

Political Science 708

Seminar in Subnational Politics and Policy 305 Hamilton Hall

Spring Semester 2011

843-5602 vagray@email.unc.edu

Dr. Gray

Office Hours: & by appt.

Description: This course will primarily focus upon the comparative study of state politics: i.e., using the comparative method to analyze political behavior, institutions, and public policy across states.

Texts: Erikson, Wright, McIver, Statehouse Democracy; Berkman and Plutzer, Evolution, Creationism, and the Battle to Control America's Classrooms (2010); Miller, The Perils of Federalism: Race, Poverty, and the Politics of Crime Control (2008)

Requirements: The first assignment allows you to specialize according to your interests. Each week one student will do some additional reading from the recommended reading and report to the class orally. The readings will be chosen in consultation with the instructor

The second assignment is a limited research project modelled on the replication notes published in various journals, approximately a ten page paper extending, updating, replicating an empirical research piece already published. The paper is due April 12 accompanied by an oral report in class on April 26. Replication data sets can be obtained from *JOP* and other journals.

There will be an open book final exam (4-8 hours) during finals weeks; exams are due May 8 at 9 am. Performance on the papers, oral reports, class participation, and the final exam will be considered in arriving at the course grade, with the final and the research paper being weighted more heavily.

Jan. 12 Introduction to the Field

Recommended: Brace and Jewett, "Field Essay: The State of State Politics Research," Political Research Quarterly, 48 (Sept., 1995): 643-682; Jewell, "The Neglected World of State Politics," JOP, 44 (August, 1982): 638-657; Gray and Hanson (eds.), Politics in the American States, 9th ed. (2008); Van Horn, The State of the States, 3rd ed. (1996); Weber and Brace, eds., American State and Local Politics (1999); Goodsell, The American Statehouse: Interpreting Democracy's Temples (2001); Lucker, V.O. Key, Jr.: The Quintessential Political Scientist (2001) (only for the truly demented)

Jan. 19 Regionalism, Political Culture, and Social Capital

Read: \*Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation, ch. 14; Gimpel, "Reconsidering Political Regionalism in the American States," SPPQ, 2 (Winter, 2002): 325-352; \*Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States, 3rd edition, ch. 5; Fisher and Pratt, 2006, "Political Culture and the Death Penalty" Criminal Justice Policy Review, (March):17: 48-60; Alexander, 2007, "Determinants of Social Capital: New Evidence on Religion, Diversity and Structural

Change, British Journal of Political Science, 37 (#2): 368-377

Recommended: Classic Regional Studies--Lockard, New England State Politics; Fenton, Midwest Politics; Matthews and Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics; Fenton, Politics in the Border States.

Recent Regional or State Studies: Black and Black, Politics and Society in the South (1987); Peirce and Hagstrom, The Book of America (1984); Hagstrom, Beyond Reagan (1988); Nardulli (ed.), Diversity, Conflict, and State Politics: Regionalism in Illinois (1989); Thomas (ed), Politics and Public Policy in the Contemporary American West (1992); Thomas and Stewart, Alabama Government and Politics (1988); Blair, Arkansas Politics and Government (1988); Palmer, Taylor, and LiBrizzi, Maine Politics and Government (1992); Krane and Shaffer, Mississippi Government and Politics (1992); Morgan, England, and Humphreys, Oklahoma Politics and Policies (1991); Fler, North Carolina Government and Politics (1994); Miller, Kentucky Politics and Government (1994); McBeath and Morehouse, Alaska Politics and Government (1994); Salmore and Salmore, New Jersey Politics and Government (1993); Cronin and Loevy, Colorado Politics and Government (1993); Graham and Moore, South Carolina Politics and Government (1994); Browne and VerBurg, Michigan Politics and Government (1995); Gove and Nowlan, Illinois Politics and Government (1996); Driggs and Goodall, Nevada Politics and Government (1996); Liebschutz, New York Politics and Government (1998); Elazar, Gray, and Spano, Minnesota Politics and Government (1999); Berman, Arizona Politics and Government (1998); Pratt and Smith, Hawai'i Politics and Government (2000); Brisbin, Dilger, Hammock, and Mooney, West Virginia Politics and Government (1996); Moakley and Cornwell, Rhode Island Politics and Government (2001); Nicholson-Crotty and Meier, "Size Doesn't Matter: In Defense of Single-State Studies," SPPQ, 2 (Winter, 2002): 411-422.

Political Culture: Johnson, "Political Culture in American States: Elazar's Formulation Examined," AJPS, 20 (Aug. 1976): 491-510; Hanson, "Political Culture, Interparty Competition, and Political Efficacy," Publius, 10 (Spring, 1980): 17-36 and rest of special issue; Patterson, "The Political Cultures of the American States," JOP, (Feb., 1968): 187-209; Sharkansky, "The Utility of Elazar's Political Cultures," Polity, 2 (Fall, 1969): 703-721; Fitzpatrick and Hero, "Political Culture and Political Characteristics of the American States: A Consideration of Some Old and New Questions," WPQ, 41 (March, 1988): 145-153; Lowery and Sigelman, "Political Culture and State Public Policy: The Missing Link," WPQ; Nardulli, "Political Subcultures in the American States," APQ, 18 (July 1990): 287-315; Morgan and Wilson, "Diversity in the American States: Updating the Sullivan Index," Publius, 20 (Winter 1990): 71-81; Meier and Holbrook, "I Seen My Opportunities and I Took 'Em: Political Corruption in the American States," JOP, 54 (Feb., 1992): 135-155; Erikson, McIver, and Wright, "State Political Culture and Public Opinion", APSR, 81 (Sept., 1987): 797-814; Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox, "State Political Cultures and Public Opinion About Abortion," PRQ, 46 (Dec., 1993): 771-782; Sharkansky, Regionalism in American Politics (1970); Lieske, "Regional Subcultures of the United States," JOP, 55 (Nov., 1993): 888-913; Hanson, "The Political Acculturation of Migrants in the American States," Western Political Quarterly, 45 (June 1992): 355-384;

