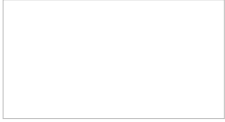
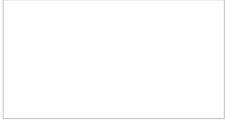
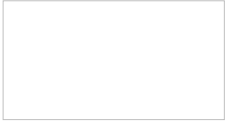


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Ronald M. Peters, Jr.

Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma

This issue of the LSS Newsletter marks my last in my capacity as Director and Curator of the Carl Albert Center. Effective July 1, 2000, Gary Copeland is the new Director and Curator of the Center. I plan to fulfill my obligation as Chair of the Political Science Department for the next two years, and then return to the happy life of a tenured full professor appointed in the Center. Among my continuing duties at the Center, though, is the general editorship of the LSS Newsletter, so on that matter the buck stops here. Let me then offer a mea culpa: this past spring we failed to get the lists of recent legislative studies conference papers and journal articles on line as we had promised. By the time you read this, the omission will have been corrected. Happily, or ominously, we received no complaints.

We intend to make some improvements in the electronic delivery, including putting a counter on

the home page to track access and activating a bulletin board where section members can post questions and comments. We are also developing a set of cost-containing options regarding the newsletter. We hope to have a preliminary discussion of this at the section meeting at APSA on September 1, perhaps leading to further deliberations. In the meantime, we'll continue with the newsletter in its present format at <http://www.apsanet.org/~lss/>. We welcome your suggestions and comments.

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- [*This War Really Matters: Inside the Fight for Defense Dollars*](#)

After the Revolution: PACs, Lobbies, and the Republican Congress. Robert Biersack, Paul S. Herrnson, Clyde Wilcox, editors. Allyn and Bacon, 1999. ISBN 0205269133, \$33.65, paper, 216 pages.

This edited volume examines thirteen of the most powerful interest lobbies in Washington, DC in the mid and late 1990s exploring how those organizations made strategic adjustments to deal with the change in congressional leadership in 1994. The editors compile a series of essays from scholars in the discipline who analyze the changes in strategy and approaches these key groups underwent with the change to Republican congressional control.

This work is critical because political activity in Washington since the advent of the lobby culture in the 1970s typically operated around a stable set of assumptions about the way lobbying worked. The editors note that the GOP takeover of Congress in 1994 shattered three assumptions in political science and in Washington: 1) incumbents would win more than 90 percent of all House races and 75 percent of all Senate races; 2) Democrats would maintain control of the House; and 3) brief periods of Republican control would interrupt a largely Democratic Senate. Given the GOP electoral landslide of 1994, political scientists found new opportunity to study how the electoral events would shape the nature of lobbying Congress.

This insightful new volume clearly contributes to our understanding of interest group activity and addresses questions regarding lobby group maintenance and strategic adjustments given a suddenly transformed legislative arena. The result is

a collection of case studies profiling how prominent interest group organizations network in Washington, DC, how they adjusted and refocused themselves after a surprising change in majority control, and how they influenced policy outcomes.

A primary conclusion of this work is that the GOP takeover of Congress did not fundamentally change the way interest groups work on Capitol Hill. Rather, certain conservative groups - including the National Federation of Independent Businesses (NFIB) and the National Rifle Association (NRA) - emerged as winners with great access to new opportunities for influence while other traditional liberal groups such as the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and the Sierra Club suddenly lost access to the policymaking process and found themselves forming new coalitions to block new GOP initiatives.

Given the continuing slim control of the House and the prospects for a fairly equally-divided chamber in the near future, the questions the editors and contributors of this volume raise are critical to political scientists and political practitioners alike.

- Craig Williams
Carl Albert Fellow
University of Oklahoma

By Invitation Only: The Rise of Exclusive Politics in the United States. Steven E. Schier. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. ISBN 0822957124, \$17.95, paper, 247 pages.

Documenting a shift that began in the early part of the twentieth century and culminated in the 1970s, Schier argues that participation in mass political behavior has become "by invitation" with many U.S. citizens sitting on the sidelines. This change has alarming consequences for democracy as the number and character of those "invited" to participate in the political process has narrowed and become more exclusive in contemporary American politics.

'Mobilization of the electorate' broadly describes all efforts at encouraging participation. Key to his analysis, however, Schier makes an important distinction between mobilization and activation. Mobilization describes the partisan efforts undertaken to encourage participation in the late nineteenth century. The political parties used mass, broad-based appeals, thus politics was more inclusive. Activation in this new era of politics refers to exclusive tactics used to prompt participation, not just by political parties, but also by candidates and interest groups. Those targeted are disproportionately better educated, have higher incomes, have more political resources than the average citizen, and are most receptive to targeting.

What prompted this change in electoral strategies? Schier attributes it to the weakening of political parties, the consequent rise of interest groups, and technological innovations that enable the tracking and targeting of individuals. He notes that activation strategies are wholly rational in today's political environment and not likely to disappear; nonetheless Schier seeks to evaluate ways to expand the targets of activation politics. He believes structural changes in the electoral arena can make politics more inclusive, most notably compulsory

voting and making registration of voters a government responsibility rather than an individual one.

- Donna R. Hoffman
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Oklahoma

Campaigns and Elections: Contemporary Case Studies. Michael A. Bailey, Ronald A. Faucheux, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox, editors. CQ Press, 2000. ISBN 1568024959, \$22.95, paper, 212 pages.

The focus of election studies is who wins and why. The editors of *Campaigns and Elections* have compiled a series of national, state and local campaign case studies to explore the complex nature of American political elections. Although elections in the United States demonstrate stable and predictable trends due to partisan voting and incumbency advantage, the editors argue that issues still matter, sometimes upsetting predicted electoral outcomes. First, the authors analyze five Senate races, including races determined by popularity, campaign spending and interest group support, ideological fit, a clear campaign message, and a powerful image. Second, the book targets House races. While incumbents typically have a powerful advantage in national elections to the U. S. House of Representatives, the authors illustrate through a series of cases the importance of the mobilization of new constituencies, independent challengers, demographic change, redistricting, and party leadership and organization to the outcome of elections at this level.

The editors then extend their analysis to several state and local elections to further emphasize the importance of issues to campaign outcomes. The cases in this section suggest the importance of mobilization of constituent bases during the primary season, the centrality of local issues, and the effect of open primaries on challenger recruitment. The authors also explore the success that independents, such as Jesse Ventura in Minnesota, have enjoyed in gubernatorial elections.

Finally, the authors look at the role of referenda in campaigns and elections. This section includes such movements as support for the NRA in Washington, local pressure for a new football stadium in San Francisco, opposition to gay rights legislation in Oregon, and opposition to progressive state income tax initiatives in Massachusetts. In conclusion, the project is a nice qualitative contribution to the literature and would serve well as an addition to any undergraduate or graduate course on campaigns and elections in American politics.

