

Political Science 670
American Political Institutions: Congress
Fall 2005

Instructor: Jon Bond
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Hours: Open door policy for graduate students
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I. The Subject: Objectives and Methodology

This is a seminar on the U.S. Congress, including the interaction of Congress and the President. Congress is a complex and fascinating institution with abundant data available over a long period of time to test important and interesting theories about politics. There is evidence that the Founders intended Congress to be the centerpiece of American democracy. Note, for example, that Article I setting up the national legislature contains 2266 of the 4365 words in the U.S. Constitution—52% of total. Article I is more than two times longer than the 2nd longest, Article II setting up the executive branch. Sometimes the U.S. Congress even lives up to its potential. As Lee Hamilton (former member of the House from Indiana) once said, “Congress has few equals in its ability to shape the lives of Americans and influence the direction and success of our country. Congress is where all the varied interests in this vast and diverse nation come together to hash out the future and reach a collective decision on where we want to head as a society.” In short, the U.S. Congress is both a representative and policymaking institution, and understanding these functions is a large part of understanding American politics and democratic politics more generally.

The purposes of the course are to: (1) survey some the major literature on the U.S. Congress; (2) critically evaluate the major theories and concepts used to understand and explain the operation of Congress and American political institutions more generally; and (3) analyze the interaction of Congress and the president in our system of separation of powers.

We will conduct the class as a seminar in which we all discuss and analyze the assigned readings. While our readings will focus on Congress, we will seek to develop broader theory. Theory building is, in many respects, a dialectical process--new knowledge and theories often begin as criticism of older theories. This process suggests that we should approach the reading of scientific research with two sets of questions in mind. The first set is receptive: What does the researcher say? What can we learn from the study? The second set is skeptical: What are the weaknesses of the assumptions, logic, research design, methods, and empirical evidence of the analysis. Learning and the creation of new knowledge occurs in the juxtaposition of these two ways of reading.

To give you an opportunity to develop skill in both ways of reading, each seminar session will be organized as follows:

1. Although all members of the class must read and be prepared to discuss the *entire* assignment, I will assign one or more class members to be discussion leaders. Discussion leaders should briefly summarize the basic theory, concepts, and findings of the readings. After the brief summary, discussion leaders should stimulate and lead the discussion of criticism of the assigned reading.
2. All members of the class should contribute to the dialogue, pointing out issues the discussion leaders may have missed in the summary and bringing up additional criticisms.

II. Grading

A. Assignments and Weights

30%	Class participation and discussion
30%	2 brief (maximum 2000 words) critiques of the literature on Congress
20%	Expanded literature review and research design
20%	Final examination (take-home)

B. Critiques and Research Design

A critique is more than summary, and it includes pointing out contributions of the research as well as flaws and deficiencies. You should identify themes, issues, controversies, and shortcomings in the research. Your essay should be organized around themes and concepts, with arguments and findings in the literature used to support your thesis. I hope the research design will evolve from your critiques, although this is not required.

The research design should be for an empirically based research paper on some aspect of Congress grounded in the literature and scientific theory. The research design should consist of the following sections: Introduction; Literature Review; Theory and Hypotheses; Data and Measures of Variables. Topics must be approved by me. The most important consideration is that you identify a theoretically important issue related to the U.S. Congress. Please start thinking about topics early, and discuss your ideas with me.

In addition to satisfying the requirements for this course, I hope we can design a paper that will achieve one or both of the following goals for you: (1) provide the first half an empirical research paper to be completed in a more advanced course that will lead to a journal article, and (2) provide the basis for part of your dissertation if you should decide to study American politics or comparative legislatures.

All written work must be typed, double-spaced, following the *APSA Style Manual*. Critiques are limited to a maximum of 2000 words. Length of the research design should be determined by the requirements of the topic, but ordinarily no more than 6000 words (list of references does not count against your word limit).

C. Plagiarism Statement

As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off someone else's ideas, words, writings, etc. as one's own. In accordance with the definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have permission of the person. And if you use material plagiarized by someone else that has not been published after a professional peer review, you also have committed plagiarism even if you credit the person who originally plagiarized the material. Plagiarism is one of the worst academic offenses, for the plagiarist destroys the trust among colleagues without which research cannot be reliably communicated. If you have questions regarding plagiarism, please talk to me or consult the Texas A&M University Student Rules, under the section "Scholastic Dishonesty."

