

STATE POLITICS AND POLICY

Winter/Spring 2012 Newsletter

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1) Message from the Section President

It has been another productive year for the State Politics and Policy (SPP) Section as you will read in this newsletter, including rave reviews of the 11th Annual State Politics Conference held at Dartmouth last June. We are looking forward to the 12th Annual State Politics Conference to be held in February at Rice and Houston. The 13th Annual State Politics Conference will be held at the University of Iowa (more on that event coming soon from Fred Boehmke and Tracy Osborn).

Under the leadership of Lilliard Richardson, past section president, the section became the owners of *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* with a publishing deal with Sage Press. Sage has provided more resources for the journal to reach a wider distribution with greater online access. It was a lot of work, and I speak for the Section in thanking Lilliard for his time and effort in this capacity. Tom Carsey of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill is the editor of SPPQ. The journal has an online submission process making it easier for paper submitters, reviewers and hopefully the editor too! An objective of my term is to work closely with the journal to promote its continued excellence.

A priority of the section is to advance theoretical and methodological innovation in studying subnational politics. The SPP conferences are one of our best venues to

achieve these ends, and are a lot of fun as well. The section is grateful to past and future hosts of these events. Upcoming panels at the April 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting in Chicago is another opportunity. I hope you can attend both meetings and as many panels as possible.

Recognizing outstanding scholarship among our section members is key. The section created a new award in 2010, the Christopher Z. Money Dissertation Award. Julianna (Julie) Pacheco (Penn State Ph.D. & Iowa) was the recipient of the award last year. Rene Rocha (Iowa) is chairing the Dissertation Awards committee in 2012.

Gerry Wright (Indiana) was honored with the section's Career Achievement Award at the APSA business meeting. This is the highest award given by the section honoring a lifetime contribution to the study of politics and public policies in the American states. Gerry is the chair of the 2012 Career Achievement committee, so please send him or the other committee members nominations.

Todd Donovan (Western Washington) is chairing the section's Best Paper Award committee and Jennifer Wolak (Colorado) is chairing the SPPQ Paper Awards committee. We hope to be able to add a book award for the section in 2012. Chris Mooney has agreed to chair a committee to explore whether this would be beneficial for the section. We will also explore new ways to use the section website to raise the profile of our members, such as promoting books written by section members (thanks Jon Winburn for being webmaster!). It would

also be nice to update the subnational datasets for the webpage.

And a reminder. To be consistent with the deadlines for other sections, the deadline for all award nominations is April 15th, 2012. The list of all the section awards and committee members is online at apsanet.org.

Members of the council for 2012 are:

- Martin Johnson (University of California, Riverside)
- Wendy Martinek (Binghamton University, SUNY)
- Daniel A. Smith (University of Florida)
- J. Robert Baker (Wittenberg University)
- Chris Bonneau (University of Pittsburgh)
- Regina Branton (University of North Texas).

Please feel free to email any of the council members or myself with ideas for how to improve the section so we continue innovating and growing strong.

Shannon Jenkins (UMass Dartmouth) has graciously agreed to edit the section newsletter again this year, and Margie Ferguson (Indiana University-Indianapolis) to serve as Secretary/Treasurer.

Thank you to everyone for serving and your continued support of the section.

Caroline (Tolbert)

2) APSA Section Business Meeting Recap

The meeting kicked off with a report from outgoing section president, Lilliard Richardson. He offered his thanks to everyone working with the section this year. In particular, he thanked:

- Margie Ferguson for her work as treasurer and as a sounding board for lots of issues.
- The Executive Board, especially those who served last year when we were so busy with the journal: Donald Haider-Markel, Robert Lowry, Susan Yackee, James King, Elizabeth Rigby, Neil Woods, Dan Smith, Martin Johnson, Wendy Martinek.
- APSA Program Chairs: Rick Fording, Andy Karch, Cherie Maestas.
- Everyone who served on a section committee.
- Jon Winburn for serving as section webmaster.
- Shannon Jenkins for serving as newsletter editor.
- Leah Fargotstein at Sage for help with the journal.
- Dick Niemi for officer transition, advice, and committee work.
- Chris Mooney for everything he does for the section.

