

# **POL 105: The Legislative Process**

## **University of California, Davis**

Summer Session 2, 2020

Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays

2:10-3:50pm (live online via Zoom)

Live lecture URL: <https://ucdavis.zoom.us/j/96206916923>

Class YouTube URL: <https://tinyurl.com/y6chqdu8>

**Instructor:** Isaac Hale  
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**Office Hours:** Tuesdays & Wednesdays, 4-5 PM (or by appointment)  
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**Teaching Assistant:** Jack Rametta  
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**Office Hours:** Mondays, 10:30-noon (or by appointment)  
**Office Hours Zoom Link:** <https://ucdavis.zoom.us/j/93187560253>

## **Course Description**

This course is about the U.S. Congress, arguably the world's most powerful legislative body and the engine of the American political system. We will cover topics including elections, legislative procedure, the committee system, the role of parties, and the health of our political system. By the end of this course, you should have a deeper understanding of each of these concepts and be able to apply them to current congressional politics.

Since this is an upper division course, it is my expectation that you have a baseline knowledge of the structure of American government. As such, we will not be devoting much time in class to basic civics (e.g. checks and balances, the three branches of government, etc.). If you do not feel comfortable with these subjects, I highly encourage you to brush up at the beginning of the quarter and come to my, Jack, or J.D.'s office hours if you have questions.

The ongoing COVID-19 crisis will make this a challenging session for all of us. This class will be my first priority, but I do not expect it to be yours. If you or your family are sick or struggling, let me know – I can help make sure you succeed in this class anyways. There is also no shame in taking this class pass/fail: do not hesitate to let me know if this would be your preference.

I also know that the transition to online courses means that the course structures you are probably used to at UC Davis are not appropriate this session. As such, I have taken several steps to make this course as engaging and accessible as possible. There will be no midterm or final exam for this

course. Instead, the course will have brief response papers and a short final paper. This will help ensure that students face less pressure and that each graded assignment is worth less of the total grade.

The class will feature both live lectures on Zoom (at the regularly scheduled class time) and lecture recordings will be uploaded to YouTube. I encourage you to attend live lecture – there will be opportunities for Q&A and engagement every class. If you cannot attend some classes, you can watch the lecture recording at a time that works for you. Regardless, you are expected to keep up with the class material and attend class when possible. The links for both the live lecture and the YouTube channel are posted at the top of the syllabus.

One final note – this course is meant to be fun! While the material in this class will often get into the weeds of the legislative process, I will endeavor to make sure our discussions are relevant to current political events. If there is something happening in the news that is relevant to our class, I will be sure to allocate time to discuss it. I encourage you to apply current events to course material in class discussion as well. Major legislation, elections, scandals, news stories, and policy debates are all fair game!

## **Class Expectations**

### ***Live Lecture***

Because of the COVID-19 suspension of in-person classes, all lectures will be given digitally on Zoom. These lectures will be given live on Zoom during the normal class time. There will be opportunities for students participating live to ask questions during lecture. To join lectures throughout the session, use the following link: <https://ucdavis.zoom.us/j/96206916923>

### ***Lecture Recordings***

Lectures will be recorded and posted to YouTube for students who are not able to attend lecture at the regular time. The YouTube link for class lectures is <https://tinyurl.com/y6chqdu8>. You are responsible for keeping up with lecture and should take care not to fall behind.

### ***Office Hours***

The office hours for the instructor and TAs are listed at the top of this syllabus. You can join our Zoom office hours using the links provided at the beginning of the syllabus.

In addition, we are happy to set up additional office hours at a time more convenient for you. Send us an email if you wish to do so. Once you have scheduled additional office hours you may use that same link to meet with us.

### ***Online Access***

All readings and documents for this course (except the textbook) can be accessed through the Canvas website or via hyperlinks in the syllabus schedule. Messages will be sent by me via Canvas, so make sure you have email notifications for Canvas messages activated.

### ***Participation***

Because this class is fully online, “participation” will not be a part of your grade. However, I still encourage you to ask questions, participate in the class chat, and share your opinions. There will be opportunities to do so during the virtual lecture.

