

GRADUATE SEMINAR

Comparative State Politics

POLS 559

Fall 2020

Instructor: Chris Mooney

Class time: Mondays, 3:30-6:00pm—synchronous Zoom meetings, most likely...

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The American states are the single best venue in the world in which to test general propositions of political behavior and policymaking. This is a bold statement, but a true one. It is not that the states are a perfect research venue or that they allow us to test every hypothesis of political behavior and policymaking. Far from it. But there is just no other single venue that allows us to test such a broad range of hypotheses so well.

Think of it. The states are 50 cases with relatively similar political structures, cultures, and populations, but with significant variation on a variety of social, policy, and institutional characteristics that are directly relevant to many of our theories of politics. Unlike the examination of single units of government, such as the U.S. national government, there is enough variation in these characteristics for scholars to draw relatively valid conclusions about cause-and-effect relationships. Unlike the comparison of different countries or local governments, there is not so much of this variation as to overwhelm our ability to identify any relationships that might exist. Just as Goldilocks said about Mama Bear's porridge: not too hot; not too cold; just right... **In short, the states represent a superb natural laboratory for political scientists studying a variety of topics.**

In addition to testing hypotheses developed elsewhere, the states also provide an excellent venue to explore intergovernmental relations—how the actions of one government can affect another. With the fall of the USSR and the rise of the EU in recent decades, this phenomenon is at the top of the agenda of political scientists around the world. Another practical advantage of studying the states is that the accessibility of state government officials makes feasible many research strategies that would be unthinkable in the study of national-level officials and institutions. E.g., you could interview state legislators, governors, and supreme court justices much easier and probably more validly than interviewing congresspersons, presidents, or members of the US Supreme Court. But given their parallel positions, roles, and duties, it is often reasonable to generalize from the states to the national government.

From a substantive perspective, the states are of central importance to the American political system. The past 50 years have seen a great upswing in the political significance of the states, their policy responsibilities, and their institutional capacity. We saw this tension being played out in spades last spring in the back-and-forth between the president and state governors over the COVID-19 response. But the states have been critical to politics and policy in the United States since the beginning of the republic. Our nation's very name connotes the pivotal place of the states in its governance.

This seminar will introduce you to various ways that political scientists have taken advantage of the research opportunities that the states offer, especially the use of comparative analysis. As such, this course is definitely not a seminar about Illinois politics or even about state politics, per se. Rather, it is about how to use the states to develop and assess general theories of political behavior and policymaking.

Given the large literature in this field, we will not have time to examine the scholarship in every area of state politics or even to delve deeply into the scholarship in any one area. Instead, my strategy is to take the middle ground. After some introductory material for a couple of weeks, we will spend several weeks talking about institutions and behavior in the states, followed by several weeks looking at questions about how state policies “diffuse” among the states. We will do all this by sampling cutting-edge scholarship on selected topics where recent state politics research has been particularly fruitful.

Course Objectives/Learning Outcomes

My two objectives for this course are:

1. To introduce you to the rich body of political science scholarship that uses the states as a research venue, and
2. To continue your training as political scientists. Throughout the course, I will emphasize systematic, theoretical thinking about political phenomena, backed up by the best available evidence to test this thinking.

Course Format

The course will run in a traditional seminar format, EXCEPT THAT given the pandemic, the plan now is for us to meet via Zoom synchronously each week. That is, we will all sign on from 3:30 to 6:00pm each Monday during the semester to have an intense discussion of the papers we are reading and the projects you are conducting. If we are patient, diligent, and well-prepared each week, I suspect that you should be able to get everything out of this class that you would get out of an in-person seminar. Except various diseases...

Each week:

1. Everyone will read carefully in advance of class the assigned sample of the literature on a topic from the syllabus.
2. Then, in class, we will all summarize, critique, and debate these articles.

Therefore, I cannot stress enough how vital it is that all seminar participants read all the required material carefully each week before class.

To facilitate class discussion, you will email me a set of **six discussion questions** on the readings **each week** before class. These questions will be useful in stimulating both class discussion and your own thinking about the week’s readings. Email your questions to me (cmoon1@uic.edu) by 2:00pm the day of class (hopefully earlier). **NO LATE QUESTIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED FOR CREDIT.** Of these six questions, I suggest that:

- Three questions focus on particular articles (i.e., write specific questions on three different articles), and
- The other three questions relate to the entire body of work we read for that week or a portion of those readings.

