

**Political Science 9145**  
**American State Politics**

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This course is an advanced graduate seminar designed to acquaint students with the scholarly literature on American state politics. During the semester students will pursue their own research projects, which they will present to the seminar during the last two weeks of the semester. The research paper may be on any aspect of American state politics.

**Grading Policy:** Grades will be based on the research paper and on participation in seminar. Plus and minus grades will be used.

**Academic Integrity:** Breaches of academic integrity rules are regarded as serious matters. Any student caught cheating on a research paper will receive a score of zero for that assignment.

**Provisions for Students with Disabilities:** If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please establish an accommodation plan with the Disability Center (<http://disabilitycenter.missouri.edu>), S5 Memorial Union, 573- 882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations.

**Intellectual Pluralism:** The University welcomes intellectual diversity. Students who have questions concerning the quality of instruction in this class may address concerns to either the Department Chair or Division leader or Director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities (<http://osrr.missouri.edu>). All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor at the end of the course.

**Topics and Reading Assignments:**

January 23: Why Study State Politics?

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

January 30: State Political Cultures

Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox. 1993. "State Political Culture and Public Opinion about Abortion." *PRQ* 67:46:771-81.

Dincer and Johnston. 2016. "Political Culture and Corruption Issues in State Politics: A New Measure of Corruption Issues and a Test of Relationships to Political Culture." *Publius* 47:131-48.

Elazar. 1984. *American Federalism: A View from the States* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), chapter 5.

Fitzpatrick and Hero. 1988. "Political Culture and Political Characteristics of the American States: a Consideration of Some Old and New Questions." *PRQ* 41: 145-53.

Frendreis and Tatalovich. 2010. "'A Hundred Miles of Dry': Religion and the Persistence of Prohibition in the U.S. States." *SPPQ* 10:302-19.

Johnson. 1976. "Political Culture in American States: Elazar's Formulation Examined." *AJPS* 20: 491-509.

Lieske. 2010. "The Changing Regional Subcultures of the American States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure." *PRQ* 63:538-52.

Mondak and Canache. 2014. "Personality and Political Culture in the American States." *PRQ* 67:26-41.

Morgan and Watson. 1991. "Political Culture, Political System Characteristics, and Public Policies among the American States." *Publius* 21:31-48.

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

Sharkansky. 1969. "The Utility of Elazar's Political Culture: A Research Note." *Polity* 2: 66-83.

#### February 6: Public Opinion and State Politics

- Berry, Fording, Ringquist, Hanson, and Klarner. 2010. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the U.S. States: A Re-Appraisal." *SPPQ* 10: 117-35.
- Berry, Ringquist, Fording and Hanson. 1998. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93." *AJPS* 42: 327-48.
- Berry, Ringquist, Fording and Hanson. 2015. "Assessing the Validity of Enns and Koch's Measure of State Policy Mood." *SPPQ* 15:425-35.
- Burden. 2005. "Institutions and Policy Representation in the States." *SPPQ* 5:373-93
- Carsey, and Harden. 2010. "New Measures of Partisanship, Ideology, and Policy Mood." *SPPQ* 10:136-56.
- Caughey and Warshaw. 2016. "The Dynamics of State Policy Liberalism, 1936–2014." *AJPS* 60:899-913.
- Caughey and Warshaw. 2018. "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States, 1936–2014," *APSR* 112: 249-66.
- Enns and Koch. 2013. "Public Opinion in the U.S. States: 1956-2010." *SPPQ* 13:349-372.
- Enns and Koch. 2015. "State Policy Mood: The Importance of Over-time Dynamics." *SPPQ* 15:436-46.
- Erikson, Wright and McIver. 1989. "Political Parties, Public Opinion, and State Policy in the United States." *APSR* 83: 729-750.
- Franko. 2017. "Understanding Public Perceptions of Growing Economic Inequality." *SPPQ* 17: 319-48.
- Koch and Thomsen. 2017. "Gender Equality Mood across States and Over Time." *SPPQ* 17:351-60.
- Lax and Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *APSR* 103:367-86.
- Lax and Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." *AJPS* 56:148-66.

#### Additional Readings:

- Hawes and Rocha. 2011. "Social Capital, Racial Diversity, and Equity: Evaluating the Determinants of Equity in the United States." *PRQ* 64:924-37.
- Hero and Tolbert. 1996. "Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the State of the U.S." *AJPS* 40:851-71.
- Hill and Leighley. 1992. "The Policy Consequences of Class Bias in State Electorates." *AJPS* 351-65.