D. Students with Disabilities

The **Americans with Disabilities Act** (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact Disability Services in Cain Hall, Room B116 or call 845-1637.

Book List

1. Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. Yale University Press.
2. Arnold, R. Douglas. 1979. *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence*. Yale University Press.
3. Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The President in the Legislative Arena*. University of Chicago Press.
4. Bond, Jon R. and Richard Fleisher. 2000. *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era*. CQ Press.
5. Brown, Sherrod. 2004. *Congress from the Inside: Observations from the Majority and Minority*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.
6. Hall, Richard L. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. Yale University Press.
7. Lee, Frances E., and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. 1999. *Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation*. University of Chicago Press.
8. Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale University Press.
9. Rohde, David W. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. University of Chicago Press.
10. Sinclair, Barbara. 2000. *Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress*, 2nd ed. CQ Press.
11. Weisberg, Herbert F., Eric S. Heberlig, Lisa M. Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*. Addison Wesley Longman.

III. Course Overview

1. Aug 29 Overview of the Operation of the U.S. Congress
2. Sep 5 Theoretical Perspectives
3. Sep 12 Congressional Elections: Incumbency Advantage and Strategic Politicians
4. Sep 19 Committee Assignments and Their Consequences
5. Sep 26 Committee Behavior and Decision Making
6. Oct 3 Distributive Politics
7. Oct 10 Discuss Student Essays (extended class time)
8. Oct 17 Party Leadership and Party Polarization: “Conditional Party Government”

October 21, 8:00 a.m. Research Design Topic/Research Question due (send to me as e-mail attachment)

9. Oct 24 Models of Congressional Voting
10. Oct 31 Constituency Influence in Congress
11. Nov 7 Presidential-Congressional Relations
12. Nov 14 Continuing Efforts to Find Presidential Influence

November 18, 8:00 a.m. Research Design Outline/Rough Draft due (send to me as e-mail attachment)

13. Nov 21 Focus on the Senate
14. Nov 28 Nominations and Confirmation Process
15. Dec 5 *Discuss Student Essays (extended class time)*

Dec 8 Research Designs due no later than 5:00 p.m.

Dec 14 Final exams due no later than 5:00pm

IV. Assignments

Articles in APSR, AJPS, JOP, PRQ and LSQ before 2001 are on JSTOR <http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/listjournal>

Aug 29 Overview of the Operation of the U.S. Congress

1. "The Study of Congress: Methodologies and the Pursuit of Theory." Chapter 1 in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
2. Brown, Sherrod. 2004. *Congress from the Inside: Observations from the Majority and Minority*, 3rd ed., Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 21 23.
3. Sinclair, Barbara. 2000. *Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U.S. Congress*, 2nd ed. CQ Press.

Sep 5 Theoretical Perspectives

1. Heinz Eulau, et al. 1959. "The Role of the Representative." *APSR* 53 (Sep): 742-56
<http://www.jstor.org/view/00030554/di960914/96p0053c/0?config=jstor&frame=noframe&userID=80c270ba@tamu.edu/018dd55340005011cd5db&dpi=3>
2. Matthews, Donald. 1973 [1960]. *U.S. Senators and Their World*. New York: W.W. Norton. Ch. 5.
3. Huitt, Ralph K. 1961. "The Outsider in the Senate," *APSR* 55 (Sep): 566-75.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28196109%2955%3A3%3C566%3ATOITSA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>
4. Matthews, Donald R. 1961. Comment. *APSR* 55 (Dec): 882-3.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28196112%2955%3A4%3C882%3AC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>
5. Huitt, Ralph K. 1962. Reply. *APSR* 56 (Mar): 142.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28196203%2956%3A1%3C141%3AC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V> (next page)
6. Fenno, Richard F. 1962. "The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System," *APSR* 56 (Jun): 310-24. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28196206%2956%3A2%3C310%3ATHACAA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-2>
7. Polsby, Nelson W. 1968. "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *APSR* 62 (Mar): 144-68. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28196803%2962%3A1%3C144%3ATIOTUH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>
8. Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
9. Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapters 1-6, & 10.
10. Shepsle, Kenneth A, and Barry R. Weingast. 1994. "Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19 (May):149-179.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199405%2919%3A2%3C149%3APTOCI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>
11. Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1 & 2.

