POL 603  Seminar on Legislative Politics
Fall 2006 Monday, 9:00-11:30  313 Guyton

This graduate-level seminar will introduce students to seminal studies and recent research on legislative politics. The focus will be the U.S. Congress, perhaps our best window for watching representative democracy at work. In this course, we will discuss various theoretical frameworks for studying Congress (and legislatures generally) as well as several topics of empirical research (congressional recruitment, elections, committee and party organization, etc...). We will conclude by reading about and discussing some emerging topics and interconnections with the legislative studies literature.

A good theme for this seminar in 2006 might be the sources and consequences of party polarization in Congress. Consider the roller-coaster events of the past decade. In the wake of 1994 Republican electoral turnover, Speaker Gingrich was viewed as an exalted, Moses-like figure leading his Republican followers out of the desert after 40 years as the minority party. The Speaker orchestrated the whirlwind 100 day schedule to vote on the Contract With America. At the time, the benefits of an empowered leader and disciplined rank-and-file never appeared so evident. Not a full year later, though, Gingrich was being blamed for shutting the government down during the now infamous 1995 budget impasse. During the 105th Congress, the Speaker narrowly survived a coup d'état from among his own copartisans. During the 1998 midterm elections, the Clinton impeachment proceedings polarized both chambers and culminated in the chaotic shakeup of the House Republican leadership. At the time, critics claimed that the excesses of party government were now resulting in a decline of institutional civility and the continuation of policy gridlock. In 2000, the Bush campaign asserted the need for a new bipartisan brand of congressional politics. Bipartisanship was achieved with the Administration’s Education Reform. However, other major items of the Bush Administration’s legislative agenda – tax cuts and the Medicare reform – were accomplished through narrow partisan coalitions. The Iraq War joint resolution in 2002 provided some new coalitions cross-cutting party lines. However, as public attitudes toward the Iraq War have changed, this bipartisan coalition supporting the War has waned. Since the 2004 election, the legislative conflict has become increasingly partisan and polarized. Congressional ethics disputes (the most notable leading to the resignation of Majority Leader DeLay), low presidential approval, and gas price increases have resulted in an anti-incumbency mood going into the 2006 midterm elections. Congressional Democrats hold some hope of regaining majority control.

With this recent history, we may ask when and to what degree is bipartisan coalition formation feasible or even desireable in today’s Congress? Perhaps we may explore in this seminar the changing ties and liberties of party rank-and-file and leaders in a legislature whose institutional design does not compel strictly cohesive party coalitions.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

This seminar has several goals. First, for students intending to teach and conduct research, this course should provide a well-structured introduction to both the substance and manner of academic research of Congress. We will discuss both classic and current theoretical frameworks and empirical analyses. The final paper will be an opportunity for you to structure and conduct your own independent analysis.

Another goal of this course is to provide a means for exploring the advantages and limits of the legislative process as a governing and representational system. Throughout this course, we implicitly contrast two abstract principles structuring a democratic, legislative institution: representation and governance. Representation is the degree to which elected officials reflect and respond to the preferences and characteristics of their constituents. Governance is the practice of making analytically sound, timely, and
well-justified public policy choices, as well as managing and overseeing the development of existing policies in a continuing, reasoned manner.

Sometimes, as we will see, the legislative principles of representation and governance are congruent. That is, legislators' motives, institutional structure, and external forces improve both legislative representation and governance. In other ways, the two principles seem to work against each other. This course will provide an opportunity for you to personally assess how well Congress as a democratic institution works to both represent and govern.

COURSE FORMAT:

This course will follow a seminar format. This means that you are expected to regularly participate in discussions. **Everyone is to read critically each assigned reading before class.** You should be prepared to make informed and thoughtful comments regarding each author's research question(s), the question’s theoretical or empirical relevance, the research design and methods employed, and the work’s external and internal validity. The usefulness of our class discussions will largely depend on your level of preparation and participation.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

I will base your grade equally on four assigned works: (1) weekly reviews, (2) participation and presentations, (3) a midterm, and (4) a final exam or research paper. To facilitate your class preparation, I first ask that you hand in (to my mailbox in 210 Lester) or email as a Word attachment a brief review of the week's assigned reading no later than 8:00 a.m. the day of the class. This morning due date will allow me to read your reviews before class. Your weekly review should be between 250 and 300 words – about the length of a typed and single spaced page. Late reviews will be assessed a grading penalty (1/2 letter grade per day). Given busy schedules, you may choose one week to not complete a review.