- Jocelyn Jones
Carl Albert Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Checks and Balances? How a Parliamentary System Could Change American Politics. Paul Christopher Manuel and Anne Marie Cammisa. Westview Press, 1999. ISBN 0813330270, \$15.00, paper, 226 pages.

Checks and Balances? is a laudable attempt to use cross-case comparisons to look at the fundamentals of the U.S. political system. Despite its title, however, it is not a sustained advocacy of a parliamentary system for the United States. Rather, the authors' stated goal is to challenge readers to understand how institutional/rule

changes lead to differing policy and political outcomes. The book examines the classic tradeoff between majority rule and minority rights.

For teaching purposes, the most valuable chapter of the book may well be the first. It not only lays out the research question (is American government still useful?), but also punctures six common "misperceptions" that equate American government with democracy in general. The authors offer an enlightening discussion of different governing arrangements in other leading democracies, including variations on proportional representation.

Checks and Balances? revolves around two loci: a thorough comparison of executive-legislative functions in the American and British systems, and secondly, an exegesis of the Republicans' 1994 "Contract with America." The discussion of the contract illustrates the central claim of the book—that institutions matter and the contract would have had a very different fate under a parliamentary system. Even so, the authors are careful to note shortcomings of parliamentary systems, and, in fact, readers will gain a new appreciation for some aspects of the American system from a comparative perspective.

The authors offer three major reform ideas which would push the U.S. closer to a parliamentary system, viz., fusing executive-legislative functions, increasing party strength, and finally, eliminating fixed terms of office. These are thought-provoking proposals, even if such changes are unlikely. The book is written in accessible style and is especially suitable for sophomore or junior-level courses on American political process, the president and Congress, legislative process, and comparative politics.

- John Van Doorn
Ph.D. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

Congress and the Decline of Public Trust: Why Can't the Government Do What's Right. Joseph Cooper, editor. Westview Press, 1999. ISBN: 081336838-3, \$25.00, paper, 256 pages.

Echoing the concerns of former U.S. Senator Bill Bradley who provides the foreword for this edited volume, Cooper and his contributors argue that there is a serious crisis in America today with regard to democracy, and that crisis can be largely attributed to the lack of trust citizens have in their government and especially the Congress. The decline in public trust in government transcends the governmental spectrum, but is mainly concentrated around the institutions of Congress and the presidency, both having come to be seen as enemies of the people.

Cooper and his contributors argue that this decline in trust may be attributable to the elusive and enigmatic organizational structures and procedures of Congress, alongside the institution's high level of partisanship and openness to public scrutiny. David Shribman argues that external forces related to but not derivative of Congress may also be responsible, such as special interests and the public perception that government does not care about "people like me." This is a salient issue regardless of the diminished role of government in recent years because "people still expect government to provide relief for the pain of their lives" (28).

John Hibbing provides a different spin on the issue of public trust, arguing that perhaps the real problem may be traced back to a shortcoming of the American people, not in the institution of Congress itself. Citizens do not truly understand the functions inherent in the design of democratic process, including its necessarily slow and deliberative nature and the need for coalition building.

Taking this argument one step further, Charles Bullock and Mary Hepburn argue that civic education should inculcate our abilities to be critical and skeptical of government, but only when accompanied by true understanding of the governmental and policy process. There is a discord now between citizens' overly critical and narrow perspective of government and their dearth of knowledge regarding the way democratic government is supposed to function.

This collection provides an in-depth examination of one of the most distressing issues facing American democracy today.

- Lynsey Morris
Carl Albert Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Done Deal? The Politics of the 1997 Budget Agreement. Daniel J. Palazzolo. Chatham House Publishers, 1999. ISBN 1889119202, \$24.95, paper, 256 pages.

The Guide to the Federal Budget: Fiscal 2000. Stanley E. Collender. The Century Foundation Press, 1999. ISBN 087078434X, \$22.95, paper, 224 pages.

These two new book provide readers with useful insights into the process and politics of federal budget-making.

Done Deal? The Politics of the 1997 Budget Agreement explores the 1997 budget agreement in an effort to understand how a Democratic president and a Republican-controlled Congress can reach an agreement to balance the budget in spite of divided government and partisanship. Palazzolo not only provides the reader with a detailed account of the months of debate and compromise that led up to the 1997 agreement, but he places this detailed account in theoretical terms. Palazzolo refutes scholars who argue that the deficit problem cannot be solved because of "inevitable gridlock" due to partisanship and interest group pressures. Using a "realist expectations model," Palazzolo identifies the constraints to policy reform and the ability of the key budget actors to adapt to these constraints as well as respond to the changing political and economic environment to produce significant policy reform. Participant observation, interviews, and document review provide evidence that with a political environment ripe for cooperation, a soaring economy, and key budget actors willing to compromise, a bipartisan deficit reduction agreement can occur in an era of divided government. This book is a must read for any student of politics, particularly those with an interest in budgeting or divided government.

In *The Guide to the Federal Budget: Fiscal 2000*, Stanley Collender, a former staffer for both the House and Senate Budget Committees, provides a comprehensive account of the federal budget process beginning with key definitions and a review of the most recent changes to the budget process: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990. The author reviews the major tenets of these laws including the changes in responsibilities and powers of the key actors in the federal budget process.

Further, the budget process is explained in terms of the activities, deadlines, and key actors involved at each stage. One of the most useful parts of the book entitled, "How to read and use the federal budget," walks the reader through the tables and schedules of the executive budget produced by the Office of Management and Budget. This book is an easy to understand guide to the federal budget and is well suited for students of public budgeting as well as budget novices seeking information on federal revenues and expenditures.

- Kim Hoffman
Ph.D. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

The Dysfunctional Congress? The Individual Roots of an Institutional Dilemma. Kenneth R. Mayer and David T. Canon. Westview Press, 1999. ISBN 0813326990, \$15.95, paper, 192 pages.

Mayer and Canon present a well-organized, classroom-compatible book which examines the policy implications of the institutional structure of Congress. Their underlying argument is that the unfavorable public opinion of Congress is a by-product of its constitutional structure. They explain the inherent tensions between delegate and trustee in terms of each member of Congress' dual responsibilities to represent their district and to legislate for the benefit of the nation. They argue that the American constitutional structure is such that the tension between representation and responsible legislation can not be completely reconciled. In their conclusion, Mayer and Canon present proposals for institutional reform which would alleviate this tension.

The authors examine the public disillusionment with Congress in lieu of the public's generally positive attitude toward individual members. Using a modified rational choice analysis, Mayer and Canon explain how individual member behavior aggravates this public discontent. In addition, they employ a historical approach to demonstrate that an institutional base for this tension has existed since the founding of the republic and recent institutional changes have served, in conjunction with rational action by members, to aggravate the disjunction created by the constitution. While tracing previous attempts at reform, Mayer and Canon also present their own reform agenda.

