

Graduate Colloquium: State Politics
Columbia University
Spring 2013
Tuesday, 4:10-6:00pm

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Office Hours: Tuesday 2:30-4 pm
& by appointment

Course Description

This seminar is designed as an overview of the major debates in the comparative study of U.S. state politics. The primary goals of the course are to familiarize students with the principal questions being asked by scholars in this subfield, the methodological approaches employed, and the avenues available for future research. Students will be asked to critically evaluate the existing literature. Throughout the course, special emphasis will be placed on states as laboratories for the empirical examination of political institutions, behavior, and the policy-making process.

Course Requirements

Reading & Discussion

This course is conducted in a discussion format so it is essential that all students complete the required readings prior to the class section in which they will be discussed. Our seminar discussions will sacrifice scope for the rigorous examination of each of the week's readings. In particular, we will focus on the nature of the contribution that each makes to the study of state politics as well as its theoretical and empirical shortcomings. All students must be prepared to participate in these discussions. Participation grades are determined by the quality of informed commentary contributed during our discussions. Students need only complete those readings labeled "required."

Assignments

Students are required to complete, during the course of the semester, five short (4-5 pages) review papers reacting to the week's readings. Students are free to write papers for the weeks of their choosing. However, these papers must be turned in (via e-mail) no later than 5 p.m. on the Wednesday prior to class. No late papers are accepted. These papers must address *each* of the week's readings. Furthermore, students should avoid lengthy summarization and instead present critical analysis.

High quality papers will discuss the following:

- 1) Questions addressed by the readings
- 2) Contributions of the readings (i.e., what have we learned?)
- 3) Critiques of the authors' theoretical arguments, research design, evidence, and conclusions
- 4) Avenues for future research

Grades for the seminar will be based upon performance in two areas:

Class Participation	50%
Review Papers	50%

Week 1 (January 22nd): Introduction & Overview

Week 2 (January 29th): State Elections & Electoral Institutions

Required:

Chubb, John. 1988. "Institutions, the Economy, and the Dynamics of State Elections," *American Political Science Review* 82: 133-154.

Folke, Olle, Shigeo Hirano, and James Snyder Jr. 2011. "Patronage and Elections in the U.S. States." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 567-85.

Folke, Olle and James Snyder Jr. 2011. "Gubernatorial Midterm Slumps." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 931-48.

Malhotra, Neil. 2008. "The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral Competition: Evidence from Arizona and Maine," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8(3): 263-281.

Recommended:

Gerber, Elisabeth and Rebecca Morton. 1998. "Primary Election Systems and Representation," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 14: 304-324.

Springer, Melanie J. 2012. "State Electoral Institutions and Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(3): 252-83.

Lowry, Robert, James Alt, and Karen Ferree. 1998. "Fiscal Policy Outcomes and Electoral Accountability in the American States." *American Political Science Review*, 92:759-74.

McDonald, Michael P. 2004. "A Comparative Analysis of U.S. State Redistricting Institutions." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4(4): 371-396.

Kousser, Thad and Megan Mullin. 2007. "Does Voting by Mail Increase Participation? Using Matching to Analyze a Natural Experiment," *Political Analysis* 15: 428-45.

Week 3 (February 5th): Direct Democracy I

Required:

Smith, Daniel A. and Dustin Fridkin. 2008. "Delegating Direct Democracy: Interparty Legislative Competition and the Adoption of the Initiative in the American States," *American Political Science Review* 102: 333-350.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections," *American Political Science Review* 88:63-76.

Stratmann, Thomas. 2006. "Is Spending More Potent For or Against a Proposition? Evidence from Ballot Measures," *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 788-801.

Donovan, Todd, Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Priming Presidential Votes by Direct Democracy," *The Journal of Politics* 70: 1217-1231.

Recommended:

Goebel, Thomas. 2002. *A Government by the People: Direct Democracy in America, 1890-1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Mowry, George. 1951. *The California Progressives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Magleby, David B. 1984. *Direct Legislation: Voting on Ballot Propositions in the United States*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bowler Shaun, and Todd Donovan. 1998. *Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Nicholson, Stephen P. 2005. *Voting the Agenda: Candidates, Elections, and Ballot Propositions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 4 (February 12th): Direct Democracy II

Required:

Gerber, Elisabeth R. 1996, "Legislative Response to the Threat of Popular Initiatives." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:99-128.

Matsusaka, John. 2004. *For the Many or the Few: The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Gerber, Elisabeth R., Arthur Lupia, Mathew D. McCubbins. 2004. "When Does Government Limit the Impact of Voter Initiatives? The Politics of Implementation and Enforcement," *The Journal of Politics* 66: 43-68.

Lewis, Daniel. "Bypassing the Representational Filter? Minority Rights Policies under Direct Democracy Institutions" 2011. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 11 (2): 198-222.

