

**LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**  
**Political Science 2211, Graduate Seminar**  
**University of Pittsburgh**  
**Monday 12:00pm - 2:00pm**  
**Spring 2008**

Instructor: Dr. Jennifer Nicoll Victor  
Email: jnvictor@pitt.edu  
Office: 4613 Wesley W. Posvar Hall, Department of Political Science

**I. Course Description**

This graduate seminar on legislative process is designed to provide advanced graduate students an opportunity to begin to explore the literature, methodology, and theories about legislative processes. The class is organized in two sections. In the first portion of the class we will learn about the primary theories for understanding congressional institutions (spatial models, roll call voting, parties, committees, etc.) In the second portion of the course, we will examine the electoral connections of members of congress (elections, campaigning, campaign finance, decision making, careerism, etc.) For the most part, we will use the United States Congress as a lens through which to learn about general legislative issues. We begin with the national U.S. case because most of the advanced theory and methodology in this sub-discipline originates there. Students are of course encouraged to think about and apply the general U.S. case to other national legislatures, parliaments, or state-level analysis. The literature in this area is vast and we cannot hope to cover it all in one semester. We will touch on the most important topics and diverge when it seems appropriate. This course is designed to help students prepare for advanced research in legislative process and graduate-level exams in this field.

**II. Course Goals**

There are two primary goals for this course. First, students should gain a working familiarity with the literature on legislative process, and the U.S. Congress. Students planning to research and teach in this field should gain a fundamental grasp of substance of research in this vast field. Second, students will practice and improve their critical thinking, writing, and research skills in this class. Students will have a heavy reading load, which is necessary to begin to dissect the voluminous literature in this field. Students will also actively engage with one another in research, presentations, and writing assignments.

**III. Course Components**

There are three graded components to this course.

*Class Presentation (10%)* Each week, one student will be responsible for presenting the required readings. The student presenter should circulate discussion questions to the rest of the class prior to the start of class (no later than Sunday at 4:00pm). The presenter will provide a brief oral summary of the readings and help to start discussion about the day's topics. The presenter

should note points of interest, confusion, or controversy in the readings and provide a thoughtful criticism.

*Two Short Papers (40%)* Each student is responsible for writing two short papers (5-7 pages each). These short papers should be a reaction to the readings from one week (or readings from more than one week if you choose). The goal is to develop a thesis that is analytical and critical of a subpart of the literature. Use evidence found in the readings to bolster your claims. I encourage you to place your argument into a larger context (*i.e.*, the broader literature) and use these assignments as an opportunity to display your analytical and rhetorical talents. These papers can be stepping-stones for your research paper if you like. Your first paper is due no later than **February 11**. Your second paper is due no later than **April 7**.

*Research paper (50%)* Each student is responsible for writing one journal or conference quality research paper. Use the literature to guide a creative thought process and to help you develop a reasonable research question. These papers will be completed in three stages. First, you will complete an introduction that states thesis, or research question, and provides a basic outline of your paper (**due February 25**). Second, you will write a research design (**due March 17**). Third, you will hand in your completed project (**due April 21**). Late assignments will result in a lowered grade.

#### **IV. Logistics**

*Incompletes* I am not inclined to offer incomplete grades. I strongly advise you to organize yourself to complete the coursework in a timely fashion. I am open to helping you with your assignments, of course, and will do my best to help you develop projects of a reasonable scale. Students rarely start the semester planning to take an incomplete, but it is easy to get behind. Know that I will not be comfortable offering incomplete grades.

*Cheating, Plagiarism, and Academic Integrity.* Any student engaged in any academic misconduct *will receive an F on the offending exam or assignment.* Egregious violations will result in an F grade for the course and will be reported to the appropriate Dean's office. These violations include cheating on an exam, using someone else's work as your own, and plagiarizing the written word. Plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without providing credit or citation) is a serious offense. *If you have any questions at all about what constitutes cheating, plagiarism, or academic misconduct, please ask the instructor.*

*Students with Disabilities.* If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, please let me (the instructor) know and contact the Office of Disability Resources and Service, 216 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/(412) 383-7355 (TTY) as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course. All discussions with me regarding disabilities are confidential.

#### **V. Required Texts**

Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale U.P.

