

GVPT 473

Fall 2016

E. Uslaner

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Graduate Assistant: Benjamin Greenberg (bmg1992@umd.edu)

MW 10-10:50 a.m.

Chincoteague 4121, x54151

The U.S. Congress

This course will examine politics and policy-making in the U.S. Congress. We shall focus on what motivates members of Congress, how bills become (or don't become) laws, how Congress has changed over the past two decades, the roles of committees, parties, and the President in affecting Congressional decision-making, and elections and representation.

The course requirements include: (1) a midterm examination on covering material through Topic 4 (15 percent of your grade); (2) a 10 page paper in which you analyze the fate of a bill introduced in the 114th Congress (30 percent of your grade, due on December 2 **in class**); (3) a critique of another student's outline (see below, 5 percent of your grade); (4) a take-home final examination due on Tuesday December 20 at 10:00 a.m. in my office (40 percent of your grade); and (5) class participation in lectures and discussion sections (10 percent of your grade). **See the end of the syllabus for the take-home final and the requirements for the paper.** You are also required to turn in a one-page statement of your paper proposal by October 17. This paper will not be graded but if you do not turn it in on time, you will lose one-half a grade on your course paper.

We will also meet in groups to discuss paper outlines on November 30. The purpose of this class is to get feedback on your paper well before you have to turn it in. Students will critique each others' work and offer constructive suggestions for improvement. We will meet in groups of 3-4 students each (with Mr.Greenberg). You will also be required to turn in five copies of a three-page outline of your paper by November 21. On November 30th, we will meet in groups. You will present your paper briefly to the group and one member of the group will write a one-page constructive critique of someone else's paper. Other students are expected to have read the outlines and we shall meet in groups to help each other. The one page critique will be graded and constitutes five percent of your grade in the course.

I encourage you to set up meetings on your paper with either Mr. Greenberg or myself.

All written work must be your own. Copying the work of others, whether that of fellow students or anyone else, constitutes plagiarism. You need not copy a work in its entirety to plagiarize. The university defines plagiarism as using the works of others without attribution. I also include the use of others' words with attribution **if your use of others' words are excessive**. If you have any questions about what constitutes excessive use of other people's words, please ask me. The paper is an exercise in research, not retyping others' words. Should anyone have **any** questions, please feel free to consult me. **All cases of plagiarism will be referred to the University Honors Court.**

I expect you to take care with your writing. An excessive number of spelling and/or grammatical errors will lead to a reduction in your grade on both the paper and essay questions on examinations.

Please also note: the course paper is due *in class* on December 2, 2016 and the take home final is due in my office or Mr. Greenberg's office by 10:00 a.m. on December 20, 2016. The Department of Government and Politics will not accept papers.

IMPORTANT DATES TO REMEMBER:

- * **OCTOBER 17: ONE-PAGE STATEMENT OF YOUR PAPER TOPIC**
- * **NOVEMBER 2 MID-TERM EXAMINATION**
- * **NOVEMBER 21 PAPER OUTLINE FOR GROUP DISCUSSION ON 11/30**
- * **DECEMBER 2: COURSE PAPER DUE (IN CLASS)**
- * **DECEMBER 20: TAKE-HOME FINAL DUE (10:00 A.M. IN MY OFFICE OR MR. Greenberg'S OFFICE).**

All papers and exams must be turned in with hard copies. There are simply too many papers for us to download. And, sorry, we do not discuss grades over e-mail. I am happy to send you the final examination with comments if you give me a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The paper will be graded before the examination is due. **You may send the paper outlines to others in your group by e-mail, but please bring copies for Mr. Greenberg and myself to class in hard copy.**

Do not send us papers or any assignments as e-mail attachments, not even to show that you actually have done the work. All emails with attached assignments will be deleted as if we did not receive them. There are no circumstances under which I will make an exception, so please don't ask

For all written work: Any citation style is fine, but: Any citations to a web page must give the full URL, not just www.nytimes.com (for example). And Wikipedia references are not allowed and will be penalized..

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FROM THE BSOS DEAN'S OFFICE.