Lilliard raised the question as to whether the section should adopt formal bylaws, particularly for managing the journal. There was debate, but no formal action was taken on this issue at the meeting.

Margie Ferguson made brief comments thanking Lilliard for his service and

especially his leadership on the sale of SPPQ and the new relationship with Sage. His term involved an unusually high level of work and he did a great job. Margie then distributed the Treasurer's report showing expenditures and bank balances for the previous year. She also reported that the Mooney Dissertation fund has risen to \$36,099 thanks in part to Ken Meier's (2010 recipient of the Career Achievement Award) offer to match contributions made at last year's meeting.

Tom Carsey, the SPPQ editor, reported that he continues to receive high quality submissions and he encouraged section members to keep SPPQ in mind for their scholarship. He has asked members of the editorial board to continue their service.

Next, Lilliard, serving in lieu of Dick Winters who was not able to attend, reflected on the conference held in June at Dartmouth, and Keith Hamm reported on the upcoming 2012 SPP Conference. See below for more information on both conferences.

Fred Boehmke made brief comments regarding the 2013 meeting to be hosted by the University of Iowa. Next, Anderw Karch, the 2011 APSA SPP Section Program Chair, and Cherie Maestas, the 2012 APSA SPP Section Program Chair, gave brief presentations about the section at APSA.

The Nominations Committee, Jim King (Chair), Elizabeth Rigby, and Neal Woods, presented a slate of candidates for section leadership positions. All were elected unanimously. Caroline Tolbert, University of Iowa, was nominated and elected section President. J. Robert Baker, Wittenberg University, Chris Bonneau, University of

Pittsburg, and Regina Branton, University of North Texas were election for 2011-2013 terms on the Executive Board. Thanks to the Current Executive Board, some of whom will be rotating off the Board as noted below.

2008-2010 Term: Jim King, Elizabeth Rigby, and Neal Woods (outgoing)

2009-2011 Term: Martin Johnson, Wendy Martinek, Dan Smith (returning)

Finally, section awards were announced. Information about each of the award winners can be found below in the newsletter. Currently, there is no book award in the section, so Caroline also raised the idea of adding such an award in the future.

3) 2011 SPP Conference Recap

Over 100 section members and guests gathered in early June at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire to attend the 11th annual conference of the A.P.S.A. Section on State Politics and Policy. In all, the conference produced 70 papers discussed in 20 panels over a two-and-a-half day period. Thirteen papers were submitted by graduate students and were presented at a large "poster session" attended by many of the conferees. The grad student papers were also folded into the regular panel sessions. So, in all, our "prospective" section members - as well as Section "regulars" -- received lots of great feedback about their scholarly products.

Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and New England also put on a great show over those days - sunny, cool and crisp, with the northern bright sun piercing the clear blue sky. We at the College were pleased to sponsor the event and to help in a small way to maintain the momentum of the

section's members in advancing political knowledge about the U.S. and its states.

And, as an about-to-be-retired academic of some forty-two years of work in the field, I was enormously pleased, as well. The annual state politics conferences proved, once again, to be intellectually vibrant, of a very high academic quality, and with companionable and congenial participants. It was, once again, an annual demonstration of the vitality of the subfield.

Dick Winters

4) 2012 SPP Conference Information

The Harlan Program in State Elections, Campaigns and Politics at Rice University and the Department of Political Science at the University of Houston will be hosting the 12th Annual State Politics and Policy Conference in Houston, Texas from February 16-18, 2012. The overall theme of the conference is "Representation in the States: A Fifty-Year Retrospective on the Impact of *Baker vs. Carr*." More than 140 attendees will have the opportunity to hear over 90 paper presentations and view 15 posters at the conference. The panels will be held in the James A. Baker Hall and Farnsworth Pavilion on the Rice University campus.