NOTE: You are responsible to turn in these questions even if you miss class for any reason.

ALSO NOTE: You do NOT have to turn in discussion questions on the first day of class (August 24).

Course Readings

The required readings are available on the Blackboard website for this course (<http://bb.uic.edu>) as pdf's. It is your responsibility to access the required articles far enough in advance of class to read them carefully. If you ever have any problem with Blackboard, e-mail me immediately so that I can fix it. Technical difficulties with Blackboard are no excuse for not being prepared for class. Of course, there are other ways to access these readings besides our Blackboard site, such as Daley Library (<https://library.uic.edu/libraries/daley>), Google Scholar, or directly through a given journal's website

If you lack any background in the study of comparative state politics, I suggest that you read one or both of the following books early in the semester (preferably, before the semester starts):

- Donovan, Todd, Daniel A. Smith, Tracy Osborn, and Christopher Z. Mooney. 2014. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Cengage. (This is a basic undergraduate text—note that you can buy the 3rd edition [which is even better...] used on Amazon for under \$10.)
- Gray, Virginia, Russell L. Hanson, and Thad Kousser, eds. 2017. *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*. 11th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (This is classic series of edited books going back the early 1970s, and it provides a more advanced set of essays on various topics.)

Graded Assignments

I will evaluate your success in the course on the following work activities and products:

- Informed in-class participation and attendance, including the demonstration of a careful reading of the weekly course materials,
- Your weekly discussion questions on the readings,
- A review essay and preliminary memos (see handout), and
- A research design paper (see handout).

Your final course grade will be based on the following weighting of these components:

- Informed class participation 10%
- Weekly questions 10%
- Review essay:
 - Topic memo 5%
 - Bibliography memo 7.5%
 - Outline memo 7.5%
 - Final essay 35%
- Research design paper 25%

Returning Papers

My general practice is to mark your papers electronically and email them back to you within one week of receiving them. So please submit your papers to me as Word documents via email attachment. If you have any problem with this, let me know. I will type fairly extensive comments on your papers to provide you with suggestions for improving them. This is especially important because of the cumulative nature of some of these assignments.

Social Justice Statement

UIC is committed to social justice. I heartily share this commitment and expect to maintain a positive learning environment based upon open communication and mutual respect. Any suggestions as to how to enhance such an environment will be appreciated and given serious consideration.

Accommodating People with Disabilities

UIC and I are committed to maintaining a barrier-free environment so that people with disabilities can fully access programs, courses, services, and activities at UIC. If you have a disability that requires accommodation, you should contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) who will provide instructions for me. Please do this as early in the semester as possible for maximum accommodation. Contact DRC at (312) 413-2183 (voice) or (312) 413- 0123 (TDD) for further information.

Academic Integrity

UIC and I are dedicated to learning and research, and hence we are committed to truth and accuracy. Integrity and intellectual honesty in scholarship and scientific investigation are of paramount importance. These standards require intellectual honesty in conducting research, writing up research results, and relations with colleagues. The University has specific definitions of misconduct (such as plagiarism, falsification of data, etc.), procedures used for the investigation of charges, and the consequences of that conduct. Students are governed by the Student Disciplinary Policy (https://dos.uic.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/262/2020/01/DOS_Student-Disciplinary-Policy-2020.pdf).

Course Schedule and Readings

Week 1 (August 24): The Study of Comparative State Politics

Required:

- Mooney, Christopher Z. 2001. "State Politics and Policy Quarterly and the Study of State Politics: The Editor's Introduction." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 1:1-4.
- Moncrief, Gary F., and Peverill Squire. 2017. *Why States Matters: An Introduction to State Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, pp.1-20
- Grumbach, Jacob M. 2018. "From Backwaters to Major Policymakers: Policy Polarization in the States, 1970-2014." *Perspectives on Politics* 16(2):416-35.
- Sellers, Jeffrey M. 2019. "From within to between Nations: Subnational Comparison across Borders." *Perspectives on Politics* 17(1):85-105.

Additional reading:

- Morehouse, Sarah M., and Malcolm E. Jewell. 2004. "States as Laboratories: A Reprise." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7:177-203.
- Squire, Peverill, and Keith E. Hamm. 2005. *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. Introduction, p.1-4.
- Key, V.O., Jr. 1949. *Southern Politics in the State and Nation*. New York: Vintage Books.

