

POLI 708, Sec. 001 Subnational Politics, Fall Semester, 2008
Thursday, 5:00 – 7:50 p.m., Hamilton Hall Room 425

Professor Thomas Carsey

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Course Description

This course will focus on the comparative study of U.S. state politics. The topics we cover within this course will range widely across those commonly examined in political science, including studies of elections, mass behavior, public opinion, the specific institutions of government, and policy making. Our over-arching focus will be on the process of representation in democracies with a particular interest in how different state contextual and institutional factors help structure this process.

The study of U.S. state politics was long considered the backwater of the discipline. This paralleled the view that the states themselves were not important instruments of politics and policy-making. This has changed. Today, the study of state politics is growing in size, sophistication, and professional exposure. The State Politics and Policy Section of APSA is one of the most vibrant sections of APSA, now hosting an annual conference (to be in Chapel Hill in May, 2009) and sponsoring its own journal, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, since 2001. I think there are three reasons for this.

First, beginning under President Nixon, the U.S. has witnessed several waves of so-called “new federalism” that has involved the devolution of policy responsibilities from the national government to the states. At the same time, states have increasingly taken the initiative in multiple policy areas to address their own problems and experiment with new solutions. In short, there is simply more real policy action taking place at the state level over the last 40 years than had previously been the case.

Second, states have strengthened and “professionalized” their political institutions. Governors wield substantial formal and informal powers that can be used to shape state policies, and state legislatures, courts, and bureaucracies have followed suit. In other words, states have responded to the growing policy responsibilities they face by strengthening their institutional capacity to deal with them.

Third, more original data has become available to scholars, permitting the systematic exploration of political theories at the state level to a much greater degree than was possible even ten years ago. There are multiple shifts in the scholarly study of American Politics that coincide with the generation or discovery of new sources of data. I believe we have already begun to witness such a shift toward the study of states that is still gathering steam. In other words, this is a great time to study state politics!

The attraction of the states is obvious – if one cares at all about how variation in context affects some political process, it is frequently much easier to imagine meaningful variance existing at the state level compared to the national level. There is only one U.S. Congress, only one President, only one Presidential election at any one time. To generate variance in, say, the institutional structure of a legislature in order to explore how that structure might shape lawmaking, your choices are limited at the national level. You can compare the House and the Senate, but they differ from each other in several ways – how can we be sure which difference(s) really matter? You can compare the House and/or Senate to itself over time, but major changes in these institutions are rare and often occur in response to other important events. You can compare legislatures cross-nationally, but so many other factors vary across countries, and we sometimes face questions of whether units are really comparable. In the U.S. states, we have multiple comparable units that evidence meaningful variation both cross-sectionally and over time.

Of course, challenges remain. As we will quickly learn, 50 states is not always all that many when we are doing empirical research. Data, while becoming increasingly available, is still much more limited than what we have at the national level. Most of our theories have been developed with national

political processes in mind, and their applicability to the states may sometimes be unclear. Finally, a whole host of methodological problems arise when dealing with data that exists on multiple levels, unfolds over time, and is potentially full of non-independent observations.

With these challenges come opportunities. I believe that the majority of the debates that occupy scholars in American Politics can be addressed and addressed with greater sophistication at the state level than they can be at the national level. From a strictly scholarly perspective, that is an exciting prospect. Lay on top of that the increasing substantive (or so-called “real world”) importance of the states in our political system, and I am forced to conclude again that this is a great time to be studying the states.

Course Requirements

The course will be conducted as a seminar. That means that while I will provide direction and guidance along the way, the real success or failure of the seminar rests with the students. I expect our evenings together to be filled with lively and thoughtful discussion and debate of our readings and the ideas those readings provoke. That can only happen if every student accepts responsibility for coming to class prepared and ready to participate. I cannot stress this point enough – there are no short-cuts in the process of getting a Ph.D. You simply have to put in the work now. Remember, you are not just trying to get through each Thursday night. You are completing a course, you are completing a semester, you are studying for prelims, you are preparing to write and defend a dissertation, you are preparing for the job market. In short, you are preparing for a career as a professional political scientist. The day-to-day work you do adds up to become the type of political scientist you will be. Gaps in your work now lead to lost time trying to make up for it later and/or weaknesses in your overall development down the road.

