

Government 3010  
Spring 2019

Dr. Janet M. Martin  
Phone: x3618  
Office Hours: Wednesday 12:15-1:30

[If you can't make office hours, you are encouraged to schedule an appointment at a mutually convenient time by sending me an email with available days and a range of times. In some weeks, appointments may be available in early evenings and Sunday afternoons; [jmartin@bowdoin.edu](mailto:jmartin@bowdoin.edu)]

Advanced Seminar in American Politics:  
Presidential - Congressional Relations

Required Texts:

Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Brookings, 2005)

Linda L. Fowler, *Watchdogs on the Hill: The Decline of Congressional Oversight of U.S. Foreign Relations* (Princeton and Oxford, 2015).

James Thurber and Jordan Tama, eds. *Rivals for Power*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Rowman and Littlefield, 2018)

Bryan W. Marshall and Bruce C. Wolpe, *The Committee: A Study of Policy, Power, Politics and Obama's Historic Legislative Agenda on Capitol Hill* (University of Michigan Press, 2018)

*All of the above books are published not only for a scholarly audience, but also for an educated and interested audience, and may be available on Amazon.com, and so forth.*

Required Reserve Reading:

**Chapters taken from the following books are on reserve:**

John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, Editors, *Can the Government Govern?* (On reserve, assigned articles as identified below)

MaryAnn Borrelli and Janet M. Martin, editors, *The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch* (on reserve, assigned articles as identified below)

Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin, *Congress, The Bureaucracy and Public Policy*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., (ISBN 0534144543) (on reserve, assigned readings/chapters as identified below.)

Journal articles on reserve are listed throughout the syllabus.

Additional Material:

Janet M. Martin, *Lessons from the Hill: The Legislative Journey of an Education Program*  
On reserve; also available through Amazon.com for less than a nickel!! One of the great buys of all time! [a quick read; it gives an overview of

Congress and the legislative process just as partisan cohesiveness was beginning, as well as budgetary politics and legislative-executive relations; good example of participant observation, a methodological approach often not available to political scientists] Professor Martin worked for a year as an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow for Senator Herb Kohl D-WI and Majority Leader George Mitchell D-ME].

Janet M. Martin, *The Presidency and Women: Promise, Performance and Illusion*  
[gives a very good perspective on how to use primary source material] [on reserve]

James Sundquist, *The Decline and Resurgence of Congress (1981)*  
[provides an excellent and detailed history of Presidential-Congressional Relations from 1789-1980s]. [on reserve]

*The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post or other print news sources.*

Articles distributed in class and/or placed on reserve; video and digital material viewed in class or as an assignment.

## COURSE OVERVIEW

This is an advanced seminar in American Politics, with a focus on presidential-congressional relations. In this seminar students will explore presidential-congressional relations using a wide range of perspectives, including historical approaches, the use of case studies, and other quantitative and qualitative analyses in both the areas of domestic and foreign policy. Time will be spent in the beginning of the semester focusing on different methodological approaches in preparation for the readings to follow, as well as to prepare you for your original research papers. In addition, an introduction and overview of aspects of Congress and the Presidency will be provided.

The seminar will include an examination of presidential-congressional relations in the area of foreign policy, and will also explore the relationship between the President and Congress in the domestic arena, including regulatory policy and budgetary policy. A recurring theme throughout the course will be the impact of government size and structure on public policy, and how policy is made, often evolving throughout several administrations.

In weekly assignments and discussion, current actions and decisions of the Trump Administration and the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress will be included.

## SEMINAR FORMAT

During the first several weeks we will spend time 1.) reviewing the institutions of Congress and the Presidency and 2.) discussing different methodological approaches. For example, through the use of several case studies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act we will, in particular, focus on the methodological approach taken by each author.

There may be several short assignments and exercises, done in class and/or in the library, and through the use of Blackboard, to work on developing confidence and proficiency in using, discussing and assessing methodological approaches.

## Discussion of Current Events:

In order to facilitate discussion of current events relevant to the weekly topic, students (who are not the presenters that week) will be responsible for identifying and briefly (several sentences) summarizing relevant news articles or reviews in preparation for each class meeting. These short papers (1 page maximum, typed) are due each Monday (by 1 p.m.) and can be posted to Blackboard. Depending on that week's topic (the previous week's topic is also ok as we wind up that discussion), it may be more difficult to find a relevant article.

Keep in mind the overall theme of the course is "presidential-congressional relations," but **the topic each week is more narrowly focused.** If you can't find a relevant article linked to the topic area, try to locate a news article that can be linked to the methodological approach(es) of that week's readings. The purpose of this exercise is to facilitate discussion, and enhance your awareness of current political and policy developments related to your readings.