Social Capital: Putnam, Bowling Alone (2000), chs. 16-22; Rice and Sumberg, "Civic Culture and Government Performance in the American States," Publius, 27 (#1, 1997): 99-114; McLean, Schultz, and Steger, eds, Social Capital: Critical Perspectives on Community and "Bowling Alone" (2002); Crewes, "Socioeconomic Condition and Social Capital in the American States: A State Level Analysis from 1974 to 2000," (UNC Honors Thesis, 2003); Knack, "Social Capital and the Quality of Government: Evidence from the States," AJPS, 46 (Oct., 2002): 772-785.

## Jan. 26 Federalism

Read: Miller, The Perils of Federalism: Race, Poverty, and the Politics of Crime Control (2008)

Recommended: Special Issue on the State of American Federalism 2008-2009, Publius, 39 Summer (2009:#3); Baumgartner, Gray, and Lowery, "Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization State of Lobbying Organizations," PRQ, 62 (Sept, 2009):552-567; Anton, American Federalism & Public Policy (1989), chs. 1-6, 9; Chubb, "The Political Economy of Federalism," APSR, 79 (Dec., 1985): 994-1015; Reagan, The New Federalism, 2nd ed; Riker, Federalism; Dahl & Tufte, Size and Democracy; Beer, "Federalism, Nationalism, and Democracy in America," APSR, 72 (March 1978): 9-21; Rosenthal & Hoefler, "Competing Approaches to the Study of American Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations," Publius, 19 (Winter, 1989): 1-23; Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States, 3rd ed. (1984); Derthick, The Influence of Federal Grants; Peterson et al, When Federalism Works (1986); Nathan et al, Reagan and the States (1987); Eisinger and Gormley, The Midwest Response to the New Federalism (1988); Conlan, New Federalism: Intergovernmental Reform from Nixon to Reagan (1988); Dye, American Federalism (1990); Donahue, Disunited States (1997); Hanson, ed., Governing Partners: State-Local Relations in the United States (1998); Nicholson-Crotty, "Goal Conflict and Fund Diversion in Federal Grants to the States," AJPS, 48 (Jan., 2004): 110-122.

## Feb. 2 Migration, Ethnicity, and Other Explanations

Read: \*Hero and Tolbert, "A Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the States of the U.S.," AJPS, 40 (August, 1996): 851-871; Gimpel and Schuknecht, "Interstate Migration and Electoral Politics," JOP, 63 (Feb., 2001): 207-231; Hero, 2010, "Immigration and Social Policy in the United States," Annual Review of Political Science, 13: 445-468,

Recommended: Gimpel, Separate Destinations (1999); Hero, "Social Capital and Racial Inequality in America," Perspectives on Politics, 1 (March 2003): 113-122; Tolbert & Hero, "Dealing with Diversity: Racial/Ethnic Context & Social Policy Change," PRQ, 54 (Sept., 2001):571-604.; Gimpel and Schuknecht, Patchwork Nation: Sectionalism and Political Change in American Politics (2003); Hero, Faces of Inequality (1998); Gimpel and Ghinni, Our Patchwork Nation: The Surprising Truth About the "Real" America (2010)

## Feb. 9 Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections

Read: Herrnsen (2009), "The Roles of Party Organizations, Party-Connected Committees, and Party Allies in Elections," *Journal of Politics*, 71, pp 1207-1224; Dunaway (2008), "Markets, Ownership, and the Quality of Campaign News Coverage," *Journal of Politics*, 70, pp 1193-1202; Hill and Leighley, "The Policy Consequences of Class Bias in State Electorates," *AJPS*, 36 (May 1992): 351-366; McDonald, "The Turnout Rate among Eligible Voters in the States, 1980-2000," *SPPQ*, 2 (Summer, 2002): 199-212; Wright and Schaffner, "The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures," *APSR*, 96 (June, 2002): 367-379.

Recommended: General: Jewell and Olson, *Political Parties and Elections in American States*, 3rd ed.; Green & Coffey, eds., *The State of the Parties*, 6ed (2011), Paddock, *State & National Parties & American Democracy* (2005).