The bulk of the required readings will be journal articles and book chapters. Most are available online. Those that are not will be made available to you. There are no books required for this course.

Assignments and Grading

Students will be evaluated on the standard graduate school grading scale employed at UNC: H = High Pass, P=Pass, L=Low Pass, F=Fail. I will not grade this course on any sort of curve. Internally, the department permits the giving of pluses and minuses, but the University does not recognize them. Faculty are also asked to fill out an evaluation sheet for every student in the class. I take this quite seriously, and I am happy to discuss that evaluation with you at any time. The grade for the course will be based on performance on several assignments.

Seminar Participation (15%): Students are expected to come to class each week and to participate actively and constructively in the discussion. Saying nothing will be unsatisfactory, but just saying anything won’t help much either. Demonstrating a careful reading and consideration of the material is what counts. Of course, that does not mean I will be keeping score on how many things you say that are “right” or “wrong.” In some cases, there will be clear right and wrong answers, but in many others, the answer will not be obvious. Further, good questions about matters that were confusing are often more helpful than simple statements that, while correct, do not really further the discussion. In other words, I do not want you to feel concerned about voicing uncertainty, raising disagreements, or having others disagree with you. Quite the contrary, I view these as essential elements of meaningful discussion. We won’t learn anything if we all agree with each other every week. You should also be aware that I will take on the role of disagreeing with a point for pedagogical reasons at times, so you shouldn’t necessarily assume that when I argue with you that I actually disagree with you. Finally, it is important that we all learn how to engage in lively and stimulating debate that is both challenging, yet also respectful. You will need this skill in your professional life, so we should work to develop it now.

Weekly Reaction Papers (10%): Every week, you will be required to write and submit a reaction paper to that week's readings **BEFORE** the class meets. Your reaction papers will be due by Noon on each Thursday that we are meeting unless otherwise directed. You **MUST** submit your reaction papers to me as an e-mail attachment in a form that I can access and edit with MS Word. The reaction papers should be a critical assessment of the week's readings. They should NOT be simple summaries (I've already read the articles). So, don't tell me what they say, tell me what you think about what they say. Critique the theory, the methods, the conclusions, etc. These papers should only be about 1 to 1¼ pages long, single spaced. Thus, you need to write them very tightly. Some weeks, your papers might come together as a single coherent essay. Other weeks, it might feel more like a few very distinct and unconnected paragraphs. That's O.K. The point is to cut right to the heart of what you think are the important theoretical, methodological and/or substantive issues raised by the readings and offer a critique. You cannot successfully complete these papers by focusing on only one or two of the readings each week. I do not intend to keep a strict count of exactly how many of the readings you comment on each week, but keep in mind that I wouldn't put an article on the syllabus if I didn't think there was something to be learned from reading it. Every reaction paper must conclude with 2 or 3 research questions provoked by that week's readings. Each one should be a short paragraph where you outline an idea for a study. I want these to be concrete in the sense of presenting the core of an idea that could potentially become a paper.

This is a lot to do in 1 to 1¼ pages. It will take some time to get good at writing these, but it is a valuable skill. Just keep in mind that it is your ideas that matter here, not flowery prose, so you should spend much more time thinking than writing each week.

Book Reports: (10%): Each student over the course of the semester will prepare two (2) book reports. Books eligible for such reports will be listed on the syllabus. Students will select books they wish to report on (we'll work out a system). Book reports are due at class time the day they appear on the syllabus. Each book report should begin with a brief abstract that provides an overview of book's major contribution. The report should then provide a chapter-by-chapter summary. Each chapter summary should briefly report on the theory, data, methods, findings, and conclusions presented by the author. Then offer a two-to-three sentence critique. The book report should conclude with a page connecting the book to the required readings assigned to everyone that week. Your responsibility is to prepare this report and bring printed copies to distribute to everyone in class (including me!) the evening of the seminar. Sometime in the second half of the seminar, you will be called upon to give a 7-10 minute presentation on the book (no PowerPoint or anything like that), which we will follow with a discussion. NOTE: The day you present a book report, you will NOT be required to submit a separate reaction paper.