Week 2 (August 31): Political and Social Variation among the States

Required:

- Caughey, Devin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2016. "The Dynamics of State Policy Liberalism, 1936-2014." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4):899-913.
- Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, Evan J. Ringquist, Russell L. Hanson, and Carl Klarner. 2013. "A New Measure of State Government Ideology, and Evidence that Both the New Measure and an Old Measure Are Valid." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(2):164-82.
- Elazar, Daniel. 1984. *American Federalism: A View from the States*. 4th ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, chapter 5. (Focus on the political culture section.)

- Hero, Rodney E., and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1996. "Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the State of the U.S." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:851-71.
- Koch, Julianna, and Danielle M. Thomsen. 2017. "Gender Equality Mood across States and over Time." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 17(4):351-60.
- Pacheco, Julianna. 2014. "Measuring and Evaluating Changes in State Opinion across Eight Issues." *American Politics Research* 42(6):986-1009.

Additional reading:

- Hawes, Daniel, Rene Rocha, and Kenneth Meier. 2013. "Social Capital in the 50 States: Measuring State-Level Social Capital, 1986-2004." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(1):121-138.
- Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. 2007. "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7:111-66.
- Gray, Virginia. 2017. "The Socioeconomic and Political Context of States." In Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hanson, and Thad Kousser, eds. *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*. 11th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Hero, Rodney E. 2007. *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*. Cambridge University Press: New York.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review* 103(3):367-386.
- Lieske, Joel. 2011. "The Changing Regional Subcultures of the American States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(3):538-52.

Week 3 (September 7): NO CLASS—LABOR DAY. But...

This week, read one or more of the following review essays. Think about the role of such essays in the discipline and the different approaches that they can take. You will be writing one of these this semester, so pay attention.

Required:

- Cammisa, Anne Marie, and Beth Reingold. 2004. "Women in State Legislatures and State Legislative Research: Beyond Sameness and Difference." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4:181-210.
- Mooney, Christopher Z. 2009. "Term Limits as a Boon to Legislative Scholarship: A Review Essay." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 9(2):204-228.
- 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):417-46.
- Graham, Erin R., Charles R. Shipan, and Craig Volden. 2013. "The Diffusion of Policy Diffusion Research in Political Science." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(3):673-701.

*****September 14-- TOPIC MEMO DUE**

Week 4 (September 14): State Legislatures

Required:

- Boushey, Graeme T., and Robert J. McGrath. 2017. "Experts, Amateurs, and Bureaucratic Influence in the American States." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 27(1):85-103.
- Powell, Lynda. 2016. "The Current 'State' of U.S. State Legislative Research." *The Legislative Scholar* 1(1):15-17.
- Butler, Daniel M., and David E. Brookman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):463-77.
- Squire, Peverill. 2017. "A Squire Index Update." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 17(4):361-71.

- Hinchliffe, Kelsey L., and Frances E. Lee. 2016. "Party Competition and Conflict in State Legislatures." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 16(2):172-97.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1994. "Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" *American Political Science Review* 88(2):304-16.
- Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88(3):560-76.

Additional reading:

- Clucas, Richard A. 2019. "Politics Symposium: State Legislatures at 400." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 52(3):413-44.
- Cox, Gary W., and Jonathan N. Katz. 2002. *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, William D., Michael B. Berkman, and Stuart Schneiderman. 2000. "Legislative Professionalism and Incumbent Reelection: The Development of Institutional Boundaries." *American Political Science Review* 94(4):859-74.
- Squire, Peverill. 1992. "Legislative Professionalism and Diversity in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 17(1):69-79.
- Jenkins, Shannon. 2016. *The Context of Legislating: Constraints on the Legislative Process in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Mooney, Christopher Z. 2013. "Explaining Legislative Leader Influence: Simple Collective Action or Conditional Explanations?" *Political Research Quarterly* 66(3):559-71.
- 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.
- Wright, Gerald C., and Brian F. Schaffner. 2002. "The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 96:367-80.
- Rosenthal, Alan. 2008. *Engines of Democracy: Politics and Policymaking in State Legislatures*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Week 5 (September 21): Governors

Required:

