

Political Science 105 and History 168

Fall 2015

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 10:25-11:15

Recitations on Thursdays and Fridays

Introduction to American Politics

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Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:00-3:00, and Thursday mornings, 10:00-11:00

Recitation leaders: David Gelman and Doug Johnson, both in Harkness Hall 316

When did some states turn blue—and others red—in presidential elections? What are the origins of the modern Congress, including the filibuster-prone Senate and a House run by its majority party? Why did politicians begin to campaign for the presidency, rather than waiting on their front porches for voters to appear? How did voting rights—and other rights of citizenship—change over time? Drawing broadly on historical as well as contemporary evidence, this course will introduce students to the foundations of American government. We will examine political institutions as well as the linkages that connect institutions, political leaders, and ordinary citizens. This course is designed for first-year students considering a major, minor, or cluster in Political Science or History, but it is also appropriate for sophomores, juniors, and seniors who want a basic foundation in American political history and government.

All books are available for purchase in the university bookstore. They are also on two-hour reserve at the circulation desk of Rush Rhees Library. (You might also consider online sources, including www.abebooks.com, for book purchases.) The required books are these—

Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith, eds., *Principles and Practice of American Politics*, Sixth Edition (Los Angeles: Sage and CQ Press, 2016). **Be sure to get this edition—i.e., the sixth edition.**

Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History* (New York: Random House, 2002). **Any edition is fine.**

William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics*, edited with an introduction by Terrence J. McDonald (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994). **Be sure to get this exact edition—i.e., the book edited by Terrence McDonald.**

All other readings are available at the course website on Blackboard. To access the Blackboard readings off-campus, you will first need to download and run VPN, so that your computer can be viewed as part of the University's network. You can find VPN at <http://rochester.edu/it/vpn/>. If any link on the website does not work, please let Professor Gamm know immediately, by phone or e-mail, so he can address the problem.

Requirements

Academic honesty. Students must conduct themselves in accordance with the University's Academic Honesty Policy. In this class, students are encouraged to discuss readings and course material with anyone they choose—including the professor, TA's, and other students. But, unless all assignments have been submitted, they may not share, receive, or discuss written work for this class, including outlines, plans, and notes for papers (except for simple proofreading as specified in the next sentence). They may receive basic help with spelling and grammar from others, including from Writing Fellows, but never substantive help with their written arguments nor help of any sort with their papers from current or former students in this class.

The course grade is based on class participation, three short papers, two hourly exams, and a final exam.

Class participation (20%). Students are expected to attend all scheduled class meetings, including lectures and recitations, having read the assigned material. The baseline participation grade is determined by participation in recitations, though it may be revised upward for students who also speak up in lectures. Participation requires good preparation (by doing the reading carefully in advance), active listening to other students, and smart questions. It's always okay to take risks when you speak—either in asking questions or offering an answer even when you're not sure you're right. In this realm, as in most places, quality of contributions matters more than quantity.

Three short papers (30% total). In 500-700 words (about two pages), students should address three of the paper questions listed below. Keep papers short and to the point. *No paper may exceed 750 words.* Double-space the papers, use 12-point fonts, and no funny stuff with the margins; an inch on each side is about right. Students may write papers for any three of the ten units that include a paper question, though *all students must submit a paper in at least one of the first three units that include a paper question.* Students may write as many as five papers; in calculating the course grade, only the three highest paper grades will be included. (This policy does not include students who fail to submit papers in at least one of the first three units: in this case, students will receive a "0" for the missing paper and that "0" will be included in calculating the course grade.) Place your recitation leader's name at the top of your paper. *Papers are due no later than 12:30 on Tuesday afternoons. All papers should be submitted as hard copies in your recitation leader's box in Harkness 314.* No late papers will be accepted without prior permission. **Students must submit at least three papers to receive credit for the course.**

Two hour exams (25% total). The hour exams will be administered during classtime on Monday, Sep. 28, and Monday, Nov. 9.

Final exam (25%). The date and time of the final exam are set by the registrar. The exam is a three-hour exam, which will be administered on Thursday, December 17, at 12:30-3:30 pm. Please note the time of this exam and make your holiday travel arrangements accordingly. **Students must take the final exam to receive credit for the course.**

WE THE PEOPLE

Aug. 31 Lecture

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 452-64:

[Appendix] Constitution of the United States. (If you do not have access to the book yet, you can find the Constitution in many other places. Just be sure to read a version that includes all amendments.)

