PSCI 3041: The American Congress Fall 2022 · MWF 10:10-11:00 am · CLRE 207

Professor Nancy Billica

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Office Hours: Mon 11:15-1:15 pm; Wed 11:15 am-12:15 pm; Thu 2-4 pm via Zoom; or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides a broad survey of the legislative branch of American government. We will focus on the constitutional and historical context of the modern Congress, including tension between Congress' competing representation and lawmaking functions, as well as evaluation of the contemporary institution. What is working, what is not, and why? Here we will not only ask about the "nuts and bolts" of these processes, but also why the rules are designed as they are and why various members act as they do.

How are laws really made today? How do legislative rules affect policy outcomes? Why is Congress so unpopular today? What legislative reforms would help "fix" Congress? Where does money matter in Congress? The goal of this course is to help us come to a deeper understanding of the complexities of congressional politics beyond the superficial coverage they get in the media and how they apply to modern American politics today.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- gain knowledge of the constitutional powers of Congress, the evolution of those powers over time, and how the power of Congress is shaped by other actors and forces in the political system.
- learn about the dual and competing roles of representation and lawmaking, both in theory and in contemporary practice.
- conduct primary resource research on Congress, including factors affecting representation; individual members and their districts; and the issues and processes of lawmaking.
- practice critical thinking, analytical discussion, and writing skills.

READINGS

The following book is required:

• Roger Davidson *et al.*, *Congress and Its Members* (CQ Press, 18th edition). Henceforth referred to as *CAIM*.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: This text is being made available as a "Day 1 Digital Access" option on Canvas (a collaboration between the CU Book Store and the publisher), found under the Canvas "Course Materials" tab. This is an option for student convenience, offered at the publisher's guaranteed lowest price of \$42.35. If you take no action, a "Day 1 Digital Access" charge will be added to your tuition and fee bill of \$42.35.

While many course readings will come from this text, you do not need to accept this digital offer. However, you will need to **opt out no later than 11:59 pm on Wed, September 7**th (class drop

deadline date) if you do not want to retain access to the digital option on Canvas. After Sept. 7th, you will be charged for the materials.

Other readings and materials listed in the schedule or announced in class will be made available via Canvas or online. Students should also plan to regularly read the news for current developments in Congress, which will be discussed in class on an ongoing basis.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Date Due	Assignments	Grading
See schedule for due dates	Reading-based Quizzes A total of 9 quizzes are scheduled across the semester; complete 7 out of 9, or best 7 scores. Quizzes taken on Canvas, and all due by 11:59 pm on Fridays.	15%
Fri, Sept 16 Fri, Oct 14 Fri, Nov 11	Three Analytical Writing Assignments Analytical writing assignments will involve use of a variety of source materials for examining key questions related to the US Congress. Goals: To guide and motivate individual research and investigation; to stimulate critical thinking and writing; and to spark class discussion and learning from shared findings. Requirements posted to Canvas at least two weeks in advance of due date; be sure to allot plenty of time to complete multiple parts. (20 percent each)	50%
Sun, Dec 11	Final Assignment – a two-part assignment: A. News Log: semester-long project following developments in Congress and requiring ongoing review and analysis. B. Essay Response: specific requirements posted to Canvas at least one week in advance of due date.	25%
	Class participation & attendance	10%

PSCI 3041 FALL 2022 CLASS SCHEDULE & ASSIGNMENTS

*** subject to change ***

Notes on the schedule:

- Assigned readings should be completed before class on Friday of the assigned week. While each class period
 will involve interactive lecture and discussion, Fridays will start with focused discussion.
- Readings listed as "CAIM" refer to the text, *Congress and Its Members* (Davidson, et al).

Week 1 (Aug 22, 24 & 26): Introduction & overview of the contemporary Congress

Readings

- CAIM, Chapter 1
- Casey Burgat, "<u>The House asked members for their ideas to make Congress work better. This is what they suggested</u>," Brookings Institution, September 21, 2018.
- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "Membership of the 117th Congress: A Profile," Updated May 12, 2021; on Canvas. Scan through for interesting facts about the current membership of Congress.
- Brookings Institution, "Vital Statistics on Congress: Data on the U.S. Congress, Updated February 2021," https://www.brookings.edu/multi-chapter-report/vital-statistics-on-congress/. Scan through the data to consider current status and trends in the contemporary Congress.

