

The U.S. Congress
POLI 703
Spring 2019

PROFESSOR	Jason M. Roberts
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LOCATION	FedEx 3033
TIME	Tuesday 12:30 – 3:20

Course Description

This seminar is intended as a broad survey of the literature on the U.S. Congress. In this course we will discuss the origins and development of the U.S. Congress, congressional elections, the committee system, legislative process, the role of political parties, and lawmaking.

Expectations

This is a seminar course, so student preparation and participation are essential. Students are **REQUIRED** to read the assigned materials **BEFORE** class and be prepared to discuss them during the seminar. Readings that were assigned in POLI 700 — American Core are listed below the assigned readings. I expect you to be familiar with these readings, if you are not, please review them before class.

Required Texts

- Oleszek, Walter J., Mark Oleszek, Elizabeth Rybicki, and Bill Heniff. 2015. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. 10th edition. Washington D.C.: CQ Press.
- We will read many other books (see below), but you can decide for yourself whether to own them or to borrow from the library.

Course Requirements

Course Engagement 35% Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before seminar meets and be an active participant in seminar discussions.

Book Review 10% Students will complete and present a book review of a major, non-assigned, book on congressional politics. The instructor will provide a list of acceptable books, or students may get approval for books not on the list. Upon completion, students will make a short oral presentation on the book and provide a paper copy of the review to other seminar participants.

Discussion Leader 20% Students will be responsible for preparing discussion questions and leading discussion for 2 seminar meetings.

Research Paper 35% Students will complete a research paper on the U.S. Congress.

Miscellany

Incompletes

A survey of graduate studies directors would reveal that incompletes are one of the best predictors of failure to complete a graduate program. In addition, they cause numerous headaches for students and faculty. As such, I will award an incomplete only in extreme circumstances. Please do not plan on taking an incomplete.

Academic Dishonesty

Academic dishonesty is broadly defined as submitting work that is not your own without attribution, and is not acceptable in this or any other academic course. Any academic dishonesty found on an assignment results in a failing grade for that assignment and will be prosecuted to the fullest extent permissible under University of North Carolina guidelines, which can be accessed at: <http://honor.unc.edu>.

Student Disabilities

Any student with a documented disability condition (e.g. physical, learning, psychiatric, systemic, vision, hearing, etc.) who needs to arrange reasonable accommodations should contact the instructor and the Academic Success Program (919-962-7227) at the beginning of the semester.

Tentative Course Outline

January 15, 2019—Motivations

- Binder, Sarah. 2015. "Challenges Ahead for Legislative Studies." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 40: 5-11.
- Grose, Christian, Neil Malhotra, and Robert Van Houweling. 2015. "Explaining Explanations." *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 724-743.
- Grimmer, Justin, Solomon Messing, and Sean Westwood. 2012. "How Words and Money Cultivate a Personal Vote: The Effect of Legislator Credit Claiming on Constituent Credit Allocation." *American Political Science Review* 106: 703-719.
- Sulkin, Tracy. 2009. "Campaign Appeals and Legislative Action." *Journal of Politics* 71: 1093-1108.
- Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2001. "Process Preferences and American Politics: What the People Want Government to Be." *American Political Science Review* 95: 145-153.
- Chafetz, Josh. 2017. *Congress's Constitution* New Haven: Yale University Press, Ch. 3.

Core Readings

- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fenno, Richard F., Jr. 1977. “U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies.” *American Political Science Review* 71: 883-916.

January 22, 2019—Elections I, Why Run for Congress?

- Jacobson, Gary C. and Jamie L. Carson. 2015. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. 9th edition. New York: Rowman and Littlefield. Skim if material is unfamiliar.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2011. “Gaining and Losing Interest in Running for Public Office: The Concept of Dynamic Political Ambition.” *Journal of Politics* 73: 443-462.
- Maestas, Cherie D., and Cynthia R. Rugeley. 2008. “Assessing the ‘Experience Bonus’ through Examining Strategic Entry, Candidate Quality, and Campaign Receipts in U.S. House Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 520-535.
- Thomsen, Danielle M. 2014. “Ideological Moderates Won’t Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress.” *Journal of Politics* 76: 786-797.
- Hassell, Hans. 2015. “Party Control of Party Primaries.” *Journal of Politics* 78: 75-87.
- Desmarais, Bruce, Ray La Raja, and Michael Kowal. 2015. “The Fates of Challengers in U.S. House Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 194-211.

Core Readings

- Jacobson, Gary C. 1989. “Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946-86.” *American Political Science Review* 83: 773-793.
- 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: 1-26.
- 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: 195-208.