Recommended:

Romer, Thomas and Howard Rosenthal. 1979. "Bureaucrats Versus Voters: On the Political Economy of Resource Allocation by Direct Democracy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 93(4): 563-587.

Gamble, Barbara. 1997. "Putting Civil Rights to a Popular Vote," *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 245-69.

Hajnal, Zoltan L., Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Hugh Louch. 2002. "Minorities and Direct Legislation: Evidence from California Ballot Proposition Elections," *Journal of Politics* 64(1): 154-77.

Lewis, Daniel. 2012. *Direct Democracy and Minority Rights: A Critical Assessment of Tyranny of the Majority in the American States*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Daniel A. and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Besley, Timothy, and Stephen Coate. 2008. "Issue Unbundling via Citizens' Initiatives," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3:379-397.

Week 5 (February 19th): Measuring Subnational Public Opinion

Required:

Erikson, Robert, Gerald Wright, and John McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 2, 3, & 9)

Berry, William T., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. 1998. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States," *American Journal of Political Science* 42(1): 327-48.

Lax, Jeffrey and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?" with Jeffrey Lax. *The American Journal of Political Science* 53(1): 107-121.

Tausanovitch, Chris and Christopher Warshaw. Forthcoming. "Measuring Constituent Policy Preferences in Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities." *The Journal of Politics*.
(http://americanideologyproject.com/TW_MeasuringConstituentPreferences.pdf)

Recommended:

Brace, Paul, Kellie Sims-Butler, Kevin Arceneaux, and Martin Johnson. 2002. "Public Opinion in the American States: New Perspectives Using National Data," *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(1): 173-189.

Berry, William D, Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. 2007. "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(2): 111-32.

Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 2007. "Measuring the Public's Ideological Preferences in all 50 States: Survey Responses Versus Roll Call Data," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(2): 141-51.

Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 2006. "Public Opinion in the States: A Quarter Century of Change and Stability," in *Public Opinion in State Politics*, ed. Jeffrey E. Cohen. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.

Week 6 (February 26th): Studying the Responsiveness of State Governments

Required:

Erikson, Robert, Gerald Wright, and John McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 4-8)

Lax, Jeffrey and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 148-66.

Butler, Daniel and David Nickerson. 2011. "Can Learning Constituent Opinion Affect How Legislator's Vote? Results from a Field Experiment." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6: 55-83.

Hogan, Robert E. 2008. "Policy Responsiveness and Incumbent Reelection in State Legislatures," *American Journal of Political Science* 42(4): 858-73.

Recommended:

John G. Matsusaka, "Popular Control of Public Policy: A Quantitative Approach," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5 (2010): 133-167.

Week 7 (March 5th): Interest Groups

Required:

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1995. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States," *American Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1-29.

Gerber, Elisabeth R. 1999. *The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Boehmke, Frederick J. 2002. "The Effect of Direct Democracy on the Size and Diversity of State Interest Group Populations." *The Journal of Politics* 64(3): 827–844.

Constant, Louay M. 2006. "When Money Matters: Campaign Contributions, Roll Call Votes, and School Choice in Florida," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 6(2):195-219

Recommended:

Wiggins, Charles W., Keith E. Hamm, and Charles G. Bell. 1992. "Interest-Group and Party Influence Agents in the Legislative process: A Comparative State Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 54(1): 82-100.

Nownes, Anthony J. and Patricia Freeman. 1998. "Interest Group Activity in the States," *Journal of Politics* 60(1):86-112.

Berkman, Michael B. 2001. "Legislative Professionalism and the Demand for Groups: The Institutional Context of Interest Population Density," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26:661-679.

Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, and Matthew Fellowes. 2005. "Sisyphus Meets the Borg: Economic Scale and the Inequalities in Interest Representation," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 17: 41-74.

Boehmke, Frederick J. and Daniel C. Bowen. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Individual Interest Group Membership." *The Journal of Politics* 72(3): 659-671.

Week 8 (March 19th): States as Legislative Laboratories

Required:

Wright, Gerald and Brian Schaffner. 2002. "The Influence of Party: Evidence from State Legislatures," *American Political Science Review*, 96:367-390.

Cox, Gary C., Thad Kousser, and Mathew McCubbins. 2010. "Party Power or Preferences? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from American State Legislatures," *The Journal of Politics* 72(3): 799-811.

Gamm, Gerald and Thad Kousser. 2010. "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures," *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 151-70.

Shor, Boris and Nolan M. McCarty. 2011. "The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 530-51.