Each student is responsible for **4 news submissions posted for four different course weeks, beginning February 4<sup>th</sup>**. (Ideally, articles should come from reading the daily print *New York Times* or other print news sources such as the *Wall Street Journal*.) In your discussion be explicit in the linkage with one specific reading, identifying appropriate passages or sections in the readings. While you can look ahead at the readings and topics, and save an article for a future discussion, all articles should come from news reading done on a daily basis. The purpose of the exercise is to link the readings specifically to current real world examples. (So for April 2nd, ideally, news items should be discovered between March 26<sup>th</sup> and April 2<sup>nd</sup>, as you are working through assigned readings). **[Please note on the syllabus dates where there will not be time to discuss news articles, and so no news articles can be submitted that week]**

#### Presentations and Discussion of Assigned Readings:

Each student will be responsible for 2 presentations (topics). Students are encouraged to make use of original source material available through the library collections as well as through on-line data bases (e.g., National Archives, C-SPAN Archives, government documents, and other primary source material. You can use the Library Research Guides to gain access to government data bases, including the White House, Congress, all Departments and Agencies.). Any additional material you wish the class to read for your topic can be placed on reserve, and must be available by the Friday before your scheduled presentation. If you need assistance in photocopying handouts, please see your professor or Lynne Atkinson, Government Department Coordinator, for assistance, by the Friday before your presentation. It is suggested that most of the assigned readings for Tuesday's class be done by 1 p.m. on Monday.

[IT/AV equipment: check out your tech needs before your presentation day. For example, log into the computer in Hubbard 22 in advance of the day of your presentation, due to the length of time it takes to process a new log-in user on each classroom system throughout the campus. We will go over some of the AV resources available in the classroom. In some semesters access to material is easier via the classroom computer than through your laptop. Have a copy of your presentation accessible (e.g., in your college microwave account; OR A PRINT COPY OF YOUR POWER POINT THAT CAN BE PROJECTED USING DOC CAM AS A BACK-UP] **The AV equipment in Hubbard 22 was newly replaced and updated over winter break. Therefore, everyone will need to log-in as a new user for either the Mac or PC to run through an initial setup (this will be true for the first time you log into the Mac and the first time you log into the PC).** Please log into the system at a point in time before your presentation.

#### Discussion Questions on Readings:

In addition, if not scheduled to give a presentation that week, students will prepare one discussion question based on the assigned readings for that week. These questions should be posted on Blackboard no later than 1 p.m. on the Monday preceding the relevant class. The presenters should try to incorporate the discussion questions as appropriate in order to stimulate an inclusive discussion. (Each student is required to submit a question **in 4 different weeks, beginning February 4<sup>th</sup>**. This can be the same week in which you post a news article, but cannot be the week in which you give a presentation.)

The presentations should be such that **there never is a period of time in which any one individual (especially a presenter) “controls the floor” for more than 10 consecutive minutes.** Co-presenters are responsible for “time-keeping.” (To break up a long presentation, work to engage the class through questions, quizzes, simulations, exercises; make use of digital resources; alternate speakers).

If any question is not covered or new questions arise, discussion can and should continue throughout the week via email or Blackboard, facilitated by the presenters. The next week Tuesday we will begin the class with any lingering questions and/or discussion. [All of your work in this regard, if not a presenter, counts towards your “participation” grade; for written feedback on news articles/discussion questions please leave a hard copy of each assignment in the envelopes outside my office door marked “Questions on Readings” and/or “News Article” no later than 1 p.m. on the Monday the assignment is due. You can also make an appointment to go over your news article/discussion question for feedback throughout the semester.]

### **Written Requirements:**

- 1) Discussion of news items (any four weeks **beginning the week of February 4<sup>th</sup>**, except as noted on the syllabus. [PLEASE NOTE ON THE SYLLABUS DATES WHEN WE WILL NOT HAVE TIME TO DISCUSS NEWS ARTICLES, DUE TO OTHER WORK THAT DAY.]
- 2) Questions on assigned readings (**beginning the week of February 4<sup>th</sup>**)
- 3) Short papers, projects regarding methodological approaches [may be in-class assignments]
- 4.) relatively short papers to accompany two presentations

Length: approximately 5-10 pages

To receive full credit, a printed, hard copy is due no later than three days after your presentation (i.e., before noon on Friday the week of your presentation). These papers should include a **brief discussion of the topic**, with sections discussing the **major research questions, methodologies, analysis, and findings in the assigned readings**, and the **objectives of your presentation. (Use sub-headings for each section).** **LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED, BUT WILL ALSO HAVE A LOSS OF A HALF A GRADE, e.g., from A to A-, or from B to B- (UNLESS NOTIFIED BY THE DEAN OF SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING YOUR WORK.)**

- 5.) **Major Research Paper** based on one of the topics on the syllabus (this can include one of your presentation topics). The paper should build and expand upon the assigned readings, and draw upon primary source material (e.g., government documents, oral histories, transcripts, your own quantitative data set, audio and video recordings). This paper is to include original research conducted for this course, and cannot be drawn from work done in other courses without prior approval.