### ***Email***

I welcome questions and comments, either by email or by Canvas message. When you email me, you should compose your email as you would any piece of professional correspondence. I will respond to your emails as quickly as possible, but please do not expect a quick response to email sent on weekends or after 5pm on any day.

### ***Lecture Slides***

Slides will be used in class on most days. Slides will be posted to Canvas before class.

## **Required Texts**

There is a required textbook and a required reader for this course.

- Textbook: Steven Smith, Jason Roberts, and Ryan Vander Wielen, *The American Congress* (The 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> editions of this textbook are suitable for this class)
- Reader: Steven Smith, Jason Roberts, and Ryan Vander Wielen, *The American Congress Reader*

You may access all other readings through the Canvas portal for this class or via hyperlinks in the syllabus.

## **Grading**

Grading for this course will be calculated as follows:

Response Papers (x8)	70%
<u>Analytic Essay</u>	<u>30%</u>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>100%</b>

All grading items listed above are detailed in the sections that follow.

### **Analytic Essay**

In lieu of a final exam, you are required to submit an analytic essay for this class. Make sure to use 12-point font, one-inch margins, double-spacing, and proper citation format (see section below).

Additionally, please number each page. The essay should be roughly four pages long (not including the bibliography). Essay prompts and grading guidelines are posted to Canvas.

## Response Papers

There are no exams in this class. However, 70% of your grade will be determined by **eight (8)** short response papers. The response papers are a means for you to engage on a deeper level with the (often complex!) articles and chapters we are reading for class.

Each response paper will be short (generally less than a page), though the exact length will vary from paper to paper. Each one should take you no more than an hour to complete.

**Your lowest scoring response paper will be dropped from your final grade.**

**Make sure to check the response paper schedule in the next section.**

**Prompts will be posted to Canvas 72 hours before each paper is due.**

Make sure to use 12-point font, one-inch margins, and double-spacing. You do not need a bibliography in your response papers unless you are referencing material outside the class.

## Response Paper schedule

There will be eight (8) response papers assigned in this session. Your lowest-scoring paper will be dropped from your final grade. They are due at midnight on the following dates:

<b>Paper</b>	<b>Due Date</b>
Response Paper 1	Saturday, August 8 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 2	Wednesday, August 12 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 3	Saturday, August 15 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 4	Wednesday, August 19 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 5	Saturday, August 22 <sup>nd</sup>
Response Paper 6	Wednesday, August 26 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 7	Saturday, August 29 <sup>th</sup>
Response Paper 8	Wednesday, September 2 <sup>nd</sup>

## **Late Submissions**

Do not wait until the night before it is due to begin to work on an assignment. Life is complicated and full of unexpected surprises. Plan for uncertainty by managing your time efficiently. Even if your work is not complete because something unexpected interfered, submit what you have accomplished prior to the emergency. After-the-fact extensions will be granted only under extreme circumstances, and at my sole discretion.

If you know in advance that you will miss an assignment deadline, you may submit a partially completed assignment early — and then appeal for an extension.

Response papers submitted late will have 10% deducted from their final score for every day they are late. This penalty begins immediately following the day and time the assignment is due and will not be prorated. Late analytic essays will not be accepted after the end of the summer session.

## **Grade Appeals**

If you are not satisfied with the grade you receive on an assignment or exam, please take the following steps:

- 1) Review any comments/feedback I have provided.
- 2) If you still have questions, come to my office hours or contact me by email.
- 3) If you still believe the grade you received is in error, submit a one-paragraph written request for a regrade by email. If the request is approved, your work will receive a completely new evaluation by me. Your score may increase, decrease, or stay the same.

## **Disabilities**

UC Davis encourages qualified students with disabilities to participate in its programs and activities and is committed to the policy that all people shall have equal access to programs, facilities, and admissions without regard to personal characteristics not related to ability, performance, or qualifications as determined by University policy or by state or federal authorities. I am strongly committed to the same policy. If you feel you may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability, you should contact the Student Disability Center at (530) 752-3184 as soon as possible to identify and document your specific needs. Additionally, it is your responsibility to contact me privately immediately at the beginning of the session (i.e., within the first week) so we can discuss how to accommodate your needs. Do not wait until just before an assignment deadline or an exam to inform me of a learning disability.