If you plan to attend the conference, we encourage you to visit:

<http://2012sppconference.blogs.rice.edu/category/conference/>

to register, secure a hotel room, peruse the conference program and learn more about restaurants and entertainment in Houston at. Please note that cutoff for the convention rate at the hotel is January 31st.

A welcoming cocktail party will be held on Thursday night immediately following the Poster Session. All meals will be served in the Doré Commons of Baker Hall except for the Friday night dinner which will be hosted by the University of Houston at the Hilton University of Houston Hotel and Conference Center.

Why Come to Houston?

Houston has much to offer conferees who attend this conference. Access is easy via two major airports (i.e., Houston International Airport and Hobby Airport). The weather should be ideal with daytime temperatures in the mid 60s and nighttime temperatures in the 40s or 50s.

Foodies will love Houston. If individuals plan on spending an additional day or so in town, we suggest they check-out the food scene. National newspapers have taken notice of the restaurants in Houston. In 2010 the New York Post wrote “. . . after two visits in 2009, it’s easy to conclude that Houston has one of the most satisfying food scenes in the country right now.” In 2010 The New York Times followed up with the observation that Houston is a “place with a world-class food scene and a rising generation of culinary stars.”

In terms of museums, an area adjacent to Rice is known as the Houston Museum District. Highlights of this district include the Menil Collection, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Houston Museum of Natural Science. Other sites include the Rothko Chapel and the Byzantine Fresco Chapel Museum.

Houston is one of just five cities that offer world-class, year-round resident companies in all of the major performing arts—

symphony (Houston Symphony), opera (Houston Grand Opera), drama (Alley Theater) and ballet (Houston Ballet). The 17-block Theater District contains a total of almost 13,000 seats, the largest concentration in the U.S. except for New York. (See <http://www.houstontheaterdistrict.org/en/cms/?68>.)

Houston has several great golf courses if you are planning to stay through Sunday! See the following website to research course ratings and begin exploring your options:

<http://www.golflink.com/golf-courses/city.aspx?dest=houston+tx>.

The Houston Municipal Golf Course website has further information on municipal golf courses:

<http://www.houstontx.gov/municipalgolf/>.

5) Career Achievement Award Winner: Gerry Wright

The annual Career Achievement Award is probably the most prestigious of the many honors that the State Politics and Policy section bestows. It is given annually to a political scientist who has made a “significant lifetime contribution to the study of politics and public policies in the American states.” Scholars receiving this award are among those with the very highest level of scholarship on, and service to, the field of U.S. state politics and policy.

At the section’s annual business meeting in Seattle in September 2011, the 2011 SPP Career Achievement Award was given to **Gerald C. Wright of Indiana University**. Jerry is well-known among section members, not just for his outstanding scholarship, but also his extensive service to the field and to the section and the

proliferation of state politics scholars who have earned their PhD's under him in Bloomington.

While the committee considered a dozen other highly qualified nominees, it unanimously voted to honor Wright, citing his contributions to the study of state politics and policy in three areas:

- Wright's scholarly contribution has been second to none in the field of state politics for the past 35 years. He has spent his career exploring how and how well legislatures represent the policy preferences of their constituents. Alone, with senior colleagues, and with his graduate students, he has amassed a body of work that has shed considerable light on this core question of democratic theory. Two long-term projects stand out in his illustrious career. First, Wright's extended work with Robert Erikson and John McIver that culminated in the 1993 landmark book, *Statehouse Democracy*, was arguably the catalyst for the modern renaissance in the study of state politics. Its influence has been profound, both in terms of methodology and substance. The book alone has garnered over 1000 citations in Google Scholar. Second, Wright's more recent work on state legislative roll-call voting data has proven to be a goldmine of both data and theoretical contribution, of which dozens of scholars have taken advantage. This project continues to provide fresh insights into the nature of behavior and representation in U.S.-style legislatures.