- Cohen, Jeffrey E. 2020. "Relative Unemployment, Political Information, and the Job Approval Ratings of State Governors and Legislatures." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. **Forthcoming**.
- Fording, Richard C., and Dana J. Patton. 2019. "Medicaid Expansion and the Political Fate of the Governors Who Supported It." *Policy Studies Journal* 47(2):274-99.
- Barrilleaux, Charles, and Carlisle Rainey. 2014. "The Politics of Need: Examining Governors' Decisions to Oppose the 'Obamacare' Medicaid Expansion." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 14(4):437-60.
- Ferguson, Margaret R., and Cynthia J. Bowling. 2008. "Executive Orders and Administrative Control." *Public Administration Review* 68(December):S20-S28.
- Klarner, Carl E., and Andrew Karch. 2008. "Why Do Governors Issue Vetoes? The Impact of Individual and Institutional Influences." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(4):574-584.

Additional reading:

- Beyle, Thad L. 1968. "The Governor's Formal Powers: A View from the Governor's Chair." *Public Administration Review* 28(6):540-45.
- Leyden, Kevin M., and Stephen A. Borrelli. 1995. "The Effect of State Economic Conditions on Gubernatorial Elections: Does a Unified Government Make a Difference?" *Political Research Quarterly* 48(2):275-90.
- McGrath, Robert J., Jon C. Rogowski, and Josh M. Ryan. 2015. "Gubernatorial Veto Powers and the Size of Legislative Coalitions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(4):571-98.

- Brown, Adam R. 2012. "The Item Veto's Sting." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(2):183-203.
- Ferguson, Margaret R. 2003. "Chief Executive Success in the Legislative Arena." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3(2):158-82.
- Kousser, Thad, and Justin Phillips. 2012. *The Power of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, Robert C. 2003. "The Political Economy of Gubernatorial Smokestack Chasing: Bad Policy and Bad Politics?" *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3:270-93.
- Krause, George A., and Benjamin F. Melusky. 2012. "Concentrated Powers: Unilateral Executive Authority and Fiscal Policymaking in the American States." *Journal of Politics* 74(1):98-112.
- Rosenthal, Alan. 2012. *The Best Job in Politics: Exploring How Governors Succeed as Policy Leaders*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Folke, Olle, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2012. "Gubernatorial Midterm Slumps." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4):931-48.
- Jensen, Jennifer M. 2016. *The Governors' Lobbyists: Federal-State Relations Offices and Governors Associations in Washington*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

***** SEPTEMBER 28-- BIBLIOGRAPHY MEMO DUE**

Week 6 (September 28): Women Political Leaders in the States

Required:

- Ladam Christina, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Jason H. Windett. 2018. "Prominent Role Models: High-Profile Female Politicians and the Emergence of Women as Candidates for Public Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2):369-81.
- Windett, Jason Harold. 2014. "Differing Paths to the Top: Gender, Ambition, and Running for Governor." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 35(4):287-314.
- Osborn, Tracy, Rebecca J. Kreitzer, Emily U. Schilling, and Jennifer Hayes Clark. 2019. "Ideology and Polarization among Women State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(4):647-80.
- Nownes, Anthony J., and Patricia K. Freeman. 2019. "Gender-based Differences in Information Use and Processing among State Legislators." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 40(4):473-97.
- Holman, Mirya R., and Anna Mahoney. 2018. "Stop, Collaborate, and Listen: Women's Collaboration in US State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42(2):179-206.

Additional reading on this topic:

- Mahoney, Anna Mitchell. 2018. *Women Take Their Place in State Legislatures*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Osborn, Tracy L. 2012. *How Women Represent Women: Political Parties, Gender, and Representation in the State Legislatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Windett, Jason Harold. 2011. "State Effects and the Emergence and Success of Female Gubernatorial Candidates." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11(4):460-82.
- Dolan, Julie. 2001. "Women in the Executive Branch: A Review Essay of Their Political Impact and Career Opportunities." *Women and Politics* 22(1):89-104.
- Poggione, Sarah. 2004. "Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators' Policy Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 57:305-14.
- Barth, Jay, and Margaret R. Ferguson. 2002. "Gender and Gubernatorial Personality." *Women & Politics* 24:63-82.
- Cammisa, Anne Marie, and Beth Reingold. 2004. "Women in State Legislatures and State Legislative Research: Beyond Sameness and Difference." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4:181-210.
- Camobreco, John F., and Michelle A. Barnello. 2003. "Postmaterialism and Post-Industrialism: Cultural Influences on Female Representation in State Legislatures." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3:117-138.