These are university policies that you need to know with amendments as noted.:

- The university permits students to present one note per semester for a medical excuse for a regular class session (not classes when assignments are due or tests are given). However, I do not require attendance. However, you can't do well in participation if you do not come to class.
- Any student with a disability should speak to me as soon as possible. I will make every effort to accommodate students who are registered with the Disability Support Service (DSS) Office and who provide me with a University of Maryland DSS Accommodation form. Only written DSS documentation of the accommodation will be considered. This form must be presented to me no later than October 10, 2016. I am not able to accommodate students who are not registered with DSS or who provide me with documentation which has not been reviewed and approved by UM's DSS Office after October 10, 2016.
- The university's policies on illness and religious holidays can be found at: More detail on documenting an illness of a student can be found at <http://www.president.umd.edu/policies/v100g.html>. More detail on excused absences for religious observances and participation in university activities at the request of University authorities can be found below under the "Assessment" heading at this link <http://www.testudo.umd.edu/soc/atedasse.html>.
- On the date for the midterm examination:: "On exam day, students should arrive to class with no more in their hands than UM Student I.D, paper and pen. If students must bring items to class, students must deposit items in a box at the front of the class. Student will receive a zero on the exam if during the exam a student is caught with anything more than a writing implement and paper."
- "Students are expected to treat each other with respect. Disruptive behavior of any kind will not be tolerated. Students who are unable to demonstrate civility with one another, the teaching assistants, or me will be subject to referral to the Office of Student Conduct or to the University Campus Police. You are expected to adhere to the Code of Student Conduct."
- Students may bring their laptops to class to take notes only. If a student is found to be using a lap top for any other reason than taking notes, then, that student will lose the privilege of bringing their computer to class. All technological devices, except a laptop computer are prohibited in this class including MP3 devices, smart phones, phones, calculators, gaming devices, etc. If these devices are seen and/or used during the class, the student will be asked to leave the class immediately. If these devices are seen and/or used during an exam, the exam will be collected from the student and the student will no longer be allowed to continue taking the exam. The exam score will be noted as 0".
- **Very critically, the university policy on missed assignments is:** " For a major

assignment/exam, I will require a Health Center or medical doctor's health excuse. If you do not inform me or if you do not present me with timely documentation, you will receive an F for the assignment/exam/paper. Note: In the case that you are unable to get a written medical excuse, you may ask your provider for a copy of your medical notes for the specific visit(s) in question.

- If you have a medical excuse for a major assignment, you need to contact me **prior to missing the assignment, paper, or examination**. If you have a legitimate excuse, you may take a make-up examination at the first date that your doctor tells me (in writing) that you are able to complete the assignment, but no later than one week after the due date (unless there are extenuating circumstances). If you miss an assignment or an examination without a certified medical excuse, I will deduct a full grade. If the assignment is not made up by the next class (or within two days for the final examination), the grade will automatically turn into an F. **Papers must be handed in by hard copy in class the day the assignment is due. Grade deductions begin at the end of the class when the assignment is due.**

Four books are required for the course. Three are available at the University Book Center and the Maryland Book Exchange. They are:

David R. Mayhew, Congress: The Electoral Connection
L.C. Dodd and B.I. Oppenheimer, eds., Congress Reconsidered, tenth edition
Mann and Ornstein, It's Even Worse Than It Looks

You will also be reading

T.R. Reid, Congressional Odyssey. This is out-of-print and dated, but nothing better has ever been written. A scanned copy will be available on ELMS.

Other assignments are available on ELMS.

