

Political Science 490-0
Congress: Representation, Roll-Call Voting, and Elections

Fall 2003
9:00 – 11:50 M
212 Scott Hall

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Office hours: By appointment

General Synopsis:

This course is an introduction to the “behavioral” literature on Congress, and will serve as a complement to my course on Congressional institutional organization and development. Our general approach will have a distinct rational-choice flavor, as we will assume that the preferences and goals of individual members of Congress (MCs) shape how they behave as elected representatives. The course will be fairly evenly split between the literatures on representation, roll-call voting, and elections. However, as these topics are often intertwined, readings intended to focus on a given topic will often directly or indirectly touch on another topic.

Course Requirements:

There are several requirements for this class:

- (1) You must come to class prepared, which means that you have done the week’s readings in advance. You are also expected to participate in class discussion. Participation is what makes a seminar a useful learning experience – you learn as much from the in-class discussion as you do from the readings themselves. Moreover, given that this is your chosen vocation, you should be active in fostering your professional development.
- (2) Each week, each of you will serve as a “discussion leader” for a given paper (or section of a book). This means that you will present the paper (book section) in class – covering the theory, substance, and empirics in a thorough and critical manner.
- (3) A “final assignment” will be due at the end of the quarter. This assignment can take two forms. First, you may write a research paper (or research design). This option may allow you to make strides toward the completion of a piece that may eventually be publishable. Second, you may opt for a take-home final exam. This option may be more attractive to you, should you not want to pursue research in the Congress field.

Course Grades:

Participation and quality of discussion leadership will make up 50% of the course grade, while the final assignment will be worth the other 50%.

If you do the readings and participate in a thoughtful way in class, you will do fine. The most important thing is that you endeavor to learn – do not be afraid to make mistakes. If you show me that you are serious and thoughtful, you will be rewarded.

Several books are required. All are available at the Norris Center bookstore:

- (1) David W. Mayhew. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- (2) Michael L. Balinski and H. Peyton Young. 2001. *Fair Representation*, 2nd ed. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- (3) Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (4) Gary C. Jacobson. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. New York: Longman.

The following book is also available as a supplement:

- (5) Charles Stewart III. 2001. *Analyzing Congress*. New York: Norton.

Other Issues:

We will not spend a lot of time discussing the “nuts and bolts” of Congress. I will assume that you have taken an undergraduate Congress course and, therefore, have a working knowledge of the institution. If you feel that you are not quite up to speed, the book by Stewart offers a solid basic primer. When a particular issue/concept is especially important to understand a given reading – for example, the cloture rule in the Senate – we will spend a bit of time discussing its substance. In addition to the books above, I will assign a number of articles from scholarly journals. Many of the articles are available electronically (the source of which I indicate next to the citation), but some are not. In those latter cases, I will provide versions for you to photocopy.

Week 1: Course Overview (9/29)

Introduction and discussion of the syllabus.

Week 2: The Electoral Connection (10/6)

David W. Mayhew. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press. All.

Richard J. Fenno. 1977. “U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration.” *American Political Science Review* 71: 883-917. [JSTOR]

Lawrence S. Rothenberg and Mitchell S. Sanders. 2000. "Severing the Electoral Connection: Shirking in the Contemporary Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 316-25. [JSTOR]

John H. Aldrich and David W. Rohde. 2001. "The Logic of Conditional Party Government: Revisiting the Electoral Connection." In Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds. *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th edition. Washington: CQ Press.

Week 3: Race and Representation (10/13)

Carol M. Swain. 1993. *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.

David T. Canon, Matthew M. Shousen, and Patrick J. Sellers. 1996. "The Supply Side of Congressional Redistricting: Race and Strategic Politicians, 1972-1992." *Journal of Politics* 58: 846-62. [JSTOR]

Jane Mansbridge. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61: 628-57. [JSTOR]

Charles Cameron, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 90: 794-812. [JSTOR]

David Lublin. 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: 183-86. [JSTOR]

David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1999. "A Social Scientific Approach to Race, Redistricting, and Representation." *American Political Science Review* 93: 187-91. [JSTOR]

Week 4: Representation: The Effects of Rules (10/20)

Michael L. Balinski, and H. Peyton Young. 2001. *Fair Representation*, 2nd ed. Washington: Brookings Institution. All.