Registration & Turnout--Kim, Petrocik, Enokson, "Voter Turnout Among the American States: Systemic and Individual Components," *APSR*, 69 (March 1975): 107-131; Luttbeg, "Attitudinal Components of Turnout Decline: Where Have Some States' Voters Gone?" *SSQ*, 66 (2, 1985): 434-443; Sigelman, Roeder, Jewell, and Baer, "Voting and Nonvoting: A Multi-Election Perspective," *AJPS*, 29 (November 1985): 749-765; Caldeira and Patterson, "Contextual Influences on Participation in U.S. State Legislative Elections," *LSQ*, 7 (August 1982): 359-381; Patterson and Caldeira, "Getting Out the Vote: Participation in Gubernatorial Elections," *APSR*, 77 (September 1983): 675-689; Tucker, "Contextual Models of Participation in U.S. State Legislative Elections," *WPQ*, 39 (March 1986): 67-78; Gray, "A Note on Turnout in the American States," *JOP*, 38 (Feb., 1976): 153-158; Austin, Clubb, Flanigan, Granda, and Zingale, "Electoral Participation in the United States, 1968-86," *LSQ*, XVI (Feb., 1991): 145-164; Bauer, "Patterns of Voter Participation in the American States," *SSQ*, 71 (Dec., 1990): 824-834; Nagler, "The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U.S. Voter Turnout," *APSR*, 85 (Dec., 1991): 1393-1406; Leighley and Nagler, "Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout: Who Votes? 1984," *JOP*, 54 (Aug., 1992): 718-740; Hill and Leighley, "Mobilizing Institutions and Class Representation in U.S. State Electorates," *PRQ*, 47 (March, 1994): 137-150; Hill, *Democracy in the Fifty States* (1994); ; Nagel and McNulty, "Partisan Effects of Voter Turnout in Senatorial and Gubernatorial Elections," *APSR*, 90 (Dec., 1996): 780-793; Knack, "Does 'Motor Voter' Work: Evidence from State-Level Data," *JOP*, 57 (Aug, 1995): 796-811; Hill and Leighley, "Political Parties and Class Mobilization in Contemporary United States Elections," *AJPS*, 40 (Aug, 1996): 787-804; Hill and Leighley, "Party Ideology, Organization, and Competitiveness as Mobilizing Forces in Gubernatorial Elections," *AJPS*, 37 (Nov. 1993): 1158-1178; \*Hill, Leighley, & Hinton-Andersson, "Lower-Class Mobilization and Policy Linkage in the U.S. States," *AJPS*, 39 (Feb, 1995): 75-86; correction by Ringquist, Hill, Leighley, & Hinton-Andersson, *AJPS*, 41 (Jan. 1997): 339-344; Burden & Greene, "Party Attachments & State Election Laws," *PRQ*, 53 (March 2000): 63-76; Jackson, "The Mobilization of U.S. State Electorates in the 1988 and 1990 Elections," *JOP*, 59 (May 1997): 520-537; Huang and Shields, "Interpretation of Interaction Effects in Logit and Probit Analyses," *APQ*, 28 (Jan. 2000): 80-95; Smith, "The Contingent Effects of Ballot Initiatives and Candidate Races on Turnout," *AJPS*, 45 (July 2001): 700-706; Bernstein, Chadha, and Montjoy, "Cross-State Bias in Voting and

Registration Overreporting in the Current Population Surveys," SPPQ, 3 (Winter, 2003): 367-386; Brown, Jackson, & Wright, "Registration, Turnout, & State Party Systems," PRQ, 52 (Sept., 1999): 463-480; Minnite, 2010, The Myth of Voter Fraud; Holbrook and Heidbreder, 2010, "Does Measurement Matter? The Case of VAP and VEP in Models of Voter Turnout in the United States," SPPQ, 10 (#2):157-179; Rugeley and Jackson, 2009, "Getting on the Rolls: Analyzing the Effects of Lowered Barriers on Voter Registration," SPPQ, 9 (#1):56-78; Cooper, Haspel, and Knotts, 2009, "The Value of Voterfiles for U.S. State Politics Research," SPPQ, 9 (#1):102-121.

Party Organization: Gibson, Cotter, Bibby, "Assessing Party Organizational Strength," AJPS, 28 (May 1983): 193-222; Huckshorn, Gibson, Cotter, Bibby, "Party Integration and Party Organizational Strength," JOP, 48 (1986): 976-991; Gibson, Frenreis, Vertz, "Party Dynamics in the 1980s: Change in County Party Organizational Strength, 1980-1984," AJPS, 33 (Feb., 1989): 67-90; Cotter, Gibson, Bibby, & Huckshorn, Party Organizations in American Politics (1984); ACIR, The Transformation in American Federalism (1986); Dwyre and Stonecash, "Where's The Party?," APQ, 20 (July 1992): 326-344; Aldrich, "Southern Parties in State & Nation," JOP, 62 (Aug., 2000): 643-670; Hogan, "Candidate Perceptions of Political Party Campaign Activity in State Legislative Elections," SPPQ, 2 (Spring, 2002): 66-95;

