# DEPAUW UNIVERSITY POLITICAL SCIENCE

**POLS 315: The Legislative Process** 

Spring 2018
T & TH 12:40 – 2:10 p.m.
"By nature man is a political animal." – Aristotle

Professor: Emmitt Y. Riley III, Ph.D. Office Location: Asbury Hall Office Hours: Wednesdays 1:00 -4:00.

Phone: (765) - 658 – 6353 Class Location: AH 201 Email: <a href="mailto:emmittriley@depauw.edu">emmittriley@depauw.edu</a> Website: <a href="http://www.emmittriley.com">http://www.emmittriley.com</a>

#### **COURSE OVERVIEW:**

The institution of congress is both a lawmaking and a representative body. As such this institution of government plays an important role in American politics. Some scholars have suggested that it is the most important institution of government. Congress serves as a check on both the presidency and the judiciary. Congress has constitutional authority that is shared with other branches of government and it also has powers that are exclusively granted to it as a legislative body. In this course we will study congress as an institution of representative democracy. To that end we will discuss the degree to which congress is a representative body. In order to understand how representative democracy works we must first understand the complex concept of representation. To achieve this aim we will examine the concept of descriptive vs. substantive representation. Specifically, we will ask what does good representation look like? Is a shared attribute such as race, gender, religion, or etc. needed in order to represent the interest of a group or person?

The United States Congress has become an increasingly partisan body over time. An important theme of this course will examine the benefits, costs, limits, and possibilities of party government in Congress. Individual members of congress face tremendous pressure from several different groups. Legislators are pressured by their constituency to vote in the best interest of their home districts. They are also pressured by lobbyists, special interests, and party leadership. What happens when these different interests conflict?

We will also discuss the importance of party leadership in the United States House of Representative by examining if and how individual leaders matter in the overall functioning of the House of Representatives. Specifically, we will ask if strong party organization help or hinder legislative productivity, civility or accountability?

### GENERAL COURSE GOALS/OBJECTIVES:

This course aims to acquaint students with the overall functioning of congress as both a lawmaking and representative body.

- 1. To obtain a general working knowledge of the U.S. Congress, and where possible other legislative bodies;
- 2. To apply the academic literature on Congress to current Congressional politics;
- 3. To stimulate thinking and discussion about the role and effectiveness of Congress in particular and representative democracy in general;
- 4. And to provide you with new perspective that will shape your future attempts to critically evaluate Congress and its members.

#### **COURSE CONTENT:**

The content of this course requires us to think critically about congress, representation, and public policy. We all approach the study of politics from a certain perspective. The perspective used to study in congress in this class takes its roots from the idea that political parties exert an important influence in the legislative behavior of member of congress.

For purposes of studying American politics you will be asked to think critically and scientifically. It is imperative that class discussions remain civil and grounded in academic and empirically sound research. I am not asking you to change your views or adopt my views. I am simply asking that you begin to question many of the assumptions that hide in plain sight that usually go unchallenged. "Unfortunately, similar to the Monday morning (Sunday morning for college football fans) quarterback, politics is a field whereby many citizens have self-proclaimed themselves as experts, depending on which beauty salon/barbershop or bar they frequent. Hence, this course seeks to reduce the number of "doorstep" opinions by teaching students how to systematically search for the truth (i.e., carve away as much residual to get as close to the truth as possible) as it relates to the field of politics. The course will also place strong emphasis on positivist questions, which address "what is?" as opposed to questions based on the normative approach, which address "what ought to be?" (Orey 2006, 236).

# **REQUIRED TEXT (S):**

- Roger H. Davidson, Walter J. Oleszek, and Francis E. Lee. 2012. Congress and Its Members 13<sup>th</sup> Edition. CQ Press. ISB: 978-1608716425
- Barbara Sinclair. 2012. *Unorthodox Lawmaking* 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. CQ Press.
- Katherine Tate. 2003. Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans in Their Representatives in the U.S. Congress. Princeton University Press.
- Richard F. Fenno, Jr. 2003. Home Style: House Members in Their Districts. Longman
- Mayhew, David. 1969. The Electoral Connection.

# Recommended Readings:

- Gary Jacobson. 2009. The Politics of Congressional Elections. Pearson & Longman.
- Steven S. Smith. 2007. Party Influence in Congress. Cambridge University Press.
- Richard F. Fenno, Jr. 1995. Congressmen in Committees. Institute of Governmental Studies Press.
- Sean M. Theriault. 2008. Party Polarization in Congress. Cambridge University Press.
- Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins. Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives. Cambridge University Press.
- Christian R. Rose. 2011. Congress in Black and White: Race and Representation in Washington and at Home. Cambridge University Press.