January 29, 2019—Elections II, Incumbency Advantage

- Mayhew, David 1974. “Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals.” *Polity* 6: 295-317.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1978. “The Marginals Never Vanished.” *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 126-41.
- Cox, Gary and Jonathan Katz. 1996. “Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?” *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 478-497.
- Buttice, Matthew K., and Walter J. Stone. 2012. “Candidates Matter: Policy and Quality Differences in Congressional Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 74: 870-887.

- Kim, Henry A. and Brad L. LeVeck. 2013. “Money, Reputation, and Incumbency in U.S. House Elections, or Why Marginals Have Become More Expensive.” *American Political Science Review* 107: 492-504.
- Hall, Andrew and Daniel Thompson. 2018. “Who Punishes Extremist Nominees?” *American Political Science Review* 112: 509-524.

Core Readings

- Jacobson, Gary. 2015. “It’s Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 77: 861-873.

February 5, 2019—Elections III, Politics of Redistricting

- Miller, Warren E., and Donald Stokes. 1963. “Constituency Influence in Congress.” *American Political Science Review* 57: 45-57.
- Broockman, David E. 2014. “Distorted Communication, Unequal Representation: Constituents Communicate Less to Representatives Not of Their Race.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 307-321.
- Hetherington, Marc., Bruce Larson, and Suzan Globetti. 2003. “The Redistricting Cycle and Strategic Candidate Decisions in U.S. House Races.” *Journal of Politics* 65: 1221-1234.
- Abramowitz, Alan, Brad Alexander, and Matthew Gunning. 2006. “Incumbency, Redistricting, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 68: 75-88.
- Overby, Marvin L., and Kenneth M. Cosgrove. 1996. “Unintended Consequences?: Racial Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests.” *Journal of Politics* 58: 540-550.
- Hayes, Matthew, Matthew Hibbing, and Tracy Sulkin. 2010. “Redistricting, Responsiveness, and Issue Attention.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35: 91-115.
- Broockman, David E. 2014. “Distorted Communication, Unequal Representation: Constituents Communicate Less to Representatives Not of Their Race.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 307-321.

February 12, 2019—Elections IV, Historical Perspectives

- Engstrom, Erik J. 2012. “The Rise and Decline of Turnout in Congressional Elections: Electoral Institutions, Competition, and Strategic Mobilization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56: 373-386.
- Finocchiaro, Charles J. and Scott MacKenzie. 2018. “Making Washington Work.” *American Journal of Political Science* 62: 113-131.
- Schiller, Wendy, Charles Stewart III, and Benjamin Xiong. 2013. “U.S. Senate Elections Before the 17th Amendment: Political Party Cohesion and Conflict, 1871–1913.” *Journal of Politics* 75: 835-847.
- Carson, Jamie, Erik Engstrom, and Jason M. Roberts. 2006. “Redistricting, Candidate Entry, and the Politics of Nineteenth Century U.S. House Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April 2006): 283-293.

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James Snyder, and Charles Stewart. 2000. “Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 17-34.

Core Readings

- Carson, Jamie, Erik Engstrom, and Jason M. Roberts. 2007. “Candidate Quality, the Personal Vote, and the Incumbency Advantage in Congress.” *American Political Science Review*, 101: 289-301.

February 19, 2019—Institutional Dynamics, Theories of Organization

- Oleszek et al. summaries due!
- Riker, William. 1980. “Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions.” *American Political Science Review* 74: 432-46.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1988. “Spatial Models of Legislative Choice.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 8: 259-319.
- Weingast, Barry and William Marshall. 1989. “The Industrial Organization of Congress; or Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets.” *Journal of Political Economy* 96: 132-163.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. University of Michigan Press, selections.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Barry Weingast. 1987. “The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power.” *American Political Science Review* 81: 85-105.
- Smith, Steven S. “An Essay on Sequence, Position, Goals, and Committee Power.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 13: 151-76.

February 26, 2019—Institutional Dynamics, Party Effects

- Rohde, David W. 2013. “Reflections on the Practice of Theorizing: CPG in the 21st Century.” *Journal of Politics* 75: 849-864.
- Hall, Andrew B. and Kenneth Shepsle. 2014. “The Changing Value of Seniority in the U.S. House: CPG Revised.” *Journal of Politics* 76: 98-113.
- Cooper, Joseph, and David Brady. 1981. “Institutional Context and Leadership Style.” *American Political Science Review* 75: 411-25.
- Rohde, David W. 1994. “Parties and Committees in the House: Member Motivations, Issues, and Institutional Arrangements.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19: 341-359.
- Bateman, David, Josh Clinton, and John Lapinski. 2017. “A House Divided?” *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 698-714.