Generally, your reviews should be about any or all of the following: a) an informed response to the question posed for that week's reading on the course syllabus; b) a brief summary and critique of the assigned reading; and/or c) your ideas of connections between various readings or extensions to the current research. I don't want to limit you too much with regard to the content of your weekly reviews. However, my strongest advice is for you not to infer from the word and page length a casualness in the assignment. I expect that you'll often find it hard to write a clearly written and insightful essay in this limited space. Your review should demonstrate that you critically read the complete assignment. Beyond that, focus on only one or two core criticisms/comments recognizing the page length constraint.

**Class participation and presentations** will determine the second part of your grade. You must be prepared to participate regularly during each seminar. Thus, all assigned readings must be completed before the scheduled class. This seminar will not work unless everyone participates in the discussions. While frequency of participation is not all important, you should be prepared to participate in the discussion no less than three times per session. I will record participation grades as the semester progresses. Please speak with me if you have any questions about your participation.

Additionally, each week there will be readings ("special reports" on the class schedule) that we, as a class, will not be able to complete. Everyone should select at least two readings during the semester to present before the class. You may improve your participation grade by choosing to present more than two. Special report entries on the course schedule reading list below are designated as either a "*" or "**." Longer special reports or ones requiring some statistical methods background are given a double asterisk. Non-first-year, graduate students are encouraged to choose these double-star, special reports. Your presentation should be about 10 minutes long and should include all of the following: a) a brief (1-2 pages) written handout of the reading to distribute to the other class members; b) an oral summary of the reading; c) a concluding critique perhaps linking the reading to others or offering questions initiating a discussion for the class.

A third component of your grade will be a midterm exam or paper. The exam will be held during the first hour and half of week 7. It will have an essay format and will test your retention and synthesis of the readings from the first half of the class. You have an option to either take the in-class midterm or to complete a written assignment. The writing assignment will be to draft an annotated undergraduate syllabus and a lecture(s) on one course topic from your syllabus. I will discuss this assignment in the coming weeks.

The final quarter of your grade will be determined by a research paper on a topic relevant to the course. I prefer that you write a paper that: 1) poses a single, clear question, 2) includes a discussion of the
theoretical or substantive relevance of that question (linking it with works from the legislative studies literature) and 3) incorporates some data in order to respond to that question. Students without methods training may choose to propose a research agenda/design rather than analysis. Begin thinking about this paper early in the semester. For Oct.9, after the midterm, you will be asked to briefly discuss and present a single page summary of your preliminary paper topic. By Oct. 16, I ask that you submit a 3-5 page, single-spaced, progress report of the research question, introduction, literature review, and methodology. The progress report will count as a quarter of the overall paper grade. The final paper should be a typed, double-spaced, 10-20 page paper with a reference page and appropriate citation and text style. The paper will be due at the University-scheduled final exam time.

ASSIGNED BOOKS:

You may want to check the following texts (not required) as useful references on the congressional process:

There will be assigned readings of photocopied articles as well (designated as "(photo)" on the readings schedule). A copy of each article will be on reserve at the Reserved Reading Room of Williams Library. Additionally, a copy of each article will be available in the reserved reading file cabinet in Room 205 Deupree under PSC 603. I also have JSTOR links to some of the articles on the web-page version of this syllabus.