Recommended

- Check out the news what has been happening in Congress?
- Mark Warren, "Help, We're in a Living Hell and Don't Know How to Get Out," *Esquire*, Oct 15, 2014; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Class opinion poll responses due to Canvas, Fri, Aug 26, 11:59 pm

Week 2 (Aug 29, 31 & Sept 2): Studying Congress, starting with the Constitution. Why Congress? Why this Congress?

Readings

- CAIM, Chapter 2
- Article I, US Constitution Annotated, analysis and interpretation of the US Constitution, Congress. gov, https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/article-1/
- Jeffrey Toobin, "Our Broken Constitution," *The New Yorker*, December 1, 2013; on Canvas

Recommended

- James Madison (1788), "Federalist 48: These Departments Should Not be so Far Separated as to Have No Constitutional Control Over Each Other," explaining the rationale and mechanisms for checks and balances, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed48.asp
- U.S. House of Representatives, homepage with links to: members, leaders, committees, and legislative activity, https://www.house.gov/
- U.S. Senate, homepage with links to: Senators, committees, legislation & records, https://www.senate.gov/
- Congress.gov, a service of the Library of Congress providing the most current information on legislation and public laws and links to members & committees, https://www.congress.gov/

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Reading Quiz #1; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Sept 2, 11:59 pm

Week 3 (Sept 7 & 9): Assessing Congressional powers & current challenges

NOTE: No class on Monday, Sept 5 – Labor Day

Readings

- CAIM, Chapter 13
- Tony Romm & Jeff Stein, "The two-week scramble that saved Democrats' climate agenda," *The Washington Post*, 30 July 2022; on Canvas.
- Thomas Edsall, "We Can't Even Agree on What is Tearing Us Apart," *The New York Times*, 25 May 2022; on Canvas
- Sarah Binder, "4 reasons the GOP wouldn't vote for a Jan. 6 commission," Washington Post (Monkey Cage analysis), May 28, 2021; on Canvas.
- Ari Drennen and Sally Hardin, "Climate Deniers in the 117th Congress," *Center for American Progress*, March 2021; on Canvas.

Recommended

- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "Salaries of Members of Congress: Recent Actions and Historical Tables," Updated January 26, 2021; on Canvas.
- Nelson Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives," American Political Science Review Vol. 62, No. 1 (March 1968), available on Canvas
- Scan the many links on "House History," available by the Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives at http://history.house.gov/Institution/ -- including the "Origins & Development: From the Constitution to the Modern House" link
- Read the U.S. Senate "Origins and Development" essay, from the U.S. Senate Historical Office, available at http://www.senate.gov/history/instdev.htm.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Reading Quiz #2; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Sept 9, 11:59 pm

Week 4 (Sept 12, 14 & 16): Representation in Congress

Readings

- Katherine Schaeffer, Pew Research Center, "The Changing Face of Congress in 7 Charts," March 10, 2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/03/10/the-changing-face-of-congress/
- Kathryn Crespin, "U.S. House districts are colossal. What's the right size?" Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia, November 15, 2017; on Canvas.

Recommended

- Hertel-Fernandez, Mildenberger & Stokes, "Legislative Staff and Representation in Congress,"
 American Political Science Review, Vol. 113 (Feb. 2019); on Canvas.
- Govtrack.us, to identify and track individual members of Congress and their records, https://www.govtrack.us/start
- Center for American Women and Politics, "Women in the U.S. Congress 2021," Rutgers University, https://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-us-congress-2021.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Analytical Writing Assignment #1; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Sept 16, 11:59 pm

Week 5 (Sept 19, 21 & 23): Allocating representation, redistricting & gerrymandering

Readings

- CAIM, Chapter 3
- Michael Li, "The Redistricting Landscape, 2021–22," Brennan Center for Justice, February 11, 2021; on Canvas.

