

## **POLS 518 Legislative Studies**

University of Notre Dame, Spring 2003  
3:00-5:30 T 326 Computer/Math

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Office Hours: By Appointment

### Purpose:

This course explores at an advanced level the theoretical and empirical issues that arise in the study of legislatures. Students who complete this course should be able to answer any question about the U.S. Congress, or legislatures generally, that appears on a comprehensive exam. The course is also designed to generate research ideas for theses that contain a significant legislative component. Finally, the course is intended to be practical, so you will engage in many of the activities that faculty members engage in every day, including reviewing manuscripts “for publication,” preparing a conference proposal, presenting your work to an audience, and writing a research paper.

### Organization:

The course is organized as a traditional reading seminar. Therefore, I will not arrive at each of our meetings prepared to lecture. Rather, I will prepare by reading, just like each of you. Each student should come to the seminar prepared not only to talk, but also to share with the group some idea of what we should talk about. To aid in each week’s discussion, each student should arrive with at least one issue (clarifying question or criticism), and ideally more, to add to the discussion agenda. At the beginning of each meeting we will go around the table and form a list of discussion topics. I also ask that each student attempt to come up with a potential research project based on each week’s readings, and that you share this idea with the group so that we can discuss it.

### Reading Materials:

The following books are on order at the ND bookstore, or can be purchased from an on-line vendor:

Shepsle and Weingast, *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*  
Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization*  
Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*  
Cox and McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*  
Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*  
Fenno, *Congressmen in Committees*

Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*  
Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action*

Many of the additional readings are available on JSTOR. Others will be made available in the graduate office lounge.

### Course Requirements:

#### Proposal

You will prepare a paper proposal in the form that would be submitted as a proposal to an academic conference. The proposal should identify the research question, briefly summarize the relevant literature, introduce the contribution of the paper, explain how the paper will test the proposition (if relevant), and summarize the paper's conclusions (if in hand).

#### Final Paper

Over the course of the semester you should meet the stated deadlines for providing me with a paper topic, an abstract/conference proposal, a draft, and a final version. Your final paper should show considerable progress toward a manuscript of the quality that could be submitted to an academic journal. In other words, if your paper is primarily empirical, and the data are relatively easy to come by, a paper of 25-30 pages is expected. On the other hand, if you have an idea for a research project that will require you to acquire new data, it would be appropriate for your final paper to present a research design, showing how you plan to collect the (currently unavailable) data and what you plan to do with it once it is in hand.

I am amenable to your "combining" the paper for this course with a paper required for another course, but only if the University, the Department, and the other instructor have no objection.

#### Presentation

On our last meeting day each student in the seminar will present their research project in a 15-20 minute talk. This talk should use some form of visual aids (transparencies, Powerpoint, etc.) Time allowing, each talk will be followed by 10-15 minutes of questions.

### Deadlines:

"Conference" Paper Proposal is due February 25  
Draft Paper is due April 22  
Final Paper is due May 6 at 12:00 noon.

### Grading:

Presentation:	30%
Final Paper:	50%
Participation:	20%

Class Schedule and Readings:

January 14 Introduction

January 21 Theoretical Perspectives on Legislative Organization

Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1979. "Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multidimensional Voting Models." *American Journal of Political Science*. 23: 27-59.

Weingast and Marshall, "The Industrial Organization of Congress," *Journal of Political Economy* (1988): 132-63

Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization*, Chapter 1-3

Weingast, "A Rational Choice Perspective on Congressional Norms," *AJPS* (1979): 245-62

Shepsle and Weingast, *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*, chapter 1

January 28 The Search for Party Effects

Snyder and Groseclose, "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000): 193-211

Cox and McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*, TBA

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

Krehbiel, Keith. 2000. "Party Discipline and Measures of Partisanship." *American Journal of Political Science*. 44: 212-227.

Binder, Sarah A., Eric D. Lawrence, and Forrest Maltzman. 1999. "Uncovering the Hidden Effects of Party." *Journal of Politics*. 61: (3) 815-831 (and Krehbiel response).

Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*

Schickler and Rich, "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House." *AJPS* (October 1997), pp. 1340-1375

Cox and McCubbins, "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence," *AJPS* (October 1997), pp. 1376-1386

February 4 Committees

Fenno, *Congressmen in Committees*, Introduction, Chapters 2, 3, 4

Londregan, John, and James M. Snyder. 1994. "Comparing Committee and Floor Preferences." *PTCI*.

Stewart and Groseclose. 1998. "The Value of Committee Seats in the House, 1947-1991" *AJPS* 453-74.

Shepsle and Weingast, "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power," *APSR* 81 (March 1987): 85-104

Krehbiel. 1990. "Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?" *APSR* 149-63.

Adler, E. Scott, and John S. Lapinski. 1997. "Demand-Side Theory and Congressional Committee Composition: A Constituency Characteristics Approach." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41: 895-918.