#### **GRADING DISTRUBTION**

#### **PARTICIPATION:**

- Students may lose points if they are late for class without an excuse. If members of the class do not demonstrate a good faith effort to complete each day's readings, the professor may exercise the option of deducting five points. The professor will randomly call on students to engage in discussions. Please do not take this personally. I will often push you to support your assertions using the Socratic method. I never accept I do not know as an answer. As a general rule be prepared because you just never know when I will call on you. FYI: Participation grades will be recorded in class. This class is very small therefore it is going to be impossible to hide. While I will often direct the conversation I want you to lead the discussion. Participation is imperative.
- **CURRENT EVENTS/NEW REPORTS**: Students will be required to remain abreast of current events and news that is relevant to Congress. Your news and current event reports must come from a reputable source such as <u>The New York Times, The Huffington Post, Washington Post, Politico, The Root, The Hill, USA Today or any other major news contributor. Every Wednesday two students will present 7-10 minutes updates on news related to congress. Students are encouraged to be as creative as possible in presenting the information.</u>

PARTICIPATION / NEWS REPORTS will count for 15% of the grade.

# PAPERS (S): 25% Total Papers 3.

• Paper 1 Short Paper (5 pages)

Representation & Congress: Due no later than February 18 (Post on Moodle). Find the reference book, Politics in America, the latest edition Read the brief district and Member-profile for your hometown representative or any source that hihglights

biographical information. (To find your hometown's member, refer to the state districting map at the beginning of your state's chapter.) What sort of representation do you receive? Apply the terms discussed in class to describe the nature of representation provided by your Member.

- Paper 2 Short Paper (5 pages)
  - Party Leadership: Due no later than March 21 (Post on Moodle)
    Check out the House and Senate websites: www.house.gov and www.senate.gov Click on "Leadership Offices" and "Senate Leadership" respectively. What are the different legislative party organizations and their functions? What are the different policy priorities reflected on the party webpages? Are House/Senate differences in party leadership evident from the on-

line materials? Do you think parties play too much of a role in organizing the contemporary congressional process?

- Paper 3 Major Policy Paper (12-15 pages) Due during Finals Week
  - **Policy Paper**: An important goal of this course is for you develop an appreciation for the policy-making process. Students, you will track the path of a piece of *passed* legislation from the 109<sup>th</sup>, 110<sup>th</sup>, 111<sup>th</sup>, 112<sup>th</sup>, or 113<sup>th</sup> Congress (bills may be from any policy area but you may NOT choose one of the three bills presented in Sinclair's case studies). Throughout your paper you should be focused on addressing how and why the bill followed the path that it did (and perhaps why it didn't go other expected routes) and why it was able to pass. In other words you should be focused on the actors (e.g. sponsors, party and committee leaders, opposition groups, interest groups, the president) and institutions that shaped the legislation. You should of course report all floor votes.
    - o Proposal 1 page (double-spaced 12-point font, 1" margins all around, page numbers on bottom right corner) proposal per team explaining what bill you would like to study and why (ie: what is its significance). No two teams may work on the same bill. Due on Moodle by noon TBA
    - O Draft of Chronology and Sources Outlined draft of the chronology of the bill's passage (bullet points preferred) and a list of at least ten specific sources that you will consult for your paper. Due on Moodle by noon TBA.
    - O Presentation You will give a 10-minute presentation detailing the legislative process by which their bill was passed during the last week of class. You are encouraged to use diagrams and/or power point slides in your presentation. Time speaking should be divided equally among the teammates; you will each receive your own grade. You will be graded on the content and organization of your portion of the presentation as well as your ability to effectively speak to the audience.
    - Final Paper) students will submit their own final policy paper detailing the legislative process that led to the passage of the bill. Beyond the instructions listed above, your papers should begin with a 1-2 page discussion of *why* the bill was proposed (i.e. discuss its policy relevance). Of course you may consult with your partners, but the papers are to be written individually. Papers should be 12-15 pages long (double-spaced 12-point font, 1" margins all around, page numbers on bottom right corner). Final papers are due in my office, Asbury 103, by noon on = TBA

**REQUIREMENTS FOR TYPED DOCUMENTS:** All typed documents must be formatted properly. They should adhere to the standards of the Chicago Style Manuel. If you need help regarding proper citation please see me. The document should include the following: 1 inch margins on all four sides, name, class, date, and title of document and the font size should be 12 points. The line spacing should be doubled spaced.

