

The Legislative Process (Political Science 345 L32)

Class Time: MW, 1:00 – 2:30 pm

Class Location: Louderman 461

Instructor: Dan Butler

Email: daniel.butler@wustl.edu

Office Hours: MW 2:30-3:30 pm, Seigle 283

TA: Jonathan Homola (homola@wustl.edu)

Purposes

This course examines legislative politics in Congress and the U.S. states, focusing on how institutions in all 101 American chambers affect policy outcomes. The course will try to achieve two purposes.

First, the course will try to give you the tools to explain policy outcomes. It will achieve that goal, by presenting material that looks at the following three points:

1. Political preferences: how and why do politicians and voters do what they do?
2. Political institutions: what are the rules of the game and how do they vary over time and across chambers?
3. Political outcomes: How do legislator's preferences and political institutions interact to shape outcomes across different issues?

Second, the course will teach you about research design and how we should evaluate evidence.

Class Meetings

Classes will be a combination of lecture and discussion. This includes answering questions and engaging with the comments from fellow students. For these reasons computers and phones will not be allowed in class.

Course Readings

The material in the course will rely on the following textbook:

Steven S. Smith, Jason M. Roberts, and Ryan J. Vender Wielen. *The American Congress*, 8th Edition. Cambridge University Press.

Peeverill Squire and Keith E. Hamm. *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies*. Ohio State University Press.

David Brady and Craig Volden. *Revloving Gridlock*, 2nd Edition.
Westview Press.

I will also assign a number of journal articles and book chapters. Readings should be finished prior to lecture.

Course Requirements

- (1) **Initial paper proposal (Due October 6) – 5% of grade.** A 1-2 page (double-spaced) description of your final paper project. This proposal should describe the institution you plan to investigate. The purpose of this assignment is to give me a chance to give you feedback before investing too much into a project that will lead to a dead end.
- (2) **Mid-term exam (October 27) – 30% of grade.** The exam will be in class and will consist of essay, short-answer, and a few multiple choice style questions.
- (3) **Final paper (Due December 3) – 30% of grade.** This will be research that will depend on ORIGINAL DATA you have gathered (we'll talk about sources you can use). The course paper should be roughly 2,500 words long (i.e. 8-10 pages). The paper needs to have a hypothesis about the effect of some institution on some legislative or electoral outcome. Examples include electoral reforms (e.g., partisan v. nonpartisan elections), the design of legislative institutions (e.g., unicameralism v. bicameralism), changes in legislative rules or procedures (e.g., the cloture rule), etc. The grade will be docked roughly one step (i.e., roughly 3 percent) for every day that the assignment is late.
- (4) **Final exam (December 17, 1 pm) – 35% of grade.** The exam will consist of essay, short-answer, and a few multiple choice style questions.

Grades will be based on the following scale:

100-94 = A	80-84 = B-	67-70 = D+
90-94 = A-	77-80 = C+	64-67 = D
87-90 = B+	74-77 = C	60-64 = D-
84-87 = B	70-74 = C-	0-60 = F

For those taking the course pass/fail – you need to earn at least a C-

Academic Integrity

All students are expected to adhere to high standards of academic integrity. In this class that means that all work presented as original must, in fact, be original, and the ideas and contributions of others must always be appropriately acknowledged. Quotations must, of course, be acknowledged, but so must summaries, paraphrases, and the ideas of others. *Course Listings* and *Bearings*, and the [University Policies website](#) all contain full statements of the University's policy on academic integrity. If you have any doubts or questions about documentation requirements, please ask me. Don't guess. Because this course is offered through the College of Arts & Sciences, any violations of academic integrity policy will be referred to the College's Academic Integrity Officer.

One further note: sanctions from the Academic Integrity Committee or the University Judicial Board range from warning, failure of an assignment, or failure of a course, to probation, suspension, or expulsion, depending on the severity of the offense. You should also be aware that graduate and professional schools routinely ask the Dean's Office to report serious violations of academic integrity to their admissions committees. Professional organizations such as the various state Bar Associations also request this information, as do some employers. The University answers all such inquiries fully and with exactitude.

Accommodations

Accommodations in the course schedule and assignments for university sponsored events, religious holidays, health reasons, etc., will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Whenever a request is made, my policy is to contact your 4-year advisor. I do this out of concern for you so that someone who works with you over a long-period of time can know how you are doing.