Recommended

- For fun: Chris Kirk, "Can You Solve *Slate's* Gerrymandering Jigsaw Puzzle?" http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/map_of_the_week/2013/08/gerrymandering_jigsaw_puzzle_game_put_the_congressional_districts_back_together.html
- Try out the "Redistricting Game" from the USC Annenberg Center, available at http://www.redistrictinggame.org/index.php

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Reading Quiz #3; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Sept 23, 11:59 pm

Week 6 (Sept 26, 28 & 30): Congressional campaigns & elections

Reading

- CAIM, Chapter 4
- Maggie Koerth, "How Money Affects Elections," FiveThirtyEight, September 10, 2018; on Canvas.
- Gary Jacobson, "It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 77 (July 2015); on Canvas.
- Watch: CQ Roll Call elections analyst Nathan L. Gonzales lays out the Senate midterm map "battleground" (using every war idiom he's got):
 https://www.rollcall.com/2021/07/01/previewing-the-2022-battle-for-the-senate/?utm_source=morningheadlines&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletters&utm_content=07/02/2021

Recommended

- Ballotpedia, providing objective information on American politics at all levels of government, including campaign & election reports, https://ballotpedia.org/Legislative Branch
- Cook Political Report, non-partisan newsletter analyzing US campaigns & elections, http://www.cookpolitical.com
- Opensecrets.org, Center for Responsive Politics, independent research group tracking money in US politics & its effects on elections & public policy, http://www.opensecrets.org/
- Vote Smart, providing unbiased information on candidates and elections, https://votesmart.org/

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Reading Quiz #4; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Sept 30, 11:59 pm

Week 7 (Oct 3, 5 & 7): The role of the representative

Reading

- CAIM, Chap 5
- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "Roles and Duties of a Member of Congress: Brief Overview," November 9, 2012; on Canvas.

Recommended

 Kathy Goldschmidt & Bradley J. Sinkaus, "Job Description for a Member of Congress," Congressional Management Foundation, 2018; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Reading Quiz #5; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Oct 7, 11:59 pm

Week 8 (Oct 10 & 12): Leaders & parties in Congress

NOTE: No class on Friday, Oct 14. Use this time to work on Analytical Writing Assignment #2 Readings

- Sarah Binder, "Why is Manchin such a thorn in the Democratic Party's side?" *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage analysis), June 10, 2021; on Canvas.
- Smith & Gamm, "The Dynamics of Party Government in Congress," Chap 7 in Congress Reconsidered, 12th ed. (2021); on Canvas.

Recommended

• Lee Drutman, "Why The Two-Party System Is Effing Up U.S. Democracy," FiveThirtyEight, June 16 2021; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

Analytical Writing Assignment #2; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Oct 14, 11:59 pm

Week 9 (Oct 17, 19 & 21): Organization of Congress

Reading

• CAIM, Chapter 6

Recommended

 American Political Science Association (APSA), "Report of the Task Force Project on Congressional Reform," Research Partnerships for Critical Issues," October 29, 2019; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Reading Quiz #6; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Oct 21, 11:59 pm

Week 10 (Oct 24, 26 & 28): Committees in Congress

Reading

- CAIM, Chapter 7
- Geoffrey Lorenz, "Prioritized Interests: Diverse Lobbying Coalitions and Congressional Committee Agenda Setting," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol 82 (Jan. 2020); on Canvas.

Recommended

■ E. Scott Adler, "Enhancing Committee Productivity through Consensus Building," Testimony before the Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, U.S. House of Representatives, July 20, 2021; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Reading Quiz #7; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Oct 28, 11:59 pm

Week 11 (Oct 31, Nov 2 & 4): Legislative Rules & Procedures

Reading

- CAIM, Chapter 8
- Congressional Research Service, "Introduction to the Legislative Process in the U.S. Congress,"
 Updated November 24, 2020; on Canvas

Recommended

- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "House Rules Changes Affecting Floor Proceedings in the 117th Congress (2021-2022)," May 13, 2021, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R46790.pdf
- Charles Tiefer, "The obscure, unelected Senate official whose rulings can help or kill a bill's chance to pass," *The Conversation*, 24 May 2021, https://theconversation.com/the-obscure-unelected-senate-official-whose-rulings-can-help-or-kill-a-bills-chance-to-pass-159686.
- Jesse Richman, "The Electoral Costs of Party Agenda Setting: Why the Hastert Rule Leads to Defeat," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 77 (Oct 2015); on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Reading Quiz #8; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Nov 4, 11:59 pm

Week 12 (Nov 7, 9 & 11): Legislating & Changing Rules – and midterm election analysis Reading

- Adam Jentleson, "Introduction: The Little Harm Thesis," and "Conclusion: How to Save the Senate," in *Kill Switch: The Rise of the Modern Senate and the Crippling of American Democracy* (New York: Liveright Publishing/W.W. Norton & Co., 2021); on Canvas
- Sarah Binder, "The Struggle to Legislate in Polarized Times," Chapter 9 in *Congress Reconsidered*, 12th ed, edited by Lawrence Dodd, Bruce Oppenheimer & C. Lawrence Evans (CQ Press, 2021); on Canvas.
- Christopher Hickey & Zachary Wolf, "Why Washington Gets So Little Done: Congress is at the Mercy of one Senate Rule, The Filibuster," CNN, Updated June 2, 2021; on Canvas