Party Ideology etc: Paddock, "Explaining State Variation in Interparty Ideological Differences," PRQ, 51 (Sept., 1998): 765-780 Paddock, "Beyond the New Deal: Ideological Differences Between Eleven State Democratic Parties, 1956-1980," WPQ, 43 (#1, 1990): 181-190; Paddock, "Inter-Party Ideological Differences in Eleven State Parties: 1956-1980," WPQ, 45 (Sept., 1992): 751-760; Beck, Baum, Clausen, and Smith, "Patterns and Sources of Ticket Splitting in Subpresidential Voting," APSR, 86 (Dec., 1992): 916-928; Norrander, "Explaining Cross-State Variation in Independent Identification," AJPS, 33 (May, 1989): 516-536; Brown and Wright, "Elections and State Party Polarization," APQ, 20 (Oct., 1992): 411-426; Moakley (ed.), Party Realignment and State Politics (1992); Kaufmann, Gimpel, Hoffman, "A Promise Fulfilled? Open Primaries and Representation," JOP, 65 (May, 2003): 457-476; Aldrich and Battista, "Conditional Party Government in the States," AJPS, 46 (Jan., 2002): 164-172; Conger, 2010, "A Matter of Context: Christian Right Influence in U.S. State Republican Politics," SPPQ, 10 (#3):248-269.

Campaign Finance: Jones and Borris, "Strategic Contributing in Legislative Campaigns: The Case of Minnesota," LSQ, 10 (Feb., 1985): 89-105; Huckshorn, "Who Gave It? Who Got It?: The Enforcement of Campaign Finance Laws in the States," JOP, 47 (3, 1985): 773-789; Jones, "Financing State Elections, in Michael J. Malbin (ed.), Money and Politics in the United States (Chatham House, 1984): 172-213; Jones and Hopkins, "State Campaign Fund Raising: Targets and Response," JOP, 47 (May 1985): 427-449; Jones, "State Public Campaign Finance: Implications for Partisan Politics," AJPS, 25 (May 1981): 342-361; Thompson, Cassie, and Jewell, "A Sacred Cow or Just a Lot of Bull? Party and PAC Money in State Legislative Elections," PRQ, March, 1994): 223-238; Thompson and Moncrief, Campaign Finance in State Legislative Elections (1998); Malbin and Gais, The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign

Finance Lessons from the American States (1998); Ramsden and Donnay, "The Impact of Minnesota's Political Contribution Refund Program on Small-Donor Behavior in State House Races," State and Local Govt. Review, 33 (Winter 2001): 32-41; Gross and Goidel, "The Impact of State Campaign Finance Laws," SPPQ, 1 (Summer 2001): 180-195; Ramsden, "State Legislative Campaign Finance Research: A Review Essay," SPPQ, 2 (Summer 2002): 176-198; Jensen and Beyle, "Of Footnotes, Missing Data, and Lessons for 50-State Data Collection: The Gubernatorial Campaign Finance Data Project, 1977-2001," SPPQ, 3 (Summer, 2003): 203-214; Gordon and Unmack, "The Effect of Term Limits on Corporate PAC Allocation Patterns: The More Things Change . . .," SLGR, 35 (Winter, 2003): 26-37; Malhotra, 2008, "The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral Competition: Evidence from Arizona and Maine," SPPQ, 8 (#3):263-281.

Interparty Competition: Tucker, "Interparty Competition in the American States," APQ, 10 (Jan., 1982): 93-116; Ray and Havick, "A Longitudinal Analysis of Party Competition in State Legislative Elections," AJPS, 25 (Feb., 1981): 119-128; Feigert, "Postwar Changes in State Party Competition," Publius, 15 (Winter 1985): 99-112; Grau, "Competition in State Legislative Primaries," LSQ, 6 (Feb., 1981): 35-54; Barrilleaux, "A Dynamic Model of Partisan Competition in the American States," AJPS, 30 (Nov., 1986): 822-840; Key, American State Politics (1967); King, "Interparty Competition in the American States: An Examination of Index Components," WPQ, 42 (#3, 1989): 83-92; Holbrook and van Dunk, "Electoral Competition in the American States," APSR, 87 (Dec., 1993): 955-962; Aistrup, "State Legislative Party Competition: A County Level Measure," PRQ, 46 (June, 1993): 433-446; Patterson and Caldeira, "The Etiology of Partisan Competition," APSR, 78 (Sept., 1984): 691-707; Klarner, "The Measurement of the Partisan Balance of State Government," SPPQ, 3 (Fall, 2003): 309-319; Ceasar and Saldin, "A New Measure of Party Strength," PRQ, 58 (June 2005):245-256; Gimpel, Althaus, and Cizmar, (2009), "Media Supply, Audience Demand and the Geography of News Consumption in the United States," *Political Communication*. 26: 3: (2009) 249-277; Pearson-Merkowitz and McTague, 2008, "Partisan Mountains and Molehills: The Geography of U.S. State Intraparty Factionalism," SPPQ, 8 (#1):7-31.

## Feb. 16 Interest Groups and Lobbying

Read: Lowery and Gray, "The Comparative Advantage of State Interest Organization Research," in Berry and Maisel, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*, 2009: 485-501; \*Lowery and Gray, "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States," AJPS, 39 (Feb. 1995): 1-29; Boehmke, "The Effect of Direct Democracy on the Size and Diversity of State Interest Group Populations," JOP, 64 (Aug., 2002): 827-844; Lowry, "Explaining the Variation in Organized Civil Society Across States and Time," JOP, (May 2005):574-594.