- Wright has also been a leader of the professional association of state politics scholars for decades. As a charter member of the State Politics and Policy organized section, as one of the first presidents of the section, as a member of the organizing committee and charter member of the editorial board of *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, and as a long-time informal advisor and mentor to all of us working in the section, journal, and State Politics and Policy Conferences, Wright has been there "at the creation."
- Equally important as Wright's direct contributions to scholarship and professional service has been his mentoring of an entire generation of top-notch state politics scholars who worked with him at Indiana. These scholars include the current editor of *SPPQ*, Tom Carsey (University of North Carolina); Michael Berkman (Penn State); Tracy Osborn (University of Iowa); Jonathan Winburn (University of Mississippi); Brian Schaffner (University of Massachusetts); Jennifer Clark (Houston); Geoff Layman (Notre Dame); Robert Jackson (Florida State); and Bob Brown (University of Mississippi); among others. As with his scholarship and service, it is impossible to imagine the field of state politics scholarship (among fields) today without this cadre of important scholars, all well-trained by and devoted to Wright.

The award selection committee consisted of: Christopher Z. Mooney (University of Illinois Springfield) Chair; James C. Battista (SUNY Buffalo); Frederick Boehmke (University of Iowa); Melinda Gann Hall

(Michigan State University); and Justin H. Phillips (Columbia University).

**6) 2011 Christopher Z. Mooney
Dissertation Award Winner Abstract:
Julianna Pacheco**

When public opinion changes, how closely do policies follow? Central to democratic theory, the principle of popular sovereignty implies some degree of dynamic policy responsiveness: new policies should be enacted when mass opinion becomes supportive of that new policy. But, for a successful democracy, public opinion must also be attentive to what government does; citizens have to react to policy changes otherwise there is little incentive for elected officials to respond to public opinion. While dynamic models of policy responsiveness have been tested at the national level, much less is known about the American states. This is an important shortcoming, particularly in light of evidence that state public opinion is directly responsible for policy differences across the fifty states.

I advance our knowledge about dynamic policy responsiveness at the sub-national level by measuring the longitudinal variation in state public opinion on different policy areas and linking these measures to various policy outputs at the state level. I show that multilevel regression coupled with imputation and post-stratification can be used to measure public opinion over time when augmented by a small (e.g., three year) moving average. I use this approach to estimate yearly state public opinion on global attitudes (e.g., party identification and ideology) as well as specific attitudes (e.g., the death penalty,

abortion, education spending, welfare spending, and smoking bans).

Through various time series analyses, I find that state opinion plays a critical role in policy changes at the sub-national level for three issue areas: education, welfare, and anti-smoking legislation. I provide additional evidence that the impact of public opinion on policy is causal. To give just one example, I estimate that if support for education spending increases by three percentage points, spending per classroom increases by over \$500 immediately (assuming 25 students per classroom). State opinion also plays a large role in whether a state adopts a new policy, such as a smoking ban in restaurants. I also find that the causal relationship between public opinion and policy is a two-way street, although how opinion responds to policy changes depends on the issue. For education and welfare, policy changes exhibited a negative relationship on public opinion, albeit, only in the long term. Attitudes towards anti-smoking legislation become more supportive as states enact additional restrictions. These analyses suggest that state opinion responds in rational and reasonable ways to policy changes.

The broader impacts of the study are embodied in the original dataset that is publicly available, along with the details of the methodology used to generate and validate dynamic measures of state public opinion. The methods of estimation can be extended to measure other preferences at the state level over time, as well as other attitudes such as tolerance, trust, efficacy or confidence which may also exhibit over time change across states.

Publications from this project:

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

Pacheco, Julianna. 2011. "Using National Surveys to Measure State Public Opinion over Time: A Guideline for Scholars and an Application." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 11 (4): 415-439.