- Cox, Gary and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. University of California Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale University Press.
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Rhode, David. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton

## VI. Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

### Monday, January 7

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CONGRESS

- Davidson, Roger H. and Walter J. Oleszek. 2004. *Congress and its Members* 9<sup>th</sup> ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press: **pp. 3-37**.
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: **Chs. 2-3**.
- Weingast, Barry R. and William J. Marshall. 1988. "The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets." *Journal of Politics*, 96:11.

### Monday, January 14

#### INTRODUCTION TO SPATIAL MODELING

##### *Required Readings:*

- Brady, David W. and Craig Volden. 2006. *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Jimmy Carter to George W. Bush*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. **Chs. 1-2**.
- Hinich, Melvin J. and Michael C. Munger. 1997. *Analytical Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP: **Ch. 1** (pp. 3-20).
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Chapters 1-2**.
- Riker, William. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *The American Political Science Review*, 74(2): 432-446.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry R. Weingast, eds. 1995. *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: pp. 5-35.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. New York: W.W. Norton: **pp. 5-35; 312-344**
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: **Ch. 1**.

##### *Recommended Readings*

- Arrow, Kenneth J. 1963. *Social Choice and Individual Values*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Enelow, James M. & Melvin J. Hinich. 1984. *The Spatial Theory of Voting: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Hinich, Melvin J. and Michael C. Munger. 1997. *Analytical Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP: Ch. 2 (pp. 21-49).
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1988. "Spatial Models of Legislative Choice." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, XIII:3.
- Riker, William. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism*. San Francisco: Freeman Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1979. "Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multidimensional Voting Models." *American Journal of Political Science*, 23:1 (pp. 27-59).

**Monday, January 21**                      **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday. No Class**

**PART I: CONGRESSIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

**Monday, January 28**

LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

*Required Readings:*

- Binder, Sarah A. 1996. "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990." *The American Political Science Review*, 90:1 (pp. 8-20).
- Binder, Sarah A. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-1996." *The American Political Science Review*, 93:3.
- Gailmard, Sean, and Jefery A. Jenkins. 2007. "Negative Agenda Control in the Senate and House: fingerprints of Majority Party Power." *Journal of Politics* 69(3): 689-699.
- Kessler, Daniel and Keith Krehbiel. 1996. "Dynamics of Cosponsorship." *American Political Science Review*, 90:3 (pp. 555-566).
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Chapters 3-6.**
- Schickler, Eric and Gregory Wawro. 2004. "Where's the Pivot? Obstruction and Lawmaking in the Pre-Cloture Senate," *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4): 758.
- Schiller, Wendy J. 1995. "Senators as Political Entrepreneurs: Using Bill Sponsorship to Shape Legislative Agendas." *American Journal of Political Science*, 39:1 (pp. 186-203).
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: Ch. 9 (pp. 336-392).

*Recommended Readings:*

- Binder, Sarah A. and Steven S. Smith. 1997. *Politics or Principle: Filibustering in the United States Senate*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

- Mayhew, David R. 1991. *Divided we Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990*.
- Oleszek, Walter. 1996. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Patty, John W. 2007. "The House Discharge Procedure and Majoritarian Politics" *Journal of Politics*, 69(3): 678.
- Redman, Eric. 1973. *The Dance of Legislation*. New York: Simon & Schuster Inc.
- Sinclair, Barbara. 1997. *Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress*. C.Q. Press.
- Smith, Steven S. 1989. *Call to Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate*. Washington: Brookings.

## **Monday, February 4**

### ROLL CALL VOTING

#### *Required Readings*

- Clinton, Joshua D. 2006. "Representation in Congress: Constituents and Roll Calls in the 106<sup>th</sup> House." *Journal of Politics* 68(2): 397-409.
- Clinton, Joshua D. 2007. "Lawmaking and Roll Calls." *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 457-469.
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Snyder, James M. Jr., 1992. "Artificial Extremism in Interest Group Ratings." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 17(3): 319-345.
- Snyder, James M. and Timothy Groseclose. 2000. "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44 (pp. 193-211).
- Weisberg, Herbert F. 1978. "Evaluating Theories of Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*, 22:3 (554-577).

#### *Recommended Readings:*

- Fowler, James H. 2006. "Connecting the Congress: A Study of Cosponsorship Networks." *Political Analysis* 14: 456-487.