#### February 13: Parties and Interest Groups in the States

- Anzia and Moe. 2015. "Public Sector Unions and the Costs of Government." *JOP* 77: 114-27.
- Bishop and Dudley. 2017. "The Role of Constituency, Party, and Industry in Pennsylvania's Act 13." *SPPQ* 17: 154-79.
- Gray and Lowery. 1993. "The Diversity of State Interest Group Systems." *PRQ* 46: 81-98.
- Flavin. 2015. "Campaign Finance Laws, Policy Outcomes, and Political Equality in the American States." *PRQ* 68: 77-88.
- Fouirnaies. 2018. "When are Agenda Setters Valuable?" *AJPS* 62: 176-91.
- Huckshorn, Gibson, Cotter, and Bibby. 1986. "Party Integration and Party Organizational Strength." *JOP* 48: 976-91.
- Hunter, Wilson, and Brunk. 1991. "Societal Complexity and Interest Group Lobbying in the American States." *JOP* 53: 488-503.
- Jourdain, Hug and Varone. 2017. "Lobbying across Venues: An Issue-Tracing Approach." *SPPQ* 17: 127-53.
- Lowery and Gray. 1995. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States." *AJPS* 39: 1-29.
- McGhee, Masket, Shor, Rogers, and McCarty. 2014. "A Primary Cause of Partnership? Nomination Systems and Legislator Ideology." *AJPS* 58: 337-51.
- Nownes and Freeman. 1998. "Interest Group Activity in the States." *JOP* 60: 86-112.
- Rigby and Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States." *AJPS* 57: 552-65.
- Schaffner, Streb, and Wright. 2001. "Teams Without Uniforms: The Nonpartisan Ballot in State and Local Elections." *PRQ* 54: 7-30.
- Squire and Smith. 1988. "The Effect of Partisan Information on Voters in Nonpartisan Elections." *JOP* 50:169-179.

Additional Readings:

- Conger. 2010. "A Matter of Context: Christian Right Influence in U.S. State Republican Politics." *SPPQ* 10:248-69.
- Holbrook and Van Dunk. 1993. "Electoral Competition in the American States." *APSR* 87: 955-62.
- Ozmy. 2010. "Assessing the Impact of Legislative Lobbying Regulations on Interest Groups Influence in U.S. State Legislatures." *SPPQ* 10: 397-420.

February 20: Governors, Public Opinion, and Elections

- Adams and Squire. 2001. "A Note on the Dynamics and Idiosyncrasies of Gubernatorial Popularity." *SPPQ* 1:380-93.
- Barghothi, Savchak, and Bowman. 2010. "Candidate Quality and the Election of Republican Governors in the South, 1950-2004." *APR* 38: 563-85.
- Brown. 2010. "Are Governors Responsible for the State Economy? Partisanship, Blame, and Divided Government." *JOP* 72: 605-15.
- Carsey and Wright. 1998. "State and National Factors in Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections." *AJPS* 42: 994-1002.
- Cummins and Holyoke. 2018. "Fiscal Accountability in Gubernatorial Elections." *SPPQ* 18: 395-416.
- Folke and Snyder. 2011. "Gubernatorial Midterm Slumps." *AJPS* 56: 931-48.
- Hansen. 1999. "'Life Is Not Fair': Governors' Job Performance Ratings and State Economies." *PRQ* 52: 167-88.
- King and Cohen. 2005. "What Determines a Governor's Popularity?" *SPPQ* 5:225-47.
- Leyden, and Borrelli. 1995. "The Effect of State Economic Conditions on Gubernatorial Elections: Does a Unified Government Make a Difference?" *PRQ* 48: 275-90.
- Masket. 2011. "The Circus that Wasn't: The Republican Party's Quest for Order in California's 2003 Gubernatorial Recall Election." *SPPQ* 11: 123-47.
- Squire. 1992. "Challenger Profile and Gubernatorial Elections." *Western Political Quarterly* 45: 125-42.
- Squire and Fastnow. 1994. "Comparing Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections." *PRQ* 47: 705-20.
- Stein. 1990. "Economic Voting for Governor and U. S. Senator: The Electoral Consequences of Federalism." *JOP* 52: 29-53.

