

511 Seminar: American Congress Syllabus

Instructor: Michael S. Rocca, Associate Professor
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Office Hours: Thurs 10:00am – 1:00pm
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Fall 2014
M 1:30-4:00pm
SSCI 2069

Scope and Purpose

This course is designed to provide an overview of significant research on the U.S. Congress. We shall be focusing on major books and articles concerning various substantive topics in congressional research such as congressional elections, structure and procedure, decision making and voting coalitions, and relations with the executive branch. The reading for the semester is to be construed as necessary but not sufficient preparation for comprehensive exams.

Required Texts

1. David Mayhew. 2004. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, 2nd edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. [eBook available on Google Books](#) (hardcopies available on Amazon).
- All other readings are available on JSTOR, through UNM electronic libraries or will be provided to you through Learn.

Course Requirements

Research Paper (50%)

Students will prepare a research paper that addresses an interesting and important topic relating to the study of the US Congress. It is to be of *at least* conference-paper quality, with an original theory and findings. Students are not limited to the topics addressed in class readings. However, the professor must approve all proposals in advance. Authors will present their projects to the class on the last day of class. The final research paper will be due during finals week (date TBD). Authors will present their work to the class on the last day of class. Other deadlines are as follows:

- *Week 4*: Submit topic
- *Week 6*: Identify dependent variable and research question
- *Week 8*: Identify key independent variable(s), theory and hypothesis
- *Week 12*: Submit initial results with brief interpretation
- *Week 16*: Present paper to class (10 minute presentation)
- *Week 17*: Submit final paper

The grade will be based on the following criteria:

- 1) Substance (70%)
 - Ability to justify the importance of the research question
 - Quality of the literature review
 - Presence of a thoughtful theory and hypothesis

- Use of appropriate data and methods
- Careful presentation of results
- Thoughtful conclusion

2) Style (30%)

- Formatted correctly and carefully (e.g. follows *Chicago Manual of Style*)
- Few, if any, mechanical errors (i.e. grammar, punctuation, etc.)

Class Participation (50%)

As a graduate seminar, I expect you to have read the assigned materials and to be prepared to discuss them in class. Participation and contribution are not necessarily the same things. I expect everyone to make a contribution to our weekly discussion. Each week one or two students will guide the discussion for the class period. Your participation grade will be based on my evaluation of your contribution in our weekly discussions (as both a discussion leader and participant).

READING SCHEDULE

8/18: INTRODUCTION

8/25: NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

What is new institutionalism and why is it important?

Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions

Kenneth A. Shepsle, Barry R. Weingast

Legislative Studies Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 1994), pp. 149-179

The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Sep., 1984), pp. 734-749

Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multidimensional Voting Models

Shepsle, Kenneth A.

American Journal of Political Science Vol. 23, No. 1, (Feb., 1979), pp. 27-59.

Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions

William H. Riker

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 74, No. 2 (Jun., 1980), pp. 432-446

Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms

Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary CR Taylor.

Political studies Vol. 44, No. 5 (1996), pp. 936-957.

Institutionalism as a Methodology

Diermeier, Daniel, and Keith Krehbiel.

Journal of theoretical politics Vol. 15, No. 2 (2003), pp. 123-144.

9/1: NO CLASS

9/8: CONGRESSIONAL GOALS

What motivates members of Congress?

Congress: The Electoral Connection, 2nd Edition (All)

David Mayhew

New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004.

9/15: THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION

What is representation?

Constituency Influence in Congress

Warren E. Miller; Donald E. Stokes

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Mar., 1963), pp. 45-56.

The Concept of Representation [Skim Chapters 4 & 5]

Hanna Pitkin

Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1972.

U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration

Richard F. Fenno, Jr.

The American Political Science Review Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sep., 1977), pp. 883-917

Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress

Robert Weissberg

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 72, No. 2. (Jun., 1978), pp. 535-547.

Rethinking Representation

Jane Mansbridge

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 97, No. 4. (Nov., 2003), pp. 515-528.

Representation in Congress: Constituents and Roll Calls in the 106th House

Joshua D. Clinton

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 68, No. 2 (May, 2006), pp. 397-409

Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy

Andrew Rehfeld

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 103, No. 2 (May 2009), pp. 214-230

9/22: VANISHING MARGINALS

Why are congressional elections to uncompetitive?

Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals

David R. Mayhew

Polity, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1974), pp. 295-317

Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization

Marc J. Hetherington

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 95, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), pp. 619-631

Diverging Parties: Social Change, Realignment, and Party Polarization (Chapters TBA)

Jeffrey Stonecash, Mark Brewer and Mack Mariani

Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 2003.