- Krehbiel, Keith. 2003. "The Coefficient of Party Influence." *Political Analysis* 11: 95-103.
- Groseclose, Timothy and James Snyder. 2003. "Interpreting the Coefficient of Party Influence." *Political Analysis*, 11: 104-7.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 2003. "Asymmetry in party Influence: Reply." *Political Analysis* 11: 108-9.
- Poole, Keith. Website: <http://voteview.com>
- Poole, Keith T. and Steven Daniels. 1985. "Ideology, Party, and Voting in the U.S. Congress, 1959-1980." *The American Political Science Review*, 79:2 (pp. 373-399).
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 1985. "A Spatial Model for Legislative Roll Call Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science*, 29:1 (pp. 357-384).
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 1991. "Patterns of Congressional Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*, 35:1 (pp. 228-278).
- Poole, Keith T. Howard Rosenthal, and Kenneth Koford. 1991. "On Dimensionalizing Roll Call Votes in the U.S. Congress." *The American Political Science Review*, 85:3 (pp. 955-976).

## **Monday, February 11**

## **First Short Paper Due Today**

### **STRATEGIC VOTING**

#### *Required Readings:*

- Calvert, Randall L. and Richard F. Fenno, Jr. 1994. "Strategy and Sophisticated Voting in the Senate." *The Journal of Politics*, 56:2 (349-376).
- Denzau, Arthur, William Riker, and Kenneth Shepsle. 1985. "Farquharson and Fenno: Sophisticated Voting and Home Style." *The American Political Science Review*, 79:4 (pp. 1117-1134).
- Ferejohn, John. 1986. "Logrolling in an Institutional Context: A Case Study of Food Stamp Legislation," in *Congress and Policy Change*, Gerald C. Wright, Jr., Leroy N. Rieselbach, and Lawrence C. Dodd, eds. New York: Agathon Press, Inc.
- Jenkins, Jeffery A., and Michael C. Munger. 2003. "Investigating the Incidence of Killer Amendments in Congress." *Journal of Politics*, 65(2): 498-517.
- Krehbiel, Keith and Douglas Rivers. 1990. "Sophisticated Voting in Congress: A Reconsideration." *The Journal of Politics*, 52:2 (pp. 548-578).
- Ordeshook, Peter C. and Thomas Palfrey. 1988. "Agendas, Strategic Voting, and Signaling with Incomplete Information." *American Journal of Political Science*, 32:2 (pp. 441-466).
- Wilkerson, John D. 1999. "Killer' Amendments in Congress." *American Political Science Review*, 93(3).

## **Monday, February 18**

### **CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES**

#### *Required Readings*

- Adler, E. Scott and John S. Lapinski. 1997. "Demand-Side Theory and Congressional Committee Composition." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41.
- Hall, Richard L. 1987. "Participation and Purpose in Committee Decision Making." *The American Political Science Review*, 81:1 (pp. 105-128).
- Hall, Richard L. and Bernard Grofman. 1990. "The Committee Assignment Process and the Conditional Nature of Committee Bias." *The American Political Science Review*, 84:4.

- Jones, Bryan D., Frank R. Baumgartner and Jeffery C. Talbert. 1993. "The destruction of Issue Monopolies in Congress." *American Political Science Review*, 87:3.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1990. "Are Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?" *American Political Science Review*, 84:1.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, **Chs. 1-3, 5**.
- Maltzman, Forrest. 1995. "Meeting Competing Demands: Committee Performance in the Postreform House." *American Journal of Political Science*, 39:3 (pp. 653-682).
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry R. Weingast. 1987. "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power." *The American Political Science Review*, 81:1 (pp. 85-104).

*Recommended Readings:*

- Fenno, Richard. *Congressmen and Committees*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fiorina, Morris and Charles R. Plott. 1978. "Committee Decisions Under Majority Rule: An Experimental Study." *The American Political Science Review*, 72.
- Gilligan, Thomas W. and Keith Krehbiel. 1989. "Asymmetric Information and Legislative Rules with a Heterogeneous Committee." *American Journal of Political Science*, 33:2 (pp. 459-490).
- Gilligan, Thomas W. and Keith Krehbiel. 1990. "Organization of Informative Committees by a Rational Legislature." *American Journal of Political Science*, 34:2 (pp. 531-64).
- Groseclose, Tim and Charles Stewart III. 1998. "The Value of Committee Seats in the House, 1947-91." *American Journal of Political Science*, 42(2): 453-474.
- King, David C. 1997. *Turf Wars: How Congressional Committees Claim Jurisdiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith and Douglas Rivers. 1988. "The Analysis of Committee Power: An Application to Senate Voting on the Minimum Wage." *American Journal of Political Science*, 32:4 (pp. 1151-1174).
- McKelvey, Richard D. and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1984. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Procedural Rules on Committee Behavior." *Journal of Politics*. Vol. 46.
- Miller, Gary J. and Joe A. Oppenheimer. 1982. "Universalism in Experimental Committees." *The American Political Science Review*, 76:3 (pp. 561-574).
- Smith, Steven S. and Christopher Deering. 1984. *Committees in Congress*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: Ch. 8 (pp. 274-335).