Seminar Paper (30%): You will write a full-blown research paper for this course. It should take the basic form of a refereed journal article (like the many you will be reading for this course). That is, you need a research question grounded in theory, hypotheses generated from that theory, an empirical evaluation of those hypotheses, and a conclusion. I won't require that the paper be quantitative, but my tendency is to think in those terms. There is no specific page requirement, but my experience suggests that papers that are 15 pages of text or less tend to be under-developed while papers over 25-30 pages of text would often be better if shorter. Note that one acceptable alternative would be a replication and extension of an existing published paper. However, the extension needs to be "meaningful." Finally, while the paper can be related to previous work you have done or work you are doing for another class, it needs to be a distinctively new paper. For those who have ideas about a thesis or dissertation, this might be a great opportunity to pursue that work. The paper is due Thursday, December 4th at NOON.

We will talk regularly about the paper over the course of the semester in class, and I expect I'll see most of you in my office outside of class as well. I have several deadlines throughout the semester where I expect you to show me progress. However, the only aspect of the paper that is graded will be the final version you turn in to me. That said, it is VERY important that you get started on this right away.

You cannot bang out a quality paper over the week-end, and you need to build in time for the inevitable problems with data, writing, etc. that occur. The final version of the paper will be due to me on Thursday, December 4th at Noon. It MUST be sent to me electronically in a format I can access with MS Word.

Seminar Paper critiques (5%): On Thursday, November 13th, each of you will turn in a complete draft of your paper. At that point, you will give a draft to me and to two other students in the class. You will also receive drafts from two other students in the class. You will provide written feedback for the authors of the two drafts that you received (copies of your comments are sent to me as well). Your responsibility is to provide feedback that will help the authors improve their papers. Point out strengths, note weaknesses, raise challenges, and make suggestions for alternatives. Think of these as the type of comments you wished you received when you submit a paper for publication or present one at a conference. Remember, you are not helping the paper improve if you only provide generic praise. I expect you to write at least one full single-spaced page of comments for each paper, and you should stop if you get to three (just because you need to manage your time). I will also be providing each of you with written comments at the same time. Once I know who is writing what, I'll construct the pairings.

Seminar Paper presentations (5%): Near the end of the semester, we will schedule a time for each student to present his/her paper to the class. Each presentation will last 10-15 minutes, followed by 15 minutes for Q&A. I may invite other graduate students and faculty to attend these presentations. Students will have different levels of experience with having done this, and I will take that into account. However, I expect these presentations to be of professional quality. Again, think about the type of presentation you would like to give of your paper at APSA the year you are on the job market (and hoping someone in the audience might be hiring!). To get all of these in might force us to run long that night – I'll buy the pizza!

Final Exam (25%): The course will include a final exam. The exam will take the format of a prelim. As such, students will have eight (8) hours to write their answers for the final exam. You will receive the questions in the morning and return your answers at the end of the working day. The exam will have a limited number of broad essay questions. Students will be allowed to use notes, books, and any other similar materials, but will NOT be permitted to discuss the exam with anyone (students, other faculty, etc. are all excluded). Ultimately, you are on your own honor, and I have no reason to expect any problems, but any suspicions on my part will be investigated. We will hammer out the specific format and logistics regarding the final exam in class as the end of the semester approaches.

Communication

I make every effort to communicate to you my expectations, your responsibilities, and the substantive information covered in this course. I will send e-mails to the entire class. I maintain a Blackboard site for the class, and I will make announcements and issue some reminders in class. Note that I will only send e-mail out to your UNC e-mail accounts as listed on the course roster in Blackboard. I will not keep track of any other e-mail addresses that you might use. I am also very easy to reach if you need to communicate with me. Come to my office hours, call my office, or even better, send me an e-mail. It is important for you to stay in touch, particularly if any problems arise. I or any faculty member will be much more understanding if you just communicate with us up front and early if there is a problem.