Deep Red and Blue Congressional Districts

Bruce Oppenheimer

In *Congress Reconsidered*, 8th Ed. 2005.

Don't Blame Redistricting for Uncompetitive Elections

Alan Abramowitz, Brad Alexander, Matthew Gunning

PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 87-90

Drawing the Line on District Competition

Michael P. McDonald

PS: Political Science and Politics

Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 2006) pp. 91-94

Drawing the Line on District Competition: A Rejoinder

Alan Abramowitz, Brad Alexander, Matthew Gunning

PS: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 2006), pp. 95-97

Re-Drawing the Line on District Competition

Michael P. McDonald

PS: Political Science and Politics

Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 2006) pp. 99-101

9/29: THE INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE

Why do incumbents win so often?

Incumbency, Campaign Spending, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections

Alan I. Abramowitz

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 53, No. 1. (Feb., 1991), pp. 34-56.

Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?

Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 40, No. 2 (May, 1996), pp. 478-497

The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy Did It

Morris P. Fiorina

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 71, No. 1 (Mar., 1977), pp. 177-181

Incumbency, Redistricting, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections

Alan I. Abramowitz, Brad Alexander, Matthew Gunning

The Journal of Politics Vol. 68, No. 1 (Feb., 2006), pp. 75–88.

The Incumbent in the Living Room: The Rise of Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections

Markus Prior

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Aug., 2006), pp. 657-673

Candidate Quality, the Personal Vote, and the Incumbency Advantage in Congress

Jamie L. Carson, Erik J. Engstrom and Jason M. Roberts

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 101, No. 2 (May, 2007), pp. 289-301

The Rising Incumbent Reelection Rate: What's Gerrymandering Got to Do with It?

John N. Friedman and Richard T. Holden

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Apr., 2009), pp. 593-611

10/6: POLARIZATION IN CONGRESS

What explains polarization in Congress why does it matter?

Political Polarization in the American Public

Morris P. Fiorina and Samuel J. Abrams

Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 11, (June 2008), pp. 563-588

Is Polarization a Myth?

Alan I. Abramowitz and Kyle L. Saunders

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 70, No. 2 (Apr., 2008), pp. 542-555

A Delayed Return to Historical Norms: Congressional Party Polarization after the Second World War

Hahrie Han, David W. Brady

British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 2007), pp. 505-531

Does Gerrymandering Cause Polarization?

Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, Howard Rosenthal

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 53, No. 3 (July 2009), pp. 666–680.

Ideological Polarization and the Vanishing of Marginals: Retrospective Roll-Call Voting in the U.S. Congress.

Jeffrey W. Ladewig

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 72, No. 2 (March 2010), pp 499-512

Leapfrog Representation and Extremism: A Study of American Voters and Their Members in Congress

Joseph Bafumi and Michael Herron

American Political Science Review, Vol. 104, No. 3 (July 2010), pp 519-542.

10/13: PARTIES AND PARTY LEADERS

How influential are parties and party leaders in Congress?

The Logic of Conditional Party Government: Revisiting the Electoral Connection

J.H. Aldrich with David W. Rohde.

Congress Reconsidered. Ed. Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. 7th ed., Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. 2001.

Legislative leviathan: party government in the House [Chapters TBA]

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins

Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

Uncovering the Hidden Effect of Party

Sarah A. Binder; Eric D. Lawrence; Forrest Maltzman

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 61, No. 3. (Aug., 1999), pp. 815-831.

Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting

James M. Snyder, Jr.; Tim Groseclose

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 44, No. 2. (Apr., 2000), pp. 193-211.

Party Discipline and Measures of Partisanship

Keith Krehbiel

American Journal of Political Science

Vol. 44, No. 2 (Apr., 2000), pp. 212-227

Where's the Party?

Keith Krehbiel

British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 23, No. 2. (Apr., 1993), pp. 235-266.

Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1998: A Test of Partisan and Ideological Power Balance Models

Eric Schickler

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), pp. 269-288

10/20: CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES (*Note: still a work in progress*)

Why do MCs organize themselves into committees, and why are committees so powerful?

Congressmen in Committees (Chapters TBA)

Richard Fenno

Boston: Little, Brown. 1973.