**QUIZZES:** I reserve the right to administer pop quizzes at my will. During the course of the semester I will administer several quizzes. The quizzes will be summative in that they will provide an assessment of the students understanding of the assigned readings. There are a total of four announced quizzes outlined in the class schedule; however, I reserve the right to administer unannounced quizzes. This will be at my discretion. You should be prepared for quizzes because you will never know when I will administer one. **These quizzes will count as 25 % of the grade.** 

**MIDTERM:** Students will complete a midterm. The exams will be short essays that will be written in class. These are worth 25 % of the grade

• Midterm Exam

**SPECIAL TOPICS:** Student will each do an oral presentation on SPECIAL TOPICS. The oral presentation will be accompanied by a written report. Noted in the course schedule is a list of special topic. You will select a topic and conduct research by consulting academic journals on the topic. You will be required to consult a minimum of 8 academic sources. The written report must contain the following components:

- 1. Introduction of Problem (This section should provide the context out of which the issue at hand is addressing)
- **2.** Review of the Academic Research (This section should be a critical evaluation and review of the sources consulted for the project. What are the major debates in the literature? What do we know? What has the literature failed to address?)
- **3.** Methodology (It can also contain an evaluation of the methods, measurement for variables, hypothesis, an etc.)
- **4.** Findings ((This section should discuss an overview of the data and what it tells us about the topic.)
- **5.** Conclusion (Concluding thoughts, debates and recommendation for future research)

**Oral Presentation:** On the dates noted on the syllabus you will be required to conduct an oral presentation to the class. I am asking that you be creative. You are permitted to use power point presentation, poster presentations, video presentations or etc. You will be graded on both content and creativity. Presentations are limited to 10 minutes. **The presentations are each worth 10% of the grade.** 

**MAKE-UP WORK:** All work must be submitted on time. (unless you have an official excuse) or your will be penalized. You may file you request for makeup work in an email and I will handle it on a case by case basis. ALL LATE ASSIGNMENTS WILL BE PENALIZED 1 LETTER GRADE FOR EACH DAY THAT THE WORK IS LATE.

**ACADEMIC LECTURE/SEMINARS:** Academic seminars are excellent courses for undergraduate students who are interested in attending graduate school. One of the great experiences of the academy is the free exchange of ideas. It is through intellectual exchanges and discourse that we discover, recover, and stimulate the interest in making society a better place for all people to live. As such, it is imperative that each student contribute regularly to the discussion. There is nothing more excruciating than sitting in a seminar and the parties are not prepared for the discussion. You will be expected and required to complete the readings and be prepared to hold meaningful conversations regarding the materials.

# GRADING SCALE 7 POINTS GRADING SCALE

A 100-95, A- 94-90 B+89-87, B 86-83 B- 82-80, C+ 79-77 C 76-73, C- 72-70 D+ 69-67, D 66-63 D- 62-60, F 59-0

#### WHAT GRADES MEAN:

A= Work that goes beyond the requirements of the assignment by adding insight, creativity and/or particularly thoughtful analysis. Demonstrates a comprehensive command of the course material, and exceptional ability to apply concepts to the real world, and a superior ability to organize and express ideas.

B=Work that adequately meets the requirements of the assignment. Demonstrates a solid command of the course material, an ability to apply concepts to the real world with only minor problems, and good organization and expression of ideas.

C= Work that partially meets the requirements of the assignment. Demonstrates acceptable command of the course material, a basic ability to apply concepts to the real world with some gaps and problems, and moderate skill in the organization and expression of ideas.

D=Work that marginally meets the requirements of the assignment. Demonstrates little command of the course material, minimal attempt to apply concepts to real world, and limited ability to organize and express ideas.

F= Work that does not meet the requirements of the assignment. Demonstrates no command of the course material, unable to appropriately or consistently apply concepts to the real world, and insufficiently organizes and expresses ideas. (Taken from Professor Oware's Syllabi 08-17-2015)

**ACADEMIC DISHONESTY:** In an academic community, the worst offense that can be committed is to cheat or plagiarize; neither will be accepted or condoned within this classroom. All material that is submitted must be your work or appropriately cited, if you have questions regarding citation procedure or when documentation is necessary — see me. Academic dishonesty, in any form, will be

taken seriously. Such work will automatically receive a grade of F ("0") and DePauw University's policies will be followed. A second concern in the academic community is the freedom to discover inside and outside the classroom. Because this freedom should be equally available to all, harassment of any kind will not be tolerated.

# Types of Academic Dishonesty

**Cheating.** Using or attempting to use unauthorized materials in any academic exercise or having someone else do work for you. Examples of cheating include looking at another student's paper during a test, bringing an answer sheet to a test, obtaining a copy of a test prior to the test date or submitting homework borrowed from another student.