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Analytical Writing Assignment #3; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Nov 11, 11:59 pm

Week 13 (Nov 14, 16 & 18): Congressional Decision Making

Reading

- CAIM, Chapter 9
- Craig Volden & Alan E. Wiseman, "Members of Congress are specializing less often. That makes them less effective." *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage analysis), Sept 17, 2021; on Canvas.

Recommended

- Derek Willis & Paul Kane, "How Congress Stopped Working," *ProPublica*, November 5, 2018, available here.
- Philip Wallach & James Wallner, "Congress is Broken. But Don't Blame Polarization," *Real Clear Policy*, June 8, 2018, available here.
- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "Lifting the Earmark Moratorium: Frequently Asked Questions," updated December 3, 2020; on Canvas
- David Wessel, "What is Reconciliation in Congress?" Brookings Institution, February 5, 2021; on Canvas.
- Kosar, et al., "Restoring Congress as the First Branch," R Street Policy Study No. 50, January 2016; on Canvas.

ASSIGNMENT DUE

• Reading Quiz #9; due on Canvas no later than Fri, Nov 18, 11:59 pm

THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week 14 (Nov 28, 30 & Dec 2): Congress & the Executive

Reading

CAIM, Chapters 10 & 11

Recommended

- Molly Reynolds, "Improving congressional capacity to address problems and oversee the executive branch," Brookings Institution, Big Ideas Report, December 4, 2019, on Canvas.
- Congressional Research Service (CRS), "Congress's Authority to Influence and Control Executive Branch Agencies," Updated May 12, 2021, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45442.pdf

Week 15 (Dec 5, 7 & 9): Congress & policymaking – final assessment

No assigned readings

Recommended

 Take a look at the work and issues under consideration by the bipartisan Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, U.S. House of Representatives, https://modernizecongress.house.gov/

<u>FINAL ASSIGNMENT – parts A and B – due to Canvas no later than 11:59 pm on Sunday, December 11th</u> (assignment to be posted to Canvas at least one week in advance of the due date)

CLASS POLICIES & EXPECTATIONS

- Classroom etiquette: Respect. That's the basic rule. The goal is to create a community where all feel free to fully participate in classroom discussion and other course activities. As a class, we are all cled to be open to the ideas and contributions of others and to thereby cultivate better knowledge and understanding. We should expect to disagree with each other on at least some issues of debate, but discussion and disagreement must be expressed in a manner that recognizes the dignity of all and is open to learning from other perspectives. Disrespectful language and/or behavior will not be tolerated.
- Class communications: Good communications are fundamental. Your professor will strive for clear and timely communications on the class schedule, materials, and assignments, and any changes to these as we proceed. This also means that students should feel free to ask questions and offer up comments on an ongoing basis. We should all plan to maintain clear and timely communications on changes in status due to illness or other issues. Specifically, plan to email as soon as possible to alert your professor about class absence or the need for assignment extensions or accommodations.
- Contacting the professor: Please feel free to contact me with questions about the course or anything else. The best ways to reach me are to come by office hours, or to email. I strive for quick response to email. If you do not receive a reply within 48 hours it means I did not get your email and you should try to contact me again. Please address me in person or in email as Nancy, Dr. Billica or Professor Billica.
- <u>Canvas</u>: Plan to regularly check our class Canvas page for updated information, including announcements, schedule reminders and adjustments, assignment links, readings, and other supplemental materials.

Grades:

What grades are not: They are not a reward or punishment; they are not a measure of effort; they do not represent the essence of who a student is as a person; they do not define what a student can or cannot achieve.

What grades are: They are a tool that is generally used for two <u>interrelated</u> purposes:

- (1) To assess academic performance during the study of a particular subject or skill. During this course, students have the responsibility for learning the subject or skill and for demonstrating that they have achieved that learning.
- (2) To provide information for students so they can make decisions about changes they may need to make in order to demonstrate they have achieved that learning. Learning the subject is what matters, and grades are used to show to what degree students have shown that they have learned the subject.
- Class attendance & participation: You should expect to gain much of your course knowledge and skills through class learning activities. The assigned readings and posted slides will not cover everything. Students may miss up to four classes without penalty. All absences are treated the same regardless of circumstance. No note or explanation is needed for missed class. For unusual circumstances resulting in more than four absences (for hospitalization, quarantine, bereavement, etc.), please discuss with the instructor.