Recommended: Lobbying:

Hrebenar & Thomas, Interest Group Politics in the American West (1987); Browne, "Variations in the Behavior and Style of State Lobbyists and Interest Groups," JOP, 47 (May 1985): 450-468; Zeigler and Baer, Lobbying: Interaction and Influence in American State Legislatures (1969); Froman, "Some Effects of Interest Group Strength in State Politics," APSR 60 (Dec., 1966): 952-962; Hrebenar and Thomas, Interest Group Politics in the Southern States (1992); Rosenthal, The Third House: Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.(2001); Wiggins, Hamm, and Bell, "Interest Group and Party Influence Agents in the Legislative Process: A Comparative State Analysis," JOP, 54 (Feb., 1992): 82-100; Hrebenar and Thomas, Interest Group Politics in the Northeastern States (1993); Hrebenar and Thomas, Interest Group Politics in the Midwestern States (1993); Nownes & Freeman, "Female Lobbyists: Women in the World of 'Good Ol' Boys'" JOP, 60 (Nov., 1998): 1181-1201; Waltenberg and Swinford, "The Supreme Court as a Policy Arena," PSJ, 27 (#2, 1999): 242-259; \*Nownes and Freeman, "Interest Group Activity in the States," JOP, 60 (Feb., 1998): 86-112; Nownes and DeAlegandro, 2009, Lobbying in the New Millennium: Evidence of Continuity and Change in Three States," SPPQ, 9 (#4):429-324.

Interest Group Systems: David Lowery and Virginia Gray, "Interest Organization Communities: Their Assembly and Consequences," in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., Interest Group Politics, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007, pp. 130-154; Morehouse, State Politics, Parties, and Policy (1981); Hunter, Wilson, and Brunk, "Societal Complexity, and Interest-Group Lobbying in the American States," JOP, 53 (May, 1991): 488-503; Lowery and Gray, "The Density of State Interest Group Systems," JOP, 55 (Feb., 1993): 191-206; Gray and Lowery, "Interest Group System Density and Diversity: A Research Update," International Political Science Review, 15 (Jan., 1994): 5-14; Gray and Lowery, "Stability and Change in State Interest Group Systems: 1975-1990," State and Local Government Review, 25, (Spring, 1993): 87-96; Gray and Lowery, "The Diversity of State Interest Group Systems," Political Research Quarterly, 46, (March 1993): 81-97; Gray and Lowery, "Reflections on the Study of Interest Groups in the States," in Crotty, Schwartz, and Green (eds.), Interest Representation and Interest Groups, (1993): 57-66; Lowery and Gray, "The Nationalization of State Interest Group System Density and Diversity," SSQ, 75 (June, 1994): 368-377; Gray and Lowery, "A Niche Theory of Interest Representation," JOP, 58 (Feb., 1996): 91-111; Gray and Lowery, "Life in a Niche: Mortality Anxiety Among Organized Interests in the American States," PRQ, 50 (March 1997): 25-47; Gray and Lowery, "Environmental Limits on the Diversity of State Interest Organization Systems: A Population Ecology Interpretation," PRQ, 49 (March 1996): 103-118; Gray and Lowery, The Population Ecology of Interest Representation: Lobbying Communities in the American States (1996); Lowery and Gray, "The Dominance of Institutions in Interest Representation: A Test of Seven Explanations," AJPS, 42 (Jan. 1998): 231-255; Gray and Lowery, "The Density of State Interest-Communities: Do Regional Variables Matter?" Publius, 28 (Spring 1998): 61-79; Lowery & Gray, "Representational Concentration and Interest Community Size: A Population Ecology Interpretation," PRQ, 51 (Dec., 1998): 919-944; Brasher, Lowery & Gray, "State Lobby Registration Data: The Anomalous Case of Florida (and Minnesota too!)," LSQ, XXIV (May 1999): 303-314; Lowery and Gray, "The Demography of Interest Organization Communities: Institutions, Associations, and Membership Groups," APQ,

23 (Jan., 1995): 3-32;