**Monday, February 25      Research Paper Thesis Due Today**

**PARTIES IN CONGRESS: THE INFLUENCE OF LEADERS**

*Required Readings:*

- Cooper, Joseph and David Brady. 1981. "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn," *American Political Science Review*, 75.
- Froman, Lewis, and Randall B. Ripley. 1965. "Conditions for Party Leadership: The Case of the House Democrats." *American Political Science Review*, 59(1): 52-63.
- Rhode, David. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.

Sinclair, Barbara. 1999. "Transformational Leader or Faithful Agent? Principal-Agent Theory and House Majority Party Leadership," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 24.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Aldrich, John. 1995 *Why Parties?* University of Chicago Press.
- Brady, David W. 1985. "A Reevaluation of Realismnet in American Politics: Evidence From the House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review*, 79.
- Evans, C. Lawrence. 1991. *Leadership in Committee: A Comparative Analysis of Leadership Behavior in the United States Senate*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Jones, Charles O. 1968. "Joseph G. Cannon and Howard W. Smith: An Essay on the Limits of Leadership in the House of Representatives." *Journal of Politics*, 30.
- Nelson, Garrison. 1977. "Partisan Patterns of House Leadership Change, 1789-1977," *American Political Science Review*, 71.
- Smith, Steven S. 2000. "Positive Theories of Congressional Parties," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 25.

**Monday, March 3**

PARTIES IN CONGRESS: HOW PARTIES MATTER

*Readings:*

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder, and Charles Stewart III. 2001. "The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 26:533-72.
- Bianco, William T. and Itai Sened. 2005. "Uncovering Evidence of Conditional Party Government: Reassessing Majority Party Influence in Congress and State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 361.
- Covington, Cary R. and Andrew A. Bargen. 2004. "Comparing Floor-Dominated and Party-Dominated Explanations of Policy Change in the House of Representatives." *Journal of Politics* 66(4): 1069-1088.
- Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. University of California Press. **Chs. 1-3.**
- Cox, Gary and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, **Chs. 1-5, 10.**
- Jenkins, Jeffrey A., Michael H. Crespin, and Jamie L. Carson. 2005. "Parties as Procedural Coalitions in Congress: An Examination of Differing Career Tracks." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30(3): 365.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science*, 23, 235-266.
- Schickler, Eric and Andrew Rich. 1997. "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41: 1340-1375.
- Snyder, James M., Jr. and Timothy Groseclose. 2000. "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44: 193-211.

*Rec. Readings:*

- Binder, Sarah, Eric D. Lawrence, and Forrest Maltzman. 1999. "Uncovering the Hidden Effect of Party." *Journal of Politics*, 61: 815-831.

- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1997. "Toward a theory of Legislative Rules Change: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41: 1376-1386.
- Cox, Gary and Keith T. Poole. 2002. "On Measuring Partisanship in Roll Call Voting: The U.S. House of Representatives, 1877-1999." *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(3): 477-489.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1995. "Cosponsors and Wafflers from A to Z," *American Journal of Political Science*, 41: 958-964.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 2000. "Party Discipline and Measure of Partisanship," *American Journal of Political Science*," 44.
- Lawrence Eric D., Forrest Maltzman and Steven S. Smith. 2006. "Who Wins? Party Effects in Legislative Voting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1): 33.
- McCarty, Nolan, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 2001. "The Hunt for Party Discipline in Congress." *American Political Science Review*, 95.
- Miller, Gary and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92(2): 245.
- Smith Steven S. 2007. *Party Influence in Congress*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: **Ch. 7**.