**Fabrication.** Inventing or falsifying information. Examples of fabrication include inventing data for an experiment you did not do or did not do correctly or making reference to sources you did not use in a research paper.

**Facilitating academic dishonesty.** Helping someone else to commit an act of academic dishonesty. This includes giving someone a paper or homework to copy from or allowing someone to cheat from your test paper.

**Plagiarism.** Using the words or ideas of another writer without attribution, so that they seem as if they are your own. Plagiarism ranges from copying someone else's work word for word, to rewriting someone else's work with only minor word changes (mosaic plagiarism), to summarizing work without acknowledging the source. (See the Writing Center Guide to Avoiding Plagiarism for further information on plagiarism.)

**Deception and misrepresentation.** Lying about or misrepresenting your work, academic records or credentials. Examples of deception and misrepresentation include forging signatures, forging letters of recommendation and falsifying credentials in an application. Of particular concern, given the current popularity of collaborative projects, is taking credit for group work to which you did not contribute significantly or meet your obligations. In a collaborative project, all members of the group are expected to do their share. Group members may work together on each phase of the project or they may divide the tasks--one person might do background research; another might take charge of the lab experiments; another might be responsible for drafting the report. Even in a modular project, however, each member of the group is responsible for being familiar and involved with the entire project. Be sure to get clear instructions on your individual and collective responsibilities from each faculty member for each course.

Students are responsible for knowing the academic integrity policy and may not use ignorance of the policy as an excuse for dishonesty.

**CELL PHONES/LAPTOPS:** <u>Turn off all cell phones!!!</u> If you answer a cell phone in class you will be counted absent that day. Do not sit and send text messages during class. It is extremely rude and it will result in being counted absent. Also please reframe from utilizing laptops in the classroom unless otherwise instructed by the professor.

**MIDTERM AND PROGRESS REPORTS**: Each student will arrange to meet with the professor the week before midterm exams to discuss progress towards successfully completing the course.

STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS: DePauw University is committed to providing equal access to academic programs and university administered activities with reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities, in compliance with the Americans With Disabilities Act and Amendments (ADAAA). If you are a student who believes you may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability or learning challenge you are strongly encouraged to contact Student Disability Services for further information on how to receive accommodations and support. Contact information for Student Disability Services is: 408 S. Locust Street, Suite 200, in The Memorial Student Union Building (765-658-6267)(studentdisabilityservices@depauw.edu). Accommodations cannot be implemented until the faculty member has received the official ADA letter, released by Student Disability Services. It is critical that you schedule a time to discuss the implementation of the accommodations specified in your letter with each faculty member receiving the letter. Accommodations are not retroactive. Students with documented disabilities have the right to choose not to use accommodations, and in exercising that right, they accept the resulting outcomes. This means that faculty are under no obligation to retroactively address any issue arising from students' choices to forgo accommodations.

#### **NOTE TO STUDENTS:**

Please know that my job as a professor is to challenge you academically and intellectually. If you need to meet with me feel free to stop by my office and let's have a chat. I am always open to an intellectual conversation and ways to help you navigate your college experience. If you need help do not hesitate to email, call, or setup an appointment.

Spring 18		
Tentative Class Schedule		
*Subject to revision as exigencies dictate		
January 30	Introduction and Syllabi Review	
	Discussion of Rational Choice Theory, Legislative Actors, and Congressional Overview	
Feb. 1	I. Different Perspectives of Legislative Governance and Representation Is the purpose of a legislature primarily lawmaking or representation? What are the different types of representation? What are the practical motives legislators?  Assigned Readings:	
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee: Chapter 1: The Two Congresses	
	U.S. Constitution Article I Section 8	
	Forgett's Work I will email this out.	
	*Not REQUIRED Hill Styles and Parties: The Delegation Puzzle II by Forgette	

