

Political Science 218/218W/518 and History 342W/442
Spring 2013
Mondays, 2:00–4:40

Emergence of the Modern Congress

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Office hours: Friday mornings, 9:30-11:00

Through reading and research, this course examines major issues in congressional history and legislative organization. This course is appropriate for graduate students as well as qualified undergraduates with permission of the instructor.

Six books, which we will be reading in their entirety, 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. Any edition of these books is fine; do not feel compelled to buy the newest edition if an older version is available for less money.) The required books are these—

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congressmen in Committees* (1973; rpt. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1995).

David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).

Sarah A. Binder, *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the Development of Congress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Jeffery A. Jenkins and Charles Stewart III, *Fighting for the Speakership: The House and the Rise of Party Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

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/>.

Track One: Graduate Students and Upper-Level Writing Undergraduates

Informed participation in weekly discussions (35%). Students are required to attend all scheduled class meetings, having read all assigned material; students who do not attend regularly will not receive credit for the course. Students are encouraged to listen attentively to others, to draw others into class discussions, and to take risks by asking questions and throwing out new ideas.

Three short papers (25% total). In 3-4 pages, students should address a central question in the week's readings, critically evaluate the readings, or analyze underlying issues in the readings. These papers must be analytical: they should scrutinize the logic and evidence marshaled on behalf of an argument and, where appropriate, analyze the relationship between various arguments. These papers must be short—no paper shorter than 800 words or longer than 1,300 words will be accepted—so get to the main point fast. Students may choose for themselves when to write their papers, except that *students must submit at least one paper by the third class meeting*. Students may write as many as five papers; in calculating the course grade, only the three highest paper grades will be included. Papers are due in Professor Gamm's box in Harkness 314 by Monday morning at 10:30. No late papers will be accepted without prior permission.

Congressional history narrative (10%). In about 5 pages, students should examine an episode in congressional history, drawing heavily on primary sources. At minimum, students should draw on the *Congressional Record* (or earlier records of debates, like the *Annals* or the *Globe*) and on contemporary newspapers. The episode could be an event (like the outbreak of a war), consideration of a particular bill, a discussion of caucus proceedings or committee assignments, a leadership battle, etc. *By February 22, students must meet with Professor Gamm, receive approval on their topic, and set a deadline for submitting this paper.*

Research paper (30%). This paper may be an extension of one of the three short papers, an extension of the congressional history narrative, or an entirely separate project. Undergraduates might review and analyze the secondary literature, with some attention to primary sources where appropriate. For graduate students, the paper should identify a modest research question, identify existing literature bearing on that question, and lay out a strategy for collecting and analyzing data. A review of secondary literature is not sufficient for graduate students; they must identify primary sources, sketch out a theory and possible hypotheses for testing, and otherwise outline a plan for future research. Graduate papers might report—briefly—on preliminary findings, but this is not required. The paper should be 10–15 pages in length. The paper is due April 26; incompletes are strongly discouraged and will not be given without good cause. *By February 22, students must meet with Professor Gamm and receive approval on their topic and approach.*

There is no exam.

Track Two: Undergraduates Not Receiving Writing Credit

Informed participation in weekly discussions (35%). See above.

Six short papers (55% total). In 3-4 pages, students should address a central question in the week's readings, critically evaluate the readings, or analyze underlying issues in the readings. These papers must be analytical: they should scrutinize the logic and evidence marshaled on behalf of an argument and, where appropriate, analyze the relationship between various arguments. These papers must be short—no paper shorter than 800 words or longer than 1,300 words will be accepted—so get to the main point fast. Students may choose for themselves when to write their papers, except that *students must submit papers in at least two of the first five weeks of the course*. Students may write as many as eight papers; in calculating the course grade, only the six highest paper grades will be included. Papers are due in Professor Gamm's box in Harkness 314 by Monday morning at 10:30. No late papers will be accepted without prior permission.

Congressional history narrative (10%). See above.

There is no exam.

Jan. 21 No class—Martin Luther King, Jr., Day

Jan. 28 The Electoral Connection

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Michael Les Benedict, "The Party, Going Strong: Congress and Elections in the Mid-19th Century," *Congress & the Presidency* 9 (1981–82), 37–60.

Jamie L. Carson and Erik J. Engstrom, "Assessing the Electoral Connection: Evidence from the Early United States," *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2005), 746–57.

Feb. 4 Goals and Strategies

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., "The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System: The Problem of Integration," *American Political Science Review* 56 (1962), 310–24.

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congressmen in Committees* (1973; rpt. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1995).

Linda L. Fowler and R. Brian Law, "Seen but Not Heard: Committee Visibility and Institutional Change in the Senate National Security Committees, 1947–2006," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33 (2008), 357–85.

Feb. 11 Committees and Parties in the Modern House, Part A

Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast, "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power," *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987), 85–104.

Barry R. Weingast and William J. Marshall, "The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets," *Journal of Political Economy* 96 (1988), 132–63.

Keith Krehbiel, "Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?" *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990), 149–63.

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, "On the Decline of Party Voting in Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16 (1991), 547–70.

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, "Bonding, Structure, and the Stability of Political Parties: Party Government in the House," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19 (1994), 215–31.

Keith Krehbiel, "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (1993), 235–66.

Feb. 18 Committees and Parties in the Modern House, Part B

David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde, "The Republican Revolution and the House Appropriations Committee," *Journal of Politics* 62 (2000), 1-33.

