

Political Science 254 & 196: Seminar on Congress

Prof. Eric Smith

E-mail: smith@polsci.ucsb.edu

Phone: 893-6160

Pronouns: He/him/his

Winter, 2020

Office: 3711 Ellison Hall

Hours: Tues 2:30-3:30; Wed 1:30-3:30

& by appointment or drop-in

In this course, we will intensively review the literature on Congress. Most of our readings and discussions will focus on the internal workings of Congress--the committee system, the party system, how members make roll call voting decisions, etc. We will also discuss how congress has changed over time and some questions about representation. We will not cover topics such as congressional-bureaucratic relations or congressional elections. The course will consist of a mixture of short lectures and longer open discussions of class readings.

The course requirements are: (1) two short [2-4 pp] critical analyses of some aspect of the readings-- due at 5:00 the day before class meeting in which we discuss the item; (2) a term paper, which may be either a research paper or a critical review and synthesis of the literature; and (3) participation in class discussions. The first response paper must be written during weeks 2-5; the second during weeks 6-9. They response papers should *very* briefly summarize the relevant bits of the reading(s), identify elements you find convincing or unconvincing and explain why; raise questions about the reading for discussion; and suggest a next step for research in this area. The last item, future research, is the most important and most difficult.

The two critical analysis papers will be worth 15% each; the term paper will be worth 50% each; participation will be worth 20%. I expect you to come to class having completed all the assigned readings for that meeting and being prepared to actively participate in the discussion.

The articles will all be posted on Gauchospace. I will put the books on reserve at the library. The following books are available at the UCSB Bookstore:

David Mayhew, *Congress the Electoral Connection*

Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (assigned chapters are in Gauchospace)

Gary Cox & Mathew McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda*

Richard Hall, *Participation in Congress*

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*

Readings marked with an asterisk are recommended. The following abbreviations are used for journals:

APSR: American Political Science Review

JOP: Journal of Politics

* Recommended reading

Weekly Readings

March 31. Introduction

We will begin with a discussion/lecture covering the basics of how Congress is organized. If any of you wish, I will sign you up so that you can see the PS 155 online lectures. The schedule of topics is here: <http://smith.faculty.polsci.ucsb.edu/courses/ps155syl.pdf>.

If you did not take an undergraduate course on Congress, you might consider buying a used copy of a basic text on Congress. You need not worry about getting the most current edition because Congress changes slowly. I will bring a few to class to hand out. Here are two well-known textbooks:

- * Roger Davidson & Walter Oleszek, *Congress and Its Members*
- * Steven Smith et al., *The American Congress*

April 7. Theories of Legislators' Behavior

David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974), Introduction & chap 1
 R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logics of Congressional Action* (1990), chaps 1-6
 Charles Stewart, *Analyzing Congress* (2001), chap 1
 Poole and Rosenthal, "Patterns of Congressional Voting," *AJPS* 35 (February 1991):228-78.
 Roberts, Smith, Haptonstahl, "The Dimensionality of Congressional Voting Reconsidered,"
American Politics Research (2016) 794–815

April 14. Congressional Committee Organization

Richard Fenno, *Congressmen in Committees* (1973), chaps 1-4
 David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection*, chap 2
 Kenneth Shepsle & Barry Weingast, "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power," *APSR*,
 81:85-104 (March '87)
 Keith Krehbiel, K. Shepsle and B. Weingast, "Why are Congressional Committees Powerful?" [An
 exchange] *APSR*, 81:929-45 (Sep '87)
 Krehbiel, "Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers?" *APSR* 84 (March,
 1990): 149-163

- * Keith Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization*, chaps 1-3
- * Christopher Deering and Steven Smith, *Committees in Congress*, 3rd ed
- * Jonathan Katz and Brian Sala. 1995. "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection" *American Political Science Review*.
- * Kenneth Shepsle, *The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle*

April 21. Power and Influence in Congressional Committees

Richard Hall, *Participation in Congress*
 C. Lawrence Evans, "Influence in Congressional Committees." In Christopher Deering (ed),
Congressional Politics
 Tim Groseclose and David King, "Committee Theories Reconsidered." In Lawrence Dodd and
 Bruce Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th ed
 Richard Hall & Frank Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in
 Congressional Committees." *APSR*, 84 (Sep '90):797-820

- * Nicol Rae & Colton Campbell, *New Majority or Old Minority*, 4-7
- * Thomas Gais, et al., "Interest Groups, Iron Triangles and Representative Institutions in
 American National Government." *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (1984): 161-85