- Arceneaux, Kevin. 2001. "The 'Gender Gap' in State Legislative Representation: New Data to Tackle an Old Question." *Political Research Quarterly* 54:143-60.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 64:791-809.

Week 7 (October 5): Racial and Ethnic Minority Political Leaders in the States

Required:

- Orey, Byron D'Andra, L. Marvin Overby, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2007. "African-American Committee Chairs in U.S. State Legislatures." *Social Science Quarterly* 88(3):619-639.
- Preuhs, Robert R., and Eric Gonzalez Juenke. 2011. "Latino U.S. State Legislators in the 1990s: Majority-Minority Districts, Minority Incorporation, and Institutional Position." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11(1):48-75.
- Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. 2020. "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the Emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 82(2):771-75.
- Lemi, Danielle Casarez. 2018. "Identity and Coalitions in a Multiracial Era: How State Legislators Navigate Race and Ethnicity." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(4):725-42.
- Bullock, Charles S., III, William D. Hicks, M.V. Hood, III, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "The Election of African American State Legislators in the Modern South." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. **Forthcoming**.
- Hansen, Eric R., and Christopher J. Clark. 2020. "Diversity in Party Leadership in State Legislatures." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 20(1):81-107.

Additional reading on this topic:

- Clark, Christopher J. 2019. *Gaining Voice: The Causes and Consequences of Black Representation in the American States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Button, James, and David Hedge. 1996. "Legislative Life in the 1990s: A Comparison of Black and White State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21(2):199-218.
- Haynie, Kerry L. 2001. *African American Legislators in the American States*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 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):585-99.
- Tokeshi, Matthew. 2018. "Why Are African American Governors and US Senators So Rare? Exploring White Voters' Responses to African American Statewide Candidates." *Political Behavior* 42(2):285-304.

Week 8 (October 12): Intersectionality and State Officials

Required:

- Brown, Nadia E. 2014. "It's More than Hair... That's Why You Should Care." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2(3):295-312.
- Lemi, Danielle Casarez, and Nadia E. Brown. 2019. "Melanin and Curls: Evaluation of Black Women Candidates." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4(2):259-96.
- Gershon, Sarah Allen, and Jessica Lavariega Monforti. 2020. "Intersecting Campaigns: Candidate Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Voter Evaluations." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. **Forthcoming**.
- Shah, Paru, Jamil Scott, and Eric Gonzales Juenke. 2019. "Women of Color Candidates: Examining Emergence and Success in State Legislative Elections." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7(2):429-43.
- Reingold, Beth, Kirsten Widner, and Rachel Harmon. 2020. "Legislating at the Intersections: Race, Gender, and Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*. **Forthcoming**.

Additional reading on this topic:

- Brown, Nadia E. 2014. *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women and Legislative Decision Making*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bratton, Kathleen A., Kerry L. Haynie, and Beth Reingold. 2006. "Agenda Setting and African American Women in State Legislatures." *Journal of Women Politics and Policy* 28(3-4):71-96.
- Reingold, Beth, and Adrienne R. Smith. 2012. "Welfare Policymaking and Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in U.S. State Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1):131-47.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2015. "Electing Women of Color: The Role of Campaign Trainings." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 36(2):137-60.
- Holman, Mirya R., and Monica C. Schneider. 2016. "Race, Gender, and Political Ambition: How Intersectionality and Frames Influence Interest in Office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(2):264-80.

*****OCTOBER 19-- REVIEW ESSAY OUTLINE MEMO DUE**

Week 9 (October 19): Classics in Policy Diffusion and Innovation

Required:

- Walker, Jack L. 1969. "The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States." *American Political Science Review* 63(3):880-99.
- Gray, Virginia. 1973. "Innovation in the States: A Diffusion Study." *American Political Science Review* 67(4):1174-85.
- Walker, Jack L. 1973. "Comment (on Gray)." *American Political Science Review* 67(4):1186-91.
- Savage, Robert L. 1978. "Policy Innovativeness as a Trait of American States." *Journal of Politics* 40: 212-224.
- Berry, Frances Stokes, and William D. Berry. 1990. "State Lottery Adoptions as Policy Innovations: An Event History Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 84(2):395-415.
- Volden, Craig, Michael M. Ting, and Daniel P. Carpenter. 2008. "A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion." *American Political Science Review* 102(3):319-32.