A Note on Academic Honesty

In order for me to evaluate your work fairly, you have to do your own work. It is much easier to study, work hard, and complete your own assignments than it is to try and figure out some way to “beat the system” without getting caught. Cheating, plagiarism, and all other forms of academic dishonesty are pretty easy to spot and come with severe consequences. All students should familiarize themselves with

the Academic Honor Code at UNC (<http://honor.unc.edu/honor/code.html>). Students caught cheating in any form in this course may receive an F for the course and may be turned over for further disciplinary action by the University. By taking this class, you have committed to comply with all aspects of the Honor Code regarding all aspects of this course.

Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should; (1) contact the office of Learning Disabilities at UNC (<http://www.unc.edu/depts/lds/index.html>), (2) bring a letter to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type. This should be done during the first week of class.

Responsibilities

The success of this course depends upon all of us meeting our responsibilities. I am responsible for being prepared each week to present and discuss course material, for challengingly you academically and stimulating your curiosity, and for being available for and responsive to your questions and inquiries. You are responsible for being prepared each week as well, for asking questions when you are confused and actively engaging the material, for doing your own work, for meeting the course requirements, and for pushing yourselves to get the most out of this course that you can. Ultimately, this is your education and you should take responsibility for it.

Resources on the Web

More state data is becoming available all the time, as are more websites for states. Every state government operates a website, so that is often the first place to go when searching for data. The journal *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* is available online here: <http://www.press.uillinois.edu/journals/sppq.html>

This link also supported by SPPQ highlights a number of data sets: <http://www.ipsr.ku.edu/SPPQ/datasets.shtml>

I currently maintain the State Politics and Policy Section of APSA's website, located here: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/polisci/statepol/> Of particular value are the links to previous conferences, which include links to most of the papers presented there.

Gerald C. Wright at Indiana University has posted data on State Legislative Roll Call votes for some recent years here: <http://www.indiana.edu/~ral/>

I have a data set of state legislative election returns at the candidate-level posted here: <http://www.unc.edu/~carsey/research/datasets/data.htm> which is also now available at ICPSR (their link is: <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/>).

There are professional organizations that are also very helpful, including the National Conference of State Legislatures (<http://www.ncsl.org/>), the National Governors Association (<http://www.nga.org/portal/site/nga>), and the Council of State Governments (<http://www.csg.org/> they produce *The Book of the States*). There are similar associations for other offices and institutions of state government as well.

Finally, you can find additional readings in course syllabi online. I have an old one here: http://www.unc.edu/~carsey/teaching/syllabi/pols559_1.htm

Gerald Wright's syllabus is here: http://php.indiana.edu/~wright1/y661_statepolitics.doc

Virginia Gray's syllabus is here: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/polisci/aprg/Syllabi/276Gray.doc>

Course Schedule

Below is a semester-long schedule for the course. There may be some need to adjust it here and there as we proceed, but I expect to follow the basic structure of the schedule pretty closely. Remember, you need to read the required reading each week before coming to class. All of these articles are available online. You can find the articles in State Politics and Policy Quarterly at the this website: <http://www.press.uillinois.edu/journals/sppq.html> and then following the link near the top center of the page that says "Online Journal Archive." All of the rest can be found through the UNC Library. I think all of them prior to 2005 are available in JSTOR, but I find the easiest way to find them is to go to the main UNC library webpage, located here: <http://www.lib.unc.edu/> and then clicking on the E-Journals tab near the top center of the page. This gives you a search page in which you can type the title of the journal. What will pop up is a list of the electronic archives to which UNC subscribes that includes that particular journal, along with the dates covered. NOTE: To get the Journal of Politics to pop up, it is easier to just ask for the list of Political Science Journals and then click this title.

All articles marked with an asterisk (*) are required. Others are not.

AUGUST 21: INTRODUCTION, COURSE OVERVIEW

*Morehouse, Sarah M. and Malcolm E. Jewell. 2004. "States as Laboratories: A Reprise." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 177-203.

*Brace, Paul and Aubrey Jewett. 1995. "Field Essay: The State of State Politics Research." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(Sept.):643-82.