Recommended:

Francis, Wayne L. 1989. *The Legislative Committee Game: A Comprehensive Analysis of All 50 States*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Squire, Peverill and Keith Hamm. *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and The Future Of Legislative Studies*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Chen, Jowei, and Neil Malhotra. 2007. "The Law of k/n: The Effect of Chamber Size on Government Spending in Bicameral Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 657-676.

Kim, Henry A. and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Dividing the Spoils of Power: How Are the Benefits of Majority Party Status Distributed in State Legislatures?" *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 9(2): 125–150.

Clucas, Richard A. 2001. "Principal-Agent Theory and the Power of State House Speakers." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26:319-38.

Week 9 (March 26th): Legislative Professionalization

Required:

Squire, Peverill. 1992. "The Theory of Legislative Institutionalization and the California Assembly," *Journal of Politics* 54: 1026-1054.

Squire, Peverill. 2007. "Measuring State Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(2): 211-27

Malhotra, Neil. 2006. "Government Growth and Professionalism in U.S. State Legislatures," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(4): 563-584.

Fiorina, Morris. 1994. "Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *American Political Science Review* 88: 304-316.

Berry, William, Michael Berkman, and Stuart Schneiderman. 2000. "Legislative Professionalism and Incumbent Reelection: The Development of Institutional Boundaries," *American Political Science Review* 94: 859-874.

Recommended:

Maestas, Cherie. 2000. "Professional Legislatures and Ambitious Politicians: Policy Responsiveness of State Institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25(4): 663-90.

Malhotra, Neil. 2008. "Disentangling the Relationship between Legislative Professionalism and Government Spending," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33(3): 387-414.

Week 10 (April 2nd): Term Limits

Required:

Carey, John, Gary Moncrief, Richard Niemi, and Lynda Powell. 2006. "The Effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures: A New Survey of the 50 States," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 105-34.

Kousser, Thad. 2005. *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Powell, Richard J. 2008. "Minority Party Gains under State Legislative Term Limits," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8(1): 32-47.

Seth Masket. 2012. "Polarization without Parties: Term Limits and Legislative Partisanship in Nebraska's Unicameral Legislature." (<http://www.princeton.edu/csdp/events/Masket04052012/Masket04052012.pdf>)

Recommended:

Lazarus, Jeffery. 2006. "Term Limits' Multiple Effects on State Legislators' Career Decisions," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 6(4): 357-83.

Sarbaugh-Thompson, Marjorie. 2010. "Measuring "Term Limitedness" in U.S. Multi-State Research," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 10(2): 199-217.

Wright, Gerald C. 2007. "Do Term Limits Affect Legislative Roll Call Voting? Representation, Polarization, and Participation," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(3): 256-280.

Moncrief, Gary F., Richard C. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell. 2004. "Time, Term Limits, and Turnover: Trends in Membership Stability in U.S. State Legislatures," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(3): 357-381.

Masket, Seth E. and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2007. "A Return to Normalcy? Revisiting the Effects of Term Limits on Competitiveness and Spending in California Assembly Elections," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(1): 20-38.

Carey, John M. 1998. *Term Limits and Legislative Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 11 (April 9th): Governors & Executive-Legislative Bargaining

Required:

Kiewiet, D. Roderick, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1988. "Presidential Influence on Congressional Appropriations." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(3):713-36.

Alt, James and Robert Lowry. 2000. "A Dynamic Model of State Budget Outcomes under Divided Partisan Government," *Journal of Politics* 62:1035-1070.

Kousser, Thad and Justin Phillips. 2012. *The Power of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Adam. 2010. "Are Governors Responsible for the State Economy? Partisanship, Blame, and Divided Federalism," *The Journal of Politics* 72(3): 605-15.

Recommended:

Alt, James E., and Robert C. Lowry. 1994. "Divided Government, Fiscal Institutions, and Budget Deficits: Evidence from the States" *American Political Science Review* 88: 811-28.

Kousser, Thad and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Who Blinks First? Legislative Patience and Bargaining with Governors," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34(1): 55-86.

de Figueiredo Jr., R.J.P. 2003. "Budget Institutions and Political Insulation: Why States Adopt the Item Veto." *Journal of Public Economics* 87: 2677-701.

Holtz-Eakin, Douglas. 1988. "The Line Item Veto and Public Sector Budgets." *Journal of Public Economics* 36: 269-92.

Krupnikov, Anna and Charles Shipan. 2012. "Measuring Gubernatorial Budget Power: A New Approach." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(4): 438-55.

Week 12 (April 16th): Judicial Politics

Required:

Hall, Melinda Gann. 2001. "State Supreme Courts in American Democracy: Probing the Myths of Judicial Reform," *American Political Science Review* 95:315-330.

Huber, Gregory A. and Sanford C. Gordon. 2004. "Accountability and Coercion: Is Justice Blind When It Runs for Office?" *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 247-63.