2000--: Nownes, "Policy Conflict and the Structure of Interest Communities," SPQ, 28 (July 2000): 309-327; Wolak, Lowery, and Gray, "California Dreaming: Replicating the ESA Model, Unusual Cases, and Comparative State Political Analysis," SPPQ, 1 (Fall, 2001): 255-272; Gray and Lowery, "State Interest Group Research and the Mixed Legacy of Belle Zeller," SPPQ, 2 (Winter, 2002): 388-410; Crowley and Skocpol, "The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the United States, 1869s-1920s," AJPS, 45 (Oct., 2001): 813-829; Wolak, Newmark, McNoldy, Lowery, and Gray, "Much of Politics Is Still Local: Multi-State Lobbying in State Interest Communities," LSQ, XXVII (Nov., 2002): 527-555; Lowery and Gray, "A Neopluralist Perspective on Research on Organized Interests," Political Research Quarterly, 57 (March, 2004):163-175; Lowery and Gray, "Bias in the Heavenly Chorus: Interests in Society and Before Government," Journal of Theoretical Politics, 16 (January, 2004):5-29; Gray, Lowery, and Wolak, "Demographic Opportunities, Collective Action, Competitive Exclusion, and the Crowded Room: Lobbying Forms Among Institutions," State Politics and Policy Quarterly, 4 (Spring 2004):18-54; Lowery, Gray, Fellowes, and Anderson, "Living in the Moment: Lags, Leads, and the Link Between Legislative Agendas and Interest Advocacy," Social Science Quarterly, 85 (June 2004):463-477; Anderson, Newmark, Gray, and Lowery, "Mayflies and Old Bulls: Demographic Volatility and Experience in State Interest Communities," State Politics and Policy Quarterly, 4 (Summer 2004):140-160; Lowery, Gray, Anderson, and Newmark, "Collective Action and the Mobilization of Institutions," Journal of Politics, 66 (August 2004):684-705; Lowery, Gray, and Fellowes, "Sisyphus Meets the Borg: Economic Scale and Inequalities in Interest Representation," Journal of Theoretical Politics, 17 (January, 2005):41-74); Gray, Lowery, Fellowes, and Anderson, "Legislative Agendas and Interest Advocacy: Understanding the Demand Side of Lobbying," American Politics Research, 33 (May, 2005):404-434; Lowery, Gray, and Fellowes, "Organized Interests and Political Extortion: A Test of the Fetcher Bill Hypothesis," Social Science Quarterly, 86 (June 2005):368-385; Lowery, Gray, Wolak, Godwin, and Kilburn, "Reconsidering the Counter-Mobilization Hypothesis: Health Policy Lobbying in the American States," Political Behavior, 27 (June, 2005):99-132; Fellowes, Gray, and Lowery, "What's On the Table? The Content of State Policy Agendas," Party Politics, 12 (2006):35-55, forthcoming; Boehmke, *The Indirect Effect of Direct Legislation: How Institutions Shape Interest Group Systems* (2005); Lowery, Gray and Monogan (2008), "The Construction of Interest Communities: Distinguishing Bottom-Up and Top-Down Models," The Journal of Politics, 70, pp 1160-1176; David Lowery, Virginia Gray, Jennifer Benz, Mary Deason, Justin Kirkland, and Jennifer Sykes, "Understanding the Relationship between Health PACs and Health Lobbying in the American States," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 39 (Winter 2009):70-94.

Regulation of Lobbying and Interest Groups: Lowery and Gray, "How Some Rules Just Don't Matter: The Regulation of Lobbyists," Public Choice, 91 (April 1997): 139-147; Newmark, "Measuring State Legislative Lobbying Regulation, 1990-2003," SPPQ, 5 (Summer 2005):182-191; Witko, "Measuring the Stringency of State Campaign Finance Regulation," SPPQ, (Fall 2005):295-310; Hogan, "State Campaign Finance Laws and Interest Group Electioneering

Activities," *JOP*, 3 (August 2005):887-906.

Interest Groups and Public Policy: Gray, Lowery, and Godwin, "The Political Management of Managed Care: Explaining Variations in State HMO Regulations," *JHPPL*, 32 (June 2007): 457-496; Gray, Lowery, and Godwin, "Public Preferences and Organized Interests in Health Policy: State Pharmacy Assistance Programs as Innovations," *JHPPL*, 32 (February, 2007):89-130; Gray, Lowery, Monogan, and Godwin, "Incrementing Toward Nowhere: Universal Health Care Coverage in the States," *Publius*, 40 (Jan., 2010):82-113

## Feb. 23 Governors and the Executive Branch

Read: Ferguson, "Chief Executive Success in the Legislative Arena," *SPPQ*, 3 (Summer, 2003): 158-182; Brown, 2010, "Are Governors Responsible for the State Economy? Partisanship, Blame, and Divided Federalism," *JOP*, 72: 605-615, Weinberg, 2010, "Measuring Governors' Political Orientations Using Words as Data," *SPPQ*, 10 (Spring):96-109; Brown and Jacobson, 2008, "Party, Performance, and Strategic Politicians: The Dynamics of Elections for Senator and Governor in 2006," *SPPQ*, 8 (#4):384-409.

Recommended: Gubernatorial Careers: Sabato, Goodbye to Good-time Charlie, 2nd ed. (1983); Codispoti, "The Governorship-Senate Connection: A Step in the Structure of Opportunities Grows Weaker," *Publius*, 17 (Spring 1987): 41-52; Schlesinger, Political Parties and the Winning of Office (1991); Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics (1966), chs. 1-3; Oxley and Fox, "Women in Executive Office: Variation Across American States," *PRQ*, 57 (March 2004):113-120; Dowling and Dem, 2009, "Explaining Major and Third Party Candidate Entry in U.S. Gubernatorial Elections, 1980-2005," *SPPQ*, 9(#1):1-23.

Elections--Tidmarch, Hyman, Sorkin, "Press Issue Agendas in the 1982 Congressional and Gubernatorial Election Campaigns," *JOP*, 46 (Nov. 1984): 1226-1242; Cohen, "Gubernatorial Popularity in Nine States," *APQ*, 11 (April 1983): 219-235; McNitt and Seroka, "Intraparty Challenges of Incumbent Governors and Senators: 1956-1976," *APQ*, 9 (July 1981): 321-340; Tompkins, "The Electoral Fortunes of Gubernatorial Incumbents: 1947-1981," *JOP*, 46 (May 1984): 520-543; Patterson, "Campaign Spending in Contests for Governor," *WPQ*, 35 (Dec. 1982): 457-477; Holbrook-Provow, "National Factors in Gubernatorial Elections," *APQ*, 15 (Oct. 1987): 471-483; Tompkins, "Have Gubernatorial Elections Become More Distinctive Contests?" *JOP*, 50 (1988): 192-205; Beyle (ed.), Re-Electing the Governor (1986); Beyle (ed.), Gubernatorial Transitions: The 1982 Election (1985); Simon, "Presidents, Governors, and Electoral Accountability," *JOP*, 51 (May, 1989): 286-304; Lammers & Klingman, "Durable Governors and Political Leaders: Should We Limit Tenure?" *Publius*, 16 (Spring, 1986): 53-72; Chubb, "Institutions, The Economy, and the Dynamics of State Elections," *APSR*, 82 (March 1988): 133-154;