Some other works that you should look at:

- Axelrod. 1986. "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms," *APSR* (Dec): 1095-111
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1992. *Information and Legislative Organization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Olson, Macur. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Turner, Julius, and Edward Schneier. 1970. *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Weingast, "A Rational Choice Perspective on Congressional Norms," *AJPS* (1979): 245-62

Sep 12 Congressional Elections: Incumbency Advantage and Strategic Politicians

1. "How Do Candidacies Affect Elections?" Chapter 8 in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
2. Mayhew, David R. 1974. "Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals." *Polity* 6: 295-317. Chapter 10 in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
3. Jacobson, Gary C. and Samuel Kernell. 1983. "Strategic Politicians." from *Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections*, New Haven, Yale University Press. Chapter 11 in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
4. Jacobson, Gary C. 1987. "The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-82." *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (Feb.) 126-141. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28198702%2931%3A1%3C126%3ATMNVIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Y>
5. Jacobson, Gary C. 1978. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 72 (Jun.): 469-491. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28197806%2972%3A2%3C469%3ATEOCSE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>
6. Green, Donald Philip and Jonathan S. Krasno. 1988. "Salvation for the Spendthrift Incumbent: Reestimating the Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (Nov.): 884-907. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28198811%2932%3A4%3C884%3ASFTSIR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H>
7. Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (May): 334-362. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199005%2934%3A2%3C334%3ATEOCSE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A>
8. Donald Philip Green; Jonathan S. Krasno. 1990. "Rebuttal to Jacobson's "New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (May): 363-372. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199005%2934%3A2%3C363%3ARTJ%22EF%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>
9. Bond, Jon R., Cary Covington, and Richard Fleisher. 1985. "Explaining Challenger Quality in Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* (May): 510-529. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3816%28198506%2947%3A2%3C510%3AECQICE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-9>
10. Krasno, Jonathan S. and Donald Philip Green. 1988. "Preempting Quality Challengers in House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 50 (Nov.): 920-936. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3816%28198811%2950%3A4%3C920%3APQCIHE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-2>

Some other works you might want to look at:

CLASSICS:

- Fenno, Richard F. 1978. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*. Lexington Books.
- Jacobson Gary C. *The Electoral Origins of Divided Government*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Jacobson Gary C. and S. Kernell. 1983. *Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections*. Yale University Press
- Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

OVERVIEWS

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. New York: Longman.
- Ragsdale, Lyn. 1994. "Old Approaches and New Challenges in Legislative Election Research." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19 (Nov.): 537-582. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199411%2919%3A4%3C537%3AOAANCI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>
- Squire, Peverill AND Eric R. A. N. Smith. 1996. "A Further Examination of Challenger Quality in Senate Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21 (May): 235-248. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199605%2921%3A2%3C235%3AAFEQCQ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>
- Squire, Peverill. 1995. "Candidates, Money, and Voters. Assessing the State of Congressional Elections Research." *Political Research Quarterly* 48 (Dec.): 891-917. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=10659129%28199512%2948%3A4%3C891%3ACMAVAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>

CONSTITUENCY SERVICE

- Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris P. Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1977. *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*. Yale University Press.
- Bond, Jon R. 1985. "Dimensions of District Attention over Time." *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (May): 330-47.

- Johannes, John R., and John C. McAdams. 1981. "The Congressional Incumbency Effect: Is It Casework, Policy Compatibility, or Something Else?" *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (August): 512-42.

CAMPAIGN SPENDING

- Jacobson, Gary C. *Money in Congressional Elections*. 1980. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Epstein, David and Peter Zemsky. 1995. "Money Talks: Deterring Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89 (Jun.): 295-308.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28199506%2989%3A2%3C295%3AMTDQCI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>
- Abramowitz, Alan I. 1991. "Incumbency, Campaign Spending, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 53 (Feb.): 34-56.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199102%2953%3A1%3C34%3AICSATD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H> Ansolabehere, Stephen and Alan Gerber. 1994. "The Mismeasure of Campaign Spending: Evidence from the 1990 U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 56 (Nov.): 1106-1118.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199411%2956%3A4%3C1106%3ATMOCSE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>
- Erikson, Robert S., and Thomas R. Palfrey. 1998. "Campaign Spending and Incumbency: An Alternative Simultaneous Equations Approach." *Journal of Politics* 60 (May): 355-373.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199805%2960%3A2%3C355%3ACSAIAA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-9>
- Krasno, Jonathan S., Donald Philip Green, and Jonathan A. Cowden. "The Dynamics of Campaign Fundraising in House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 56 (May) 459-474.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199405%2956%3A2%3C459%3ATDOCFI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G>
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M. 1996. "A Dynamic Analysis of the Role of War Chests in Campaign Strategy." *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (May): 352-371.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199605%2940%3A2%3C352%3AADAOTR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>
- Goodliffe, Jay. 2001. "The Effect of War Chests on Challenger Entry in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (Oct.): 830-844.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28200110%2945%3A4%3C830%3ATEOWCO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>
- Kenny, Christopher and Michael McBurnett. 1997. "Up Close and Personal: Campaign Contact and Candidate Spending in U. S. House Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (Mar.): 75-96.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=10659129%28199703%2950%3A1%3C75%3AUCAPCC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>

