

Political Science 105 and History 168

Fall 2013

Lectures on Mondays and Wednesdays (and occasional Fridays), 11:00-11:50

Recitations on Thursdays and Fridays

Introduction to American Politics

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Office hours: Monday afternoons, 1:00-3:00, and Friday mornings, 9:30-10:30

Recitation leaders: Maricella Foster-Molina, Susanna Supalla, Svanhildur Thorvaldsdottir, and Yannis Vassiliadis

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 freshmen 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 campus 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*, Fifth Edition (Los Angeles: Sage and CQ Press, 2013). **Be sure to get this edition—i.e., the fifth 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

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 nine 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 in two ways—1) electronically through Blackboard, and 2) 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 hourly exams (25% total). The hourly exams will be administered during classtime on Monday, Sep. 30, and Monday, Nov. 11.

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 Saturday, December 21, at 7:15-10:15 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

Sep. 4 Lecture
Sep. 6 *No class*

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 707-27:

[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

Sep. 9 Lecture
Sep. 11 Lecture
Sep. 13 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment this week.

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

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

Paper due Sept. 17. What are the central features of government established by the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, and how does that framework differ from that embodied in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780? What concerns and hopes motivated constitution writers in 1776-77, and what changed over the next four years to explain the adoption of a new model of government? In answering this question, be sure to draw on the original constitutions as well as on Wood. (You need not refer to Dinan in your paper.)

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).

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Sep. 23 Lecture
Sep. 25 Lecture
Sep. 26/27 Recitation

Paper due Sept. 24. In assessing the proposed Constitution of the United States, who better appreciated the emerging nature of the new American political system—the Anti-Federalists or the Federalists? Be sure to characterize the central arguments of both groups, drawing fully on the evidence and arguments of Kenyon and Wood.

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

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 59-70:

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

[2-3] 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.

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 AND INTERESTS

Sep. 30 **First hourly exam**
Oct. 2 Lecture
Oct. 4 Lecture
Oct. 7 No class—Fall break
Oct. 9 Lecture
Oct. 10/11 Recitation

Paper due **no later than the start of class** on Oct. 9. 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. 1-24, 640-68:

[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] John R. Wright, "The Evolution of Interest Groups."

[13-3] Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees."

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. 14 *No class*
Oct. 16 Lecture
Oct. 18 Lecture/Discussion

No paper assignment this week.

Virginia Resolutions, 1798.

Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review* 65 (1960), 288-301.

Republican Party Platform of 1860.

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

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. 21 Lecture
Oct. 23 Lecture
Oct. 24/25 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 22. According to Polsby, how has the House of Representatives changed over time? Drawing on Cooper and Brady as well as on Gamm and Shepsle, identify competing explanations for institutional change in Congress—in particular, explanations for a shift in the leadership styles of House Speakers and the emergence of standing committees.

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

Nelson W. Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968), 144-68.

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.

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

Oct. 28 Lecture
Oct. 30 Lecture
Oct. 31/Nov. 1 Recitation

Paper due Oct. 29. How do presidents exercise their power and organize their staff? In what ways has the presidency changed since the early 20th century—in institutional organization, 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. 254-317.

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

[7-2] John P. Burke, “The Institutional Presidency.”

[7-3] Samuel Kernell, “from *Going Public*.”

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. 4 Lecture
Nov. 6 Lecture
Nov. 7/8 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 5. According to Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, and George Washington Plunkitt himself (as told to Riordon), what accounted for the success of Tammany Hall and other political machines in American cities?

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

VOTING, ELECTIONS, AND THE MEDIA

Nov. 11 *Second hourly exam*

Nov. 13 Lecture

Nov. 15 Lecture

No paper assignment this week.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 533-40, 563-95, 695-706.

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

[11-3] Darrell M. West, “from *Air Wars*.”

[11-4] Michael Schudson, “America’s Ignorant Voters.”

[14-3] Kristen Purcell, Lee Rainie, Amy Mitchell, Tom Rosenstiel, and Kenny Olmstead, “Understanding the Participatory News Consumer.”

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

Nov. 18 Lecture
Nov. 20 Lecture
Nov. 21/22 Recitation

Paper due Nov. 19. How did Oliver Wendell Holmes evolve in his understanding of the Constitution's guarantee of free speech? What justifications were offered in *Brown v. Board of Education* and in *Roe v. Wade* for the decisions of Supreme Court majorities to define other rights?

Fred D. Ragan, "Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and the Clear and Present Danger Test for Free Speech: The First Year, 1919," *Journal of American History* 58 (1971), 24-45.

Schenck v. U.S. (1919), Opinion of the Court (by Oliver Wendell Holmes).

Abrams v. U.S. (1919), Opinion of the Court (by John H. Clarke).

Abrams v. U.S. (1919), Dissent (by Oliver Wendell Holmes).

Brown v. Board of Education (1954), Opinion of the Court (by Earl Warren).

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 156-73.

[5-2] "A Liberal Vision of U.S. Family Law in 2020."

[5-3] *Roe v. Wade*.

RED STATES AND BLUE STATES

Nov. 25 Lecture
Nov. 27 No class—Thanksgiving break
Nov. 29 No class—Thanksgiving break
Dec. 2 Lecture
Dec. 4 Lecture
Dec. 5/6 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 3. "How divided are we?" James Q. Wilson asks. How do he and other political scientists answer this question? In your paper, consider, too, the ways in which parties have changed in recent decades.

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 481-532, 615-39.

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

[10-4] James Q. Wilson, "How Divided Are We?"

[10-5] Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, "Religion in American Politics."

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

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

THE MODERN CONGRESS

Dec. 9 Lecture

Dec. 11 Lecture

Dec. 12/13 Recitation

Paper due Dec. 10. What challenges affect Congress's ability to function today, and what are the roots of those problems?

Kernell and Smith, *Principles and Practice*, pp. 204-53, 541-62.

[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."