1990--: Howell & Vanderleeuw, "Economic Effects on State Governors," *APQ*, 18 (April 1990):

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#### April 6 The Opinion-Policy Linkage

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Recommended: Brace, Arceneaux, Johnson, and Ulbig, "Does State Political Ideology Change over Time?," *PRQ*, (Dec., 2004):529-540; Klingmen and Lammers, "The 'General Policy Liberalism' Factor in American State Politics," *AJPS*, 28 (August 1984): 598-610; Holbrook-Provow and Poe, "Measuring State Political Ideology," *APQ*, 15 (July 1987): 399-416; Jones and Miller, "State Polls: Promising Data Sources for Political Research," *JOP*, 46 (Nov., 1984): 1182-1192; Wright, Erikson, McIver, "Measuring State Partisanship and Ideology with Survey Data," *JOP*, 47 (May 1985): 469-489; Uslaner and Weber, "Policy Congruence and American State Elites: Descriptive Representation versus Electoral Accountability," *JOP*, 45 (1, 1983): 183-196; Pruet and Glick, "Social Environment, Public Opinion, and Judicial Policymaking,"

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Recommended: Classic Studies: Dawson and Robinson, "Interparty Competition, Economic Variables, and Welfare Policies in the American States," JOP, 25 (May 1963): 265-289; Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public (1966); Sharkansky, Spending in the American States;

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1970--: Gray, "A Reformulation of the Effect of Party Competition on State Policy: Organizational Survival," Polity, 7 (Winter 1974): 248-263; Jennings, "Some Policy Consequences of the Long Revolution and Bifactional Rivalry in Louisiana," AJPS, 21 (May 1977): 225-246; Lewis-Beck, "The Relative Importance of Socioeconomic and Political Variables for Public Policy," APSR, 71 (June 1977): 559-566; Gray, "Models of Comparative State Politics: A Comparison of Cross-Sectional and Time Series Analyses," AJPS, 20 (May 1976): 235-256; Uslaner, "Comparative State Policy Formation, Interparty Competition and Malapportionment: A New Look at V.O. Key's Hypothesis," JOP, 40 (May 1978): 409-432; Tompkins, "A Causal Model of State Welfare Expenditures," JOP, 37 (May 1975): 392-416; Winters, "Party Control and Policy Change," AJPS, 20 (Nov. 1976): 597-636; Booms and Halldorson, "The Politics of Redistribution: A Reformulation," APSR, 67 (Sept 1973): 924-933; Sullivan, "A Note on Redistributive Politics," APSR, 66 (Dec. 1972): 1301-1305; De Leon, "Politics, Economic Surplus and Redistribution in the American States: A Test of a Theory," AJPS, 17 (Nov 1973): 781-796; Fry, "An Examination of the Relationship Between Selected Electoral Characteristics and State Redistributive Efforts," AJPS, 18 (May 1974);

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#### April 20 Diffusion of Innovations

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Evolution of Living Will Laws," *JOP*, 53 (Aug., 1991): 835-850; Glick, The Right to Die: Policy Innovation and Its Consequences (1992); Savage, "Diffusion Research Traditions and the Spread of Policy Innovations in a Federal System," *Publius*, 15 (Fall 1985): 1-27; Hays, "Influences on Reinvention During the Diffusion of Innovations," *PRQ*, 49 (Sept., 1996): 631-650; Skocpol, Howard, Lehmann, and Abend-Wein, "Women's Associations and the Enactment of Mothers' Pensions in the United States," *APSR*, 87 (Sept., 1993): 686-701 and comment, *APSR*, 89 (Sept, 1995): 710-730; Mintrom and Vergari, "Policy Networks and Innovation Diffusion: The Case of State Education Reforms," *JOP*, 60( Feb, 1998): 126-148;