Mayer and Canon have presented an excellent guide (complete with a glossary, study questions, and an index) for understanding the institutional tension between representation and legislation in the U.S. Congress. With a very accessible structure and a good overview of congressional literature, the book would serve well as a supplementary text for students of Congress.

- Melody Huckaby
Carl Albert Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. Mark M. Lowenthal. CQ Press, 1999. ISBN 1568025122, \$28.95, paper, 264 pages.

Lowenthal is a recognized authority on the U.S. intelligence community with more than 23 years of experience as an intelligence official in both the executive and legislative branches of government. Drawing upon his personal experience

and extensive research, he strives to provide a better understanding of the roles and challenges of intelligence in the formulation of US national security policy.

The book focuses on the intelligence process and the relationship between intelligence and policy making. Lowenthal concentrates on the role of the policy maker in each phase of the intelligence process: requirements, collection, processing and exploitation, analysis and production, dissemination and consumption, and feedback. Moreover, each step is discussed thoroughly in terms of its functions, advantages, and challenges.

Other areas examined throughout the book include covert action, counterintelligence, oversight, and ethical and moral issues. Attention is given to the changing intelligence agenda in the post-Cold War era and the challenges resulting from unclear intelligence priorities. Included within each chapter is a list of other recommended readings that would further broaden the readers' understanding of intelligence, and an extensive appendix contains important intelligence documents. Undoubtedly, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* promises to be a great introductory text in any undergraduate or graduate class on intelligence.

- Angela Rogers
Ph.D. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

Parliamentary Representation: The Case of the Norwegian Storting. Donald R. Matthews and Henry Valen. Ohio State University Press, 1999. ISBN 0814250025, \$23.95, paper, 224 pages.

Donald Matthews and Henry Valen add to the literature on representative government by analyzing the means and extent to which Norway's parliament, the Storting, represents the Norwegian people. They argue that current models of representative government, most of which assume American circumstances, do not adequately explain representation, especially in multi-party, consensus democracies, such as Norway.

They briefly review the nature of the hybrid Storting, in which all 165 members are elected at the same time from party lists in proportional representation districts and allocated between the larger Odelsting and smaller Lagting legislative chambers by party caucuses. Because only dues-paying party members are allowed to choose candidates at these caucuses, only five percent of Norway's population - the politically active "selectorate" - actually participates in the nominating process. The Storting's powerful standing committees perform most of the legislature's work in closed meetings, where compromises across party lines are commonplace.

The authors question the representativeness of Storting members, given the low level of voter participation in the nominating process, as well as the representativeness of standing committee members, compared to the legislature as a whole. Surveys of Storting members, party nominating committee members, and voters indicate that on policy issues, Storting majorities agree with a majority of the voters on most public policy issues. Surprisingly, the mostly wealthy, well-educated male members of the legislature appear to successfully represent the Norwegian people on a symbolic level, as well. More than half of the legislative

members also maintained high levels of constituency service representation, dedicating more than ten days a month to their home districts. Finally, differences between standing committee members and the legislature as a whole appeared to be insignificant.

The authors' straightforward methodology and refreshingly simple statistical analyses make this a highly readable and thoughtful single country study. Although the authors do not present their own model of representation, they clearly demonstrate the need to develop more complex models that can be applied to non-American cases.

- Marlee Pilkey
M.A. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

Representing Women: Sex, Gender, and Legislative Behavior in Arizona and California. Beth Reingold. University of North Carolina Press, 2000. ISBN 0807848506, \$19.95, paper, 338 pages.

Playing off the double entendre in the title of her book, Beth Reingold examines the representative nature, action, and effectiveness of women legislators. "Are women in public office simply women who represent, or are they also women who represent women? And what about the men in public office - do they represent women? Do they represent women to the same extent their female counterparts do" (2)? Reingold researches legislative records, conducts extensive personal interviews, and issues surveys to male and female legislators of California and Arizona in order to deconstruct popular views of female/male representation.

By defining, dissecting, and, finally, dismissing the "strategy of difference" (what legislators attribute to legitimize women's positions in legislation) in chapter 1, Reingold shows that there are no significant differences between the representing behavior of men and women legislators (243). In fact there are more similarities than differences.

Utilizing Pitkin's (1967) framework, Reingold further reveals that in "neither [the California nor Arizona] legislature was being female (descriptive representation) a guarantee of attitudes and activities associated with women (substantive representation)" (30, 243). Men and women have an equal opportunity to effectively represent women. Reingold's concludes that "descriptive representation was, as a criterion for substantive representation, neither absolutely necessary nor always sufficient" (243). These findings indicate two things: 1) men are able to fairly and successfully represent women, regardless of the lack of personal or bodily connection (i.e. abortion); and 2) women representatives do not always make a difference for women. Reingold is quick to say that it does make a difference that women hold public office, even if the importance only lies in increasing the numbers.

Beth Reingold's research and findings challenge the foundations of gender politics and expectations in America.

- Leah C. Pennington
Carl Albert Undergraduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Rostenkowski: The Pursuit of Power and the End of the Old Politics. Richard E. Cohen. Ivan R. Dee, 1999. ISBN 1566632544, \$27.50, cloth, 311 pages.

In this biographical account of the life of Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, Richard Cohen provides an in depth look into the political career of one of the most influential legislators of the twentieth century. Cohen details every aspect of Rostenkowski's life, from his political lineage and upbringing to the public scandal that ended his lengthy congressional career.

In his examination of the political life of Rostenkowski, Cohen paints the picture of a man who was able to thrive politically over five tumultuous decades. In essence, Rostenkowski was a throw back to the old type of politics. He was a product of Chicago machine politics loyal to Richard Daley throughout his career. Unlike many of the new members of the Democratic party, Rostenkowski was foremost a politician who used his ability to bargain in order to gain power. Although he suffered defeat at the hands of liberal reformers in the House, Rostenkowski was able to rebound and wield an enormous amount of power as chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. However, Rostenkowski's political career will always be marked by the public scandal that forced him from office. Accused of payroll padding and the misuse of thousands of dollars in official funds, Rostenkowski pled guilty on two counts and served several months in prison.

Through his review of Rostenkowski's political career, Cohen simultaneously traces the changes within American politics over the past five decades. During Rostenkowski's lengthy tenure, the makeup of the Democratic party within the House of Representatives changed from machine party loyalists to liberal reformers, while the institution itself underwent dramatic restructuring. By situating Rostenkowski's political career within this context, Cohen provides an excellent historical account of the House of Representatives and the personalities operating within it. Because of this dual purpose, *Rostenkowski: The Pursuit of Power and the End of Old Politics* would be beneficial to any student of American politics.