7) 2011 SPPQ Award Winner Abstract: Michael Berkman and Eric Plutzer

The SPPQ Paper Award Committee considered twelve excellent nominations for the best paper presented at a conference in the calendar year 2010. From this impressive pool, we unanimously selected Michael Berkman and Eric Plutzer's SPP conference paper, "Multi-Level Policy Responsiveness to Public Opinion: From Statehouse to Street-Level" as the winner of this year's award. Extending the basic policy responsiveness model to cover both state and local levels of government *and* both policy adoption and implementation, Berkman and Plutzer's research has profound implications for how we think about federalism, principal agent theory, and democratic politics. Federalism, they argue, can turn the principal-agent *problem* of policy implementation into a principal-agent *opportunity* for enhanced policy responsiveness. Using the teaching of evolution in the public schools as their empirical example, Berkman and Plutzer make the most "imaginative use of the methodological advantages of the U.S. states" to rigorously test their multi-level model of policy responsiveness. They not only had to develop measures of public

opinion at two different levels; they also had to develop valid measures of policy as intended and policy as implemented – as well as the strength of state-level monitoring and sanctions. They even go so far as to measure the values and knowledge of the street-level bureaucrats assigned to implement the policy (teachers). In fulfilling all of these measurement challenges, Berkman and Plutzer rely very little, if at all, on "canned" data or convenience samples. With these complementary theoretical and methodological innovations, Berkman and Plutzer enhance our understanding of many debates, theories, and questions that central to the study of politics and policymaking—not only at the state level, but across multiple levels of government.

8) 2011 Best Paper Award Winner Abstract: Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego and Justin Phillips, Columbia University

How do America's chief executives get what they want out of the legislative process when their only formal power comes when bills arrive on their desks? We argue that executives are often able to get what they want by using their veto pen as a positive power and by relying upon a variety of additional carrots and sticks. We illustrate the logic of our argument by adapting Romer and Rosenthal's (1978) "setter model." We explain the intuition behind our model using case studies and interviews with politicians and advisors who have participated in inter-branch negotiations.

To test our model's predictions about the determinants of gubernatorial success we have compiled a dataset of gubernatorial proposals from 52 State of the State addresses delivered in 27 states over two recent legislative sessions. We gauge success by asking whether legislators

eventually passed what governors proposed, either in its original form or in “half-a-loaf” compromises. We supplement this data with institutional and political variables. Overall we show that governors get either most or some of what they want on over 50 percent of their legislative proposals. We also demonstrate that variation in success is often shaped by the governors’ policy preferences, veto powers, popularity, and time remaining in office.

9) 2011 Best Graduate Paper Award Winner Abstract: Heather Creek and Stephen Yoder, University of Maryland

Since 2001, state governments have been adopting cooperative immigration enforcement agreements with the federal government that authorize their law enforcement personnel to assist in detaining violators of civil federal immigration law. Employing a theoretical framework drawn from theories of policy adoption, intergovernmental relations, and immigration research, we test which state-level political, socio-demographic, geographic, and economic determinants influence states to enter into such a cooperative agreement. In addition to finding that the partisanship of a state's governor, a state's effort on public welfare, and an increase in a state's percentage of Hispanics are related to the adoption of a cooperative immigration enforcement policy, we find evidence of “steam-valve federalism” working not at the state level as Spiro (1997) first theorized, but rather at the local level. When a state's localities adopt immigration enforcement agreements with the federal government, the state itself is far less likely to adopt their own. Understanding the reasons states would adopt this type of policy sheds light on current trends in state immigration

policy and their effect on future state/federal intergovernmental relations.

10) Grant Opportunity: The American Governor

The Center on the American Governor (CAG), a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, invites applications for grants to fund research about *The American Governor: Politics, Policy, Power and Leadership*. The program is expected to attract new attention to a largely unexplored multi-disciplinary academic subject area and to promote the development and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative research on the role, responsibilities and leadership of the states’ chief executives. As many as eight awards of up to \$5,000 each will be available in 2012.