**Length: 15-20 pages**

### Dates and assignments regarding the final research paper:

- By mid-February, you should begin thinking about your final research paper. Look ahead at the readings for paper topics.
- March 5<sup>th</sup> Library Workshop with Librarian Barbara Levergood (Meet in Library: electronic classroom, 8:30-11:25 a.m.); You will receive a worksheet before the workshop in order to help facilitate identification and use of resources for your paper, as you work on the identification of a research question.
- By Friday, April 12<sup>th</sup>, noon: Submit a typed, one page outline of your paper topic, and a rough set of research questions you might like to address, with a summary listing of sources consulted (e.g., literature review in J-Stor, identifying several relevant scholarly articles; digital materials from a Presidential Library: e.g., White House Senior Staff Files 2001-03; oral histories].
- April 16<sup>th</sup>: In Hubbard 22: 8:30-10:30 a.m.: Discussion of Research Paper Topics [research in progress; Librarian Barbara Levergood will join us to assist in the discussion of relevant research sources for each paper]. Be Prepared; each student will have a brief period of time focused on their research (7-10 minutes)
- Oral presentation of papers on April 30<sup>th</sup> and May 7<sup>th</sup> (research questions, methodologies, analysis, findings).
- Final papers received before 9 am on Monday, May 13<sup>th</sup> will receive full feedback; Papers received after that time will receive fewer comments. The final date to turn in a paper is Saturday, May 18<sup>th</sup>, at 8:30 a.m. Papers turned in on May 17 or 18 will receive a letter grade, with few comments. No papers will be accepted after the final deadline of 8:30 am on May 18<sup>th</sup>. (Students may submit a preliminary draft of their paper for written feedback earlier in the semester --drafts received by 5 pm. on May 3<sup>rd</sup> will get written feedback).

Course grade will be based on the approximate contribution of each of the following as indicated:

Weekly assignments; and participation	20%
Presentations and related papers	40%
Major Research Paper	40%

### Topics and Assigned Readings

#### January 22

Introduction and Overview of Course

The Political Context: the Trump Administration; the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress; A New Era of Divided Government: The President and Congress, A Divided Congress;  
Who Sets the Agenda; how is Agendas Set?

Selection of Topics

January 29: [No discussion questions on readings this week; no news articles this week]

An introduction to different ways to read an article: methodology and/or content  
Introduction to methodological approaches; Methodology and Research Questions  
Discussion of Resource Materials  
Policy Making and the Structure of Government; The Creating and re-shaping of an  
Administration; Constitutional Framework

Readings: Paul C. Light, *Thickening Government: Federal Hierarchy and the Diffusion of Accountability*, Appendix (on Reserve)  
Martin, *Presidency and Women*, Introduction, especially pp. 8-15 (on Reserve)  
in Borrelli and Martin: Martin, "Women Who Govern: The President's Appointments," (on reserve)  
in Borrelli and Martin: McGlen and Sarkees, "Style Does Matter: The Impact of Presidential Leadership on Women in Foreign Policy" (on reserve)  
Ripley and Franklin, "Nature of Policy and Policy Making" [Chapter 1] (on reserve)

**[Reminder: news article; discussion question for February 5<sup>th</sup> is due Monday, February 4<sup>th</sup> by 1 p.m.]**

### **February 5**

A case study in legislative-Executive relations: The 1964 Civil Rights Act; Common Methodological Approaches in the Study of American Political Institutions and political behavior

Readings: Eric Davis, "The Johnson White House and the 1964 Civil Rights Act" (on reserve)  
Robert D. Loevy, "Lobbyists for Civil Rights: Clarence Mitchell, Joseph Rauh, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (on reserve)  
Mark Stern, "Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats' Civil Rights Strategy" (on reserve)  
Ripley and Franklin, "Redistributive Policy" [Chapter 6: pp. 121-124; 132-135; 139-141; 148-150] (On Reserve)

### **February 12**

An Overview of U.S. Political Institutions; Agenda Setting; Cooperation between the Branches; Rivalries; Partisanship; Budgetary Politics; Unilateral Presidential Authority

Readings: In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 1 Thurber and Tama; Ch. 4 Pfiffner;  
Ch. 10 Thurber  
Jones, Chs. 5, 6

**February 19: Begin thinking about your final research paper topic; Worksheets for research**

**project ideas will be available and due by 8 pm on Wednesday, February 27th. The Library Workshop will be focused on research questions you are interested in, and/or materials you are interested in learning more about. You might want to check out Course Guides (Research Guides) on the Library Research page, especially regarding Gov Documents; Gov 2005, and Gov 2010 for an introduction to the types of materials available.**