- Carrie M. Palmer
Ph.D. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

Sharing the Balance of Power: An Examination of Shared Power in the Michigan House of Representatives 1993-1994. Daniel Loepp. University of Michigan Press, 1999. ISBN 0472097024, \$34.50, cloth, 197 pages.

Daniel Loepp chronicles Michigan's Eighty-seventh Legislature (1993-1994), a unique period when Democrats and Republicans successfully shared power. This brief historical account provides a refreshingly positive view of how legislators can temporarily suspend partisan bickering in favor of bipartisan consensus. More specifically, this account shows how two men from different parties - Paul Hillegonds and Curtis Hertel - unselfishly shared power and influenced the nature of legislative actions.

Daniel Loepp, former chief of staff to the Democratic co-Speaker Curtis Hertel, fuses interviews with his own experiences in order to provide a behind-the-scenes glimpse of the rise, challenges, and demise of the shared power agreement that structured the state legislature for two years. He records how Hillegonds and

Hertel negotiated, bargained, and compromised their way to a shared power agreement in order to avoid complete deadlock. The apex of this agreement was a rotating co-speakership of the state house and its respective committees. Loepp notes how the shared power agreement survived membership turnover, policy conflict, and the House Fiscal Agency scandal. In the midst of these challenges, Hillegonds and Hertel worked surreptitiously within the framework of the shared power agreement to preserve the spirit of the agreement. The result, according to Loepp, was unprecedented partisan harmony and policy success for members of both parties. Loepp annotates the book with stories about and quotes from members of the Eighty-seventh Legislature regarding the strengths of and their experience with the shared power agreement.

In a period where most of the public is cynical about legislators and the legislative process, Loepp provides readers with a positive account of individuals setting aside intense partisan differences in favor of genuine bipartisan cooperation. Thus, this historical case study is valuable because it offers a positive glimpse of governance. For students of legislative politics, this book is an excellent case study of how personalities can dominate a legislative session and how legislatures respond to unique conditions.

- Josh Stockley
Ph.D. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

This War Really Matters: Inside the Fight for Defense Dollars. George C. Wilson. CQ Press, 1999. ISBN 1568024066, \$19.95, paper, 256 pages.

George C. Wilson draws upon 38 years of experience as a respected defense reporter in his narrative of the battle for defense dollars. Anecdotes and interviews with military and political leaders add interest to this highly readable descriptive analysis of defense politics.

The author focuses on debates during the 105th Congress to highlight difficulties involved in post-Cold War defense budgeting. The book includes probing accounts of the quadrennial defense review process, base closure decision making, the larger guns vs. butter debate, and specific arguments made by the secretary of defense, chiefs of staff, and political leaders on each of these issues. Along the way, Wilson deciphers the "Pentagonese" of civilian-military conflict, inter-service rivalry, and pork-barrel politics.

Wilson concludes that the defense budgeting process is "seriously, but not fatally flawed." He is critical of the Clinton administration's initial handling of military issues after the Cold War and cites the president's unwillingness to "take on military leaders" because of his own lack of military service. He suggests the need to abandon the current policy process and initiate substantial defense reform under the leadership of a president "with Eisenhower's military credibility and Carter's political guts." According to Wilson, such a leader would be able to win over the political might of the defense industry, armed services, and lawmakers to implement real reform.

With many examples of bureaucratic turf wars, this book should be of interest to scholars of American politics in general as well as to those concerned primarily with defense matters. The author's brief description of a "political version of guerrilla warfare" captivates the reader without needlessly overemphasizing

statistics or technical details of weapon systems. While this book addresses the popular topic of defense politics, it is a welcome departure from more common and less exciting "iron triangle" analyses of the subject matter.

- Marlee Pilkey
M.A. student in political science
University of Oklahoma

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New books related to legislative studies are generally acquired directly from the publisher for inclusion in Book Notes. In addition, any author who wishes to have a new book featured in Book Notes may send the request with a copy of the book to: Book Review Editor, *LSS Newsletter*, Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma, 630 Parrington Oval, Norman, OK 73019.

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This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about journal articles dealing with legislatures. Numerous journals were searched in compiling this list. The major sources for this information are *Current Contents*, *ABC POLI SCI*, and *P.A.I.S.*

ACTA POLITICA

"Representation and Responsibility: The 1998 Dutch Election in Perspective," K. Aarts and H. Semetko, 34(2-3) (2000): 111-129

"Parties and Politicians in the Parliamentary Elections of 1998," G. Irwin and J. van Holsteyn, 34(2-3) (2000): 130-157

"The Role of Policy Preferences in the Dutch National Elections of 1998," P. van Wijnen, 34(2-3) (2000): 200-235

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

"Structures for Policy Implementation: An Analysis of National Legislation, 1965-1966 and 1993-1994," T. Hall and L. O'Toole, Jr., 31(6) (2000): 667-686.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Deliberative Democracy Headed for the 'Dark Side?'

This renowned political observer believes there are perils ahead for Congress -- increasing partisanship, ideological polarization and weak leadership. Add cyberdemocracy to the mix and prepare for a direct challenge to representative government.

By Norman Ornstein

1999 has not been a very good year for Congress. The 106th House was sworn in on Jan. 3 with a new and accidental speaker, the smallest party majority since 1954, a majority party reeling from an election in which it defied history and lost seats, and a higher level of partisan tension than at any time in modern memory. The 106th Senate started with an acrimonious impeachment trial. The policy process hit the ground stumbling, and largely drifted through the first 10 months, before members enacted their first major piece of legislation, banking reform.

Despite the firm pledges of congressional leaders that they would make sure the 13 appropriations bills were enacted on time, no major spending bill was close to enactment when the new fiscal year began on Oct. 1, and the budget negotiations dragged on until nearly Thanksgiving. The top policy priority of the Republican Congress, a \$792 billion tax cut, was abandoned entirely. The leaders of the majority in both houses had extraordinary difficulty maintaining enough party unity to enact legislation or dominate the agenda on their own and were unwilling or unable to attract enough Democrats to create frequent bipartisan coalitions. In the Senate, even when Republicans stuck together, the 60-vote threshold required by the filibuster often stymied Majority Leader Trent Lott. In mid-November, surveys showed barely 40 percent of Americans approving of the conduct of Congress, not exactly a ringing affirmation.

But Congress has been through far worse news than this. A decade ago in the late 1980s, the era of pay raises and the House bank, approval ratings in the 20s were the norm. If this Congress does not have a long laundry list of major policy accomplishments, it has not collapsed into gridlock. After embarrassing delays and reversals, and an astonishing display of statistical chicanery and budgetary legerdemain, Congress still managed to work with the White House and emerge with a budget that will build down the national debt. This Congress continues the actions of the last several, which, together with the president, turned deficits as far as the eye can see into budget surpluses as far as the eye can see.