The topical outline and reading assignments are as follows:

<u>Week/Date</u>	<u>Topic/Assignments</u>
8/29	
(1)	Introduction
(2)	Policy Formation in Congress
8/31, 9/7	Reid, entire
9/12,	
9/19	
9/5	NO CLASS LABOR DAY
9/14	NO CLASS
(3)	What Motivates Members of Congress?
9/19, 21	Mayhew, entire
9/26, 10/5	Grimmer, "Appropriators, Not Position Takers," <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> , 57 (July 2013): 624-643 on ELMS.. This paper has some very technical parts. Skim them and focus on the findings.
9/28	Conducting research for the course paper Ms. Judy Markowitz, GVPT reference librarian, will discuss resources for the paper. The class will meet in McKeldin 6107.
10/3	NO CLASS ROSH HASHANA
10/12	NO CLASS YOM KIPPUR

10/17 **One-page statement of course paper due**

(4)

10/10, 10/17 How Congress Has Changed: Norms
10/19, 10/24 Dodd and Oppenheimer, chs. 1 (Sinclair), 2 (Dodd/Oppenheimer),
17 (Dodd/Schraufnagel)
Binder, "Elections and Congress's Governing Capacity," available at
<http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/extensions/fall2005/Binder.pdf>
Wolfensberger, "Civility, Society, and Politics: Is There a Problem?"
on ELMS.
Freeman, "Mitch McConnell: The Power of 41 Senators" on ELMS
Murphy, "Is Ted Cruz Really an Awful, Terrible Jerk?" on ELMS
Pearlstein, "The Can-Do Senator in a Can't Do Congress" on ELMS

10/26 Guest lecture, Lawrence Haas, on bipartisanship between President and Congress

10/31 Video, "Out of Order"

11/2 MIDTERM EXAMINATION

11/7 Video: Diane Sawyer (ABC News) interviews with new Tea Party members

11/9 Discussion of interviews with new Tea Party members and "Out of Order" (in discus-
sion sections)

"Tea Party Interviews with Diane Sawyer" (summary of members and their back-
grounds)

Silver, "Freshman Republicans Push House Toward Right,"
www.fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com (July 12, 2011). On ELMS

Wolfensberger. "Does Congress Care About Public Opinion?" on ELMS

(5) Parties and Committees in Congress

11/14,

11/16, 21, Mann and Ornstein, Part I.

28 Dodd and Oppenheimer, chs. 7 (Smith/Gamm), 8 (Aldrich et al.), 9 (Koger), 10
(Volden/Weisman), 11 (Binder/Maltzman), 16 (Cooper), 18 (Dodd/Oppenhei-
mer)

Ono, "Electoral Origins of Partisan Polarization in Congress: Debunking the Myth,"
available at <http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/extensions/fall2005/Ono.pdf>

Poole, "The Decline and Rise of Party Polarization During the Twentieth Century,"
available at <http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/extensions/fall2005/Poole.pdf>

Wehner, “Have Democrats Turned Too Far Left?” at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/27/opinion/have-democrats-pulled-too-far-left.html?ref=opinion&_r=2

Masket, “The Democrats Are the More Cohesive Party.” at <http://www.mischiefsoffaction.com/2015/05/the-democrats-are-more-cohesive-party.html>

Jacobson, “It’s Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections,” Journal of Politics, 77 (2015), on ELMS

Lapinski, Levendusky, Winneg, and Jamieson, “What Do Citizens Want from Their Member of Congress?” Political Research Quarterly, on ELMS

Paper outlines due on November 16

- 11/23 NO CLASS: Thanksgiving
- 11/30 Group Meetings on Paper Outlines (in class)
- (6)** Congressional Elections
- 12/5, 7 Dodd and Oppenheimer, chs. 4 (Erikson/Wright), 5 (Jacobson), 6 (Bernhard/Sulkin)
- 12/2 **Course paper due in class.**

TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAMINATION

Fall 2016

E. Uslaner

This examination is due on in either my office, or Mr. Greenberg's office by 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday, December 20, 2016. We leave at precisely 10:00 a.m.

You have been selected as an advisor to either Jack Wolfman, a veteran Democrat who lost his seat in the Republican landslide of 2010 or to Earl Grey, the Republican who beat him in 2010. Wolfman came back to reclaim his seat in 2012 but Grey took it back in the Republican sweep of 2014. Both Wolfman's victory in 2012 and Grey's comeback in 2014 were narrow contests, with the challenger winning 51 percent in each contest. Now Wolfman is running again in 2016 to attempt to reclaim the seat, believing that a potential Democratic tide could return him to office. Grey, on the other hand, is counting on and narrowly won reelection in 2012. Wolfman is attempting to regain the seat he lost four years ago. You are only to advise one of the candidates, but you clearly need to anticipate how the other candidate will plan his strategy.

