

## **Legislative Politics Reading List**

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A field reading list is an invitation to mischief. Fields change in an eyeblink. It is impossible to characterize the full range of important readings. More importantly, the aim of field exams is not so much to demonstrate mastery over a specific set of papers, but to demonstrate an understanding, however tentative, of the essential questions, methods, and findings. That is, for the first time, you are being asked to state what you think and explain why you think it. The list is a means to this end, but it is more a starting point rather than a checklist.

Some of these pieces are classic works that are perennial citations; others summarize large chunks of the literature or make an essential point, others highlight emerging questions, methods, or findings. Don't assume that you need to read everything on this list. Don't assume that only papers on this list are worth reading. And don't take the section headings too seriously. Use this list as a guide. Start reading, develop your own sense of the field, and be prepared to justify your choices and your perspective.

**DON'T USE "BUT IT WASN'T ON THE LIST" AS AN EXCUSE FOR MISSING SOMETHING IMPORTANT.**

## Overviews of the Field and the Real World

Cooper, Joseph. 2001. "The Twentieth Century Congress." in *Congress Reconsidered*. [history of Congress]

Dodd, Lawrence C., Bruce I. Oppenheimer. 2002. *Congress Reconsidered (7<sup>th</sup> Edition.)*, Washington: CQ Press. [read most-recent edition]

Evans, C. Lawrence, and Walter J. Oleszek. 1997. *Congress Under Fire: Reform Politics and the Republican Majority*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. [recent history]

Polsby, Nelson, and Eric Schickler. 2002. "Landmarks in the Study of Congress Since 1945." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 5:333-367.

Shepsle, Kenneth. 1989. "The Textbook Congress." in *Can the Government Govern?* John Chubb and Paul Peterson, eds. Washington: Brookings Institution Press. [history of recent Congress]

## Legislative Institutions

### Theories of Institutions

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row

Moe, Terry M. 1990. "Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story" *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* (Special Issue, 1990): 213-61. Also read comments by Fiorina. [think piece, implications not clear but worth thinking hard about]

Ordeshook, Peter C. and Thomas Schwartz. 1987. "Agendas and the Control of Political Outcomes." *American Political Science Review* 81: 179-99.

Polsby, Nelson. 1968. "The Institutionalization of the U. S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* 62: 144-68.

Rosenthal, Howard. 1990. "The Setter Model." *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, eds., New York: Cambridge University Press. [agenda-setting in legislatures – review of high theory]

Shepsle, Kenneth. 1979. "Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multi-Dimensional Voting Models." *American Journal of Political Science* 23: 27-59. [root cite in New Institutionalism applied to Congress]

Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1986. "Institutional Equilibrium and Equilibrium Institutions." in *Political Science: The Science of Politics*. Herbert Weisberg, ed., New York: Agathon

Press. [more discursive analysis of legislative institutions]

Riker, William H. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 74: 432-46. [ditto]

### **Congressional Institutions**

Bach, Stanley and Steven Smith. 1988. *Managing Uncertainty in the House of Representatives: Adaptation and Innovation in Special Rules*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Oleszek, Walter. 1997. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press.

### **Informal Organizations and Norms**

Hewitt, Ralph K. 1961, "The Outsider in the Senate: An Alternate Role," *American Political Science Review* 51: 313-329.

Matthews, Donald R. 1961, *U.S. Senators and Their World*. New York: Vintage.

### **Committees in Congress**

Cox, Gary, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fenno, Richard. 1973. *Congressmen in Committees*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Gamm, Gerald, and Kenneth Shepsle. 1989. "The Emergence of Legislative Institutions" Standing Committees in the House and Senate, 1810-1825." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 14: 39-66.

Groseclose, Tim, and David King. 2001. "Committee Theories Reconsidered." in *Congress Reconsidered* [a superb review]

Hall, Richard. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jones, Charles O. (1961), "Representation in Congress: The Case of the House Agriculture Committee," *American Political Science Review* 55: 358-367.

Kiewit, D. Roderick and Mathew McCubbins. 1991. *The Logic of Delegation: Congressional Parties and the Appropriations Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

King, David C. 1997. *Turf Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krehbiel, Keith. 1991. *Information and Legislative Organization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Maltzman, Forrest. 1997. *Competing Principals: Parties, Committees, and the Organization of Congress*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Murphy, James. T. 1974. "Political Parties and the Pork Barrel: Party Conflict and Cooperation in the House Public Works Committee." *American Political Science Review* 68: 169-85.

Price, David E. (1978), "Policy-Making in Congressional Committees: The Impact of Environmental Factors," *American Political Science Review* 72: 548-574.

Shepsle, Kenneth, and Barry Weingast. 1986. "The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power." *American Political Science Review* 80: 956-89.

Krehbiel, Keith, Kenneth Shepsle, and Barry Weingast. 1987. "Why are Congressional Committees Powerful?" *American Political Science Review* 81: 85-104.