Much of the credit for the budget turnaround goes to the overall economy. But much of the credit for the remarkable economy goes to Congress and the president-partly because they did not muck around so much in the private sector and let the natural strengths of the American

market economy react and adjust to globalization and the information revolution.

If things are indeed better than they look on the surface, they are not exactly hunky-dory. There are big problems in Congress manifested in this past year, some of them endemic. Are these problems, or is Congress's bottom line performance unusual or unique? What do they tell us about Congress in the years to come or, put another way, about Congress in the new millennium? A congress, of course, is a two-year phenomenon, and it is not always or often adequate to judge one on the basis of its first year alone. But the last Congress of this millennium and the first of the next millennium left for the holidays with its work cut out for it in its final year.

Some of the difficulties the 106th Congress had were the product of larger dynamics. Democrats had kept majorities in the House of Representatives for 40 consecutive years from 1954 to 1994. When the Republicans captured the institution, not one Republican elected as such had ever been in the majority before; only one Democrat (Sidney Yates of Illinois) had ever been in the minority. The flip-flop in roles was difficult for both sides. Republicans had had four decades of frustration; Democrats, four decades of complacency. Frustration bred shrillness and irresponsibility; complacency bred arrogance and insensitivity. Partisan tensions were very high when the Republicans took over. The commitment to bipartisanship expressed in his inaugural speech by incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich did not last long on either side.

Five years later, Republicans are still uneasy in the majority. Democrats learned quickly how to stymie the majority, but also developed even more quickly a smoldering resentment of the majority Republicans. One result has been an increase in partisan hostility and tension.

Another significant change has been in the nature of the membership of Congress. More than 67 percent of the members of the 106th Congress are new since the 1990s began. In attitude if not age, most of the newer members are Generation Xers—self-absorbed and individualistic, not identifying with the larger institution or naturally responsive to any institutional leadership. A lack of followers has combined with changes in leadership ranks to create a generation of weak leaders. At the same time, Congress has seen substantial ideological change, going from an institution with a plurality or majority of its members somewhere near the middle of the spectrum to one where most members have gravitated toward either end—from a normal distribution in statistical terms to a bipolar one. The typical post-World War II Congress had some considerable ideological overlap among the partisans; now there is very little.

The 2000 election may result in a change in party majorities, but it will not alter many of these broad dynamics. Congress in the new millennium, at least for the first several years of it, is likely to see continuing partisan tension exacerbated by close party majorities and a sense in most election cycles that the House, at least, is in play (and often the Senate, as well). It will have continuing ideological polarization, at senior as well as junior levels, making the stakes of a shift in party majorities that much greater. It will have a preponderance of members who are less concerned with institution-building and more concerned with their individual roles and standing. Leaders will tend to come from the ideological wings of their parties and have difficulty building majority coalitions. Much of this will sound familiar to students of state legislatures.

A few caveats: Strong presidential leadership can overcome many congressional institutional impediments. Crisis, economic or international, can concentrate the minds of lawmakers quickly, transcending ideology and partisanship when voters demand action. An unanticipated blockbuster election could change some of these dynamics. And finally, weak leaders, lots of partisanship, difficulty building coalitions, a constipated legislative process—all are characteristic of Congress through much of its history; a smoothly running institution regularly cranking out major legislation via bipartisan agreement is rare indeed.

An Obsolete System?

But other, external characteristics of our political system create a different environment for Congress in the new millennium, much as they create a new set of challenges for all our political institutions, including state legislatures.

For at least the last 50 years, and probably for the last 100, America has had an ongoing debate about whether our governing institutions, created in a slow-paced agrarian era to discourage major and swift policy action, are adequate to the task of governing in modern, fast-paced industrial times. The Framers designed a deliberative democracy, with deliberation having multiple meanings-policy making through vigorous give-and-take debate and policy making done slowly with all deliberate speed.

The atomic age raised the prospect of a nuclear war that would be started and finished in a matter of minutes. It underscored the dilemma of a system designed to take time to make important decisions and led to a concentration of power in the hands of the president. The remote control age, reducing attention spans and demanding continuous movement and action and immediate gratification, made old-fashioned congressional deliberations seem anachronistic.

The Framers also designed a system that worked through elected representatives-a republican form of democracy as distinct from a direct form of democracy, and one that put substantial power in the hands of a national legislature and its representatives rather than the people directly. From the beginning, that focus also created a tension, some of which was played out in the debates between Federalists and anti-Federalists. Those debates continue in varied form today, as the anti-Federalist sentiments are carried forward by latter-day populists on the left, center and right of the political spectrum.

Now Comes the Net

Now comes the medium of the new millennium-the Internet. In the past five years, the Internet has begun to transform much of society, from commerce to communications. It is a remarkable phenomenon, paralleled only by the emergence of the telegraph in the 19th century. As it changes all communications, it will change all institutions. Political institutions are now beginning to adapt to the new communications age, creating their own Internet sites and learning how to use the Net both for their duties and their politics.

The Net has the potential to bring about a golden age of representation, making it far easier for constituents to keep tabs on what their representatives are doing and to communicate with them interactively. But it also poses a direct challenge to deliberative democracy and Congress as the Framers designed them and as we know them.

Among other things, the advent of the Internet has thrilled and excited a core of populist and direct democracy advocates, who have become the leading proponents of "cyberdemocracy." The Net, they say, is the key to freeing citizens from the bonds of so-called representative democracy, to make the old model of town hall democracy work across 3,000 miles and 270 million people. It can take the existing initiative and referendum process, now allowed in half the states, and make it universal to enable citizens to make decisions now made by their legislatures and legislators. It can take the nascent movement toward voting by mail, which made its first state-wide appearance in Oregon's Senate election in 1995, and eliminate the stamps and delays, letting people vote from their dens with one keystroke.

This theme first resonated with the general public in 1992, when H. Ross Perot pledged during his presidential campaign that if elected president he would use "electronic town meetings" as a central forum to guide national policy decisions. Perot did not spell out what he meant by

electronic town meetings-he seemed to suggest it would involve call-in television, after which he would make the decisions-and he did not get elected to implement his plan. But the idea of using technology to enhance democracy-to implement cyberdemocracy-gathered credence and momentum, especially as the technology advanced.

Virtually all members of Congress now have individual Web pages; so do all significant presidential candidates, all think tanks, most daily newspapers and weekly magazines, nearly all federal agencies, the White House, the Congress (its THOMAS Web page was an innovator in providing government information on demand) and most states, counties, cities, state agencies and other governmental units. Some of the governmental units are emulating Colorado Springs' Citylink, which allows citizens to communicate with city managers and city council members. Other sites put on on-line debates with candidates for office. The Democracy Network, started in California and expanding to other states, conducts debates, dialogues with candidates and other election-related news in an interactive format. The new Freedom Channel has uncensored communications from a wide range of candidates and interest groups.