**February 19:**

Stability and Change in American Political Institutions

Readings: Charles Jones, Preface, Chapter 1  
“The 1993 John Gaus Lecture: Whose Bureaucracy Is This, Anyway?  
Congress, the President, and Public Administration” by  
Francis Rourke (on reserve)  
In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 7 Andres and Griffin; Ch. 3 David Jones

**February 26:**

**Continue thinking about your final research paper! And complete worksheet assignment by February 27th.**

The Stability of American Political Institutions; An Historical Examination of Presidential-Congressional Relations, with a focus on Government Reorganization and Government Management

Readings: Jones, Chapters 2 - 4  
In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 2 Binder

**March 5:**

**Library Workshop: Meet in Library’s electronic classroom, 8:30 -11:30 a.m.; an inductive research exercise involving “poking and soaking;” Bring your research questions to begin exploring sources for your research project.**

**March 26:**

**[News articles submitted this week must focus on a social regulatory agency]**

Social Regulatory Policy: Executive Agencies, the Politics of Bureaucratic Structures, Congressional Oversight

Regulatory agencies such as the FDA, FTC, and FCC will be examined. Consult web sites for Some of the different regulatory commissions and agencies.

Readings: in Chubb and Peterson: Moe, “The Politics of Bureaucratic Structures” (on reserve)  
Ripley and Franklin: “Protective Regulatory Policy” [Chapter 5: pp. 103-107; 115-120] (on reserve)

In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 5 C. H. Thurber  
Marshall and Wolpe: pp. 99-125

**April 2:**

Presidential Success in the Legislative Arena: The Institutional Setting, Political Parties, and Ideology

Readings: Charles Jones, Chapters 5 – 6  
In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 8 Baker; Ch. 9 Maltese  
Marshall and Wolpe: pp. 49-97

**April 9: [No News Articles this week]**

Foreign Policy and Defense Policy: War Powers and Crisis Policy; Structural and Strategic Policy

Readings: **GROUP I:**  
Ripley and Franklin, "Foreign and Defense Policy" [Chapter 7: pp. 151-163; 165-168; 173-175; 175-177; 179-181] (On reserve)  
Fowler: Preface, Part I, pp. 1-68; Appendices for methods

**GROUP II:**  
Fowler: Parts II and III, pp. 71-202; Appendices for methods

**By Friday, April 12<sup>th</sup>, NOON:**  
**PLEASE TAKE NOTE OF DEADLINE!! THANKS!!!**

Submit a typed, one page outline of your paper topic, with a list of sources consulted e.g., [literature review in J-Stor, identification of several political science journal articles; use of alternative journal databases for more recent academic research; Presidential Library: White House Senior Staff Files, 2001-2003]. Since both Professor Martin and Librarian Barbara Levergood will review the outlines in advance of class on April 16<sup>th</sup>, this deadline cannot be extended. THANKS!!!!!!

**April 16 (Part 1):** in Hubbard 22: 8:30-10:30 a.m. [NO NEWS ARTICLE TODAY]

Discussion of Research Paper Topics [research in progress; Librarian Barbara Levergood will join us to assist in the discussion of relevant research sources for each paper.]

**April 16 (Part 2) (10:30-11:25 a.m.)** [NO NEWS ARTICLE TODAY]  
[Presentation may continue over to April 23 if we run short of time in order to accommodate discussion of research in progress]

Congressional Oversight; Presidential and Congressional Investigation: An Historical Overview and an Examination of the Nature of Oversight and Investigations in the



United States-- Who, What, Where, When, How, and Why?

Readings: Rosenbloom, "Whose Bureaucracy is This, Any Way? Congress' 1946 answer." (The 2001 John Gaus Lecture) (on reserve)

Mathew D. McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms." *American Journal of Political Science*, (Feb. 1984), Vol. 28 No. 1 (on reserve)

Joel D. Aberbach, "What's Happened to the Watchful Eye," in *Congress and the Presidency*: (Spring 2002), Volume 29, Number 1. (on reserve)

Steven J. Balla, and Christopher J. Deering, "Police Patrols and Fire Alarms: An Empirical Examination of the legislative Preference for Oversight," *Congress and the Presidency*: (Jan-April 2013), Volume 40, Number 1 (on reserve)

In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 6 Kriner

Marshall and Wolpe: pp. 127-165

**April 23: [NOTE: if presentation from April 16 carries over to April 23, there will be no discussion of news articles today]**

The Process of Making Domestic and Foreign Policy in the United States: Congress and the President

Readings:

In Thurber and Tama: Ch. 11 Tama

Marshall and Wolpe: Preface; pp. 1-47; 167-224

**April 30:**

Continuation of material from April 23rd; Presentation of Research Papers [in progress]

**May 7:**

Presentation of Research Papers [in progress]