AUGUST 28: (APSA – WE WILL RESCHEDULE THIS MEETING NEAR THE END OF THE SEMESTER FOR PAPER PRESENTATIONS)

SEPTEMBER 4: METHODS ISSUES IN STATE POLITICS RESEARCH

*Stimson, James A. 1985. Regression Models in Space and Time: A Statistical Essay. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29:914-947. (Focus on the first half of this paper dealing with the nature of the problem).

*Steenbergen, Marco R. and Bradford S. Jones. 2002. "Modeling Multilevel Data Structures." *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(1): 218-37.

*Jones, Bradford S. and Regina P. Branton. 2005. "Beyond Logic and Probit: Cox Duration Models of Single, Repeating, and Competing Events for State Policy Adoption." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5(4):420-43.

*Primo, David M., Matthew L. Jacobmeier, and Jeffrey Milyo. 2007. "Estimating the Impact of State Policies and Institutions with Mixed Level Data." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(4):446-59.

*Erikson, Robert S. and Lorraine C. Minnite. 2008. "Modeling Problems in the Voter ID-Voter Turnout Debate." Presented at the Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, May 2008, Temple University (available here: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/polisci/statepol/conferences/2008/2008papers.htm>)

*Erikson, Robert S., Pablo M. Pinto, and Kelly T. Rader. 2008. "Randomization Tests and Multi-Level Data in State Politics." Presented at the Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, May 2008, Temple University (available here: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/polisci/statepol/conferences/2008/2008papers.htm>)

Granberg_Rademacker, J. Scott. 2007. "A Comparison of Three Approaches to Handling Incomplete State-Level Data." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(3):325-38.

Arceneauz, Kevin and Gregory A. Huber. 2007. "What to Do (and Not Do) with Multicollinearity in State Politics Research." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(1):81-101.

SEPTEMBER 11: POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN THE STATES

Turn in a one-page statement regarding your proposed research paper

*Wolfinger, Raymond E., Benjamin Highton, and Megan Mullin. 2005. "How Postregistration Laws Affect the Turnout of Citizens Registered to Vote." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5(1):1-23.

*Tucker. 1986. "Contextual Models of Participation in U.S. State Legislative Elections" *Western Politics Quarterly* (March): 67-78.

*Knack. 1995. "Does Motor Voter work? Evidence from State-level Data" *Journal of Politics* 57(Aug.): 796-811.

*Jackson. 1997. "The Mobilization of U.S. State Electorates in the 1988 and 1990 Elections" *Journal of Politics* 59(May): 520-537.

*Brown, Jackson, and Wright. 1999. "Registration, Turnout, and State Party Systems" *Political Research Quarterly* 52(Sept.): 463-480.

*Jackson, Robert A. and Thomas M. Carsey 2007. "U.S. Senate Campaigns, Negative Advertising, and Voter Mobilization in the 1998 Midterm Election." *Electoral Studies* 26(1):180-95.

Book Report Options:

Hill, Kim Quaille. 1994. *Democracy in the Fifty States*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bryan, Frank M. *Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How it Works*. University of Chicago Press, 2004.

SEPTEMBER 18: CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

*Campbell, James E. 1986. "Presidential Coattails and Midterm Losses in State Legislative Elections." *American Political Science Review* 80:45-64.

*Hogan, Robert E. 2005. "Gubernatorial Coattail Effects in State Legislative Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(4): 587-97.

*Chubb, John. 1988. "Institutions, the Economy, and Dynamics of State Elections." *American Political Science Review* 82: 133-54.

*Carsey, Thomas M., and Gerald C. Wright. 1998. "State and National Factors in Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (3):994-1002.

*Schaffner, Brian F., Matthew Streb, and Gerald Wright. 2001. "Teams Without Uniforms: The Nonpartisan Ballot in State and Local Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (1):7-30

*Kaplan, Noah, David K. Park, and Travis N. Ridout. 2006. "Dialogue in American Political Campaigns? An Examination of Issue Convergence in Candidate Television Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3):724-736.