King, "The Nature of Congressional Committee Jurisdictions," *APSR* 88 (1994): 48-62

February 11 Roll Call Voting

Weisberg, "Evaluating Theories of Congressional Roll-Call Voting," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 22, No. 3. (Aug., 1978), pp. 554-577.

Jackson and Kingdon, "Ideology, Interest Group Scores, and Legislative Votes," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 36, No. 3. (Aug., 1992), pp. 805-823.

Rothenberg and Sanders. 2000. *AJPS*

Calvert, Randall L., and Richard F. Fenno, Jr. 1994. "Strategy and Sophisticated Voting in the Senate." *Journal of Politics*. 56: 349-376.

Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Laura W. Arnold, and Christopher J. W. Zorn. 1997. "The Strategic Timing of Position Taking in Congress: A Study of the North American Free Trade Agreement." *American Political Science Review*. 91: 324-338.

February 18 Week Off – Work on Paper

February 25 Veto Politics

Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*, Chs. 2, 6

Tsebelis, George (1999). "Veto Players and Law Production in Parliamentary Democracies: An Empirical Analysis." *APSR* 93(3):591-608.

Andrew Martin *APSR* June 2001

Sullivan, "Bargaining with the President" *APSR* 1990

March 4 Congress and The Bureaucracy

Moe, "An Assessment of the Positive Theory of 'Congressional Dominance'," 12 *LSQ* (November 1987): 475-520

McCubbins, M., R. Noll, and B.R. Weingast, "Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control," Vol. 3, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, (1987), pp: 243-277.

Calvert, McCubbins, and Weingast, "A Theory of Political Control and Agency Discretion," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 33, No. 3. (Aug., 1989), pp. 588-611.

Bawn, "Political Control Versus Expertise: Congressional Choices About Administrative Procedures," *APSR* 89 (March 1995): 62-73

Epstein, David, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Divided Government and the Design of Administrative Procedures: A Formal Model and Empirical Test." *Journal of Politics*. 58: 373-397.

- March 11 Mid-Semester Break
- March 18 Representation
- Eulau, et al., "The Role of the Representative," *APSR* (Sept 1959): 742-56
- Miller and Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress" *APSR* 1973
- Erickson, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Behavior," *AJPS* (1978): 511-35
- Gerber and Lewis "Beyond the Median" – Manuscript
- Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 90: 794-812.
- Lublin, David. 1999. "Racial Redistricting and African-American Representation: A Critique of Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 93: 183-186.
- Canon. *Race, Redistricting, and Representation*, Introduction, Chs. 3, 4, 6
- March 25 Home Style
- Fenno, "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies," 71 *APSR* (September 1977): 883-916
- Fenno, "Home Style Revisited," Manuscript
- April 1 Legislative Elections
- Jacobson, "The Marginals Never Vanished," *AJPS* 31 (1987): 126-41
- Cox and Katz, "The Reapportionment Revolution and Bias in U. S. Congressional Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 43, No. 3. (Jul., 1999), pp. 812-841.
- Alesina and Rosenthal, "Partisan Cycles and Congressional Elections and the Macroeconomy," *The American Political Science Review* 83 (1989): 373-398
- Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, TBA

Jacobson, "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections," *American Political Science Review* 72 (June 1978): 469-91

Cox and Magar "The Value of Majority Status" *APSR* June 1999 pp. 299-309

April 8 Personal Vote

Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, "The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote," *APSR* (March 1984): 110-25

Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action*, Chapters 1,4,5,6

Lee, "Senate Representation and Coalition Building in Distributive Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94 (2000): 59-72

Carey, John M. and Matthew S. Shugart (1995). "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Systems." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-439.

April 15 Comparisons: Historical

Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives" *APSR* 1968

Sarah Binder. "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990." *APSR* 90(March 1996):8-20.

Schickler, Eric. 2000. "Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1998: A Test of Partisan and Ideological Power Balance Models." *American Political Science Review*. 94: 269-288.

Stewart and Weingast, "Stacking the Senate, Changing the Nation," *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (1992): 223-71

Bianco, Spence, and Wilkerson "The Electoral Connection in the Early Congress" *AJPS* 1996 145-71.

Crook and Hibbing, "A Not-so-distant Mirror" *APSR* 1997 845-53.

Katz and Sala, "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection," *APSR* 90 (1996): 21-33

Kernell and McDonald, "Congress and America's Political Development" *AJPS* 1999 792-811.

Jenkins. 2000. "Examining the Robustness of Ideological Voting" *AJPS* 811-22.

April 22 Comparisons: Spatial

Rasch, Bjorn E. 2000. "Parliamentary floor voting procedures and agenda setting in Europe." *LSQ* 25(1) February: 3-23.

Remington and Smith, "Political Goals, Institutional Context, and the Choice of an Electoral System: The Russian Parliamentary Election Law," *American Journal of Political Science* (November 1996).

Powell, G. Bingham and Georg Vanberg. 2000. "Election laws, disproportionality and Median correspondence: Implications for two visions of democracy." *BJPS* 30 July: 383-411.

April 29 Student Presentations of Research Projects