April 28. Party Leadership

Cox and McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda* (reviewed Dec 2006 *Perspectives on Politics*)
 Charles O. Jones, "Joseph G. Cannon and Howard W. Smith: An Essay on the Limits of
 Leadership ..." *Journal of Politics*, 30:617-46 (1968)
 John Aldrich and David Rohde, "The Logic of Conditional Party Government: Revisiting the
 Electoral Connection" in *Congress Reconsidered*

- * Cox and McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*

- * John Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*
- * Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast. 1995 "Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions," in Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast, eds, *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*
- * David Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House*

May 5. Pivotal Politics

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics*

Binder, Lawrence and Maltzman, "Uncovering the Hidden Effects of Party," *JOP* 61(1999):815-31

Steven Smith, "Positive Theories of Congressional Parties." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 25: 193-215.

Sarah Anderson, "Pivots and Bills: Testing Models of Appropriations." Unpublished ms.

- * John Kingdon, *Congressional Voting Decisions?*
- * Keith Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization*
- * Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal *Congress : A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*
- * James M. Snyder, Jr. and Tim Groseclose, 2000. "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting" *AJPS* 44: 193-211
- * Gary Cox and Keith Poole, 2002. "On Measuring Partisanship in Roll-Call Voting" *AJPS*

May 12. Presidential-Congressional Relations

James Sundquist, *The Decline and Resurgence of Congress*, chaps 1, 6, 13

Binder, "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96." *APSR* 93 (1996)

Canes-Wrone and de Marchi, "Presidential Approval and Legislative Success," *JOP* 64 (May, 2002)

McCubbins, and Schwartz. "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols Versus Fire Alarms." *AJPS* 28 (1984)

Daniel McCool, "Subgovernments as Determinants of Political Viability." *Political Science Quarterly*, 105 (1990): 269-29

Daniel McCool, "The Subsystem Family of Concepts: A Critique and a Proposal." *Political Research Quarterly*, 51 (1998):551-70

- * Charles Cameron, *Veto Bargaining*
- * Steven Shull, *Presidential-Congressional Relations*
- * James Thurber, *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations*
- * Samuel Kernell. 1997. *Going Public*.
- * Rohde, David, and Dennis M. Simon. 1985. "Presidential Vetoes and Congressional Response: A Study of Institutional Conflict," *AJPS* 29: 397-426

May 19. Representation in Congress

Warren Miller and Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress."

Christopher Achen, "Measuring Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 22 (Aug 78): 475-510

Richard Fenno, "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies." *American Political Science Review* 71 (Sep 1977): 883-917.

Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Matto Mildemberger, and Leah Stokes, "Legislative Staff and Representation in Congress," *APSR*, 113 (2019): 1-18.

Paul Burnstein, *American Public Opinion, Advocacy, and Policy in Congress* (2014), chap 3

Justin Grimmer, "Appropriators, Not Position-takers." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (July 2013), pp. 624-642

Lawrence Rothenberg and Mitchell Sanders. "Severing the Electoral Connection: Shirking in the Contemporary Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (Apr. 2000): 316-25

May 26. Race, Gender, and Representation

Canon, *Race, Redistricting and Representation*, Chapters 2, 3, 4, 6

Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *APSR* 90 (December 1996)

Lublin, "Racial Redistricting and African-American Representation: A Critique of Do Majority-Minority" *APSR* 93 (March 1999)

Fox and Lawless, "Gendered Perceptions and Political Candidacies: A Central Barrier to Women's Equality in Electoral Politics." *AJPS* 55(2011):59-73.

Michelle Swers, *The Difference Women Make: The Policy Impact of Women in Congress*, chaps

Thomsen, "Why So Few (Republican) Women? Explaining the Partisan Imbalance of Women in the U.S. Congress." *LSQ* 40(2015): 295-323.

Wax-Thibodeaux, Emily, "Where Women Call the Shots." *Washington Post*, May 17, 2019

* Georgia Duerst-Lahti & Rita Mae Kelly, eds. *Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance*

* Sue Thomas, *How Women Legislate*

* Robert Singh, *The Congressional Black Caucus*

June 2. Institutional Change and Development in Congress

Eric Schickler, *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress* (reviewed Sep 2002 *APSR*)

Nelson Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives." *APSR* 62 (1968):144-68

Joseph Cooper & David Brady, "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn." *APSR*, 75:411-25

* Barbara Sinclair, *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate*

* Binder, Sarah. 1997. *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the Development of Congress*

* Morris Fiorina, *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*

* Morris Fiorina, 2001. "Keystone Reconsidered" in Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*. 7th ed.