Jeffrey Toobin, "Heavyweight: How Ruth Bader Ginsburg Has Moved the Supreme Court," *The New Yorker*, 11 Mar. 2013, 38-47.

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, RESISTANCE, AND REVOLUTION

Sept. 2 Lecture

Sept. 4 *No class*

Sept. 7 *No class—Labor Day*

Sept. 9 Lecture

Sept. 10/11 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 8. According to Wood, why does the British government levy taxes on its subjects in the American colonies in the 1760s and early 1770s? On what grounds do Patrick Henry (author of the Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions) and John Dickinson object to this taxation, and how do Jenyns and Hutchinson defend this practice?

Wood, *American Revolution*, pp. 1-62.

Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions, 1765.

Soame Jenyns, "The Objections to the Taxation of our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain, briefly consider'd."

John Dickinson, Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, I, II, IV. (Read each letter only to the point where it is signed, in italics, "*A Farmer.*")

Thomas Hutchinson, Address to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 11 January 1773.

STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Sept. 14 *No class—Rosh Hashanah*

Sept. 16 Lecture

Sept. 18 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment this week.

Wood, *American Revolution*, pp. 63-150.

Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776.

Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.

John Dinan, "The Past, Present, and Future Role of State Constitutions," pp. 19-32 in *CQ Press Guide to State Politics and Policy*, eds. Richard G. Niemi and Joshua J. Dyck (Los Angeles: Sage and CQ Press, 2014).

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 65-67:

[3-2] Jonathan Rauch, "A Separate Peace."

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Sept. 21	Lecture
Sept. 23	No class—Yom Kippur
Sept. 25	Lecture/Discussion

Paper due Sept. 22. How do Kenyon, Shklar, and Wood characterize the views of the Anti-Federalists? According to each scholar, were the Anti-Federalists or Federalists better able to grasp the future of American politics?

Wood, *American Revolution*, pp. 151-66.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 18-26:

[2-1] Brutus, *Anti-Federalist* No. 3.

[2-2] James Madison, *Federalist* No. 10.

Cecilia M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 12 (1955), 3-43.

Judith N. Shklar, "Publius and the Science of the Past," *Yale Law Journal* 86 (1977), 1286-96.

Gordon S. Wood, "Interests and Disinterestedness in the Making of the Constitution," pp. 69-109 in *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*, eds. Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

COLLECTIVE ACTION, PARTICIPATION, AND INTERESTS

Sept. 28	First hour exam
Sept. 30	Lecture
Oct. 2	Lecture
Oct. 5	No class—Fall break
Oct. 7	Lecture
Oct. 8/9	Recitation

Paper due **no later than the start of class** on Oct. 7. What are collective-action problems, how do interest groups overcome these problems, and, according to the evidence in these readings, what biases characterize decision-making and organized interests in Washington?

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 1-17, 391-413:

[1-1] Mancur Olson, Jr., "from *The Logic of Collective Action*."

[1-2] Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons."

[13-1] E. E. Schattschneider, "The Scope and Bias of the Pressure System."

[13-2] Richard L. Hall and Richard Anderson, "Issue Advertising and Legislative Advocacy in Health Politics."

Martin Gilens, "Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69 (2005), 778-96.

Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 312-46.

ORIGINS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Oct. 12 Lecture
Oct. 14 Lecture
Oct. 15/16 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 13. How have issues of gender and race shaped American party development? In answering this question, draw on Baker, Key, and Welch to examine women's changing place in American politics in the 19th century as well as the reasons why the battle over the Federal Elections Bill of 1890 elicited such strong passions.

Virginia Resolutions, 1798.

Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984), 620-47.

Republican Party Platform of 1860.

V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf), 1949, pp. 3-12.

Richard E. Welch, Jr., "The Federal Elections Bill of 1890: Postscripts and Prelude," *Journal of American History* 52 (1965), 511-26.

CONGRESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Oct. 19 Lecture
Oct. 21 Lecture
Oct. 22/23 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 20. Drawing on Cooper and Brady, Gamm and Shepsle, and Strahan, identify competing explanations for institutional change in Congress—in particular, explanations for a shift in the leadership styles of House Speakers, the adoption of the Reed Rules, and the emergence of standing committees.