CANDIDATE QUALITY

- Bond, Jon R., Richard Fleisher, and Jeffery C. Talbert. 1997. "Partisan Differences in Candidate Quality in Open Seat House Races, 1976-1994." *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (June): 279-97.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=1065-9129%28199706%2950%3A2%3C281%3APDICQI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G>
- Maisel, L. Sandy and Walter J. Stone. 1997. "Determinants of Candidate Emergence in U. S. House Elections: An Exploratory Study." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 (Feb.): 79-96.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199702%2922%3A1%3C79%3ADOCEIU%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R>

SENATE ELECTIONS

- Gerber, Alan. 1998. "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables." *American Political Science Review* 92 (Jun.): 401-411.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28199806%2992%3A2%3C401%3AETEOCS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-5>
- Krasno, Jonathan S. 1994. *Challengers, Competition, and Reelection: Comparing Senate and House Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. And Jeffrey A. Segal. 1992. *Senate Elections*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Sep 19 Committee Assignments and Their Consequences

1. "What Affects Committee Power and Success?" Ch. 16 in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*
2. Masters, Nicholas. 1961. "Committee Assignments in the House of Representatives." *APSR* 55 (Jun): 345-57. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28196106%2955%3A2%3C345%3ACAITHO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>
3. Munger, Michael C. 1988. "Allocation of Desirable Committee Assignments: Extended Queues versus Committee Expansion." *AJPS* 32 (May): 317-44.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28198805%2932%3A2%3C317%3AAODCAE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>
4. Tim Groseclose, Charles Stewart III. 1998. "The Value of Committee Seats in the House, 1947-91." *AJPS* 42 (Ap): 453-474.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199804%2942%3A2%3C453%3ATVOCSI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-5>

5. Endersby, James W., and Karen M. McCurdy. 1996. "Committee Assignments in the U.S. Senate." *LSQ* 21 (May): 219-34.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199605%2921%3A2%3C219%3ACAITUS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>
6. Forrest Maltzman. 1995. "Meeting Competing Demands: Committee Performance in the Postreform House." *AJPS* 39 (Aug): 653-682.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199508%2939%3A3%3C653%3AMCDCPI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23>

Some other works on committees that you might want to look at:

CLASSICS:

- Fenno, Richard. 1973. *Congressmen in Committees*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fenno, Richard. 1966. *The Power of the Purse*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Manley, John. 1970. *The Politics of Finance*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Wilson, Woodrow. 1956. *Congressional Government*. Cleveland: World Publishing Co.

OVERVIEWS:

- Deering, Christopher J., and Steven S. Smith. 1997. *Committees in Congress*, 3rd ed. CQ Press.
- Goodwin, George. 1970. *The Little Legislatures: Committees of Congress*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Morrow, William L. 1969. *Congressional Committees*. New York: Charles Scribner.

OTHER STUDIES:

- Hinckley, Barbara. 1975. "Policy Content, Committee Membership and Behavior." *AJPS* 37: 543-557.
- Jewell, Malcolm, and C. Chi-hung. 1974. "Membership Movement and Committee Attractiveness." *AJPS* 18: 433-441.
- Maltzman, Forrest. 1998. *Competing Principals: Committees, Parties, and the Organization of Congress*. University of Michigan Press.
- Price, David. 1978. "Policy Making in Congressional Committees." *APSR* 72: 549-571.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1978. *The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle: Democratic Committee Assignments in the Modern House*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Westfield, Louis P. 1974. "Majority Party Leadership and the Committee System in the House of Representatives." *APSR* 68: 1593-1605.

