

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Department of Politics

Politics 736
Congressional Politics

Spring 2001
R. Douglas Arnold

This seminar was designed for several Ph.D. students who were taking Politics 541, The American Political System, concurrently. The readings for Politics 541 included four books related to Congress that might otherwise be included in the syllabus for Politics 736.

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (1990).

Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 4th ed. (1997).

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking* (1998).

David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (1991).

1. Organizational Meeting (February 8)

We will use this session to get organized for the semester. Please bring any suggestions of things you would like to cover.

2. Representation (February 15)

This is Fenno week. Read the first book with care. Read what you can of the longer book on the Senate. Both books are full of stories, so the reading goes quickly.

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (1978). Read pp. xi-xvi, 1-30, 54-248 (231 pages in all)..

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Senators on the Campaign Trail: The Politics of Representation* (1996). Read the introduction (pp. 3-17), chapters 2, 4, and 7 (pp. 42-73, 107-159, 238-278), and the conclusion (pp. 331-338). This amounts to 149 pages.

3. Early Rational Choice Theory (February 22)

The theme this week is the early work on rational choice. Read Mayhew with care. And then read selected portions of Fenno's book on committees.

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974) -- all of it.

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congressmen in Committees* (1973). Read the introduction (xiii-xvii), chapters 1, 2, and 3 (1-80), and the epilogue (280-291). Skim the rest quickly if you have a chance.

4. Legislative Organization I: Committees (March 1)

Keith Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization* (1991), pp. 1-290.

5. Congressional Elections (March 8)

Assignment for Politics 541:

Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. (2001), pp. 1-209, 237-270. (In short, all but chapter 7.) Please read this book before you read the eight assigned articles or chapters.

Assignments for Politics 736:

David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Morris P. Fiorina, "An Introduction," in David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Continuity and Change in House Elections* (Stanford University Press 2000), pp. 1-9.

Gary C. Jacobson, "Reversal of Fortune: The Transformation of U.S. House Elections in the 1990s," in David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Continuity and Change in House Elections* (Stanford University Press 2000), pp. 10-38.

Gary M. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz, "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* (May 1996), pp. 478-497.

Stephen Ansolabehere, James Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III, "Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2000), pp. 17-34.

Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III, "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2001), pp. 136-159.

Thomas Romer and James M. Snyder, Jr., "An Empirical Investigation of the Dynamics of PAC Contributions," *American Journal of Political Science* (August 1994), pp. 745-769.

Alan Gerber, "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables," *American Political Science Review* (June 1998), pp. 401-411.

Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder, Jr., "Money and Office: the Sources of the Incumbency Advantage in Congressional Campaign Finance," in David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Continuity and Change in House Elections* (Stanford University Press 2000), pp. 65-86.

6. Legislative Organization II: Political Parties (March 15)

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (1993), pp. 1-278.

Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich, "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 4. (Oct., 1997), pp. 1340-1375. Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 4. (Oct., 1997), pp. 1376-1386. Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich, "Party Government in the House Reconsidered: A Response to Cox and McCubbins," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 4. (Oct., 1997), pp. 1387-1394.

Forrest Maltzman, *Competing Principals: Committees, Parties, and the Organization of Congress* (1997), pp. 9-40.

7. Roll-Call Voting (March 29)

Assignment for Politics 541:

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (1990), pp. 3-223, 265-276.

Assignments for Politics 736:

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd ed. (1989), pp. 3-109, 227-241, 299-309.

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting* (1997), pp. 3-57, 115-145, 165-183.

Keith Krehbiel, "Party Discipline and Measures of Partisanship," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2000), pp. 212-227.

James M. Snyder, Jr. and Tim Groseclose, "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2000), pp. 193-211.

Michael Bailey, "Quite Influence: The Representation of Diffuse Interests on Trade Policy, 1983-1994," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (February 2001), pp. 45-80.

8. Representation of Minorities in Congress (April 5)

David Canon, "Electoral Systems and the Representation of Minority Interests in Legislatures," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (August 1999), pp. 331-385.

Carol Swain, *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress* (1993), 3-44, 74-115, 193-225.

Charles Cameron, David Epstein, Sharyn O'Halloran, "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* (December 1996), pp. 794-812.

David T. Canon, *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts* (1999), 1-59, 143-200, 243-264.

9. Interest Groups in Congress (April 12)

Richard A. Smith, "Interest Group Influence in the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (February 1995), pp. 89-139. This is a review essay, so you may want to read it first.

John Mark Hansen, *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981* (1991), pp. 1-25, 101-111, 215-230.

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd ed. (1989), pp. 146-176.

Richard S. Smith, "Advocacy, Interpretation, and Influence in the U.S. Congress," *American Political Science Review* (March 1984), pp. 44-63.

Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees," *American Political Science Review* (Sep., 1990), pp. 797-820.

John R. Wright, "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review* (June 1990), pp. 417-438.

10. Congress and the Bureaucracy (April 19)

Terry M. Moe, "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure," in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), *Can the Government Govern?* (1989), 267-329.

Mathew D. McCubbins, Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1984), pp. 165-179.

B. Dan Wood, Richard W. Waterman, "The Dynamics of Political Control of the Bureaucracy," *American Political Science Review* (September 1991), pp. 801-828.

Terry M. Moe, "Control and Feedback in Economic Regulation: The Case of the NLRB," *American Political Science Review* (December 1985), pp. 1094-1116.

R. Douglas Arnold, "Politics and Geography" "Allocating Benefits" and "Model Cities Grants" in *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence* (1979), pp. 3-18, 55-71, 165-206.

11. Congressional History (April 26)

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress* (2001), pp. 3-276.

12. Individual Autonomy in Congress (May 3)

David R. Mayhew, *America's Congress: Actions in the Public Sphere, James Madison Through Newt Gingrich* (2000), pp. ix-xiv, 1-245.