Additional Readings:

- Carsey, Jackson, Stewart and Nelson. 2011. "Strategic Candidates, Campaign Dynamics, and Campaign Advertising." *SPPQ* 11:269-98.

February 27: Governors, the Executive Branch, and Policymaking

- Abney and Lauth. 1997. "The Item Veto and Fiscal Responsibility." *JOP* 59: 882-92.
- Barrilleaux and Berkman. 2003. "Do Governors Matter? Budgeting Rules and the Politics of State Policymaking." *PRQ* 56: 409-17.
- Bernick. 2016. "Studying Governors Over Five Decades: What We Know and Where We Need to Go" *State and Local Government Review* 48: 132-46.
- Bowman, Woods, and Stark. 2010. "Governors Turn Pro: Separation of Powers and the Institutionalization of the American Governorship." *PRQ* 63: 304-15.
- Brown. 2012. "The Item Veto's Sting." *SPPQ* 12: 183-203.
- Dilger, Krause, and Moffett. 1995. "State Legislative Professionalism and Gubernatorial Effectiveness, 1978-1991." *LSQ* 20: 551-73.
- Dometrius. 1987. "Changing Gubernatorial Power: The Measure vs. Reality." *WPQ* 40:319-28.
- Ferguson. 2003. "Chief Executive Success in the Legislative Arena." *SPPQ* 3: 158-82.
- Ferguson and Bowling. 2008. "Executive Orders and Administrative Control." *Public Administration Review* 68 (December): S20-S28.
- Klarner and Karch. 2008. "Why Do Governors Issue Vetoes? The Impact of Individual and Institutional Influences." *PRQ* 61:574-84.
- Klarner, Phillips, and Muckler. 2012. "Overcoming Fiscal Gridlock: Institutions and Budget Bargaining." *JOP* 74: 992-1009.

- Kousser and Phillips. 2009. "Who Blinks First? Legislative Patience and Bargaining with Governors." *LSQ* 34: 55-86.
- Krupnikov and Shipan. 2012. "Measuring Gubernatorial Budgetary Power: A New Approach." *SPPQ* 12: 438-55.
- Thrower. 2019. "The Study of Executive Policy Making in the US States." *JOP* 81:364-70.

Additional Readings:

- Barrilleaux and Rainey. 2014. "The Politics of Need: Examining Governors' Decisions to Oppose the 'Obamacare' Medicaid Expansion." *SPPQ* 14: 437-60.

March 6: State Legislatures and Professionalization

- Bowen and Greene. 2014. "Should We Measure Professionalism with an Index? A Note on Theory and Practice in State Legislative Professionalism Research." *SPPQ* 14: 277-96.
- Burns, Evans, Gamm, and McConnaughy. 2008. "Pockets of Expertise: Institutional Capacity in Twentieth-Century State Legislatures." *Studies in American Political Development* 22: 229-48.
- Fiorina. 1994. "Divided Government in the States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *APSR* 88: 304-16.
- Mooney. 1995. "Citizens, Structures, and Sister States: Influences on State Legislative Professionalism." *LSQ* 20: 47-67.
- Richardson, Konisky, and Milyo. 2012. "Public Approval of U.S. State Legislatures." *LSQ* 37: 99-116.
- Squire. 1992. "Legislative Professionalization and Membership Diversity in State Legislatures." *LSQ* 17: 69-79.
- Squire. 1997. "Another Look at Legislative Professionalization and Divided Government in the States." *LSQ* 22: 417-32.
- Squire. 2007. "Measuring Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited." *SPPQ* 7: 211-27.
- Squire. 2017. "A Squire Index Update." *SPPQ* 17: 361-71.