Former network official Lawrence Grossman has looked at these developments and imagined Congress becoming merely a discussion chamber that waits for public instructions before making any decisions. Futurist Christine Slaton has suggested that we can scrap the concept of elected legislators, moving to a technology-driven participatory democracy where lawmakers are chosen by lot and rotated regularly. Heidi and Alvin Toffler, extrapolating from their "Third Wave," predict that today's political parties will disappear and that we will develop a new representative model. They suggest it may be one in which Americans choose representatives by lot, or at least go halfway, dividing representation into half regularly elected officials, with the other half coming from a random sample of the public.

Almost all of these scenarios envision frequent national referendums over the Net, along with elections shifting from polling stations to home computer terminals or digital TVs with Web connections. People will shed the inconvenience of leaving their homes, waiting in lines, speaking to others, much less having policy choices made by a small group of Washington-based political elites.

To legislators, political professionals or others immersed in the legislative process, this speculation may seem ridiculous, just the usual pie-in-the-sky bloviating that accompanies any innovation. But the idea of direct democracy has widespread appeal, and is reinforced by a regular message coming from Washington that Congress is just a circus, a group of clowns posturing among themselves with no larger interest in serving the country as a whole. There is a serious lobbying effort in the wings to promote voting on the Internet, and the seductive siren song of regular, instantaneous national referendums is not far away.

Creating a 'Digital Divide'

This scenario may not take root, but it is a real possibility for Congress in the new millennium. And it would be a disaster. First, it would not create more democracy. Indeed, it would likely exacerbate inequality. Starting with C-SPAN and punctuated by the World Wide Web, the explosion of public affairs information has created a two-tiered system. It has provided more access to more information and political activity than anyone has had in the history of the world to a sliver of the populace, junkies like me. But most others have been largely oblivious to the information cyberrevolution.

This Digital Divide is certainly related to education, gender, race and income; surveys show gaps in regular Internet use between college graduates and high school graduates, men and women, whites and Latinos and blacks, and those with incomes of \$50,000 and more and

those at \$20,000 or less. Although these gaps will undoubtedly narrow, a skew toward the well-to-do and highly educated, and probably toward the more ideologically driven, is inevitable.

To be sure, the president's initiative to wire the nation's schools and classrooms could eventually make the technology available to everybody (although not necessarily in their homes.) But there is reason to believe that even if there were universal service, there would not be universal interest. Lloyd Morrisett, the retired president of the Markle Foundation, studied California's experience with referendums and projected his findings to the era of cyber-democracy. Morrisett found that as the California ballot became overloaded with complex and lengthy initiatives, it discouraged people from going to the polls rather than motivating them to offer their judgment. He suggested that voting on the Net would fall into the same pattern, replicating what has happened with voting at the polls.

Even if we could be assured that all would participate, there is a greater danger in the expansion of cyberdemocracy-its challenge to deliberation. The idea of the Framers was not to have government decisions reflect public opinion, but to produce a public judgment, reached after extensive discussion, disagreement and debate that would enlarge upon and refine public views. Reaching a judgment requires time and effort. The slow and deliberate process of debate and give-and-take, done face to face by representatives from different areas and disparate constituencies, allows all perspectives and interests to be weighed. The process of persuasion and building laborious coalitions, the Framers thought, would result in decisions more just and more likely to stand the tests of time and legitimacy with citizens.

No Deliberation in a Cyberdemocracy

Deliberation and cyberdemocracy are not easily compatible. Consider the difference between laws passed by referendums and laws passed in legislatures. Legislative deliberation does not always work as intended, but the process encourages informed debate among informed and semi-informed individuals with different partisan, regional and philosophical differences, who go through a gauntlet of subcommittee and committee hearings, bill markups, and floor debate, with amendments usually allowed and occurring at all levels, in each of two houses of Congress. Few if any bills emerge at the end as they were drafted at the beginning or emerge in identical form from the House and the Senate.

There is debate in some state referendum campaigns, but usually through major media campaigns arranged by proponents and opponents. The debate, such as it is, involves two sides, pro and con, and is usually played out via 30-second commercials in black-and-white terms. There is no face-to-face debate, much less the perspectives of dozens or hundreds of interests reflected in representatives from various constituencies. There is no amendment process-just a final up-or-down vote. In California, the initiatives to be voted on can run to hundreds of pages for voters to digest before they cast their "thumbs up" or "thumbs down" votes. Few if any voters spend much time studying the issues, much less actually reading the provisions and language of the referendums. The process would only deteriorate and the deliberative quality decline if the referendums were moved to the electronic venue and expanded dramatically in number.

Of course, there is the related question of who writes the referendums or gets them on the ballot for consideration. The process is anything but a democratic one; small groups of elites, often ideological ones, dominate the process of getting initiatives on the ballot, relying on a new breed of high-paid political consultants specializing in initiatives, including how best to frame a complex issue into a simple yes or no vote. In reality, most referendums become more a high-priced clash among special interests and less a reflection of any real form of democracy.

The Internet Age is like The Force in Star Wars. It has remarkable potential for good, enhancing the links between citizens and their representatives, enhancing the responsiveness of the legislative institutions, enhancing the information available to all about policy decisions. But there is a Dark Side, represented by a combustible combination of cynical distrust of institutions, populist glorification of "pure" democracy and the accelerating advance of information technology.

Consider what Newt Gingrich, who rode a wave of voter cynicism and populism to the speakership of the House of Representatives in 1994, said to one of his college classes:

"Direct democracy says, OK, how do we feel this week? We all raise our hand. Let's rush off and do it. The concept of republican representation, which is very clear in the Founding Fathers, is you hire somebody who you send to a central place. . . . they, by definition, learn things you don't learn, because you don't want to-you want to live your life. They are supposed to use their judgment to represent you. . . . [The Founders] feared the passion of the moment."

Starting with what remains of the 106th Congress, we need a major attempt to rebuild institutional credibility by defusing corrosive partisan tension, recreating a vital center and showing that the legislature still has the capacity to focus on what matters for Americans in the 21st century. Otherwise, brace yourselves for the Dark Side.

Norman Ornstein is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, D.C.

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Eavesdropping on Public Policy

*What's going on in America's first branch of government?
Thanks to state legislators embracing the Internet, it doesn't take long to find out.*

By Gene Rose

On March 8, state legislators across the country debated and passed legislation on gun control, HMOs, college savings accounts, school violence, state budgets, charter schools and the Green Bay Packers.

I didn't have to wait until the following day to read it in the official records or through newspaper accounts. I know because I was there. And I didn't have to leave my desk.

While the national media focused on the presidential race following the Super Tuesday primary, I set my attention on public policy debates that were taking place in more than 20 state legislative chambers or hearing rooms. With nothing more than a list of links and a sound system on my computer, I spent most of the day eavesdropping on legislators from Maryland to California.