Additional readings:

- Karch, Andrew. 2007. "Emerging Issues and Future Directions in State Policy Diffusion Research." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(1):54-80.
- Boushey, Graeme. 2010. *Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mintrom, Michael. 1997. "Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3):738-70
- Braun, Dietmar, and Fabrizio Gilardi. 2006. "Taking 'Galton's Problem' Seriously: Towards a Theory of Policy Diffusion." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 18(3):298-322.
- 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.
- Crain, Robert L. 1966. "Fluoridation: The Diffusion of an Innovation among Cities." *Social Forces* 44(4):467-76.
- Eyestone, Robert. 1977. "Confusion, Diffusion, and Innovation." *American Political Science Review* 71(2):441-47.
- Grossback, Lawrence J., Sean Nicholson-Crotty, and David A.M. Peterson. 2004. "Ideology and Learning in Policy Diffusion." *American Politics Research* 32(5):521-45.
- Rose, Richard. 1991. "What Is Lesson-Drawing?" *Journal of Public Policy* 11(1):3-30.

Week 10 (October 26): VISIT BY PROFESSOR JENNIFER WOLAK (University of Colorado, Boulder)

Representation in Public Policy

Required:

- Herrick, Rebekah. 2013. "Listening and Representing." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(1):88-106.
- Jaeger, William P., Jeffrey Lyons, and Jennifer Wolak. 2017. "Political Knowledge and Policy Representation in the States." *American Politics Research* 45(6):907-38.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review* 103(3):367-86.
- Simonovits, Gabor, Andrew M. Guess, and Jonathan Nagler. 2019. "Responsiveness without Representation: Evidence from Minimum Wage Laws in U.S. States." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(2):401-10.
- Rogers, Steven. 2017. "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll Calls and Ideological Representation." *American Political Science Review* 111(3):555-71.
- Caughey, Devin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2018. "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States, 1936-2014." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 249-266.

Additional reading:

- Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Burstein, Paul. 2013. "The Impact of Public Opinion and Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly* 56(1):29-40.
- Hicks, William D., Carl E. Klarner, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(2):408-23.
- Gerber, Elizabeth R., and Rebecca B. Morton. 1998. "Primary Election Systems and Representation." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 14(2):304-24.
- Flavin, Patrick. 2012. "Income Inequality and Policy Representation in the American States." *American Research Quarterly* 40(1):29-59.
- Herrick, Rebekah. 2011. *Representation and Institutional Design*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. 1982. *Representation in State Legislatures*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press.
- Rigby, Elizabeth, and Gerald C. Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and the Representation of the Poor in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3):552-65.

Week 11 (November 2): Learning and Policy Diffusion

Required:

- 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.
- Boehmke, Fredrick J., and Richard Witmer. 2004. "Disentangling Diffusion: The Effects of Social Learning and Economic Competition on State Policy Innovation and Expansion." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(1):39-51.
- Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2010. "Who Learns What in Policy Diffusion Processes?" *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3):650-66.
- Pacheco, Julianna. 2013. "The Thermostatic Model of Responsiveness in the American States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(3):306-32.
- Gilardi, Fabrizio, Charles R. Shipan, and Bruno Wueest. 2020. "Policy Diffusion: The Issue-Definition Stage." *American Journal of Political Science*. **Forthcoming.**
- Volden, Craig. 2016. "Failures: Diffusion, Learning, and Policy Abandonment." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 16(1):44-77.

Additional reading:

- Smith, Kelly B. 2019. "Learning without Widespread Policy Adoption: Early Childhood Education in the American States." *Publius* 50(1):3-29.
- Hinkle, Rachael K. 2015. "Into the Words: Using Statutory Text to Explore the Impact of Federal Courts on State Policy Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):1002-21.
- Pacheco, Julianna. 2012. "The Social Contagion Model: Exploring the Role of Public Opinion on the Diffusion of Antismoking Legislation across the American States." *Journal of Politics* 74(1):187-202.
- Nicholson-Crotty, Sean, and Sanya Carley. 2016. "Effectiveness, Implementation, and Policy Diffusion: Or 'Can We Make That Work for Us?'" *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 16(1):78-97.
- Glick, David M., and Zoe Friedland. 2014. "How Often Do States Study Each Other? Evidence of Policy Knowledge Diffusion." *American Politics Research* 42(6):956-85.
- Shipan, Charles R., and Craig Volden. 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4):840-57.
- Shipan, Charles R., and Craig Volden. 2014. "When the Smoke Clears: Expertise, Learning and Policy Diffusion." *Journal of Public Policy* 34(3):357-87.