March 13: State Legislative Elections

- Ban, Llaudet, and Snyder. 2016. "Challenger Quality and the Incumbency Advantage," *LSQ* 41: 153-79.
- Barber. 2016. "Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of American Legislatures." *JOP* 78: 296-310.
- Berry, Berkman, and Schneiderman. 2000. "Legislative Professionalism and Incumbent Reelection: The Development of Institutional Boundaries." *APSR* 94: 859-74.
- Birkhead. 2015. "The Role of Ideology in State Legislative Elections." *LSQ* 40:55-82.
- Carey, Niemi, and Powell. 2000. "Incumbency and the Probability of Reelection in State Legislative Elections." *JOP* 62: 671-700.
- Carsey, Winburn and Berry. 2017. "Rethinking the Normal Vote, the Personal Vote, and the Impact of Legislative Professionalism in U.S. State Legislative Elections." *SPPQ* 17: 465-88.
- Folke and Snyder. 2012. "Gubernatorial Midterms Slumps." *AJPS* 56:931-48.
- Hogan. 2004. "Challenger Emergence, Incumbent Success, and Electoral Accountability in State Legislative Elections." *JOP* 66:1283-1303.
- Hogan. 2008. "Policy Responsiveness and Incumbent Reelection in State Legislatures." *AJPS* 52: 858-73.
- Kousser, Lewis, and Masket. 2007. "Ideological Adaptation? The Survival Instinct of Threatened Legislators." *JOP* 69: 828-43.
- Rogers. 2015. "Strategic Challenger Entry in a Federal System: The Role of Economic and Political Conditions in State Legislative Competition." *LSQ* 40:539-70.

March 20: State Legislative Organization, Procedure, and Outcomes

- Adams. 1996. "Legislative Effects of Single-Member vs. Multi-Member Districts." *AJPS* 40:129-44.
- Anzia and Jackman. 2013. "Legislative Organization and the Second Face of Power: Evidence from U.S. State Legislatures." *JOP* 75:210-24.
- Bagashka and Clark. 2016. "Electoral Rules and Legislative Particularism: Evidence from U.S. State Legislatures." *APSR* 110:441-56.
- Boehmke and Shipan. 2015. "Oversight Capabilities in the States: Are Professionalized Legislatures Better at Getting What They Want?" *SPPQ* 15: 366-86.

- Gamm and Kousser. 2010. "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures." *APSR* 104:151-70.
- Hamm and Harmel. 1993. "Legislative Party Development and the Speaker System: The Case of the Texas House." *JOP* 55:1140-51.
- Lewis, Schneider, and Jacoby. 2015. "Institutional Characteristics and State Policy Priorities: The Impact of Legislatures and Governors." *SPPQ* 15: 447-75.
- Malhotra. 2008. "Disentangling the Relationship between Legislative Professionalism and Government Spending." *LSQ* 33: 387-414.
- Masket and Shor. 2015. "Polarization without Parties: Term Limits and Legislative Partisanship in Nebraska's Unicameral Legislature," *SPPQ* 15:67-90.
- Rogers. 2017. "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll Calls and Ideological Representation." *APSR* 111: 555-71.
- Squire. 1988. "Career Opportunities and Membership Stability in Legislatures." *LSQ* 13:65-82.
- Squire. 1988. "Member Career Opportunities and the Internal Organization of Legislatures." *JOP* 50:726-44.
- Squire. 1992. "The Theory of Legislative Institutionalization and the California Assembly." *JOP* 54:1026-54.

Additional Readings:

- Hedlund and Hamm. 1996. "Political Parties as Vehicles for Organizing U.S. State Legislative Committees." *LSQ* 21:383-408.
- Squire. 2013. "Quorum Exploitation in the American Legislative Experience." *SAPD* 27:142-64.

April 3: Direct Democracy

- Arceneaux. 2002. "Direct Democracy and the Link between Public Opinion and State Abortion Policy." *SPPQ* 2: 372-87.
- Boehmke. 2002. "The Effect of Direct Democracy on the Size and Diversity of State Interest Group Populations." *JOP* 64: 827-44.
- Boehmke, Osborn, and Schilling. 2015. "Pivotal Politics and Initiative Use in the American States." *PRQ*, 68:665-77.
- Bridges and Kousser. 2011. "Where Politicians Gave Power to the People: Adoption of the Citizen Initiative in American States." *SPPQ* 11:167-97.
- Bowler and Donovan. 2004. "Measuring the Effects of Direct Democracy on State Policy: Not all Initiatives are Created Equal." *SPPQ* 4:345-63.
- Gerber. 1996. "Legislative Response to the Threat of Popular Initiatives." *AJPS*: 99-128.
- Gerber, Lupia, and McCubbins. 2004. "When Does Government Limit the Impact of Voter Initiatives? The Politics of Implementation and Enforcement." *JOP* 66:43-68.
- Lascher, Hagen, and Rochlin. 1996. "Gun Behind the Door? Ballot Initiatives, State Policies and Public Opinion." *JOP* 58:760-75.
- Lupia. 1994. "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California's Insurance Reform Elections." *APSR* 88:63-76.
- Lupia and Matsusaka. 2004. "Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions." *ARPS* 7:463-82.
- Smith and Tolbert. 2007. "The Instrumental and Educative Effects of Ballot Measures: Research on Direct Democracy in the American States." *SPPQ* 7:417-46.