NOTE: The "recommended" readings following the special report entries are listed to serve as initial readings for graduate students preparing for masters and Ph.D. exams. A "#" indicates that the book or article may be read in preparation for your M.A. degree. A "+" next to the reading indicates that it should be read in preparation for a Ph.D. comprehensive exam. These Ph.D. recommended readings are not exhaustive of all important research on legislative studies. They are only a base of readings organized by topic that all legislative studies scholars should be familiar with. Students preparing for a Ph.D. comprehensive exam should examine other readings they find useful or important beyond those listed below. I’ve also included readings designated as "!?" that are readings that you may find interesting to read if you focus on that particular topic.

COURSE ORGANIZATION:
1. (Aug.21) Introduction to Course. Complete the assigned readings and review for next Monday.

   1. Representation vs. Governance: Contending Perspectives Regarding the Normative Ideals of a Legislator and Legislature

   2. (Aug. 28) Legislative Representation and Governance: What do these terms mean? To what extent does each goal reinforce or limit the other with regard to Congress? What were the founders’ expectations about how and to what extent these principles would be attained? How do legislators work toward these principles in practice?

   Assignment:
   Richard Fenno. Homestyle. ch. 1, 2, 7 (photo)
   Richard Forgette. Congress, Parties, and Puzzles. ch.s 1-3 (photo)
Special Reports:
* Miller, Warren and Donald Stokes. 1963. “Constituency Influence in Congress.” APSR (March) JSTOR.

Recommended:
+ Federalist Papers. (interests) 47, 51. (House) 52-53, 55-57 (Senate) 62-63

September 4 – Labor Day Holiday

II. Different Theoretical Frameworks and Levels of Analysis To the Study of Legislatures.

A. Systemic Perspectives.

3. (Sept. 11) The Historical and Comparative Approaches to Studying Congress: How has Congress evolved over time? How do different electoral systems and constitutional design affect the internal distribution of power within legislatures?

Assignment:

Special Reports:
* Ehrenhalt, Alan. The United States of Ambition, selected chapters.

Recommended:
# Binder, Sarah. 1997. Minority Rights, Majority Rule,
+ Sundquist, James. The Decline and Resurgence of Congress.
(on comparative legislative systems)
+ Shugart, Matthew and John Carey. Presidents and assemblies : Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics
+ Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina. The Personal Vote.
entitled The Origins of the Standing Committees and the Development of the Modern House. Rice University Studies.)


4. (Sept. 18) A Distributive (or vote-maximizing) Model of legislative behavior and organization: What motivates legislators' behavior? How do these motives limit or enhance legislators from fulfilling the constitutional and normative expectations of Congress? How does it affect the structure of the institution?

Assignment:

Special Reports:

Recommended:
+ Olson, David. Democratic Legislative Institutions: A Comparative View, selected chapters.
+ Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina. The Personal Vote.
(The distributive theory literature is huge. For a good review, see Shepsle and Weingasts’ edited volume, Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions, chap. 1)

5. (Sept. 25) Informational/Organizational Model of Legislative Organization and Behavior: What motivates legislators' behavior? How do these motives limit or enhance legislators from fulfilling the constitutional and normative expectations of Congress? How does it affect the structure of the institution?

Assignment:
Keith Krehbeil. Information and Legislative Organization, chapters 1-3. (photo)
Special Report:

** Adler chapters?

Recommended:
+ Krehbeil, Keith. Pivotal Politics, chap.s 1, 2.
(Although coming at the topic from a completely different theoretical framework, systems or organization theory approaches to the study of legislative organization share some of the underlying premises of the informational theory. Below are some seminal readings in the systems-level approach.)

6. (Oct. 2) Partisan Model of Legislative Organization and Behavior: What motivates legislators' behavior? How do these motives limit or enhance legislators from fulfilling the constitutional and normative expectations of Congress? How does it affect the structure of the institution?

Assignment:
Cox, Gary and Mathew McCubbins. 2005. Setting the Agenda.

Special Reports:

Recommended:
+ Aldrich, John. Why Parties?
+ Brady, David, Joseph Cooper, and Patricia Hurley. 1979. "The Decline of Party in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1887-1968. LSQ 4: 381-407. (This is an alternative view of the role of congressional party organization.)