Core Readings

- Cox, Gary W. and Matthew D. McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, selections.
- Rohde, David W. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House*. University of Chicago Press, selections.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 235-66.

March 5, 2019—Institutional Dynamics, More Parties

- Evans, C. Lawrence. 2018. *The Whips*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

March 12, 2019—No Class

March 19, 2019—Roll Call Voting

- Kingdon, John. 1977. "Models of Legislative Voting." *Journal of Politics* 39: 563-95.
- Poole Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 2007. *Ideology and Congress*. Selections.
- Richman, Jesse. 2011. "Parties, Pivots, and Policies: The Status Quo Test." *American Political Science Review* 105: 151-165.
- Roberts, Jason M. 2007. "The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Data: A Cautionary Tale." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32: 341-360.
- Lawrence, Eric. 2013. "The Publication of Precedents and Its Effect on Legislative Behavior." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 31-58.
- Nokken, Timothy P. 2013. "Uncertainty and Roll-Call Voting in Lame-Duck Sessions of the U.S. House, 1969-2010." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 571-591.

March 26, 2019—Lawmaking

- Binder, Sarah A. 2015. "The Dysfunctional Congress." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 7-17
- Chergosky, Anthony J. and Jason M. Roberts. 2018. "The Deinstitutionalization of Congress." *Political Science Quarterly* 133: 475-496.
- Volden, Craig and Alan E. Wiseman. 2014. *Legislative Effectiveness in the U.S. Congress: The Lawmakers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, selections.
- Jeong, Gyung-Ho, William Lowry, Gary Miller, and Itai Sened. 2014. "How Preferences Change Institutions: The 1978 Energy Act." *Journal of Politics* 76: 430-445
- Jones, David R. 2013. "Do Major Policy Enactments Affect Public Evaluations of Congress?: The Case of Health Care Reform." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 185-204.
- Carson, Jamie L., Michael S. Lynch, and Anthony J. Madonna. 2011. "Coalition Formation in the House and Senate: Examining the Effect of Institutional Change on Major Legislation." *Journal of Politics* 73: 1225-1238.*

April 2, 2019—Distributive Politics and Representation

- Berry, Christopher R. and Anthony Fowler. 2016. “Cardinals or Clerics?” *American Journal of Political Science* 60: 692-708.
- Grimmer, Justin. 2013. “Appropriators not Position Takers: The Distorting Effects of Electoral Incentives on Congressional Representation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 624-642.
- Alexander, Dan, Christopher Berry, and Will Howell. 2016. “Distributive Politics and Legislator Ideology.” *Journal of Politics* 78: 214-231.
- Dynes, Adam and Greg Huber. 2015. “Partisanship and the Allocation of Federal Spending.” *American Political Science Review* 109: 172-186.
- Clemens, Austin, Mike Crespin, and Charles Finocchiaro. 2015. “The Political Geography of Distributive Politics.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40: 111-136.

April 9, 2019—The World’s Greatest Deliberative Body

- Lee, Frances E. 2009. *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, selections.
- Koger, Gregory. 2010. *Filibustering: A Political History of Obstruction in the House and Senate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, selections.
- Howard, Nick and Jason M. Roberts 2015. “The Politics of Obstruction: Republican Holds in the U.S. Senate.” forthcoming, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
- Wawro, Greg and Eric Schickler. 2018. “Reid’s Rules” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43: 619-648.

April 16, 2019—Institutional Dynamics, Historical Development

- Rubin, Ruth Bloch. 2017. *Building the Bloc*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 4.
- Gordon, Sanford C. and Hannah Simpson. 2018. “The Birth of Pork.” *American Political Science Review* 112: 564-579.
- Binder, Sarah A. 1996. “The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990.” *American Political Science Review* 90: 8-20.
- Roberts, Jason M. 2010. “The Development of Special Orders and Special Rules in the U.S. House, 1881–1937.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32: 341-360.
- Binder, Sarah A. “Where Do Institutions Come From?: Exploring the Origins of the Senate Blue Slip.” *Studies in American Political Development* 21: 1-15.
- Gamm, Gerald and Kenneth Shepsle. 1989. “Emergence of Legislative Institutions.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14: 39-66.
- Meinke, Scott R. 2012. “Party Size and Constituency Representation: Evidence from the 19th Century U.S. House of Representatives.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37: 175-198.

- Polsby, Nelson W. 1968. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* 62: 148-168.

April 23, 2019

- Students present research papers.