Thomas B. Reed, "Obstruction in the National House," *North American Review* 149 (1889), 421-28.

Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady, "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn," *American Political Science Review* 75 (1981), 411-25.

Gerald Gamm and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Emergence of Legislative Institutions: Standing Committees in the House and Senate, 1810-1825," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (1989), 39-66.

Randall Strahan, *Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U.S. House* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 79-126.

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

Oct. 26 Lecture
Oct. 28 Lecture
Oct. 29/30 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 27. How do presidents exercise their power and organize their staff? In what ways has the presidency changed since the early 20th century—in control over the federal personnel system, in the nature of presidential power, and in the use of appeals to the public—and when have crucial innovations occurred?

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 177-204, 216-32.

[7-1] Richard E. Neustadt, “from *Presidential Power*.”

[7-2] Samuel Kernell, “from *Going Public*.”

[8-2] David E. Lewis, “from *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*.”

James W. Ceaser, Glen E. Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis, and Joseph M. Bessette, “The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11 (1981), 158-71.

URBAN POLITICS

Nov. 2 Lecture
Nov. 4 Lecture
Nov. 5/6 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 3. According to George Washington Plunkitt (as reported by Riordon), what accounted for the success of Tammany Hall and other political machines in American cities? On the basis of what evidence does Terrence McDonald, in the opening essay, suggest this account is inaccurate or misleading?

Riordon and McDonald, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, pp. 1-134.

VOTING, PUBLIC OPINION, AND THE MEDIA

Nov. 9 *Second hour exam*
Nov. 11 Lecture
Nov. 13 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment this week.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 294-307, 325-29, 351-56, 431-51:

[10-2] John Zaller and Stanley Feldman, “A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answer Questions versus Revealing Preferences.”

[11-1] Samuel L. Popkin, “from *The Reasoning Voter*.”

[11-3] Michael Schudson, “America’s Ignorant Voters.”

[14-1] James T. Hamilton, “The Market and the Media.”

[14-2] Shanto Iyengar and Kyu S. Hahn, “Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use.”

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

Nov. 16 Lecture
Nov. 18 Lecture
Nov. 19/20 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 17. Drawing solely on Jackson and Sugrue, analyze the ways in which federal government policies and the actions of private individuals limited the ability of blacks to purchase homes on the same terms as whites. (Be prepared to discuss the other readings in class and on the exam.)

Kenneth T. Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration," *Journal of Urban History* 6 (1980), 419-52.

Thomas J. Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 551-78.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 86-98:

[4-1] Supreme Court of the United States, *Schuetz v. Bamn*.

[4-2] Justin Levitt, "from *New State Voting Laws: Barriers to the Ballot?*"

Jill LePore, "To Have and To Hold: Reproduction, Marriage, and the Constitution," *The New Yorker*, 25 May 2015, 34-39.

RED STATES AND BLUE STATES

Nov. 23 Lecture
Nov. 25 No class—Thanksgiving break
Nov. 27 No class—Thanksgiving break
Nov. 30 Lecture
Dec. 2 Lecture
Dec. 3/4 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 1. Are Americans sharply divided today, or not? In your paper, consider how Fiorina, Abramowitz, and Bartels answer this question as well as the ways in which parties have changed in recent decades.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 308-24, 371-90.

[10-3] Morris P. Fiorina, "from *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America.*"

[10-4] Alan L. Abramowitz, "The Polarized Electorate."

[12-2] Larry M. Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996."

[12-3] Morris P. Fiorina, "Parties as Problem Solvers."

THE MODERN CONGRESS

Dec. 7 Lecture

Dec. 9 Lecture

Dec. 10/11 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 8. What is the relationship between electoral polarization and congressional dysfunction? To what extent is gridlock in Congress a function of divided constituents and to what extent is it due to factors within the legislature itself?

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 138-76, 330-50.

[6-1] Steven S. Smith, "Congress, The Troubled Institution."

[6-2] Sarah A. Binder, "The Politics of Legislative Stalemate."

[6-3] John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde, "Congressional Committees in a Continuing Partisan Era."

[11-2] Gary C. Jacobson, "No Compromise: The Electoral Origins of Legislative Gridlock."