7. (Oct. 9) Doing Legislative Research: design, data sources, reporting results.
III. Empirical Studies of the Contemporary Congress

A. Legislative Electoral Process

8. (Oct. 16) Congressional Elections: Recruitment, Campaigns and Incumbency Advantage: What determines who wins congressional elections? What is the relative effect of national factors, local factors, personality, and party?

Assignment:

Special Reports:
* Readings on the nature and consequences of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act (tba)

Recommended:
+ Abramowitz, Alan and Jeffrey Segal. 1992. Senate Elections, chap.s 3.4.5
!? Tuft, Edward. Political Control of the Economy.
+ Canon, David. Actors, Athletes, and Astronauts.
+ Ehrenhalt, Alan. The United States of Ambition, ch.s 1,2,11.

B. Congressional Organization

10. (Oct. 23) Congressional Procedures and Decisionmaking: How is the floor behavior procedurally controlled? How do members decide how to vote?

Assignment:

Special Reports:
11. (Oct. 30) The Institutional Role of Committees: Does the committee system enhance legislative governance? Does it principally serve a distributive policy function?

Assignment:

Special Report:

Recommended:

12. (Nov. 6) Legislative Party Leadership: How are the legislative party leadership organized and why does it matter?

Assignment:

Special Reports:

Recommended:

IV. Current Issues/Topics in Legislative Studies: (We have two class sections remaining: Nov. 13 and Nov. 27. We can discuss any two of the nine topics below. Which topics are of greatest interest to you? We will choose as a class.)

13. Congress and Southern Politics: How and why have the southern electorate and elected officials changed? What effect have these changes had on congressional representation and governance?

Assignment:
Fenno, Richard. 2000. *Congress At the Grassroots*. (selections)
14. The Congress and Foreign Policy: How and to what effect is Congress an important policy actor in foreign policymaking?

Assignment:
James Lindsay. “End of An Era: Congress and Foreign Policy after the Cold War” (photo)
Deering, Chris. “ Principle or Party”, The Contentious Senate (photo)
Stephen Cohen. “Trade Policy Decisionmaking: Competing Explanations” (photo)

Special Reports:
TBA

15. The U.S. Senate and Bicameralism: What makes the Senate unique to the House? What advantages and costs are associated with a bicameral legislature?

Assignment:

Suggested Reading:

Recommended:

16. Congress, Public Attitudes, and the Media: Why do people not like Congress? How does the media report on the institution? How are misperceptions created from these reporting styles?

Assignment:

Special Reports:
* Mann, T. and Norman Ornstein, (ed.s) 1994. Congress, the Press, and the Public, selected chap.s

17. Divided Government: What causes divided government? Is it a deliberate choice of voters? Alternatively, is it an artifact of our electoral process and voters’ decisionmaking process? How and to what extent does it matter that we have divided government?

Assignment:

Special Reports:
Recommended:

18. Lobbying, Money, and Ethics: The Politics of Congressional Reform (lobbying reform, term limits, campaign finance, committee reform, ethics reform, pay and perks, party organization rules, congressional budget rules, limits on filibustering, etc.): Do reforms need to be adopted and would they have the intended effect? Would they have unintended effects?

Assignment:
Lobbying Reform (TBA)
Budget and institutional reform (TBA)
Campaign Finance Reform (TBA)

Special Reports:

Recommended:
+ Hibbing, J. *Congressional Careers*. ch.s 4 and 5.

19. Group and Minority Representation in Congress: How does it matter than women, blacks and hispanics receive less descriptive representation in Congress?

Assignment:
Canon, David. *Race and Representation in Congress*, selected chapters.

Special Reports:
* Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie, et.al. “Gender Turnover and Roll Call Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives.”

20. Redistricting and Candidate Entry: Who runs? How do potential candidates make their decision to run or not? How has that changed over time? Does it matter that women, blacks and Hispanics receive less descriptive representation in Congress?

Assignment:
Forrette, R. and Glenn Platt "Partisan Stratification and Gerrymandering” Typescript.

Special Reports:

**RESEARCH PAPER DUE AT UNIVERSITY-SCHEDULED FINAL EXAM TIME.**