## **Academic Dishonesty**

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless otherwise specified by me. Any reference materials used to prepare an assignment must be cited. The following document contains specific guidelines for avoiding plagiarism: <http://sja.ucdavis.edu/files/plagiarism.pdf>. In general, you must cite the person at the end of the sentence in which you use another person's idea. When you use a specific phrase, you must put that phrase in quotation marks and cite the original author at the end of the sentence in which you use the phrase. If you wish to submit a piece of writing that you have used in another class, you must receive my permission before doing so.

## Weekly Readings and Topics

The list below indicates reading assignments, class topics, and paper due dates. All journal articles and other readings (excluding the required textbook and reader) will be available on Canvas or linked below. You should do each day's readings before that day's class. I will generally keep us on schedule but note that discussions may bleed over from one class to the next.

Date	Topics	Readings & Assignments Due
Week 1		
Mon, Aug 3	Course Introduction & Logistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Syllabus</li> <li>• Textbook, Chapter 1: The American Congress: Modern Trends</li> </ul>
Tues, Aug 4	Congress & the Constitution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Textbook, Chapter 2: Representation &amp; Lawmaking in Congress: The Constitutional and Historical Context</li> <li>• Reader, Chapter 4: The U.S. Constitution, Article I (pp. 31-35)</li> <li>• Reader, Chapter 5: Madison, James. 1787. "Federalist 10." (pp. 43-47)</li> </ul>
Wed, Aug 5	The Electoral Connection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Textbook, Chapter 4: Members, Goals, Resources, and Strategies</li> <li>• Reader, Chapter 10: "Congress: The Electoral Connection" (by Mayhew)</li> </ul>
Thurs, Aug 6	Congressional Districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reader, Chapter 8: "Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution." (by Cox and Katz)</li> <li>• Liptak, Adam. 2013. "Smaller States Find Outsize Clout Growing in Senate." <i>The New York Times</i>. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/03/11/us/politics/democracy-tested.html">http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/03/11/us/politics/democracy-tested.html</a></li> <li>• Podcast: <i>Politics in Question</i>. Episode: "What is a gerrymander?" <a href="http://www.politicsinquestion.com/episodes/pq1wj52wjv5r0yx65o5y4uabs6oud5">www.politicsinquestion.com/episodes/pq1wj52wjv5r0yx65o5y4uabs6oud5</a></li> </ul>

Week 2		
Mon, Aug 10	Congressional Elections I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 3: Congressional Elections and Policy Alignments</li> <li>Vavreck, Lynn &amp; Christopher Warshaw. "How Local Covid Deaths Are Affecting Vote Choice." July 28, 2020. <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/28/upshot/polling-trump-virus-election.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/28/upshot/polling-trump-virus-election.html</a> (also on Canvas if paywalled)</li> </ul> <p><b>Optional:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reader, Chapter 9: "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections" (by Gary Jacobson)</li> </ul>
Tues, Aug 11	Congressional Elections II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reader, Chapter 12: "Risk Bearing and Progressive Ambition" (by David Rohde)</li> </ul>
Wed, Aug 12	Representation I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Canvas: Canes-Wrone, B. (2013). "From Mass Preferences to Policy." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>, 18(1).</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 6: "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration" (by Richard Fenno)</li> </ul>
Thurs, Aug 13	Representation II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Canvas: Gilens, Martin &amp; Benjamin Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 12(3): 564-581.</li> <li>Canvas: selection from Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. "The Scope &amp; Bias of the Pressure System" In <i>The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America</i>. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart &amp; Winston.</li> </ul>
Week 3		
Mon, Aug 17	The US Congress in Comparative Perspective  <i>Guest Lecturer: JD Mussell</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Canvas: selection from Taylor, Steven L., Matthew S. Shugart, Arend Lijphart, and Bernard Grofman. 2014. Selection from: <i>A Different Democracy</i>.</li> </ul>
Tues, Aug 18	Legislative Procedure I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 7: The Rules of the Legislative Game</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 20: "Sample of a Special Rule"</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 21: "Sample of a Unanimous Consent Agreement"</li> </ul>

