 11: Electing a President

Tuesday 4/13: The Formal Process

- Reading
  - Morris, Irwin. 2010., Chapter 5, The American Presidency: An Analytical Approach.
- Due
  - 0 Nothing

### Thursday 4/15: Running for President

- Reading
  - Selections from Vavrek, The Message Matters
- Due
  - o Presentations on Vavrek
  - o Quiz 9 in class on Week 11 readings (all readings this week)

Week 12: Electing a President; Congress, the President, and Policymaking Tuesday 4/20: Reflecting on the 2016 and 2020 Presidential Election

- Reading
  - Selections TBD
- Due
  - o Fourth Core Ideas Essay handed out

## Part VI: Congress, the President, and Public Policy

### Thursday 4/22: The Struggle for Power and Control

- Reading
  - o Davidson et al., Chapter 10, "Congress and the President"
  - Goldgeier and Saunders, "<u>The Unconstrained Presidency</u>," Foreign Affairs, Sept-Oct 2018
- Due
  - o Quiz 10 in class on Week 12 readings (only Davidson et al. reading)

# Week 13: Policymaking and Gridlock; Honors Day

Tuesday 4/27: Policymaking and Gridlock

- Reading
  - Deering, Christopher J. and Forrest Maltzman. 1999. "The Politics of Executive Orders: Legislative Constraints on Presidential Power," *Political Research Quarterly*, 52 (4): 767-783.
  - Binder, Sarah A. 1999 "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock," *The American Political Science Review*, 93 (3): 519-533.
- Due
  - Presentation on Binder and Deering and Maltzman
  - Quiz 11 on Week 13 readings (All readings)

Thursday 4/29: No Class – Honors Day

- Reading
  - o Nothing
- Due
  - o Nothing

Final: The final exam will be offered during the final exam period. We will discuss this more as the final approaches.