Early-career faculty and researchers (no more than 8 years post-doctorate) who are employed by degree-granting colleges/universities are eligible to apply. The awards program does not fund undergraduate or graduate study. Research teams of two or more individuals are also eligible to apply for a single grant.

Details about the program are available at: <http://governors.rutgers.edu/researchprogram.php>

For more information, please contact: Kathy Kleeman, Senior Communications Officer, Eagleton Institute of Politics, 732-932-9384 ext. 23, governors@eagleton.rutgers.edu

11) State Politics Syllabus Collection: Nelson Dometrius

As a field we are interested in promoting the understanding of politics and policy in the American states. The states have always been of central importance in the American governing system and while their role has waxed and waned they have been on a trajectory of increasing consequence over the last half century. Their study is substantively worthwhile.

We are fascinated by the diversity among the states that leads many states, after the Virginia Tech tragedy, to ban firearms from college campuses while others seek to prevent such future tragedies by re-enforcing the right of college students to carry concealed handguns in class. As scholars we rejoice that this diversity takes place within a number of structural and cultural commonalities giving us a better opportunity than almost any other field to test proposed causal connections.

In 2001 the journal *State Politics and Policy* was launched. Founding Editor Chris Mooney described its purpose as stimulate research on the states, providing a structure to develop a coherent research agenda and sustain the study of politics in the U.S. States (Mooney 2001). The journal, and the annual state politics and policy conferences begun at the same time have gone a long way toward accomplishing those goals.

In addition to the research nurtured by these two venues, our interaction with students fertilizes a crop of emerging scholars who will bring new methods, perspectives, and energy to the field. To bolster this end of our activities, I began a syllabus collection project in the Spring of 2011. Over 20 scholars contributed recent versions of their graduate and

undergraduate syllabi for state politics or policy courses. The syllabi provide a helpful foundation for new entrants into the field while also allowing all of us to share successful pedagogical practices. The syllabi also contribute to the goals Mooney laid out in 2001 including shaping the field. We each include in our syllabi what we want our students to learn about the field's best knowledge, practices, and productive avenues for future research. Sharing syllabi is equally as much a medium of professional communication as publications and conference presentations.

The syllabi project is an ongoing one. Current contributions can be found on my web site:

<http://www.webpages.ttu.edu/ndometri/>

Jonathan Winburn has also added a link to the site on the SPP Section home page. New syllabi additions at all levels are welcome and should be sent to me at nelson.dometrius@ttu.edu. Please include the syllabi level (graduate or undergraduate) and the most recent semester it was used.

Reference:

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 (Spring): 1-4.

12) Call for Proposals: Ethics and Corruption in State Government

The Paul Simon Institute at Southern Illinois University is hosting a conference on Ethic and Politics in Illinois on September 27-28 in Chicago. The focus of the conference is to explore the underlying causes of political corruption and unethical behavior and identify specific policy and legislative options for meaningful reform.

Accepted papers will receive a \$1,000 stipend.

Paper proposals of 2-3 pages or questions can be directed to:

John S. Jackson, Program Chair
Paul Simon Public Policy Institute
Southern Illinois University
Mail Code 4429, Carbondale, IL 62901
jsjacson@sui.edu
618.453.3106

Proposals must be submitted by May 31st, 2012 for consideration.

13) Reminders and Important Dates

February 22-23, 2012	12 th Annual State Politics and Policy Conference in Houston, TX
March 1, 2012	Application Deadline: The American Governor
April 12-15 2012	Midwest Political Science Conference
April 15 th , 2012	Deadline for Submitting Nominees for Section Awards
May 31, 2012	Deadline for Ethics and Corruption in State Government Proposals

Any announcements or information for future newsletters should be sent to Shannon Jenkins at sjenkins@umassd.edu.

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Subscription is free to members of the APSA Section on State Politics and Policy and is also available at: http://www.olemiss.edu/depts/political_science/state_politics/

All address corrections should be sent directly to APSA.

Shannon Jenkins, Newsletter Editor.