Wolfman is running for his seventh term in the 7th Congressional district in the Midwestern state of Transylvania against Grey, who will be seeking his third term.

Wolfman lost in a narrow election in 2010 as the Republicans swept the state. Grey won with 51 percent of the vote in his district. Wolfman was first elected in 2000 when voters in the district reacted strongly backed Vice President Al Gore over George W. Bush. Wolfman's electoral history is as follows:

2000	52.0
2002	58.2
2004	62.0
2006	70.3
2008	66.5
2010	49.0
2012	51.0
2014	49.0

Until 2010, he had been very secure in this district, with an average vote share of 61.8 percent. He has been a consistent liberal, supporting programs for the poor and establishing a strong pro-choice record on abortion. He was one of the leading critics of the war in Iraq and Bush's foreign policy more generally. He had previously served as Majority Leader in the Transylvania General Assembly and he was a strong ally of organized labor. He moved closer to the center following his loss to Grey in 2010. He worked to achieve a bipartisan budget compromise after he was reelected to the House in 2012. Yet he couldn't find a Republican co-sponsor for his "grand compromise,"

that would have reduced the budget substantially but increased taxes for the wealthiest 1 percent. He then argued that “someone has to look out for people who have been hurt by Republican economic policies. I tried compromise. It doesn’t work with these extremists in the Tea Party and the Republican leadership doesn’t have the backbone to stand up to them. If they won’t work with us, we’ll have to stand up for the principles that made our country and party great. We need a President and a Congress that stands up to the rich and powerful.”

Grey ran as a strong Tea Party candidate in 2010 but moved slightly to the center after his defeat in 2012. He campaigned on a platform of “bipartisan reconciliation” and “budget compromises.” He even said that he would consider “small increases in taxes in return for big cuts in the budget.” But he said that he was still a member of the Tea Party Caucus—and would “only compromise if the Democrats would show that they really intend to reduce federal spending. The ideal solution would be for us to have a Republican President and a Republican Congress so that we don’t have to run to Nancy Pelosi to get things done.” Wolfman said, “This just shows that his talk of compromise is just that—talk, talk, talk. His idea of compromise is a deal between the right wing of the Republican party and the far right wing.”

Wolfman has taken strong stands on social policy, supporting gay marriage and abortion rights. When he was in Congress, he was the Chair of the the House Veterans’ Affairs Committee. He now is using that position to argue that the Obama administration has not paid sufficient attention to veterans and cites veterans benefits as a model social program.

In his two terms in the House, Grey opposed the President 90 percent of the time, including on all of the key measures (but this is still less than the mean for House Republicans). Although he was elected with Tea Party support, Grey often felt that it was more important to become a key player in Congress rather than to be a strong ideologue. He worked with Speaker John Boehner to attempt a budget compromise with the Obama administration. Some Tea Party activists have charged Grey with being too willing to support public works programs and to making his own reelection a higher priority than slashing the budget. Grey argued in 2011 “You can’t cut the budget in one year. It’s a process. We’ll get there. No one is more committed to budget discipline than I am. But it is simply unfair to expect to break the entire system so quickly.” But after his reelection in 2014,, he has tried to serve as a broker between the Tea Party members who were willing to shut the government down to protest the President’s executive order on immigration. He has opposed the executive order and took a strong stand against a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. He is also strongly pro-life but said that Republicans should let the states make policy on gay marriage (although he could not attend a gay wedding himself).

The 7th district had been competitive in the 1980s, voting for Reagan in 1980 and 1984, but shifting toward the Democrats beginning in 1988, when Michael Dukakis carried it with 54 percent of the vote. Bill Clinton scored decisive victories in the district, as did Democratic candidates for Governor and Senator. The Republicans briefly won a majority in the state legislature in their nationwide sweep in 1994, but they lost it two years later. So many observers were stunned when the Republicans won large majorities in the state legislature and carried five of the eight House seats, as well as winning both the Govenorship and a U.S. Senate seat.