The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives

Nelson W. Polsby

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar., 1968), pp. 144-168

The Committee Assignment Process and the Conditional Nature of Committee Bias

Richard L. Hall, Bernard Grofman

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 84, No. 4 (Dec., 1990), pp. 1149-1166

The Nature of Congressional Committee Jurisdictions

David C. King

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Mar., 1994), pp. 48-62

The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power

Kenneth A. Shepsle, Barry R. Weingast

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 81, No. 1 (Mar., 1987), pp. 85-104

Why Are Congressional Committees Powerful?

Keith Krehbiel, Kenneth A. Shepsle, Barry R. Weingast

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 81, No. 3 (Sep., 1987), pp. 929-945

Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?

Keith Krehbiel

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 84, No. 1 (Mar., 1990), pp. 149-163

Testing Committee Composition Hypotheses for the U.S. Congress

Tim Groseclose

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 56, No. 2 (May, 1994), pp. 440-458

The Republican Revolution and the House Appropriations Committee

John H. Aldrich, David W. Rohde

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Feb., 2000), pp. 1-33

Demand-Side Theory and Congressional Committee Composition: A Constituency Characteristics Approach

E. Scott Adler, John S. Lapinski

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Jul., 1997), pp. 895-918

Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection

Jonathan N. Katz, Brian R. Sala

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 90, No. 1 (Mar., 1996), pp. 21-33

Party and Committee in Distributive Politics: Evidence from Defense Spending

Thomas M. Carsey, Barry Rundquist

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 61, No. 4 (Nov., 1999), pp. 1156-1169

Constituency Characteristics and the "Guardian" Model of Appropriations Subcommittees, 1959-1998

E. Scott Adler

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 104-114

Meeting Competing Demands: Committee Performance in the Postreform House

Forrest Maltzman

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Aug., 1995), pp. 653-682

10/27: CONGRESSIONAL DECISION MAKING

What explains congressional decision making, and do their decisions matter?

The Logic of Congressional Action (Chapters TBA)

Douglas Arnold

New Haven: Yale University Press. 1990.

Models of Legislative Voting

John W. Kingdon

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Aug., 1977), pp. 563-595

The Strategic Timing of Position Taking in Congress: A Study of the North American Free Trade Agreement

Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Laura W. Arnold, Christopher J. W. Zorn

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 91, No. 2 (Jun., 1997), pp. 324-338

The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96

Sarah A. Binder

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 93, No. 3 (Sep., 1999), pp. 519-533

Congressional Voting over Legislative Careers: Shifting Positions and Changing Constraints

Thomas Stratmann

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 94, No. 3 (Sep., 2000), pp. 665-676

Position Taking and Position Avoidance in the U.S. Senate

David R. Jones

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 65, No. 3 (Aug., 2003), pp. 851-863

Out of Step, out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting

Brandice Canes-Wrone, David W. Brady, John F. Cogan

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Mar., 2002), pp. 127-140

11/3: INTEREST GROUPS

How to interests groups influence members of Congress?

Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives

John R. Wright

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 84, No. 2 (Jun., 1990), pp. 417-438

Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees

Richard L. Hall, Frank W. Wayman

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sep., 1990), pp. 797-820

A Panel Probit Analysis of Campaign Contributions and Roll-Call Votes

Gregory Wawro

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Jul., 2001), pp. 563-579

Earmarks as a Means and an End: The Link between Earmarks and Campaign Contributions in the U.S. House of Representatives

Michael S. Rocca and Stacy B. Gordon

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 75, No. 01 (January 2013), pp 241-253

Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress

Marie Hojnacki and David C. Kimball

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Dec., 1998), pp. 775-790

Counteractive Lobbying

David Austen-Smith and John R. Wright

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Feb., 1994), pp. 25-44

11/10: RACE, ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN CONGRESS

In what ways do race, ethnicity and gender matter in the US Congress?

Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"

Jane Mansbridge

The Journal of Politics, Vol. 61, No. 3. (Aug., 1999), pp. 628-657.

Spirals of Trust? The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship between Citizens and Their Government

Claudine Gay

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 46, No. 4. (Oct., 2002), pp. 717-732.

The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation

Claudine Gay

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 95, No. 3. (Sep., 2001), pp. 589-602.

Are Women More Likely to Vote for Women's Issue Bills than Their Male Colleagues?

Michele L. Swers

Legislative Studies Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aug., 1998), pp. 435-448

Politics of Presence? Congresswomen and Symbolic Representation

Jennifer L. Lawless

Political Research Quarterly, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Mar., 2004), pp. 81-99

Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?

Charles Cameron; David Epstein; Sharyn O'Halloran

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 90, No. 4. (Dec., 1996), pp. 794-812.