Gibson, James L. 2008. "Challenges to the Impartiality of State Supreme Courts: Legitimacy Theory and 'New-Style' Judicial Campaigns," *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 59-75.

Caldarone, Richard P., Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Tom S. Clark. 2009. "Partisan labels and Democratic Accountability: An Analysis of State Supreme Court Abortion Decisions," *The Journal of Politics* 70: 560-73

Recommended:

Gordon, Sanford C. and Gregory A. Huber (2007) "The Effect of Electoral Competitiveness on Incumbent Behavior," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2(2):107-138

Mark Hurwitz and Drew Noble Lanier. 2003. "Explaining Judicial Diversity: The Differential Ability of Women and Minorities to Attain Seats on State Supreme and Appellate Courts," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3: 329-352.

Hall, Melinda Gann. 2007. "Voting in State Supreme Court Elections: Competition and Context as Democratic Incentives," *The Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1147-59.

Brace, Paul and Brent D. Boyea. 2008. "State Public Opinion, the Death Penalty, and the Practice of Electing Judges," *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 360-72.

Hall, Melinda Gann. 1992. "Electoral Politics and Strategic Voting in State Supreme Courts," *Journal of Politics* 54(2): 427-446.

Langer, Laura, Jody McCullen, Nick Ray, and Dan Stratton. 2003. "Recruiting Chief Justices on State Supreme Courts: A Choice between Institutional and Personal Goals," *Journal of Politics* 65(3): 656-675.

Week 13 (April 23rd): Race, Gender & Sexual Orientation in State Politics

Required

Lax, Jeffrey and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness: Gay Rights in the States," *The American Political Science Review* 103(3): 367-385.

Hero, Rodney E. 2007. *Racial Diversity and Social Capital: Equality and Community in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures," *Journal of Politics* 64(3): 791-809.

Butler, Daniel and David Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators," *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 463-77.

Recommended:

Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Kenneth J. Meier. 1996. "The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 58(2): 332-349.

Preuhs, Robert R. 2006. "The Conditional Effects of Minority Descriptive Representation: Black Legislators and Policy Influence in the American States." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 585- 599.

Lupia, Arthur, Yanna Krupnikov, Adam Seth Levine, Spencer Piston, Alexander Von Hagen-Jamar. 2010. "Why State Constitutions Differ in their Treatment of Same-Sex Marriage," *The Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1222-35.

Key, V.O. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Chapters 1, 14, 18-21, 25-29

Bratton, Kathleen A., and Kerry L. Haynie. 1999. "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." *Journal of Politics* 61: 658-79.

Cammisa, Anne Marie, and Beth Reingold. 2004. "Women in State Legislatures and State Legislative Research: Beyond Sameness and Difference." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4(2): 181-210.

Keiser, Lael R., Peter R. Muesser, Seung-Whan Choi. 2004. "Race, Bureaucratic Discretion, and the Implementation of Welfare Reform," *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 314-327.

Button, James, and David Hedge. 1996. "Legislative Life in the 1990s: A Comparison of Black and White State Legislators," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21:199-218.

Week 14 (April 30th): Policy Innovation, Diffusion, & Competition

Required:

Mintrom, Michael. 1997. "Policy Entrepreneurs and the Diffusion of Innovation," *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 738-770.

Karch, Andrew. 2007. *Democratic Laboratories: Policy Diffusion among the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Volden, Craig, Michael M. Ting, and Daniel P. Carpenter. 2008. "A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion," *American Political Science Review* 102(3): 319-32.

Julianna Pacheco, "The Social Contagion Model: Exploring the Role of Public Opinion on the Diffusion of Anti-Smoking Legislation across the American States," *Journal of Politics* 74 (2012): 187-202.

Recommended:

Tiebout, Charles M. 1956. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," *Journal of Political Economy* 64(5):416-424.

Walker, Jack. 1969. "The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States," *American Political Science Review* 63: 880-899.

Gray, Virginia. 1973. "Innovation in the States: A Diffusion Study," *American Political Science Review* 67:1174-1185.

Balla, Steven. 2001. "Interstate Professional Associations and the Diffusion of Policy Innovations," *American Politics Research* 29: 221-245.

Volden, Craig. 2002. "The Politics of Competitive Federalism: A Race to the Bottom in Welfare Benefits?" *American Journal of Political Science* 46:352-64.

Volden, Craig. 2006. "States as Policy Laboratories: Emulating Success in the Children's Health Insurance Program," *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 294-312.

Shipan, Charles R and Craig Volden. 2006. "Bottom-Up Federalism: The Diffusion of Anti-Smoking Policies from Cities to States." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 825-43.

Nicholson-Crotty, Sean. 2009. "The Politics of Diffusion: Public Policy in the American States," *The Journal of Politics* 71(1).