When I wrote an article on legislatures broadcasting their proceedings on the Internet two years ago, only seven states were providing full access to their proceedings. This year, 22 states allow anyone with access to a computer and sound card to listen in live. Several also provide a video signal, and more and more states are extending their offerings to committee hearings.

States continue to show great innovations in broadcasting their proceedings. The South Carolina Senate provides closed captioning for its feeds. Nebraska produces a daily video clip of the day's activities, and more states keep archival records online. States with video broadcasting are beginning to use graphics to identify speakers.

Listening to the legislature is further enhanced since states also offer unprecedented online access to bills, schedules, member information and even online activities for students.

I was not able to visit every state that had Internet access. Among those not included because legislatures were not in session or simply bad timing on my part are: the California Assembly, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan House, Minnesota House, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas Senate and Wisconsin Senate.

Here are some highlights of my national state legislative tour on March 8.

Maryland Senate, 9:15 a.m. (Audio)

www.mlis.state.md.us/asp/listen.asp

With the cost of gas rising steadily and a federal report released the day before saying fuel could hit \$1.80 a gallon by summer, Maryland senators consider final action on a gasoline price control bill. The legislation, SB 597, prohibits gas stations from selling below cost except for specific instances. I found out on the Web site later that the bill eventually is approved and goes to the House on a 26-19 vote.

Maryland House, 9:26 a.m. (Audio)

www.mlis.state.md.us/asp/listen.asp

In 1997, Maryland was hit with an outbreak of Pfiesteria, a toxic algae linked to fish kills. It has been suggested but, according to a Maryland Department of Natural Resources Web site, not proved that runoff from agricultural operations was a contributing factor. House members debate an amendment to HB 327 designed to get more farmers to participate in a state program to clean up state waters. House members approve the amendment 92-26.

Georgia Senate, 9:36 a.m. (Video)

www.ganet.org/services/leg/audio/nolive.html

With a bigger and clearer screen than most corporate Web sites with video streaming, video from the Georgia Senate looks very impressive on my computer monitor. The subject of debate, again, is timely. Senators are discussing minors and guns within a few days after a classmate killed a 6-year-old in Michigan. SB 466 changes the penalties for furnishing a pistol or revolver to a person under the age of 18 years. The Senate approves the bill and sends it to the House.

Georgia House, 9:44 a.m. (Video)

www.ganet.org/services/leg/audio/nolive2.html

With the same impressive video quality as its Senate counterpart, House members debate a measure to allow citizens to set up education accounts up to \$5,000. The bill, the sponsor says, is needed because of limitations of the Hope scholarship. HB 1189 is approved and sent to the Senate for consideration. The subject will come up later in another state.

Texas House committee, 10:03 a.m. (audio)

www.house.state.tx.us/audio/audvid.htm

The Texas House State, Federal and International Relations Committee is considering issues affecting veterans. The committee is told that 55 percent of the state's veterans served in conflicts after World War II, and the witness suggests it is perhaps the only state to have the majority of its veterans of its veterans in that category. The state needs to be "very concerned and aware" when troops come back from Bosnia, he says. The Web site tells me that the committee is slated later to hear testimony from a National Guard member.

Missouri Senate, 10:10 a.m. (audio)

www.senate.state.mo.us/debate.htm

Charter schools are the focus of debate for Missouri senators this morning, as they consider amendments to SB 729. Senators take language out of the bill that would have required that information from background checks for a charter school's board members be included in the school's annual report. Later in the day, the bill is tabled for further discussion.

Missouri House, 10:19 a.m. (audio)

www.house.state.mo.us/debate.htm

The House considers discrepancies in state teacher retirement for those who have worked more than 25 years. The sponsor of HB 1644 equalizes the retirement system for each year worked past the 25th year. The measure passes 152-0.

Kansas House, 10:26 a.m. (audio)

www.state.ks.us/public/legislative/status/status.cgi

House members consider establishing workforce pilot projects to determine if changes in human resource policies are worthwhile and cost-effective. Parliamentary procedure comes into play as the chair rules, and the body supports in a vote, that a "whistle blower" amendment is not germane to the bill. A check later finds that the House defeated the measure, HB 2481.

Minnesota Senate committee, 10:37 a.m. (video)

www.state.mn.us/television.html

Users benefit on this site from graphics identifying speakers shown during the broadcast of the Senate Transportation Committee. The committee is considering SF 3356, which addresses snowmobiles and the state gasoline fuel tax. A representative from the state snowmobilers association testifies.

Nebraska Unicameral, 10:45 a.m. (video)

www.unicam.state.ne.us/video.htm

Not only could I watch live floor proceedings from Nebraska, but I also could view a two-minute wrap-up of each legislative day, as produced by the Unicameral Information Office. I watch as senators in America's only unicameral Legislature begin discussion on LB 1253, a measure to extend insurance coverage for children and developmentally disabled citizens who need dental care in a hospital setting. The bill receives unanimous support later in the day.

Wisconsin Assembly, 11:02 a.m. (audio)

www.legis.state.wi.us/insession/assembly

The term "political football" has double meaning as lawmakers debate AB 730, which concerns renovation of historic Lambeau Field, home of the Green Bay Packers. And to confirm my belief that lawmakers are required to be experts in an endless list of subjects, I come in as lawmakers discuss the finer points of the NFL salary cap and its impact on team revenues. Institutional memory also comes into play as a member is asked how the Packers' cap compares to the 49ers and Cowboys.

Washington House, 11:11 a.m. (video)

www.tvw.org/

Ceremony plays an important part in legislative proceedings, even as a legislature prepares to end its business for the year. The Washington House, the day before session ends, watches as young people present the flags and listen as Representative John Pennington offers a prayer of thanks for the diversity of the House membership, a request for "clear minds" and a special note of appreciation for the sacrifices of members' families. The house then approves HR 4794 supporting organ donations, as the sponsor of the measure honors a staff member waiting to undergo a transplant.

Idaho House, 11:29 a.m. (audio)

www.idahoptv.org/idreports/audio.html

For the second time today, college savings plans are the topic of discussion. The sponsor says Idaho is one of only four states without a plan and that the legislation is a "good private-sector solution" to allow family members to provide financial assistance to future students. HB 627 is approved and sent to the Senate on a 65-4 vote.

Idaho Senate, 11:43 a.m. (audio)

www.idahoptv.org/idreports/audio.html

The sponsor of SB 1377 wants to get drivers to respect the speed limits in school zones and is proposing stricter penalties for offenders. She says the most effective way to "get people's attention" is through strict enforcement and increased fines. The measure passes 20-14 and is sent to the House.

Kentucky Senate, 1 p.m. (video)

www.ket.org/legislature

In a debate that ranges from intense, to heated to humorous, senators are asked to approve an amendment to force members to resign from the legislature if they switched political parties. That happened during the interim, which gave Republicans control of the Senate for the first time in the state's history. The amendment is defeated 17-20. The full bill, HB 350, which changes the state's primary election dates, is sent back to the House with amendments.