Sep 26 Committee Behavior and Decision Making

1. Hall, Richard L. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press
2. Hall, Richard, and Bernard Grofman. 1990. "The Committee Assignment Process and the Conditional Nature of Committee Bias." *APSR* 84 (Dec): 1149-65.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28199012%2984%3A4%3C1149%3ATCAPAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-E>
3. Groseclose, Tim. 1994. "Testing Committee Composition Hypothesis for the U.S. Congress." *JOP* 56 (May): 440-58.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199405%2956%3A2%3C440%3ATCCHFT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>
4. Adler, E. Scott, and John S. Lapinski. 1997. "Demand-Side Theory and Congressional Committee Composition: A Constituency Characteristics Approach." *AJPS* 41 (July): 895-918.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199707%2941%3A3%3C895%3ADTACCC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-E>

Oct 3 Distributive Politics

1. Rundquist, Barry S., and John A. Ferejohn. 1975. "Observations on a Distributive Theory of Policy-Making: Two American Expenditure Programs Compared." In *Comparative Public Policy: Issues, Theories, and Methods*, ed. Craig Liske, William Loehr, and John McCamant. New York: Wiley, chap. 3.
2. Ray, Bruce A. 1981. "Military Committee Membership in the House of Representatives and the Allocation of Defense Department Outlays." *WPQ* 34 (Jun): 222-34.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00434078%28198106%2934%3A2%3C222%3AMCMITH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>
3. Rundquist, Barry, Jeong-Hwa Lee, Jungho Rhee. 1996. "The Distributive Politics of Cold War Defense Spending: Some State Level Evidence." *LSQ* 21 (May): 265-81.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199605%2921%3A2%3C265%3ATDPOCW%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>
4. Arnold, R. Douglas. 1979. *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence*. Yale University Press.
5. Carsey, Thomas M., and Barry Rundquist. 1999. "Party and Committee in Distributive Politics: Evidence from Defense Spending." *JOP* 61 (Nov): 1156-69.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199911%2961%3A4%3C1156%3APACIDP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23>

6. Bickers, Kenneth N. and Robert M. Stein. 2000. "The Congressional Pork Barrel in a Republican Era." *JOP* 62 (Nov): 1070-86.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28200011%2962%3A4%3C1070%3ATCPBIA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>
7. Bickers, Kenneth N. and Robert M. Stein. 1996. "The Electoral Dynamics of the Federal Pork Barrel." *AJPS* 40 (Nov): 1300-26.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199611%2940%3A4%3C1300%3ATEDOTF%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>

Some other studies you might want to look at:

- Alvarez, R. Michael and Jason L. Saving. 1997. "Deficits, Democrats, and Distributive Benefits: Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel in the 1980s." *PRQ* 50 (Dec): 809-31.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=10659129%28199712%2950%3A4%3C809%3ADDADBC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>
- Bond, Jon R. 1979. "Oiling the Tax Committees in Congress, 1900-1974: Subgovernment Theory, the Overrepresentation Hypothesis, and the Oil Depletion Allowance." *AJPS* 23 (Nov): 651-64.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28197911%2923%3A4%3C651%3AOTTCIC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>
- Evans, Diana. 1994. "Policy and Pork: The Use of Pork Barrel Projects to Build Policy Coalitions in the House of Representatives." *AJPS* 38 (Nov): 894-917.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199411%2938%3A4%3C894%3APAPTUO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>
- Evans, Diana. 2004. *Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress*. Cambridge University Press
- Stein, Robert M., and Kenneth N. Bickers. 1995. *Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Oct 10 Discuss Student Essays (extended class time) (Extended class time to finish discussion)

Distribute to all members of the class as an e-mail attachment by **8:00 a.m., Thursday, Oct 6.**

Oct 17 Party Leadership and Party Polarization: "Conditional Party Government"

1. "Party Leadership." Part VI (chapters 20 & 21) in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
2. Cooper, Joseph David W. Brady. 1981. "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn." *APSR* 75 (Jun): 411-25.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28198106%2975%3A2%3C411%3AICALST%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>
3. Brady, David, Joseph Cooper, and Patricia Hurley. 1979. "The Decline of Party in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1887-1968." *LSQ* 4 (Aug): 381-406.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28197908%294%3A3%3C381%3ATDOPIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A>
4. Hurley, Patricia A., and Rick K. Wilson. 1989. "Partisan Voting Patterns in the U.S. Senate, 1877-1986." *LSQ* 14 (May): 225-50.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28198905%2914%3A2%3C225%3APVPITU%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>
5. Rohde, David. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
6. Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 9.
7. Fleisher, Richard, and Jon R. Bond. 2004. "The Shrinking Middle in the U.S. Congress." *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (July): forthcoming
8. Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics*. University of Chicago Press, chapter 8.
9. Fleisher, Richard, Jon R. Bond, and John Owens. N.d. "Chamber Medians, Party Medians, and Theories of Party Politics in Congress." Revised version of 2003 APSA paper.