**Monday, March 10 Spring Break. No class.**

## **PART II: ELECTIONS AND CANDIDATES**

**Monday, March 17                      Research Design Due Today**

### CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

#### *Required Readings*

- Abramowitz, Alan I., Brad Alexander, and Matthew Gunning. 2006. "Incumbency, Redistricting, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 68(1) 75-88.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder, Jr. and Charles Stewart III. 2001. "Candidate positioning in U.S. House elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45: 136-59.
- Carson, Jamie L., Erik J. Engstrom, Jason M. Roberts. 2007. "Candidate Quality, the Personal Vote, and the Incumbency Advantage in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 101(2): 289.
- Cox, Gary and Jonathan Katz. 1996. "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 40.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale UP: **Chs. 1 & 10**.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1987. "The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-1982." *American Journal of Political Science*, 31:1.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1989. "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review*, 83:3.

Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science*, 34:2.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Erikson, Robert. 1972. "Malapportionment, Gerrymandering, and party Fortunes in Congressional Elections." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 66.
- Erikson, Robert and Thomas Palfrey. 1998. "Campaign Spending and Incumbency." *Journal of Politics*, vol. 60.
- Erikson, Robert and Thomas Palfrey. 2000. "Equilibria in Campaign Spending Games: Theory and Data." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 94.
- Ferejohn, John A. 1977. "On the Decline of Competition in Congressional Elections." *The American Political Science Review*, 71:1 (pp. 166-176).
- Fiorina, Morris. 1989. *Congress: Keystone to the Washington Establishment*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gerber, Alan. 1998. "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables." *The American Political Science Review*, 92:2.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1978. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections." *The American Political Science Review*, 72:2.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2004 *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Longman Press.
- Mayhew, David. 1974. "Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals." *Polity*, vol. 6.
- Stein, Robert M. and Kenneth N. Bickers. 1996. "The Electoral Dynamics of the Federal Pork Barrel." *American Journal of Political Science*, 40:4 (pp. 1300-1326).
- Stewart, Charles. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: W.W. Norton: Ch. 4 (pp. 129-164)

**Monday, March 24**

ELECTORAL MOTIVATIONS AND CONGRESSIONAL DECISION MAKING

*Required Readings*

- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale U.P., **Chs. 1-4**.
- Katz, Jonathan N. and Brian R. Sala. 1996. "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection." *American Political Science Review*, 90:1.
- Kingdon, John W. 1977. "Models of Legislative Voting." *Journal of Politics*, 39.
- Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale University Press.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Adler, E. Scott. 2002. *Why Congressional Reforms Fail: Reelection and the House Committee System*. University of Chicago Press.
- Clausen, Aage. 1973. *How Congressmen Decide*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kingdon, John W. 1989. *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lupia, Arthur and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1994. "Who Controls? Information and the Structure of Legislative Decision Making." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, XIX:3.

## **Monday, March 31**

### LOBBYING AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

#### *Required Readings:*

- Ainsworth, Scott. 1993. "Regulating Lobbyists and Interest Group Influence." *The Journal of Politics*, 55:1 (pp. 41-56).
- Austen-Smith, David and John Wright. 1994. "Counteractive Lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science*, (pp. 25-44).
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet, Peter M. Radcliffe, and Brandon L. Bartels. 2005. "The Incidence and Timing of PAC Contributions to Incumbent U.S. House Members, 1993-94." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30(4): 549.
- Esterling, Kevin. 2007. "Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 101(1): 93.
- Hall, Richard L. and Frank L. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review*, 84: 797-820.
- Hojnacki, Marie and David C. Kimball. 1998. "The Who and How of Organizations' Lobbying Strategies in Committee." *Journal of Politics*, 61: 999-1024.
- Hojnacki, Marie and David C. Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 92 (pp. 775-790).
- Wright, John R. 1990. "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review*, 84:2 (pp. 417-438).

#### *Recommended Readings:*

- Ainsworth, Scott H. 1997. "The Role of Legislators in the Determination of Interest Group Influence." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 22 (pp. 517-534).
- Ainsworth, Scott and Itai Sened. 1993. "The Role of Lobbyists: Entrepreneurs with Two Audiences." *American Journal of Political Science*, 37:3 (pp. 834-866).
- Austen-Smith, David. 1993. "Information and Influence: Lobbying for Agendas and Votes." *American Journal of Political Science*, 37:3 (pp. 799-833).
- Denzau, Arthur T. and Michael C. Munger. 1986. "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests get Represented." *The American Political Science Review*, 80:1 (pp. 89-106).
- Evans, Diana. 1996. "Before the Roll Call: Interest Group Lobbying and Public Policy Outcomes in House Committees." *Political Research Quarterly*, (pp. 287-304).
- Wright, John R. 1985. "PACS, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective," *American Political Science Review*, 79: 400-414.
- Wright, John. 1996. *Interest Groups & Congress: Lobbying, Contributions, and Influence*. Allyn and Bacon.