*****NOVEMBER 9—REVIEW ESSAY DUE**

*****See Chris soon to discuss your idea for your research design paper, due at the end of the semester.**

Week 12 (November 9): Competition and Policy Diffusion

Required:

- Monogan, James E., David M. Konisky, and Neal D. Woods. 2017. "Gone with the Wind: Federalism and the Strategic Location of Air Polluters." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(2): 257-270.
- Pacheco, Julianna. 2017. "Free-Riders or Competitive Races? Strategic Interaction across the American States on Tobacco Policy Making." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 17(3):299-318.
- Peterson, Paul E., and Mark Carl Rom. 1989. "American Federalism, Welfare Policy, and Residential Choices." *American Political Science Review* 83(3):711-28.
- Volden, Craig. 2002. "The Politics of Competitive Federalism: A Race to the Bottom in Welfare Benefits?" *American Journal of Political Science* 46(22):352-63.
- Arel-Bundock, Vincent, and Srinivas Parinandi. 2018. "Conditional Tax Competition in the American States." *Journal of Public Policy* 38(2):191-220.

Additional reading:

- Baybeck, Brady, William D. Berry, and David A. Siegel. 2011. "A Strategic Theory of Policy Diffusion via Intergovernmental Competition." *Journal of Politics* 73(1):232-47.
- Leiser, Stephanie. 2017. "The Diffusion of State Tax Incentives for Business." *Public Finance Review* 45(3):334-63.
- Berry, William D., and Brady Baybeck. 2005. "Using Geographic Information Systems to Study Interstate Competition." *American Political Science Review* 99(4):505-19.
- Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hansen. 2003. "Reassessing the 'Race to the Bottom' in State Welfare Policy." *Journal of Politics* 65(2):327-49.
- Rom, Mark Carl, Paul E. Peterson, and Kenneth F. Scheve, Jr. 1998. "Interstate Competition and Welfare Policy." *Publius* 28(3):17-37.
- Tiebout, Charles M. 1956. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." *Journal of Political Economy* 64(5):416-37.
- Woods, Neal D. 2006. "Interstate Competition and Environmental Regulation: A Test of the Race-to-the-Bottom Thesis." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1):174-89.

Week 13 (November 16): Coercion, Vertical Federalism, and Policy Diffusion

Required:

- Karch, Andrew, and Aaron Rosenthal. 2016. "Vertical Diffusion and the Shifting Politics of Electronic Commerce." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 16(1):22-43.
- Karch, Andrew. 2006. "National Intervention and the Diffusion of Policy Innovations." *American Politics Research* 34(4):403-26.
- Howell, William G., and Asya Magazinnik. 2020. "Financial Incentives in Vertical Diffusion: The Variable Effects of Obama's Race to the Top Initiative on State Policy Making." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 20(2):185-212.
- McCann, Pamela J. Clousser, Charles H. Shipan, and Craig Volden. 2015. "Top-Down Federalism: State Policy Responses to National Government Discussions." *Publius* 45(4):495-525.
- Shipan, Charles R., and Craig Volden. 2006. "Bottom-Up Federalism: The Diffusion of Anti-Smoking Policies from U.S. Cities to States." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4):825-43.

Additional reading:

- Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, and Franks R. Baumgartner. 2010. "Policy Attention in State and Nation: Is Anyone Listening to the Laboratories of Democracy?" *Publius* 41(2):286-310.
- Karch, Andrew. 2012. "Vertical Diffusion and the Policy-Making Process: The Politics of Embryonic Stem Cell Research." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(1):48-61.
- Miller, Lisa L. 2010. *The Perils of Federalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bulman-Posen, Jessica. 2014. "Partisan Federalism." *Harvard Law Review* 127(4):1077-1146.
- Karch, Andrew. 2007. *Democratic Laboratories: Policy Diffusion among the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Welch, Susan, and Kay Thompson. 1980. "The Impact of Federal Incentives on State Policy Innovation." *American Journal of Political Science* 24(4):715-29.