Feb. 6	Assigned Readings:
	Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and Their Representatives in the U.S. Congress: Chapter 1: The Puzzle of Representation)
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 2: The Evolution of the Modern Congress
	Descriptive Representation: Understanding the Impact of Identity on Substantive Representation on Groups by Michele L. Swers and Stella M. Rouse.
	Quiz I
Feb 8	A Constitutional Historical, and Comparative Perspective of Congress: What is the constitutional role of Congress? How do state legislatures differ from Congress? What were its antecedents and how has the institution changed? What are the differing evolutionary and cyclical perspectives of congress change?
	Assigned Readings
	Nelson, Polsby. 1968. The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." American Political Science Review: 144-168.
Feb 13	II. The Legislative Electoral Process: Legislative Recruitment, Campaigns, Electoral Accountability and Members' Responses to Insecurity. Congressional Recruitment and Elections: How do potential candidates decide to run? What implications do modern recruitment practices have? How do voters decide?  Assigned Reading: Davidson, Olesek, and Lee - Chapter 3, Going for It: Recruitment and Candidacy.
	Special Presentations: 1. Congressional Campaigns
Feb 15	Assigned Reading:
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 4, Making the Electoral Connection
	The Electoral Connection by David Mayhew Chapter 1 and 2: The Electoral Incentive
Feb. 20	Electoral Accountability and the Incumbency Advantage: What is the incumbency advantage and what are the sources? How electorally insulated are incumbents?
	Assigned Reading:
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 5, Being There: Hill Styles and Home Styles
	Home Styles Chapter 1- 7
	Keith, Krehbiel and John Wright. 1983. The Incumbency Effect in Congressional Elections: A Test of Two Explanations. <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> : 140-80.

Feb 22	Minorities in the United States Congress I
	Assigned Readings:
	Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and their Representatives in the U.S. Congress
	Chapter 2, Black Members of Congress
	Chapter 3, The Elections of Blacks to Congress
	Minta, Michael and Nadia E. Brown. 2014. Intersecting Interests: Gender, Race, and Congressional Attention to Women's Issues. Du Bois Review.
	Special Topics
	Legislative Redistricting
Feb 27	Minorities in the United States Congress II
	Assigned Readings:
	Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and their Representatives in the U.S. Congress
	Chapter 4, Legislative Styles and Voting Records
	Chapter 5, Symbols and Substance
	Rocca, Michael, Sanchez, Gabriel and Joseph Uscinski. 2008. Personal Attributes and Latino Voting Behavior in Congress. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> .
	Quiz II
March 1	III. Congressional Process: Procedure, Committees, Party Leadership, and Policymaking Processes  The Congressional Process: Days in the Lives of the House and Senate. How are the chambers structured and why does it matter?  Assigned Readings:  Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 8, Congressional Rules and Procedures
March 6	The Committee System: Why does Congress have a committee system, and how do committees work internally?
	Assigned Readings:
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 7 Committees: Workshops of Congress
	Special Presentation
	Party Polarization in Congress
March 8	Midterm

March 13	Assigned Readings:
March 15	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter 6 Leaders and Parties in Congress
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Introduction
March 15	Away at Conference
March 20	Assigned Readings:
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, The Seniority System in Congress
March 22	Assigned Readings:
	Davidson, Olesek, and Lee Chapter Deliberation
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, The Autonomy and Distinctiveness of Committees.
March 24- March 31	Fall Break
April 2	Assigned Readings:
1	Decision Making Chapter 9 Davidson, Oleszek, Lee, and Schickler
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Sub government and the Representativeness
	of Committees
	Special Topics
	Campaign Finance in Congressional Elections
April 5	Assigned Readings:
1	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Part II: A Theory of Organization and A
	Theory of Legislative Parties
	Quiz IV
April 10	Assigned Readings:
1	Congress and the President Davidson, Oleszek, and Schinckler
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Parties as Floor Voting Coalitions
	Special Topics
	Party Leadership
April 12	Assigned Readings:
-	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Parties as Procedural Coalitions: Committee
	Appointments
	Special Topics
	Legislative Productivity and Gridlock
April 17	Assigned Readings:
	Congress and the Courts
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Parties as Procedural Coalition: The
	Scheduling Power
April 19	Assigned Readings:
	Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, Controlling the Legislative Agenda

April 24	Assigned Readings:
	Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives by Cox and
	McCubbins Chapter 2 Procedural Cartel Theory.
April 26	Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress by Barbra Sinclair
-	Chapter 1: Clean Air: An Introduction to How the Legislative Process has Changed
	Chapter 2: Multiple Paths: The Legislative Process in the House of Representatives
	Special Topics
	Congress and the Executive Branch
May 1	Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress by Barbra Sinclair
-	Chapter 3: Routes and Obstacles: The Legislative Process in the Senate
	Chapter 4: Getting One Bill: Reconciling House-Senate Differences
May 3	Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress by Barbra
	Sinclair
	Chapter 5: Omnibus Legislation, the Budget Process, and Summits
	Chapter 6: Why and How the Legislative Process has
May 8	Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress by Barbra Sinclair
	Chapter 7: A Tale of Two Stimuli
	Chapter 8: Making Nonincremental Policy Change through Hyperunorhodox Procedures:
	Health Care Reform in 2009-2010
May 10	Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress by Barbra
	Sinclair
	Chapter 10, The Consequences of Unorthodox Lawmaking
May 14-17	
	Paper Due