## **Monday, April 7      Second Short Paper Due Today**

### CONSTITUENTS AND REPRESENTATION

#### *Required Readings:*

- Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substance Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review*, 90: 794-812.
- Cannon, David. 1999. *Race and Representation in Congress*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, **Chs. 1-3**.
- Fenno, Richard F, Jr. 1977. "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration." *The American Political Science Review*, 71:3 (pp. 883-917).
- Griffin, John D. and Brian Newman. 2005. "Are Voters Better Represented?" *Journal of Politics* 67(4): 1206-1227.
- Hill, Kim Quaile and Patricia A. Hurley. 1999. "Dyadic Representation Reappraised." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45 (pp. 109-137).
- Hutchings, Vincent L. Harwood K. McClerking and Guy-Uriel Charles. 2004. "Congressional Representation of Black Interests: Recognizing the Importance of Stability." *Journal of Politics* 66(2): 450-468.
- Lublin, David. 1999. "Racial Redistricting and African-American Representation: A Critique of 'Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substance Black Representation in Congress?'" *American Political Science Review*, 93:1.
- Miller, Warren E. and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 57.

*Recommended Readings:*

- Carson, Jamie L. 2005. "Strategy, Selection and Candidate Competition in U.S. House and Senate Elections." *Journal of Politics* 67(1): 1-28.
- Cox, Gary and Jonathan Katz. 2002. *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander*. Cambridge UP.
- Durr, Robert H, John B Gilmour, and Christina Wolbrecht. 1997. "Explaining Congressional Approval." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41:1 (pp. 175-207).
- Erikson, Robert S. 1978. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Behavior: A Reexamination of the Miller-Stokes Representation Data." *American Journal of Political Science*, 22:3 (pp. 511-535).
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. Mackuen, and James A. Stimson. 1998. "What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Schickler." *The American Political Science Review*, 92:4.
- Fenno, Richard. 1978. *Homestyle*. New York: Little Brown.
- Fowler, James. 2005. "Dynamic Responsiveness in the U.S. Senate." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 29-312.
- Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1995. *Congress as Public Enemy: Public Attitudes Toward American Political Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Shotts, Kenneth W. 2003. "Does Racial Redistricting Cause Conservative Policy Outcomes? Policy Preferences of Southern Representatives in the 1980s and 1990s (in Research Notes)" *Journal of Politics*, 65(1): 216-226.
- Shotts, Kenneth W. 2003. "Racial Redistricting's Alleged Perverse Effects: Theory, Data, and 'Reality.' (in Research Notes)" *The Journal of Politics*, 65(1): 238-243.
- Stimson, James A. Michael B. Mackuen, Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 89 (pp. 543-565).
- Weissberg, Robert. 1978. "Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress." *The American Political Science Review*, 72:2 (pp. 535-547).

## Monday, April 14

### CAREERISM IN CONGRESS

#### *Required Readings*

- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. 1987. "Progressive Ambition among United States Senators: 1972-1988." *The Journal of Politics* 49(1): 3-35.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer Lawless. 2005. "To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 642-659.
- Hall, Richard and Robert van Houweling. 1995. "Avarice and Ambition in Congress: Representatives' Decisions to Run or Retire from the U.S. House." *The American Political Science Review*, 89(1): 121-136.
- Hibbing, John R. 1986. "Ambition in the House: Behavioral Consequences of Higher Office Goals Among U.S. Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science* 30(3): 651-65.
- Hibbing, John R. 1991. "Contours of the Modern Congressional Career." *The American Political Science Review* 85(2): 405-28.
- Lawless, Jennifer and Sean M. Theriault. 2005. "Will She Stay or Will She Go? Career Ceilings and Women's Retirement from the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30(4) 581.
- Maestas, Cherie D., Sarah Fulton, L. Sandy Maisel, and Walter J. Stone. 2006. "When to Risk It? Institutions, Ambitions, and the Decision to Run for the U.S. House." *American Political Science Review* 100(2) 195.
- Wolak, Jennifer. 2007. "Strategic Retirements: The Influence of Public Preferences on Voluntary Departures from Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(2): 285.