Brian D. Humes, Elaine K. Swift, Richard M. Valelly, Kenneth Finegold, and Evelyn C. Fink. 2002. "Representation of the Antebellum South in the House of Representatives: Measuring the Impact of the Three-Fifths Clause." In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Frances E. Lee. 1998. "Representation and Public Policy: The Consequences of Senate Apportionment for the Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds." *Journal of Politics* 60: 34-62. [JSTOR]

Week 5: Policy Responsiveness (10/27)

Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-90. [JSTOR]

John D. Wilkerson. 1990. "Reelection and Representation in Conflict: The Case of Agenda Manipulation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15: 263-82. [JSTOR]

Larry M. Bartels. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up." *American Political Science Review* 85: 457-74. [JSTOR]

James A. Stimson, Michael B. Mackuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89: 543-65. [JSTOR]

Christopher Wlezien. 1996. "Dynamics of Representation: The Case of US Spending on Defense." *British Journal of Political Science* 26: 81-103. [JSTOR]

Week 6: Roll-Call Voting: Some Basics (11/3)

John W. Kingdon. 1977. "Models of Legislative Voting." *Journal of Politics* 39: 563-95. [JSTOR]

Herbert F. Weisberg. 1978. "Evaluating Theories of Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 554-77. [JSTOR]

Peter Van Doren. 1990. "Can We Learn the Causes of Congressional Decisions from Roll Call Data?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15: 311-40.

James M. Snyder, Jr. 1992. "Artificial Extremism in Interest Group Ratings." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 17: 319-45. [JSTOR]

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-4, 11.

Week 7: Roll-Call Voting: Examining Constituency Influence (11/10)

Keith Krehbiel. 1993. "Constituency Characteristics and Legislative Preferences." *Public Choice* 76: 21-38.

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.

Benjamin G. Bishin. 2000. "Constituency Influence in Congress: Does Subconstituency Matter?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 389-415.

Michael Bailey. 2001. "Quiet Influence: The Representation of Diffuse Interests on Trade Policy, 1983-94." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26: 45-80.

Week 8: Roll-Call Voting: Disentangling Party Influence (11/17)

Steven D. Levitt. 1996. "How Do Senators Vote? Disentangling the Role of Voter Preferences, Party Affiliation, and Senator Ideology." *American Economic Review* 86: 425-441. [JSTOR]

Jeffery A. Jenkins. 1999. "Examining the Bonding Effects of Party: A Comparative Analysis of Roll-Call Voting in the U.S. and Confederate Houses." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 1144-65. [JSTOR]

Timothy P. Nokken. 2000. "Dynamics of Congressional Loyalty: Party Defection and Roll-Call Behavior, 1947-97." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 417-44.

James Snyder, Jr. and Tim Groseclose. 2000. "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 193-211. [JSTOR]

Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III. 2001. "The Effect of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26: 533-72.

Week 9: Elections, Part I (11/24)

Gary C. Jacobson. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. New York: Longman. Chapters.

Stephen D. Ansolabehere, James M., Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III. 2000. "Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 17-34. [JSTOR]

Jay Goodliffe. 2001. "The Effect of War Chests on Challenger Entry in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 830-844. [JSTOR]

Week 10: Elections, Part II (12/1)

Gary C. Jacobson. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. New York: Longman. Chapters.

Stephen D. Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart III. 2001. "Candidate Positions in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 136-159. [JSTOR]

Brandice Canes-Wrone, David W. Brady, and John F. Cogan. 2002. "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting." *American Political Science Review* 96: 127-40.

Week 11: Exam Week

Final paper or exam due.