Democrats came back in 2012 and won control of both houses of the state legislature with 53 percent of the seats in each chamber and took back two House seats. Wolfman ran for his old seat and won it back in a close election. He is anxious to get back into office (and to relocate to Washington from Transylvania). His wife has accepted a position as Executive Director of Emily's List, a political action committee that supports pro-choice Democratic women. So she will be moving to Washington—and Wolfman says, “One way or another I will be joining her in the capital, so it would be great to do so back in my old position.”

Grey is hoping that 2010 and 2014 were not flukes. He is hoping to get reelected and Republicans believe that they have a chance to turn Transylvania into a red state. Grey has established a strong constituency service record with half of his staff based in the district. He also believes that Wolfman's vulnerability is clear from the precipitous drop in his vote share in 2010. Grey argues: “Wolfman is old style politics. He is out of touch with Transylvania. He has voted for every big government program he could find and now he says he is a budget cutter?”

Wolfman has the same hopes about 2016. Early polls indicated a close Presidential race in 2012, but Obama ultimately carried the state with 55 percent of the vote and 57 percent in the 7th district. Democratic Senator Phineas Fogg coasted to his third term with 68 percent of the vote against the Representative from the 6th Congressional District, Molly Hibiscus, another strong Tea Party supporter. In 2014, the national Republican sweep led to losses for the Democrats in the state legislature, but they retained control of both houses. Polls also indicate that Republican Governor Walker Scott has lost much of his popularity, so having a strong Democrat running for Governor might help Wolfman. Polls also show Hillary Clinton as leading the Presidential race in the state and the district by 10-15 percent so Wolfman is hoping to ride in on her coattails.

Wolfman's position on the Veterans Affairs Committee connected him to a powerful voting bloc in the district—one that has not always supported Democrats. He also served on the Budget Committee. Grey serves on the Energy and Commerce Committee—which gives him the opportunity to “get rid of all of those governmental regulations that lead to fewer jobs.” Wolfman tells constituents that he has served on both a power committee that will help the district and on a committee that provides support for “the men and women who have kept America safe.” Speaker Nancy Pelosi has promised Wolfman that he can return to his old committee positions, including service as Ranking Minority member on Veterans' Affairs.

The district is a mixture of urban and suburban neighborhoods, with a per capita income close to the nation's average. The urban areas have substantial black and Hispanic populations. The suburban areas are almost all white, with a small but growing Asian minority. Unemployment in the city of Amityville has been much higher than the nation's average, since the Amityville economy is based strongly on manufacturing. “Where are the jobs?” Grey asks. Wolfman defends the President for saving the automobile industry (the second largest employer in the district) through federal aid and argues that if Grey's economic program (he has endorsed the plan of House Budget Committee Chair and former Vice Presidential nominee Paul Ryan that would drastically cut government spending) were in effect, the local unemployment rate would be double the current level.

Both Grey and Wolfman have had conflicts in their parties. Grey has refused to support

Republican Presidential nominee Donald Trump. He was an early supporter of Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker, but after Walker withdrew from the race, he backed Ohio Governor John Kasich. Grey calls Trump “an embarrassment to the party,” but also states that he could not vote for Hillary Clinton either. “She is far too liberal for the country.” He will cast a write in vote for whoever seems to be the favorite of Republican conservatives. Trump supporters argue that Grey is “an unprincipled career politician who would do anything to save his seat.”

Wolfman was an early supporter of Clinton and drew a primary opponent, a 27 year old community activist, Vickie Debs, who had never run for public office before. Debs drew a third of the vote against “the hand-picked candidate of the Democratic establishment.” Her preferred Presidential candidate, Senator Bernie Sanders, drew 35 percent of the statewide vote against Clinton. She has not endorsed either Wolfman or Clinton. Wolfman is confident that he can win most of her votes, but some local politicians are concerned. Wolfman believes that Clinton will carry the district handily in November, so that will provide him with sufficient support to reclaim his seat.