#### *Recommended Readings:*

- Brace, Paul. 1984. "Progressive Ambition in the House: A Probabilistic Approach." *The Journal of Politics* 46(2): 556-71.
- Herrick, Rebekah, and Michael K. Moore. 1993. "Political Ambition's Effect on Legislative Behavior: Schlesinger's Typology Reconsidered and Revisited." *The Journal of Politics* 55(3): 765-76.
- Herrick, Rebekah, Michael K. Moore and John R. Hibbing. 1994. "Unfastening the Electoral Connection: The Behavior of U.S. Representatives when Reelection is No Longer a Factor." *Journal of Politics* 56(1): 214-27.
- Hibbing, John R. 1991*b*. *Congressional Careers: Contours of Life in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Matthews, Donald R. 1960. *U.S. Senators and Their World*. New York: Random House.
- Rohde, David W. 1979. "Risk-Bearing and Progressive Ambition: The Case of Members of the United States House of Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science* 23(1): 1-26.
- Rothenberg, Lawrence S. and Mitchell S. Sanders. (2000). "Severing the Electoral Connection: Shirking in the Contemporary Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 316-325.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1966. *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*. Rand McNally & Company: Chicago.

Van der Silk, Jack R. and Samuel J. Pernaciaro. 1979. "Office Ambitions and Voting Behavior in the U.S. Senate: A Longitudinal Study." *American Politics Quarterly* 7(2): 198-224.

**Monday, April 21**    **Research Papers Due**, present papers and summarize.

## **VII. The 20 most important books about Congress**

- Aldrich, John. 1995. *Why Parties?* University of Chicago Press.
- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale U.P.
- Binder, Sarah. 1997. *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the development of Congress*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Cannon, David. *Race and Representation in Congress*.
- Clausen, Aage. 1973. *How Congressmen Decide*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cox, Gary and Jonathan Katz. 2002. *Eldridge Gerry's Salamander*. Cambridge UP.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. University of California Press.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *The Economic Theory of Democracy*.
- Fenno, Richard. 1973. *Congressmen and Committees*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fenno, Richard. 1978. *Homestyle*. Little Brown.
- Fiorina, Morris. 1989. *Congress: Keystone to the Washington Establishment*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Have: Yale University Press.
- Jacobson, Gary. 2004 *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. Longman Press.
- Kiewiet, D. Roderick and Mathew McCubbins. 1991. *The Logic of Delegation*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. University of Michigan Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale University Press.
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Rhode, David. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.
- Sinclair, Barbara. 2007. *Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. C.Q. Press.

## **VIII. Important Online Resources**

### **CONGRESS**

U.S. House	<a href="http://www.house.gov">http://www.house.gov</a>
U.S. Senate	<a href="http://www.senate.gov">http://www.senate.gov</a>
Library of Congress	<a href="http://www.loc.gov">http://www.loc.gov</a>
THOMAS- Legislative Information	<a href="http://thomas.loc.gov">http://thomas.loc.gov</a>

Federal Election Commission <http://www.fec.gov>  
CRS Reports <http://openocrs.com/>  
Congressional Budget Office <http://www.cbo.gov/>  
Government Printing Office <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/>  
Congressional Universe (Lexis-Nexis) <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp>  
Congressional Biographical Directory <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>  
Legistorm <http://www.legistorm.com/index/about.html>  
Lobbying Disclosure <http://sopr.senate.gov/>  
MoneyLine <http://moneyline.cq.com/pml/home.do>  
Center for Responsive Politics <http://www.opensecrets.org/>  
The Redistricting Game <http://www.redistrictinggame.com/index.php>

### **REFERENCE/RESEARCH**

APSA Citation Guide <http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocAPSA.html>  
Vote View (Poole & Rosenthal scores) <http://www.voteview.com>

### **NEWS**

CQ Weekly Report <http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/index.php>  
(from Pitt)  
CongressDaily AM/PM <http://nationaljournal.com/pubs/congressdaily/>  
(from Pitt)  
Washington Post <http://www.washingtonpost.com/>  
The Hill <http://www.thehill.com/>  
New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com>  
Los Angeles Times <http://www.latimes.com/>  
C-SPAN <http://www.c-span.org/>  
NPR <http://www.npr.org/>