Racial Redistricting and African-American Representation: A Critique of "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?"

David Lublin

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 93, No. 1. (Mar., 1999), pp. 183-186.

11/17: CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

What explains presidential success in Congress?

Measuring Presidential Success in Congress: Alternative Approaches

George C. Edwards III

The Journal of Politics Vol. 47, No. 2 (Jun., 1985), pp. 667-685

The Marginal and Time-Varying Effect of Public Approval on Presidential Success in Congress

Jon R. Bond, Richard Fleisher and B. Dan Wood

The Journal of Politics Vol. 65, No. 1 (Feb., 2003), pp. 92-110

The Bank Account Presidency: A New Measure and Evidence on the Temporal Path of Presidential Influence

Terry Sullivan

American Journal of Political Science Vol. 35, No. 3 (Aug., 1991), pp. 686-723

Can Congress control a wartime president?

Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in

Foreign Policy

James M. Lindsay

Presidential Studies Quarterly Vol. 33, No. 3, The Permanent War (Sep., 2003), 530-546

Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters

James M. Lindsay

Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 107, No. 4. (Winter, 1992-1993), pp. 607-628.

Congress, the President, and the Commitment of the U. S. Military

James Meernik

Legislative Studies Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 3. (Aug., 1995), pp. 377-392.

Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force

William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse

International Organization, Vol. 59, No. 1. (2005), pp 209-232

11/24: NO CLASS

12/1: CONGRESS AND THE COURTS

What explains Supreme Court confirmations? Is it time for a change in the process?

Delaying Justice(s): A Duration Analysis of Supreme Court Confirmations

Charles R. Shipan and Megan L. Shannon

American Journal of Political Science Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), pp. 654-668

Courting Constituents? An Analysis of the Senate Confirmation Vote on Justice Clarence Thomas

L. Marvin Overby, Beth M. Henschen, Michael H. Walsh and Julie Strauss

The American Political Science Review Vol. 86, No. 4 (Dec., 1992), pp. 997-1003

Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Justices: Partisan and Institutional Politics

Jeffrey Segal

The Journal of Politics Vol. 49, No. 4 (Nov., 1987), pp. 998-1015

Does the Congress constrain the Supreme Court?

Separation-of-Powers Games in the Positive Theory of Congress and Courts

Jeffrey A. Segal

The American Political Science Review Vol. 91, No. 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 28-44

Congressional Decision Making and the Separation of Powers

Andrew D. Martin

The American Political Science Review Vol. 95, No. 2 (Jun., 2001), pp. 361-378

The Separation of Powers, Court Curbing, and Judicial Legitimacy

Tom S. Clark

American Journal of Political Science Vol. 53, No. 4 (Oct., 2009), pp. 971-98

Congress, the Supreme Court, and Judicial Review: Testing a Constitutional Separation of Powers Model.

Segal, J. A., Westerland, C. and Lindquist, S. A.

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan 2011): 89–104.

12/8: CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY (*Note: still a work in progress*)

To what extent can Congress control the bureaucracy?

Bureaucratic Discretion or Congressional Control? Regulatory Policymaking by the Federal Trade Commission

Barry R. Weingast, Mark J. Moran

Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Oct., 1983), pp. 765-800

Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms

Mathew D. McCubbins, Thomas Schwartz

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Feb., 1984), pp. 165-179

An Assessment of the Positive Theory of 'Congressional Dominance'

Terry M. Moe

Legislative Studies Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Nov., 1987), pp. 475-520

A Theory of Political Control and Agency Discretion

Randall L. Calvert, Mathew D. McCubbins and Barry R. Weingast

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 1989), pp. 588-611

Congressional Influence on Bureaucracy

John Ferejohn, Charles Shipan

Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization, Vol. 6, Special Issue: [Papers from the Organization of Political Institutions Conference, April 1990] (1990), pp. 1-20

Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control

Mathew D. McCubbins, Roger G. Noll and Barry R. Weingast

Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization

Vol. 3, No. 2 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 243-277

The Political Control of Bureaucracies under Asymmetric Information

Jeffrey S. Banks and Barry R. Weingast

American Journal of Political Science

Vol. 36, No. 2 (May, 1992), pp. 509-524

Administrative Procedures, Information, and Agency Discretion

David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran

American Journal of Political Science
Vol. 38, No. 3 (Aug., 1994), pp. 697-722

Political Control Versus Expertise: Congressional Choices about Administrative Procedures

Kathleen Bawn

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 1 (Mar., 1995), pp. 62-73