You can choose to be an advisor to either Wolfman or to Grey. For either choice, you must put aside any partisanship you might have and give him the best advice you can. Again, you can only advise one of the two candidates.

Your chosen candidate would want your advice on the following questions: (1) Should he drift to the center, or should he veer more toward his party’s base? (2) Should he maintain his current committee positions or seek assignment to a different committee? (3) Which issues should he stress and which should he avoid? (4) Should he try to paint his opponent as too ideologically extreme or might this strategy backfire? and (5) How would you design his reelection strategy in 2016?

A strong answer must draw upon both course reading and lectures. *An answer that does not draw heavily upon both reading and lectures can receive a grade no higher than C. To receive a C, your answer must have at least 3 citations from the reading. To receive a grade higher than a C, your answer must have substantially more citations from the reading. The key to getting a good grade is to write a strong essay that relies upon a very wide range of readings; the more citations you have, the better your chances of a good grade are. Three citations does not guarantee a C or any other grade. The quality of your answer is key, but a good answer must rely heavily upon course readings.*

COURSE PAPER REQUIREMENTS

Each student will prepare a paper of approximately 10 pages (typed and double-spaced) about a bill considered in a recent Congress. You must select a bill considered in the 113th Congress (2013), but if you can make a good case for a bill considered in an earlier Congress, that will be acceptable providing you clear it with me or Mr. Greenberg first.

You must hand in a one-page statement of the bill you intend to investigate by October 3. This paper will not be graded, but failure to turn in this short paper will lower your grade on the full paper by one-third of a grade for each day late. The full paper is due **in class** on December 2.

The bill need not have passed. The focus of your paper should be why the bill passed *or did not pass*. You should consider:

- the subject matter of the legislation—is this a bill with a lot of popular support or is it highly controversial? What can you find about public opinion on this bill (or the more general idea behind the legislation)? (If you can't find public attitudes about a specific bill on gun control, for example, what can you find about gun control in general?)
- who was in favor of the bill and who opposed it? What stand, if any, did the President take? What stand, if any, did the majority party leadership take in each House? Were the supporters or opponents “big players” in Congress?
- to which committee(s) was the bill referred? What happened in committee and subcommittee? Were the committee and subcommittee leaders favorable to the bill? What happened at the hearings for the bill? Who testified in favor of the bill and who testified against it? What was the balance of the testimony? Is there any evidence that the hearings made a difference in the outcome of the bill?
- for the House: did the bill make it out of committee and to the floor? If not, why not? Did the bill go to the House Rules Committee? If so, what happened (what type of rule did the bill get) and why? Was there a fight over the rule on the House floor? for the Senate: why was the procedure under which the bill was brought up (explain any unusual procedure).
- what were the coalitions in favor of and opposed to the bill? Can you find evidence of deals made between different factions that might help pass the bill?
- are there clear-cut electoral implications for how members might vote on the bill? Might these implications differ for Republicans and Democrats?
- finally, why do you think that the bill passed or failed? If the bill only passed one house, why did it pass that house?

Good places to begin are the online data bases (through the library) of CQ Weekly, CQ Almanac, and the National Journal Policy Database, as well as Congressional Publications (Proquest), and the web site for the Congress, www.thomas.gov. We will discuss other resources when the Government and Politics librarian, Judy Markowitz, talks to the class on September 28.

A key requirement of the paper is that it follow our class discussion. The paper, like the take-home final, must have references to the lectures and especially to the readings. As with the take-home final, a paper with three or fewer references to the reading cannot receive a grade higher than a C. Three references do not guarantee a C.

YOU MAY USE ANY FORMATTING STYLE YOU WISH—EXCEPT THAT ANY SOURCE YOU CITE MUST BE DETAILED. FOR BOOKS AND ARTICLES, YOU MUST CITE PAGE NUMBERS. FOR ANY MATERIALS ON THE WEB, YOU MUST CITE THE FULL URL, NOT JUST www.nytimes.com, but:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/us/politics/house-gop-again-votes-to-repeal-health-care-law.html>

This requirement overrides any decision to use specific citation styles.