Other works that you might want to look at:

- Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Peabody, Robert L. ed. 1976. *Leadership in Congress: Stability and Change*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Sinclair, Barbara. 1983. *Majority Leadership in the U.S. House*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Huitt, "Democratic Party Leadership in the Senate," *APSR* (June 1961): 333-44

- Froman and Ripley, "Conditions for Party Leadership," *APSR* (1965): 52-63
- Jones, "Joseph Cannon and Howard Smith: An Essay on the Limits of Leadership," *Journal of Politics* (August 1968)

October 21, 8:00 a.m. Research Design Topic/Research Question due (send to me as e-mail attachment)

Oct 24 Models of Congressional Voting

1. "Legislative Voting Decisions." Part VII (chapters 24 and 27) in Weisberg, Heberlig, and Campoli. 1999. *Classics in Congressional Politics*.
2. Kingdon, John W. 1977. "Models of Legislative Voting." *JOP* 39 (Aug): 563-95.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3816%28197708%2939%3A3%3C563%3AMOLV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U>
3. Asher, Herbert B. and Herbert F. Weisberg. 1978. "Voting Change in Congress: Some Dynamic Perspectives on an Evolutionary Process." *AJPS* 22 (May): 391-425.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28197805%2922%3A2%3C391%3AVCICSD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>
4. Jackson, John. 1971. "Statistical Models of Roll Call Voting." *APSR* 65 (Jun): 451-70.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28197106%2965%3A2%3C451%3ASMOSRC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-0>
5. Weisberg, Herbert F. 1978. "Evaluating Theories of Congressional Roll Call Voting." *AJPS* 22 (Aug): 554-77. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28197808%2922%3A3%3C554%3AETOCR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I>

Some other works that you should look at:

- Clausen, Age. 1973. *How Congressmen Decide: A Policy Focus*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Jackson, John E. 1974. *Constituencies and Leaders in Congress*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kingdon, John. 1981. *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row.
- Matthews, Donald R., and James A. Stimson. 1975. *Yeas and Nays: Normal Decision-Making in the House of Representatives*. New York: Wiley.

Oct 31 Constituency Influence in Congress

1. Fenno, Richard. 1977. "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies" *APSR* 71 (Sep): 883-917.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28197709%2971%3A3%3C883%3AUHMITC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-1>
2. Miller, Warren E., and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *APSR* 57 (Mar): 45-56. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28196303%2957%3A1%3C45%3ACIIC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>
3. Fleisher, Richard. 1993. "Explaining the Change in Roll-Call Voting Behavior of Southern Democrats." *JOP* 55 (May): 327-41.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199305%2955%3A2%3C327%3AETCIRV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G>
4. Jackson, John E., and John W. Kingdon. 1992. "Ideology, Interest Group Scores, and Legislative Voting." *AJPS* 36 (Aug): 805-23.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199208%2936%3A3%3C805%3AIIGSAL%3E2.0.CO%3B2-0>
5. Hall, Richard, and Frank W. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *APSR* 84 (Sep): 797-820.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00030554%28199009%2984%3A3%3C797%3ABTMIAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>
6. Fleisher, Richard. 1993. "PAC Contributions and Congressional Voting on National Defense." *LSQ* 18 (Aug): 391-410.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=03629805%28199308%2918%3A3%3C391%3APCACVO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-D>
7. Chin, Michelle, Jon R. Bond, and Nehemia Geva. 2000. "A Foot in the Door: An Experimental Study of PAC and Constituency Effects on Access." *JOP* 62 (May): 534-49.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28200005%2962%3A2%3C534%3AAFITDA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>

You should also look at the following if you are not already familiar with them:

- Turner, Julius, and Edward Schaefer. 1970. *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Nov 7 Presidential-Congressional Relations

1. Neustadt, Richard. 1960. *Presidential Power*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
2. Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The President in the Legislative Arena*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
3. Fleisher, Richard and Jon R. Bond. 2000. "Partisanship and the President's Quest for Votes on the Floor of Congress." Chapter 8 in Bond and Fleisher, *Polarized Politics*.