Assignment submissions and due dates:

- O Students are responsible for ensuring that assignments are successfully submitted to Canvas on time and in accessible format (.doc, .docx or .pdf). Be sure to check your document after submission to see that it is readable and that the correct document was uploaded. Back-up copies of assignments may be submitted via email if you're not sure Canvas is working.
- o Assignments are due on the due dates. Students with legitimate, documented reasons for missing an exam or assignment deadline should consult with the professor *prior to* the due date for alternative arrangements and exemption from late penalties.

- o In the absence of a pre-approved exception or documented emergency, **late penalties** apply, with deductions, as follows:
 - O Submitted within 24 hours of the due date: -5%
 - o For each additional day late: add an additional -5%
 - o Late assignments accepted through the end of the semester

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

- Classroom Behavior: Both students and faculty are responsible for maintaining an appropriate learning environment in all instructional settings, whether in person, remote or online. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. For more information, see the policies on classroom behavior and the Student Conduct & Conflict Resolution policies.
- Requirements for COVID-19: As a matter of public health and safety, all members of the CU Boulder community and all visitors to campus must follow university, department and building requirements and all public health orders in place to reduce the risk of spreading infectious disease. CU Boulder currently requires COVID-19 vaccination and boosters for all faculty, staff and students. Students, faculty and staff must upload proof of vaccination and boosters or file for an exemption based on medical, ethical or moral grounds through the MyCUHealth portal.

The CU Boulder campus is currently mask-optional. However, if public health conditions change and masks are again required in classrooms, students who fail to adhere to masking requirements will be asked to leave class, and students who do not leave class when asked or who refuse to comply with these requirements will be referred to Student Conduct and Conflict Resolution. For more information, see the policy on classroom behavior and the Student Code of Conduct. If you require accommodation because a disability prevents you from fulfilling these safety measures, please follow the steps in the "Accommodation for Disabilities" statement on this syllabus.

If you feel ill and think you might have COVID-19, if you have tested positive for COVID-19, or if you are unvaccinated or partially vaccinated and have been in close contact with someone who has COVID-19, you should stay home and follow the further guidance of the Public Health Office (contacttracing@colorado.edu). If you are fully vaccinated and have been in close contact with someone who has COVID-19, you do not need to stay home; rather, you should self-monitor for symptoms and follow the further guidance of the Public Health Office (contacttracing@colorado.edu). You do not need to state the nature of any illness being experienced, and no "doctor's note" is needed for missed classes. As noted above, in this class students may miss up to four classes without penalty. If you need to miss more than that, please do be in touch with the instructor.

• Accommodation for Disabilities: If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the <u>Disability Services</u> website. Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or <u>dsinfo@colorado.edu</u> for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition, see <u>Temporary Medical Conditions</u> on the Disability Services website.

- Student Names and Pronouns: CU Boulder recognizes that students' legal information doesn't always align with how they identify. Students may update their names and pronouns via the student portal; those names and pronouns are listed on instructors' class rosters. In the absence of such updates, the name that appears on the class roster is the student's legal name.
- Honor Code: All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the Honor Code academic integrity policy. Violations of the Honor Code may include, but are not limited to: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission from all course instructors involved, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code (honor@colorado.edu); 303-492-5550). Students found responsible for violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the Honor Code academic integrity policy can be found on the Honor Code website.
- Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation: CU Boulder is committed to fostering an inclusive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. The university will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct (harassment, exploitation, and assault), intimate partner violence (dating or domestic violence), stalking, or protected-class discrimination or harassment by or against members of our community. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct or retaliatory actions for reporting a concern should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127 or email cureport@colorado.edu. Information about university policies, reporting options, and the support resources can be found on the OIEC website.

Please know that faculty and graduate instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when they are made aware of incidents of sexual misconduct, dating and domestic violence, stalking, discrimination, harassment and/or related retaliation, to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about their rights, support resources, and reporting options. To learn more about reporting and support options for various concerns, visit Don't Ignore It.

Religious Holidays: Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance.
See the campus policy regarding religious observances for full details.