Schedule

August 25 Introduction

August 27 Historical Developments

- TAC, chapter 2
- 101 Chambers. Chapter 1

September 3 Elections 1

- TAC, chapter 3
- 101 Chambers. Chapter 2

September 8 Elections 2: Term Limits

- Feher, Andrew, and Rocio Titiunik. "Term Limits and (The Absence of) Legislative Shirking: Experimental Evidence from the Arkansas State Senate" University of Michigan. Working Paper
- Rothenberg, Lawrence S., and Mitchell S. Sanders. 2000. "Severing the Electoral Connection: Shirking in the Contemporary Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 316-325.
- Rogers, Steven. "Term Limits: Keeping Incumbents in Office." Working Paper

September 10 Elections 3: Primary Elections

- Brady, David W., Haharie Han, and Jeremy Pope. 2007. "Primary Elections and Candidate Ideology: Out of Step with the Primary Electorate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32 (1): 79-105.
- Hogan, Robert E. 2003. "Sources of Competition in State Legislative Primary Elections" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

September 15 Representation 1

- TAC, chapter 4

September 17 Representation and Redistricting

- Shotts, Kenneth. 2003. "Does Racial Redistricting Cause Conservative Policy Outcomes? Policy Preferences of Southern Representatives in the 1980s and 1990s." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 216-26.
- Brunell, Thomas. 2006. "Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Uncompetitive Districts Eliminates Gerrymanders, Enhances Representation, and Improves Attitudes toward Congress." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 39 (January): 77-85.

September 22 States and Legislative Professionalism 1

- 101 Chambers. Chapter 3

September 24 States and Legislative Professionalism 2

- Fiorina, Morris P. 1994. "Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *American Political Science Review* 88 (2): 304-316.
- Maestas, Cherie. 2000. "Professional Legislatures and Ambitious Politicians: Policy Responsiveness of State Institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25 (4): 663-690.

September 29 Parties in the Legislature 1

- TAC, chapter 5
- 101 Chambers. Chapter 4

October 1 – Parties 2

- Butler, Daniel M., and Eleanor Neff Powell. 2014. "Understanding the Party Brand: Experimental Evidence on the Role of Valence" *Journal of Politics* 76 (2): 492-505.
- Jackman, Molly. 2014. "Parties, Median Legislators, and Agenda Setting: How Legislative Institutions Matter." *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 259-72.

October 6 – Committees 1

ASSIGNMENT: Initial Proposal for final paper due

- TAC, chapter 6

October 8 – Committees 2

- Kellerman, Michael, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 2009. "Congressional Careers, Committee Assignments, and Seniority Randomization in the US House of Representatives." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 4 (2): 87-101.
- Grimmer, Justin, and Eleanor Powell. 2013. "Congressmen in Exile: The Politics and Consequences of Involuntary Committee Removal" *Journal of Politics* 75(4), 907-920.

October 13 – Rules of the Game 1

- TAC, chapter 7

October 15 - Rules of the Game 2

- Schickler, Eric, and Gregory J. Wawro. 2004. "Where's the Pivot? Obstruction and Lawmaking in the Pre-cloture Senate." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 758-774."
- Carson, Jamie L., Nathan W. Monroe, and Gregory Robinson. "[Unpacking Agenda Control in Congress: Individual Roll Rates and the Republican Revolution](#)" *Political Research Quarterly* 64(1): 17-30.

October 20 Roll Call Votes 1

- TAC, chapter 8

October 22 – MAKE UP SESSION (IF NEEDED)

October 27 – Midterm Exam

October 29 Roll Call Votes 2: Polarization

- McGhee, Eric, Seth Masket, Boris Shor, Steven Rogers, and Nolan McCarty. 2014. "A Primary Cause of Partisanship? Nomination Systems and Legislative Ideology." *American Journal of Political Science*
- Shor, Boris, and Nolan McCarty. 2011. "The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 530-551.

November 3 Pivotal Politics 1

- Revolving Gridlock, Chapter 2

November 5 Pivotal Politics 2

- No Readings

November 10 Legislatures and Executives

- TAC, chapter 9

November 12 Legislatures and the Courts

- TAC, chapter 10

November 17 Lobbying

- TAC, chapter 11

November 19 Money in Politics

- Hall, Andrew. "How the Public Funding of Elections Increases Candidate Polarization." Working Paper. Harvard University.
- Malhotra, Neil. 2008. "The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral

Competition: Evidence from Arizona and Maine." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 8 (3): 263-281.

November 24 MAKE UP SESSION (IF NEEDED)

December 1 Budget Politics

- TAC, chapter 12
- Revolving Gridlock, Chapter 3

December 3 – Review for Exam. Final Paper Due

Dec 17, 1 pm – Final exam