Week 14 (November 23): Reinvention and Amendment in Policy Diffusion

Required:

- Carley, Sanya, Sean Nicholson-Crotty, and Chris J. Miller. 2017. "Adoption, Reinvention and Amendment of Renewable Portfolio Standards in the American States." *Journal of Public Policy* 37(4):431-58.
- Clark, Jill. 1985. "Policy Diffusion and Program Scope: Research Directions." *Publius* 15(3):61-70.
- Glick, Henry R., and Scott P. Hays. 1991. "Innovation and Reinvention in State Policymaking: Theory and the Evolution of Living Will Laws." *Journal of Politics* 53:835-850.
- Parinandi, Srinivas C. 2020. "Policy Inventing and Borrowing among State Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*. **Forthcoming**.
- Jansa, Joshua M., Eric R. Hansen, and Virginia H. Gray. 2019. "Copy and Paste Lawmaking: Legislative Professionalism and Policy Reinvention in the States." *American Politics Research* 47(4):739-67.
- Taylor, Jami K., Daniel C. Lewis, Matthew L. Jacobsmeier, and Brian DiSarro. 2012. "Context and Complexity in Policy Reinvention and Diffusion: Gay and Transgender-Inclusive Laws against Discrimination." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(1):75-98.

Additional reading:

- Karch, Andrew, and Matthew Cravens. 2014. "Rapid Diffusion and Policy Reform: The Adoption and Modification of Three Strikes Laws." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 14(4):461-91.
- Hays, Scott P. 1996a. "Influences on Reinvention during the Diffusion of State Policy Innovations." *Political Research Quarterly* 49:613-32.

- Hays, Scott P. 1996b. "Patterns of Reinvention: The Nature of Evolution during Policy Diffusion." *Policy Studies Journal* 24(4):551-66.
- Mossberger, Karen. 1999. "State-Federal Diffusion and Policy Learning: From Enterprise Zones to Empowerment Zones." *Publius* 29(3):31-50.
- Mossberger, Karen. 2000. *The Politics of Ideas and the Spread of Enterprise Zones*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Jacob, Herbert. 1988. *Silent Revolution: The Transformation of Divorce Law in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 15 (November 30): The Impacts of State Policy

Required:

- Filindra, Alexandra. 2013. "Immigrant Social Policy in the American States: Race Politics and State TANF and Medicaid Eligibility Rules for Legal Permanent Residents." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(1):26-48.
- Zhu, Ling. 2017. "'Healing Alone?' Social Capital, Racial Diversity and Health Care Inequality in the American States." *American Politics Research* 45(6):1059-87.
- Carey, John M., Richard G. Neimi, Lynda W. Powell, and Gary F. Moncrief. 2006. "The Effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures: A New Survey of the 50 States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1):105-34.
- Caughey, Devin, Yiqing Zu, and Christopher Warshaw. 2017. "Incremental Democracy: The Policy Effects of Partisan Control of State Government." *Journal of Politics* 79(4):1342-58.
- Coates, Michael, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2017. "Policy Spillover and Gun Migration: The Interstate Dynamics of State Gun Control Policies." *Social Science Quarterly* 98(2):500-12.

Additional reading:

- Masket, Seth E., and Michael G. Miller. 2015. "Does Public Election Funding Create More Extreme Legislators? Evidence from Arizona and Maine." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15(1):24-40.
- Edwards, Barry C. 2015. "Alphabetically Ordered Ballots and the Composition of American Legislatures." *State Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15(2):171-91.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33(4):471-91.
- Herron, Michael C., and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Race, Party, and the Consequences of Restricting Early Voting in Florida in the 2012 General Election." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(3):646-65.
- Milita, Kerri. 2015. "Election Laws and Agenda Setting: How Election Law Restrictiveness Shapes the Complexity of State Ballot Measures." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15(2):119-146.
- Miller, Susan M., Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2018. "The Consequences of Legislative Term Limits for Policy Diffusion." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(3):573-85.

*****DECEMBER 7— RESEARCH DESIGN PAPER DUE BY 6:00PM IN MY EMAIL (cmoon1@uic.edu).**