You should also look at the following if you are not already familiar with them:

- Edwards, George C. 1989. *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Fiorina, Morris. 1992. *Divided Government*. New York: Macmillan.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. *The Electoral Origins of Divided Government*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Mayhew, David R. 1991. *Divided We Govern*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Peterson, Mark A. 1990. *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nov 14 Continuing Efforts to Find Presidential Influence

1. Covington, Cary R., J. Mark Wrighton, and Rhonda Kinney. 1995. "A Presidency-Augmented Model of Presidential Success on House Roll Call Votes." *AJPS* 39 (Nov): 1001-24.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199511%2939%3A4%3C1001%3AA%22MOPS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>
2. Sullivan, Terry. 1991. "The Bank Account Presidency: A New Measure and Evidence on the Temporal Path of Presidential Influence." *AJPS* 35 (Feb): 686-723. [Also Edwards' comment & Sullivan's rejoinder, 724-37.] <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28199108%2935%3A3%3C686%3ATBAPAN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-0>
3. Edwards, George C. and Andrew Barrett. 2000. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Congress." Chapter 6 in Bond and Fleisher, *Polarized Politics*.
4. Collier, Kenneth, and Terry Sullivan. 1995. New Evidence Undercutting the Linkage of Approval with Presidential Support and Influence." *JOP* 57 (Feb): 197-209.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00223816%28199502%2957%3A1%3C197%3ANEUTLO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>
5. Bond, Jon R., Richard Fleisher, and B. Dan Wood. 2003. "The Marginal and Time Varying Effect of Public Approval on Presidential Success in Congress." *Journal of Politics* 64 (Feb): 92-110.
6. Bond, Jon R., Brandy M. Durham, Richard Fleisher, and Jeffrey E. Cohen. 2004. "Not Very Much: The Effect of Presidential Approval on Support in the Senate." Revised version of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
7. Bond, Jon R., Richard Fleisher, and B. Dan Wood. N.d.. "Presidential Success in Congress: Which Presidents Do Better or Worse Than Expected." Forthcoming in *Presidential Leadership: The Vortex of Presidential Power* edited by Bert Rockman and Richard Waterman (Roxbury Press)

November 18, 8:00 a.m. Research Design Outline/Rough Draft due (send to me as e-mail attachment)

Nov 21 The Senate

1. Fenno, Richard F. 1982. *The United States Senate: A Bicameral Perspective*. Washington, DC: AEI
2. Lee, Frances E., and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. *Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation*. University of Chicago Press.

Nov 28 Nominations and Confirmation Process

1. Krutz, Glen S., Richard Fleisher and Jon R. Bond. 1998. "From Abe Fortas to Zoe Baird: Why Some Presidential Nominations Fail in the Senate." *American Political Science Review* 92 (Dec): 871-82.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199812%2992%3A4%3C871%3AFAFTZB%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>
2. Binder, Sarah A., and Forrest Maltzman. 2002. "Senatorial Delay in Confirming Federal Judges, 1947-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (Jan): 190-99.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00925853%28200201%2946%3A1%3C190%3ASDICFJ%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I>
3. Martinek, Wendy L., Mark Kemper, and Steven R. Van Winkle. 2002. "To Advise and Consent: The Senate and Lower Federal Court Nominations, 1977-1998." *Journal of Politics* 64 (May): 337-61.
4. McCarty, Nolan, and Rose Razaghian. 1999. "Advice and Consent: Senate Response to Executive Branch Nominations 1885-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (Oct): 1122-43.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199910%2943%3A4%3C1122%3AAACSRT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>
5. Bond, Jon R., Richard Fleisher, and Glen S. Krutz. 2002. "Maligned Neglect: How Senate Consideration of Presidential Nominations Has Changed." Revised version of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Dec 5 *Discuss Student Essays (extended class time)*

Distribute to all members of the class as an e-mail attachment by **8:00 a.m., Thursday, Nov 25.**

Dec 8 *Research Designs due no later than 5:00 p.m.*

Dec 14 *Final exams due no later than 5:00pm*