Jason M. Roberts and Steven S. Smith, "Procedural Contexts, Party Strategy, and Conditional Party Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1971-2000," *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2003), 305-17.

Julian E. Zelizer, "Bridging State and Society: The Origins of 1970s Congressional Reform," *Social Science History* 24 (2000), 379-93.

Feb. 25 Obstruction and Reaction in the Senate

Gregory J. Wawro and Eric Schickler, "Where's the Pivot? Obstruction and Lawmaking in the Pre-cloture Senate," *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2004), 758-74.

Steven S. Smith, *The Senate Syndrome: The Evolution of Procedural Warfare in the Modern Senate*. Manuscript available at <<http://wc.wustl.edu/node/641>>.

Mar. 4 Civil Rights

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).

Eric Schickler and Kathryn Pearson, "Agenda Control, Majority Party Power, and the House Committee on Rules, 1937-1952," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34 (2009), 455-91.

Eric Schickler, Kathryn Pearson, and Brian D. Feinstein, "Congressional Parties and Civil Rights Politics from 1933 to 1972," *Journal of Politics* 72 (2010), 672-89.

Ira Katznelson and Quinn Mulroy, "Was the South Pivotal? Situated Partisanship and Policy Coalitions during the New Deal and Fair Deal," *Journal of Politics* 74 (2012), 604-20.

Mar. 11 No class—Spring break

Mar. 18 Careers and Seniority

- Nelson W. Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968), 144–68.
- Nelson W. Polsby, Miriam Gallaher, and Barry Spencer Rundquist, "The Growth of the Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969), 787–807.
- Douglas Price, "Careers and Committees in the American Congress: The Problem of Structural Change," 28–62 in William O. Aydelotte, ed., *The History of Parliamentary Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- Samuel Kernell, "Toward Understanding 19th Century Congressional Careers: Ambition, Competition, and Rotation," *American Journal of Political Science* 21 (1977), 669–93.
- Jonathan N. Katz and Brian R. Sala, "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection," *American Political Science Review* 90 (1996), 21–33.
- Scott C. James, "Timing and Sequence in Congressional Elections: Interstate Contagion and America's Nineteenth-Century Scheduling Regime," *Studies in American Political Development* 21 (2007), 181–202.

Mar. 25 No class—Passover

Apr. 1 Rules

- Sarah A. Binder, *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the Development of Congress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Eric Schickler, "Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867–1998: A Test of Partisan and Ideological Power Balance Models," *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000), 269–88.

Apr. 8 Institutional Development

- 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.
- Joseph Cooper and Cheryl D. Young, "Bill Introduction in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Institutional Change," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14 (1989), 67–105.
- Richard M. Valelly, "The Reed Rules and Republican Party Building: A New Look," *Studies in American Political Development* 23 (2009), 115–42.
- Jason M. Roberts, "The Development of Special Orders and Special Rules in the U.S. House, 1881–1937," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35 (2010), 307–36.
- Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, "Last among Equals: The Senate's Presiding Officer," 105–34 in Burdett A. Loomis, ed., *Esteemed Colleagues: Civility and Deliberation in the U.S. Senate* (Washington: Brookings, 2000).
- Gerald Gamm and Steven S. Smith, "The Rise of Floor Leaders, 1890–1913," chapter 5 in *Emergence of Senate Party Leadership*. Manuscript.

Apr. 15 Origins of the House Speakership

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.

Jeffery A. Jenkins and Charles Stewart III, *Fighting for the Speakership: The House and the Rise of Party Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Apr. 22 Electoral Institutions

Charles Stewart III and Barry R. Weingast, "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation: Republican Rotten Boroughs, Statehood Politics, and American Political Development," *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (1992), 223–71.

Erik J. Engstrom, "Stacking the States, Stacking the House: The Partisan Consequences of Congressional Redistricting in the 19th Century," *American Political Science Review* 100 (2006), 419–27.

William Bernhard and Brian R. Sala, "The Remaking of an American Senate: The 17th Amendment and Ideological Responsiveness," *Journal of Politics* 68 (2006), 345–57.

Sean Gailmard and Jeffery A. Jenkins, "Agency Problems, the 17th Amendment, and Representation in the Senate," *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2009), 324–42.

Frances E. Lee and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, "Senate Apportionment: Competitiveness and Partisan Advantage," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 (1997), 3–24.

Frances E. Lee, "Senate Representation and Coalition Building in Distributive Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000), 59–72.

Apr. 29 Separate and Divided Powers

David R. Mayhew, "Divided Party Control: Does It Make a Difference?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 24 (1991), 637–40.

George C. Edwards III, Andrew Barrett, and Jeffrey Peake, "The Legislative Impact of Divided Government," *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1997), 545–63.

Sarah A. Binder, "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947–96," *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999), 519–33.

John J. Coleman, "Unified Government, Divided Government, and Party Responsiveness," *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999), 821–35.

William G. Howell and David E. Lewis, "Agencies by Presidential Design," *Journal of Politics* 64 (2002), 1095–1114.

Frances E. Lee, "Dividers, Not Unifiers: Presidential Leadership and Senate Partisanship, 1981–2004," *Journal of Politics* 70 (2008), 914–28.

Nolan McCarty, "Presidential Vetoes in the Early Republic: Changing Constitutional Norms or Electoral Reform?" *Journal of Politics* 71 (2009), 369–84.