2000--: Mintrom, Policy Entrepreneurs and School Choice (2000); Winder & LaPlant, "State Lawsuits against 'Big Tobacco': A Test of Diffusion Theory," *State/Local Govt. Review*, 32 (Spring 2000): 132-141; Mooney, "Modeling Regional Effects on State Policy Diffusion," *PRQ*, 54 (March 2001): 103-124; Haider-Markel, "Policy Diffusion as a Geographical Expansion of the Scope of Political Conflict: Same-Sex Marriage Bans in the 1990s," *SPPQ*, 1 (Spring 2001): 5-26; Balla, "Interstate Professional Associations and the Diffusion of Policy Innovations," *APQ*, 29 (May 2001): 221-245; Andrews, "Diffusion Pathways for Electricity Deregulation," *Publius*, 30 (Summer 2000): 17-34; Schildkraut, "Official-English and the States: Influences on Declaring English the Official Language in the United States," *PRQ*, 54 (June 2001): 445-457; Lieberman & Shaw, "Looking Inward, Looking Outward: The Politics of State Welfare Innovation under Devolution," *PSR*, 53 (June 2000): 215-240; Spill, Licari, & Ray, "Taking on Tobacco: Policy Entrepreneurship & the Tobacco Litigation," *PRQ*, 54 (Sept., 2001):605-622; Best and Teske, "Explaining State Internet Sales Taxation: New Economy, Old-Fashioned Interest Group Politics," *SPPQ*, 2 (Spring, 2002): 37-51; Buckley and Westerland, "Duration Dependence, Functional Form, and Corrected Standard Errors: Improving EHA Models of State Policy Diffusion," *SPPQ* (Spring 2004):92-111; Allen, Pettus, Haider-Markel, "Making the National Local: Specifying the Conditions for National Government Influence on State Policymaking," *SPPQ*, 4 (Fall 2004):318-344; Chamberlain and Haider-Markel, "'Lien on Me': State Policy Innovation in Response to Paper Terrorism," *PRQ*, 58 (Sept. 2005):449-460; Boehmke and Witmer, "Disentangling Diffusion: The Effects of Social Learning and Economic Competition on State Policy Innovation and Expansion," *PRQ*, 57 (March 2004):39-52; Berry and Baybeck, "Using Geographic Information Systems to Study Interstate Competition," *APSR*, 99 (Nov. 2005):505-519; Boehmke, "Policy Emulation or Policy Convergence? Potential Ambiguities in the Dyadic Event History Approach to State Policy Emulation," *JOP*, 71 (July, 2009):1125-1140; Baumgartner, Gray, and Lowery, "Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy?" *Polity*, forthcoming, 2010; Djupe and Olson, 2010, Diffusion of Environmental Concerns in Congregations across U.S. States, *SPPQ*, 10 (#3):270-301; Boehmke, 2009, "Approaches to Modeling the Adoption and Diffusion of Policies with Multiple Components," *SPPQ*, 9 (#2):102-121.

April 26 Class Presentations

Education Policy

Read: Berkman and Plutzer, Evolution, Creationism, and the Battle to Control America's

## Classrooms (2010)

Recommended: Moe (2009), "Collective Bargaining and The Performance of the Public Schools," American Journal of Political Science, 53: 156–174; Hicklin and Meier (2008), "Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity," Journal of Politics, 70, pp 851-860; Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard, 2009, "Representative Bureaucracy and Distributional Equity: Addressing the Hard Question," JOP, 61, pp. 1025-1039; Chubb and Moe, Politics, Markets, and America's Schools (1990); Smith, "Data Don't Matter? Academic Researchers and School Choice," Perspectives on Politics, 3 (June 2005): 285-299; Meier, Polinard, Wrinkle, "Bureaucracy and Organizational Performance: Causality Arguments about Public Schools," AJPS, 44 (July 2000): 590-602; Witte, "Market versus State-Centered Approaches to American Education: Does Either Make Much Sense?," APSA paper 1991; Smith and Meier, "Public Choice in Education: Markets and the Demand for Quality Education," Political Research Quarterly, 48 (Sept. 1995): 461-478; Smith & Meier, The Case Against School Choice: Politics, Markets, and Fools (1995); Schneider et al, "Institutional Arrangements and the Creation of Social Capital: The Effects of Public School Choice," APSR, 91 (March 1997): 82-93; Mintrom, "Policy Design for Local Innovation: The Effects of Competition in Public Schooling," SPPQ, 1 (Winter 2001):343-363; Wrinkle, Stewart, & Polinard, "Public School Quality, Private Schools, and Race," AJPS, 43 (Oct., 1999): 1248-1253; Moe, Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public (2001); Gibson, "Culture Wars in State Education Policy: A Look at the Relative Treatment of Evolutionary Theory in State Science Standards," SSQ, 85 (Dec., 2004):1129-1149; Berkman and Plutzer, Ten Thousand Democracies (2005); Bohte, "Examining the Impact of Charter Schools on Performance in Traditional Public Schools," PSJ, 32 (Nov., 2004):501-520;

## Other Topics:

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Teaching and Research Resources

### Specialized Periodicals

Publius is a scholarly periodical on federalism; it has an annual summer special issue on the state of American federalism. Refereed.

Governing, a monthly publication of CQ; journalistic.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, the official journal of the APSA State Politics and Policy Organized Section. Published by Sage. Refereed.

Spectrum, a quarterly journal published by Council of State Governments; semi-scholarly.

State Government News, a monthly magazine published by Council of State Governments; for practitioners.

Economic Development Quarterly, published by Sage, contains articles on economic development by scholars and practitioners.

State and Local Government Review, a journal of research and viewpoints on state and local government issues. Published at University of Georgia; refereed.

State Legislatures, monthly publication of National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), for legislators.

#### Reference

Book of the States is an annual publication of Council of State Governments. Contains rankings of states on every conceivable dimension.

"bluebook" is generic name for each state's government organization manual.

Barone, Almanac of American Politics, annual publication containing short political history, election returns of states.

State Politics and Government series published by University of Nebraska Press will include a volume on every state.