Berry, William D. , and Michael B. Berkman. 2000. Legislative Professionalism and Incumbent Reelection: The Development of Institutional Boundaries. *American Political Science Review* 94 (4):859.

Carsey, Thomas M. and Robert A. Jackson. 2001. "Misreport of Vote Choice in the U.S. Senate and Gubernatorial Elections." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 1(2):196-209.

Jackson, Robert A. and Thomas M. Carsey. 1999. "Presidential Voting Across the American States." *American Politics Quarterly* 27:379-402.

Book Report Options:

Carsey, Thomas M. Campaign Dynamics: The Race for Governor. University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Cox, Gary W. and Jonathan N. Katz. *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

SEPTEMBER 25: DIRECT DEMOCRACY

*Lupia, Arthur, and John G. Matsusaka. 2004. "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7:463-482.

*Smith, Daniel A. and Caroline Tolbert. 2007. "The Instrumental and Educative Effects of Ballot Measures: Research on Direct Democracy in the American States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(4): 416-45.

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

*Tolbert, Caroline J. , Ramona S. McNeal, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. *Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge*. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 3 (1):23-41.

*Smith, Mark A. 2002. Ballot Initiatives and the Democratic Citizen. *Journal of Politics* 64 (3):892.

*Lascher, Edward L., Jr., Michael G. Hagen, and Steven A. Rochlin. 1996. "Gun Behind the Door? Ballot Initiatives, State Policies, and Public Opinion." *Journal of Politics*. 58:760-775.

Book Report Options:

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

OCTOBER 2: PARTIES AND INTEREST GROUPS**Turn in Outline of Proposed paper. Include research questions, hypotheses to be tested, proposed data and methods, and core references**

*Gibson, James L., Cornelius P. Cotter, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1983. "Assessing Party Organizational Strength." *American Journal of Political Science*. 27:193-222.

*Barilleaux, Charles. 1986. "A Dynamic Model of Partisan Competition in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 30: 822-840.

*Wright and Schaffner. 2002. "The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures" *American Political Science Review* 96(June):367-79.

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

*Lowry "Explaining the Variation in Organized Civil Society Across States and Time" *Journal of Politics* (May 2005): 574-594.

*Hogan, Robert E. 2005. "State Campaign Finance Laws and Interest Group Electioneering Activities." *Journal of Politics* 67(3): 887-906.

Book Report Options:

Rosenthal, Alan. 1993. *The Third House: Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Cotter, , Cornelius P., James L. Gibbson, John F. Bibby, and Robert J. Huckshorn. 1984. *Party Organizations in American Politics*. Praeger: New York.

Jewel, Malcom E. And David M. Olson. 1988. *Political Parties and Elections in American States*. Dorsey Press: Chicago.

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1996. *The Population Ecology of Interest Representation: Lobbying Communities in the American States*. University of Michigan Press.

Cindy Simon Rosenthal and Lucinda Simon Rosenthal. 1998 (or 1999) *When Women Lead*. Oxford University Press.

Gimple, James. 1996. *National Elections and the Autonomy of American State Party Systems*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

OCTOBER 9: GOVERNORS

*Coffey. 2005. Measuring Gubernatorial Ideology: A Content Analysis of State of the State Speeches” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5(Spring):88-103.

*Dometrius, Nelson C. 1987. "Changing Gubernatorial Power: The Measure vs. Reality." *Western Political Quarterly* 40: 319-333.

*Barrilleaux, Charles and Michael Berkman. 2003. “Do Governors Matter? Budgeting Rules and the Politics of State Policy Making,” *Political Research Quarterly* 56: 409-17.

*Dahlberg, Matz , and Eva Johansson. 2002. On the Vote-Purchasing Behavior of Incumbent Governments. *American Political Science Review* 96 (1):27.

*Wiggins, Charles W. 1980. "Executive Vetoes and Legislative Overrides in the American States." *Journal of Politics*. 42:1110-1117.

*Dilger, Robert Jay, George A. Krause, and Randolph R. Moffett. 1995. "State Legislative Professionalism and Gubernatorial Effectiveness, 1978-191.: *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 20:553-571.