April 10: State Courts

- Brace, and Boyea. 2008. "State Public Opinion, the Death Penalty, and the Practice of Electing Judges." *AJPS* 52: 360-72.
- Brace, Hall, and Langer. 2001. "Placing State Supreme Courts in State Politics." *SPPQ* 1:81-108.
- Caldarone, Canes-Wrone, and Clark. 2009. "Partisan Labels and Democratic Accountability: An Analysis of State Supreme Court Abortion Decisions." *JOP* 71:560-73.
- Canes-Wrone, Clark, and Kelly. 2014. "Judicial Selection and Death Penalty Decisions." *APSR* 108: 23-39.
- Gibson. 2008. "Challenges to the Impartiality of State Supreme Courts: Legitimacy Theory and 'New-Style' Judicial Campaigns." *APSR* 102: 59-75.

- Gibson. 2009. "'New-Style' Judicial Campaigns and the Legitimacy of State High Courts." *JOP* 71:1285-1304.
- Goelzhauser. 2018. "Classifying Judicial Selection Institutions." *SPPQ* 18: 174-92.
- Hall. 2001. "State Supreme Courts in American Democracy: Probing the Myths of Judicial Reform." *APSR* 95: 315-30.
- Hinkle and Nelson. 2016. "The Transmission of Legal Precedent and State Supreme Courts in the Twenty-First Century," *SPPQ* 16:391-410.
- Lewis, Wood, and Jacobsmeier. 2014. "Public Opinion and Judicial Behavior in Direct Democracy Systems: Gay Rights in the American States," *SPPQ* 14:367-388.
- Lindquist. 2017. "Judicial Activism in State Supreme Courts: Institutional Design and Judicial Behavior." *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 28: 61-108.
- Shugerman. 2010. "Economic Crisis and the Rise of Judicial Elections and Judicial Review." *Harvard Law Review* 123: 1063-1151.
- Squire. 2008. "Measuring the Professionalization of State Courts of Last Resort." *SPPQ* 8:223-238.
- Woodson. 2017. "The Two Opposing Effects of Judicial Elections on Legitimacy Perceptions." *SPPQ* 17: 24-46.

Additional Readings:

- Hall. 1987. "Constituent Influence in State Supreme Courts: Conceptual Notes and a Case Study." *JOP* 49:1117-26.
- Owens and Wohlfarth. 2014. "State Solicitors General, Appellate Expertise, and State Success Before the U.S. Supreme Court." *Law & Society Review* 48:657-85.

April 17: State Taxation, Spending, and Policies

- Berry and Berry. 1992. "Tax Innovation in the States: Capitalizing on Political Opportunity." *AJPS* 36:715-42.
- Hayes and Vidal. 2015. "Fiscal Policy and Economic Inequality in the U.S. States." *PRQ* 68:392-407.
- Kiewiet and McCubbins. 2014. "State and Local Government Finance: The New Fiscal Ice Age," *Annual Review of Political Science* 17:105-122.
- Kone and Winters. 1993. "Taxes and Voting: Electoral Retribution in the American States." *JOP* 55:22-40.
- Lee. 2018. "Do States Circumvent Constitutional Supermajority Voting Requirements to Raise Taxes?" *SPPQ* 18. 417-40.
- Lowry, Alt and Ferree. 1998. "Fiscal Policy Outcomes and Electoral Accountability in American States," *APSR* 92:759-74.
- New. 2010. "U.S. State Tax and Expenditure Limitations: A Comparative Political Analysis." *SPPQ* 10:28-47.
- Ringquist. 1993. "Does Regulation Matter? Evaluating the Effects of State Air Pollution Control Programs." *JOP* 55:1022-45.
- Turner. 2003. "The Political Economy of Gubernatorial Smokestack Chasing: Bad Policy and Bad Politics?" *SPPQ* 3:270-93.

April 24 and May 1: Student Research Presentations

May 8: RESEARCH PAPERS DUE