Weingast, Barry, and William Marshall (1987), "The Industrial Organization of Congress," *Journal of Political Economy* 96: 132-165.

### **Legislative Elections**

Ansolabehere, Stephen, James Snyder, and Charles Stewart. "Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* 45:1 (January, 2001): 136-59.

Cox, Gary W. and Jonathan N. Katz. 1996. "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U. S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 478-97.

Erikson, Robert S. "Economic Conditions and the Congressional Vote: a Review of the Macrolevel Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:2 (May, 1990): 373-399. [literature review]

Fenno, Richard F. 1996. *U. S. Senators on the Campaign Trail*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Fiorina, Morris P. "The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy did it." *American Political Science Review* 71 (March, 1977): 177-81.

Fiorina, Morris P. 1983. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1990. "Estimating Incumbency Advantage Without Bias." *American Political Science Review* 34:1142-64. [statistically virtuous method of calculating incumbency advantage – politics questionable.]

Green, Donald P. 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: 884-907 [impact of campaign cash in elections]

Jacobson, Gary C. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:2 (May, 1990): 334-62.

Green, Donald P. and Krasno, Jonathan S. "Rebuttal to Jacobson's 'New Evidence for Old Arguments'." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:2 (May, 1990): 363-72.

Erikson, Robert S. and Thomas R. Palfrey. "Campaign Spending and Incumbency: An Alternative Simultaneous Equations Approach." *JOP* 60:2 (May, 1998): 355-73.

Jacobson, Gary. XXXX. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. New York: Longman. (Read most recent edition; an undergraduate text but a good overview of current research.)

Jacobson, Gary. 1987. "The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U. S. House of Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science* 31: 126-41.

Kramer, Gerald H. 1983. "The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate Versus Individual-Level Findings on Elections and Sociotropic Voting," *American Political Science Review*. [the last word on the economic voting literature]

Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. *The Partisan Sort*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mayhew, David R. "The Case of the Vanishing Marginals." *Polity* 6:3 (1974): 295-317.

Miller, Warren E. and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 57: 45-57. [ultimately wrong but influential]

Popkin, Samuel L. 1991. *The Reasoning Voter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [Like James Carville says on the cover, "If you're running for President and only have time to read one book, read *The Reasoning Voter*. If you have time to read two books, read *The Reasoning Voter* twice." Actually about presidential elections, but it has deep insights into campaigns in general]

Stokes, Donald E. and Warren E. Miller. 1964. "Party Government and the Saliency of Congress." in *Elections and the Political Order*, eds Angus Campbell, Phillip Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. New York : Wiley. [see above]

### **Parties, Leaders, and Leadership**

Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ansolabehere, Steven, James M. Snyder, and Charles Stewart III. 2001. "The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting." *LSQ* 26: 533-72.

Cooper Joseph, and David W. Brady 1981, "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn, *American Political Science Review*

Jones, Charles O. 1969, "Joseph G. Cannon and Howard W. Smith: An Essay on the Limits of Leadership in the House of Representatives," *Journal of Politics* 45: 617-646.

Krehbiel, Keith. 1999. "Paradoxes of Parties in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24: 31-64

Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Manley, John F. 1969, "Wilbur D. Mills: A Study in Congressional Leadership," *American Political Science Review* 63: 442-64.

Rhode, David W. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schickler, Eric, and Andrew Rich, "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House," *American Journal of Political Science*, v. 41, no. 4, October 1997, pp. 1340-1394 (with a response from Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins and a rejoinder from the authors).

Sinclair, Barbara. 1995. *Legislators, Leaders and Lawmaking*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Smith, Steven S. "Positive Theories of Congressional Parties." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25:2 (May, 2000): 193-215.

### **Representation**

Achen, Christopher. 1978. "Measuring Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 22: 475-510. See also the companion piece in previous issue about the misuse of correlations as measurements of representative-constituent relations.

Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The Logic of Congressional Action* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policymaking." *American Political Science Review*. 85:457-74. [example of good analysis of roll call behavior]

Bianco, William T. 1994. *Trust: Representatives and Constituents*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Cain, Bruce, John A. Ferejohn, and Morris P. Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [current last word on impact of casework on vote decisions and election outcomes]

Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. "Some Problems in Studying the Effects of Resource Allocation in Congressional Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* 25: 543-567.

Johannes, John R., and John C. McAdams 1981. "The Congressional Incumbency Effect: Is it Casework, Policy Compatibility, or Something Else? An Examination of the 1978 Election?," *American Journal of Political Science* 25: 512-541.

McAdams, John C., and John R. Johannes 1981. "Does Casework Matter? A Reply to Professor Fiorina," *American Journal of Political Science* 25: 581-603.

Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [read for specific results and survey of vast literature on redistricting and majority-minority districts]

Fenno, Richard. 1978. *Home Style*. Boston: Little, Brown. [closest thing to a Bible in the representation literature]

Bianco, William T. 1998. "Different Paths to the Same Result: Rational Choice, Political Psychology, and Impression Formation in Campaigns." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Bianco, William T. 2000. "Understanding Presentation of Self." In *Congress on Display, Congress at Work*, William T. Bianco, ed., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ferejohn, John A. 1990. "Information and Elections." In *Information and Democratic Processes*, John A. Ferejohn and James H. Kuklinski, eds., Urbana: University of Illinois Press. [somewhat dated review of normative/descriptive literature on representation]

Hetherington, Marc. 1998. "The Political Relevance of Political Trust." *American Political Science Review*. 93: 311-26.

Heatherington, Marc, and Suzanne Globetti. 2002. "Political Trust and Racial Policy Preferences." *AJPS* 46/2: 252-275.

Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1995. *Congress as Public Enemy: Public Attitudes Towards American Political Institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [review of the trust in government literature]

Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review* 97.4.

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

Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Political Issues and Trust in Government, 1964-1970." *American Political Science Review*. 68: 951-72.

Citrin, Jack. "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government." *American Political Science Review*. 68: 973-88.

Miller, Arthur H. 1974. "Rejoinder to 'Comment' by Jack Citrin: Political Discontent or Ritualism?" *American Political Science Review*. 68: 989-1001.

Citrin, Jack, and Samantha Luks. 2001. "Political Trust Revisited: Déjà vu All Over Again?" in *What is it about Government That Americans Dislike?* John R. Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, eds, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pitkin, Hanna F. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

### **Bureaucracy (relatively incomplete)**

Balla, Steven J. "Administrative Procedures and Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *APSR* 92:3 (September, 1998): 663-73.

Huber, John D. and Charles L. Shipan. 2000. "The Costs of Control: Legislators, Agencies, and Transaction Costs." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 25-52

McCubbins, Mathew D., Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast. 1987. "Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 3: 243-277.



McCubbins, Mathew D., Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Structure and Process, Politics and Policy: Administrative Arrangements and the Political Control of Agencies," *Virginia Law Review*. 75: 431-483.

Moe, Terry M. 1987. "An Assessment of the Positive Theory of Congressional Dominance," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 12:475-520.

Moe, Terry M. "Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story" and comment from Morris Fiorina, *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* (Special Issue, 1990): 213-61.

### Floor Proceedings

Binder, Sarah. 1997. *Majority Rule, Minority Rights*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dion, Douglas and John D. Huber. 1996. "Procedural Choice and the House Committee on Rules." *Journal of Politics* 58: 25-53.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1997. "Sense and Sensibility: The Role of Rules." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 945-957.

Don, Douglas. 1997. *Turning the Legislative Thumbscrew: Minority Rights and Procedural Change in Legislative Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kreibiel, Keith. 1997. "Restrictive Rules Reconsidered." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 919-944.

Krehbiel, Keith. 1997. "Rejoinder to 'Sense and Sensibility.'" *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 958-964.

Wawro, Gregory and Eric Schickler. 2004. "Where's the Pivot? Obstruction and Law-making in the Pre-cloture Senate." *AJPS* 48/4: 758-774.

Krutz, Glen S. 2005. "Issues and Institutions: "Winnowing" in the U.S. Congress." *AJPS* 2005.

Schickler, Eric, and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "Agenda Control, Majority Party Power, and the House Committee on Rules, 1937-52 . *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34: 455-92

Cox, Gary J., and Jonathan N. Katz. 2007. "Gerrymandering Roll Calls in Congress, 1879-2000," *AJPS*

## **Roll Call Voting Literature**

Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Laura W. Arnold, and Christopher J. W. Zorn, "The Strategic Timing of Position Taking in Congress: A Study of the North American Free Trade Agreement," *American Political Science Review*, v. 91, no. 2, June 1997, pp. 324-338.

Jackson, John E. and John W. Kingdon. 1992. "Ideology, Interest Groups, and Legislative Votes." *American Political Science Review*. 36: 805-23. [how to – and not to – analyze roll call votes]

Kingdon, John 1981. *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*. Second Edition. New York: Harper and Row. [classic study of constituent pressures and their impact on behavior]

Poole, Keith, and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Finocchiaro, Charles J. and Jeffrey A. Jenkins. 2008. "In Search of Killer Amendments in the Modern U.S. House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33: 263-284

Clinton, Joshua and Adam Meirowitz. 2004. "Testing Explanations of Strategic Voting in Legislatures." *AJPS* 48: 675-689.

Jeong, Gyung-Ho, Gary J. Miller, and Itai Sened. 2009. "Closing the Deal: Negotiating Civil Rights Legislation." *American Political Science Review*, 103: 588-606

Groseclose, Tim, and Jeffrey Milyo. 2010. "Sincere Versus Sophisticated Voting in Congress: Theory and Evidence." *The Journal of Politics* 72

## **Classics That Don't Fit Elsewhere**

Foley, Michael 1980. *The New Senate*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Salisbury, Robert H. and Kenneth A. Shepsle, (1981), "U. S. Congressman as Enterprise," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 6: 559-576.