Abney, Glenn, and Thomas P. Lauth. 1997. "The Item Veto and Fiscal Responsibility." *Journal of Politics*. 59:882-892.

Dometrius, Nelson. 1979. "Measuring Gubernatorial Power." *Journal of Politics* 41: 589-610.

Book Report Options:

Sabato, Larry. 1983. *Good-bye to Good-Time Charlie*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Morehouse, Sarah McCally. *The Governor as Party Leader: Campaigning and Governing*. University of Michigan Press, 1998.

OCTOBER 16: (FALL BREAK – NO CLASS)**OCTOBER 23: STATE LEGISLATURES****Turn in Rough Draft of Your Research Paper**

*Meinke, Scott R. , and Edward B. Hasecke. 2003. Term Limits, Professionalization, and Partisan Control in U.S. State Legislatures. *Journal of Politics* 65 (3):898.

*Aldrich and Battista “Conditional Party Government in the States” *AJPS* 46(Jan. 2002): 164-72.

*Kousser, Thad, Jeffrey B. Lewis, and Seth E. Masket. 2007. “Ideological Adaptation? The Survival Instinct of Threatened Legislators.” *Journal of Politics* 69(3): 828-843.

*Bianco, William T. and Itai Sened. 2005. “Uncovering Evidence of Conditional Party Government: Reassessing Majority Party Influence in Congress and State Legislatures.” *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 361-371.

*Wright, Gerald C. 2007. "Do Term Limits Affect Legislative Roll Call Voting? Representation, Polarization, and Participation." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(3): 256-80.

*Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review*. 560-576.

Squire, Peverill. 2006. "Historical Evolution of Legislatures in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 19-44.

Lublin, David, and D. Stephen Voss. 2000. Racial Redistricting and Realignment in Southern State Legislatures. *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (4):792-810.

Van Dunk, Emily, and Ronald E. Weber. 1997. "Constituency-Level Competition in the U.S. States, 1968-1988: A Pooled Analysis." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 22:141-159.

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.

Hamm, Keith E., Ronald D. Hedlund, and Nancy Martorano. 2006. "Measuring State Legislative Committee Power: Change and Chamber Differences in the 20th Century." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 6(1): 88-111.

Book Report Options:

Rosenthal, Alan. 1998. *The Decline of Representative Democracy: Process, Participation, and Power in State Legislatures*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Squire, Peverill and Keith E. Hamm. *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies*. Ohio State University Press, 2005.

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

Jewell, Malcolm E. And Marcia Lynn Whicker. 1994. *Legislative Leadership in the American States*. U. of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, MI

OCTOBER 30: STATE COURTS

*Cann, Damon M. 2007 "Justice for Sale? Campaign Contributions and Judicial Decisionmaking." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(3): 281-97.

*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.

*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): 360-372.

*Hall, Melinda Gann, and Chris W. Bonneau. 2008. "Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 457-470.

*Hall, Melinda Gann. 2007. "Voting in State Supreme Court Elections: Competition and Context as Democratic Incentives." *Journal of Politics* 69(4): 1147-1159.

*Brace, Paul, and Melinda Gann Hall. 1990. "Neo-Institutionalism and Dissent in State Supreme Courts." *Journal of Politics*. 52:54-69.

Brace, Paul, and Melinda Gann Hall. 1995. "Studying Courts Comparatively: The View From the American States." *Political Research Quarterly*. 48:5-28.

NOVEMBER 6: STATE PUBLIC OPINION

*Erikson, Robert S. 1976. "The Relationship between Public Opinion and State Policy: A New Look Based on Some Forgotten Data." *American Journal of Political Science* 20:25-36.

*Weber, Ronad E., Ann H. Hopkins, Michael L. Mezey, and Frank Munger. 1972. "Computer Simulation of State Electorates." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36:49-65.

*Seidman, Seymour. 1975. "Simulation of Public Opinion: A Caveat." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 39:253-79.

*Wright, Gerald C., Robert S. Erikson, and John P. McIver. 1985. "Measuring State Partisanship and Ideology with Survey Data." *Journal of Politics* 47(2): 469-89.

*Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. 1998. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American Sates." *American Journal of Political Science*. 42:337-348.

Nardulli, Peter F. 1990. "Political Subcultures in the American States: An Empirical Examination of Elazar's Formulation." *American Politics Quarterly*. 18:287-315.

Book Report Options:

Cohen, Jeffrey E. (editor). *Public Opinion in State Politics*. Stanford University Press, 2006.

Special issue of *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 2007, Vol. 7, Number 2.

Berry et al. "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology"

Brace et al. "Reply to "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology"

Erikson et al. "Measuring the Public's Ideological Preferences in the 50 States: Survey Responses versus Roll Call Data"

Norrander, Barbara. "Comment: Choosing Among Indicators of State Public Opinion"

Berry et al. "A Rejoinder: The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology"

NOVEMBER 13: POLICY INNOVATION AND DIFFUSION

Complete Drafts of Papers Due by Class Time to Me and Your Two Reviewers

*Berry, Frances Stokes, and William D. Berry. 1990. "State Lottery Adoptions as Policy Innovations: An Event History Analysis." *American Political Science Review*. 84:395-416.

*Shipan, Charles R. and Craig Volden. 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion," coauthored with Charles R. Shipan. 2008. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): forthcoming.

*Karch, Andrew. 2007. "Emerging Issues and Future Directions in State Policy Diffusion Research." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(1): 54-80.

*Berry, William D. and Brady Baybeck. 2005. "Using Geographic Information Systems to Study Interstate Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 505-519.

*Shipan, Charles R. and Craig Volden. 2006. "Bottom-Up Federalism: The Diffusion of Antismoking Policies from U.S. Cities to States." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 825-843.

*Mintrom, Micael. 1997. "Policy Entrepreneurs and the Diffusion of Innovation." *AJPS*. 41:738-70

Walker, Jack L. 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.

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.

Volden, Craig. 2002. "The Politics of Competitive Federalism: A Race to the Bottom in Welfare Benefits?" *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2):352.

Book Report Options:

Brace, Paul. *State Government and Economic Performance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993

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

Nice, David. 1994. *Policy Innovation in State Government*. Iowa State University Press.

NOVEMBER 20: POLICY RESPONSIVENESS/REPRESENTATION

Comments on Papers you Reviewed Due to Me and Your Two Authors on Wednesday, November 19th at NOON

*Dawson, Richard E. and James A. Robinson. 1963. "Inter-Party Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States." *Journal of Politics* 25: 265-289.

*Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1989. "Political Parties, Public Opinion, and State Policy in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 83(3): 729-50.

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

*Burden, Barry C. 2005. "Institutions and Policy Representation in the States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5(4): 373-93.

*Barrilleaux, Charles, Thomas Holbrook, and Laura Langer. 2002. Electoral Competition, Legislative Balance, and American State Welfare Policy. *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2):415-427.

Jacoby, William G. , and Sandra K. Schneider. 2001. "Variability in State Policy Priorities: An Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Politics* 63 (2):544.

Hero, Rodney E., and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1996. "A Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the State of the U.S." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40:851-871.

Barrilleaux, Charles. 1997. "A Test of the Independent Influences of Electoral Competition and Party Strength in a Model of State Policy-Making." *AJPS*. 41:1462-6.

Mooney, Christopher Z., and Mei-Hsien Lee. 1995. "Legislating Morality in the American States: The Case of Pre-Roe Abortion Regulation Reform." *American Journal of Political Science*. 39:599-627.

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

Brown, Robert D. 1995. "Party Cleavages and Welfare Effort in the American States." *American Political Science Review*. 89:23-33.

Book Report Options:

Peterson, Paul E. *The Price of Federalism*. Brookings, 1995

Eisinger, Peter K. 1988. *The Rise of the Entrepreneurial State*. U. of Wisconsin Press: Madison, WI.

Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

PAPER PRESENTATIONS - TBA

NOVEMBER 27: (THANKSGIVING – NO CLASS)

DECEMBER 4TH: FINAL PAPERS DUE ELECTRONICALLY AT NOON

FINAL EXAM - TBA