Wed, Aug 19	Legislative Procedure II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 8: The Floor and Voting</li> <li>Podcast: <i>Politics in Question</i>. Episode: “Filibuster or Filibusted?” <a href="https://www.politicsinquestion.com/episodes/filibuster">https://www.politicsinquestion.com/episodes/filibuster</a></li> </ul>
Thurs, Aug 20	Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 6: The Standing Committees</li> </ul>
<b>Week 4</b>		
Mon, Aug 24	Parties I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 5: Parties and Leaders</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 15: “Setting the Agenda” (by Cox &amp; McCubbins)</li> </ul> <p><b>Optional:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reader, Chapter 16: “Party Influence in Congress” (by Steven Smith)</li> </ul>
Tues, Aug 25	Parties II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Canvas: Hetherington, M. J. (2009). Review article: Putting polarization in perspective. <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>, 39(2), 413–448.</li> <li>Malone, Clare. “The Republican Choice.” June 24, 2020. <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-republican-choice/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-republican-choice/</a></li> </ul>
Wed, Aug 26	The Budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 12: Congress and Budget Politics</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 38: “Appropriation in the Republican Era” (by Evans)</li> </ul>
Thurs, Aug 27	Congress and the Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 10: Congress and the Courts</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 34: “Senate Voting on Supreme Court Nominees” (by Cameron, Cover, &amp; Segal)</li> </ul>
<b>Week 5</b>		
Mon, Aug 31	The President & Congress I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Textbook, Chapter 9: Congress and the President</li> <li>Reader, Chapter 32: “The Politics of Shared Power: Congress &amp; the Executive” (by Fisher)</li> </ul>

Tues, Sep 1	The President & Congress II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canvas: Binder, Sarah. (2015). “The Dysfunctional Congress.” <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>, 18(1), 85–101.</li> <li>• Canvas: Rohde, David W. &amp; Meredith Barthelmy. 2009. “The President and Congressional Parties in an Era of Polarization.” In <i>The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency</i>.</li> </ul>
Wed, Sep 2	The Pivotal Politics Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canvas: Stone, Walter. (forthcoming). “The Pivotal Politics Model.”</li> </ul> <p><b>Optional:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reader, Chapter 27: “Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking” (by Keith Kriehbel)</li> </ul>
Thurs, Sep 3	Polarization & the Congressional Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canvas: Santucci, Jack. (2020). “Did the party system change from 2012–2016?” <i>Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties</i>, 0(0), 1–11.</li> <li>• Ponnuru, Ramesh. “How Democrats became the party of the upper middle class.” May 26, 2020. <a href="https://tinyurl.com/y5ccfdw">https://tinyurl.com/y5ccfdw</a></li> </ul>
<b>Week 6</b>		
Mon, Sep 7	<b>NO CLASS – Labor Day</b>	
Tues, Sep 8	Is Congress Broken?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canvas: Fishkin, Joseph and Pozen, David E. 2018. “Asymmetric Constitutional Hardball.” <i>Columbia Law Review</i>, Vol. 118, pp. 915-82, 2018.</li> <li>• Taylor, Steven. “There Is Something Fundamentally Wrong with Congress.” December 17, 2011. <a href="https://tinyurl.com/y3kzrdal">https://tinyurl.com/y3kzrdal</a></li> </ul>
Wed, Sep 9	Reforming Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “America Needs a Bigger House.” <i>The New York Times</i>. November 9, 2018. <a href="https://tinyurl.com/yblbqhod">https://tinyurl.com/yblbqhod</a> (also on Canvas if paywalled)</li> <li>• Taylor, Steven. “Reforms: the Possible, the Improbable, and the Unpossible.” August 16, 2020. <a href="https://tinyurl.com/yvsp3ayc">https://tinyurl.com/yvsp3ayc</a></li> </ul> <p><b>Optional, but recommended:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mussel, JD. “Congress in Comparative Perspective, pt. 2.” <a href="https://youtu.be/UXPFgKq06b0">https://youtu.be/UXPFgKq06b0</a></li> </ul>
Thurs, Sep 10	<b>NO CLASS – Analytic Essay due at midnight</b>	