Kentucky House, 2:35 p.m. (audio)

www.ket.org/legislature

The House is moving quickly through a number of bills that entail little controversy. Sent to the Senate for consideration are: 1) HB 408, giving firefighters with five years experience workers' compensation protection for heart and lung disease, 2) HB 677, relating to continuing education for real estate agents and 3) HB 309, providing free post-secondary tuition for disabled law enforcement officers, firefighters and volunteer firefighters. All bills pass unanimously.

Kansas Senate, 2:35 p.m. (audio)

www.state.ks.us/public/legislative/status/status.cgi

Kansas senators debate the pros and cons of requiring school districts to perform national background checks, through the FBI database, for all new employees. Current state law requires only a state check. Any person with a criminal history that includes specific offenses would be disqualified for employment. The sponsor says the cost of the search, about \$41, would have to be paid by the school or the applicant. Senators approve the measure the following day 26-13.

Arizona House committee, 2:47 p.m. (video)

www.azhousetv.org/contents/home.html

The House Commerce Committee considers an omnibus health care insurance bill, SB 1038. Again, it is a prime example of the depth of knowledge policymakers must possess to do their jobs. Discussion in my brief visit centers on product liability and the rights of consumer to sue HMOs. The committee sends the bill to the House floor with amendments.

Arizona Senate committee, 3:11 p.m. (video)

www.arizonasenate.org

The Senate Appropriations Committee considers various amendments to the state budget. An amendment asking the auditor general to put out a request for proposals regarding the costs of a potentially court-required bilingual education program is defeated on a 5-6 vote. The committee then embarks on a discussion regarding funding education programs for juveniles incarcerated on state tribal lands.

Nevada task force, 3:27 p.m. (audio)

www.leg.state.nv.us/audio/index.htm

Without much fanfare, legislators spend a considerable amount of time examining their processes. The Task Force for Long-Term Financial Analysis and Planning holds a meeting on long-range budget forecasting in Carson City. The Web site informs me that a video feed of the meeting also is available at the Grant Sawyer Office Building in Las Vegas, Nev. Discussion centers on the timing of producing long-term forecasts that would best serve the appropriations process.

California Senate committee, 3:37 p.m. (audio)

www.sen.ca.gov/htbin/testbin/noframe_raidio

The day ends, appropriately, with one of the most important, but most often ignored, functions of a legislature- poring over budget numbers. The California Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Subcommittee listens to a witness who says legislative oversight and accountability is necessary to ensure the success of the "storage investigations program" and the midyear reports detailing expenditures, activities and a proposed work plan for the rest of the year should be required. On this day, committee members will consider budget numbers for the California Conservation Corps, and the department of conservation, forestry/fire protection, fish and game, parks and recreation, and water resources.

Overall, my national tour accurately reflects how state legislatures operate. The day illustrates that debate and issues discussed can range from fascinating to tedious. Issues can be very subjective or highly personal. But mostly it demonstrates that access to legislative proceedings is more available to citizens than at any time in our nation's history.

As technology advances, users in the future undoubtedly will be given access to more live information, such as bill text, summaries and copies of amendments. Just as this experiment demonstrates significant improvements in just two years, it also means that today's access will seem downright primitive in a short amount of time.

Regardless of the technology they use, legislatures still are the branch of government closest to the people. Legislators' commitment to their responsibilities and their willingness to provide increased avenues for the public to be involved in the process demonstrates a continued commitment to the citizens they represent.

Editor's note: For the most up-to-date list of state broadcasting over the Internet, go to

www.ncsl.org/programs/press/leglive99.htm

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Volume 23, Number 2, July 2000

This section contains a listing of papers in the area of legislative studies that have been presented at professional conventions in recent months.

Papers are organized by topic:

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- [CREATION AND LEGITIMATION OF ASSEMBLIES](#)

LEGISLATIVE RECRUITMENT, CAREERS, TURNOVER AND PUBLIC APPROVAL

APSA

"Political Careers in the Canadian Provinces," D. C. Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University.

"The State Level in American Political Careers," G. W. Copeland, University of Oklahoma.

SWPSA

"Do Representatives Bear Responsibility for Citizen Trust in Government?" F. Codispoti, Stephen F. Austin State University.

"Term Limits and Public Opinion," M. Johnson, S. Shirley Post and R. Stein, Rice University.

"The Politics of Carpetbagging," T. Reuter, University of California, Los Angeles.

"The Accidental Senator: Prior Political Experience and Reelection to the U.S. Senate," S. J. Stambough, North Dakota State University.

WPSA

"Which Senators Receive Media Coverage?" S. Theriault and D. Brady, Stanford University.

"Amateurs or Professionals: The California Legislature in a Term-Limited Era," R. Van Vechten, University of California, Irvine.

"The Effects of the Timing of the Revelation of Scandal on US House Elections," S. Roberds, Southern Utah University.

MPSA

"Term Limits and Legislative Careers: The Role of Opportunity Costs," C. Afendulis, Harvard University.

"When is a Legislative Career a Career?" E. L. Bernick, University of North Carolina, Greensboro and E. Bernick, Florida State University.

"From Protest to Politics: A Look at the Success of Black Legislators in Mississippi," K. Adams, University of Mississippi.

"Patrick Kennedy and State-Based Strategies for Members of Congress," D. West, Brown University.

"How Experienced Are State Legislatures: The Constraint of Institutional Norms," J. Knott and J. Verkuilen, University of the South.

"The Hazards of Incumbency: An Event History Analysis of Congressional Careers," C. Finocchiaro, Michigan State University and T. Lin, University of Texas, Austin.

"The Secret Ballot and Rise of Congressional Careerism," M. McDonald, Vanderbilt University.

"The Rise to Leadership and Turnover Among Leaders in Congress," S. Ahuja, Seton Hall University.

"Seniority and the Lost Power of Female House Members," R. Herrick, Oklahoma State University.

"Retirements, Retention, and Realignment: Voluntary Congressional Departures and the Pace of Partisan Change in the Post-War South," G. Hetland, Indiana University and C. Martin and L. Overby, University of Mississippi.

SPSA

"The Duration of Congressional Careers in Geographical and Political Context," T. L. McKay, University of Kentucky.

"Learning to Legislate, the Next Generation: New Legislators in Four States," M. Brown and R. K. Gaddie, University of Oklahoma.

"Term Limits and the Representation of Women and Minorities: Evidence from the State Legislative Elections of 1998," S. J. Carroll and K. Jenkins, Rutgers University.

"Term Limits and Their Impact on Gender Equality in State Legislatures," D. L. Rix, Western Michigan University.

"Breaking the Logjam: The Emergence of Women Congressional Candidates," B. Palmer and D. Simon, Southern Methodist University.

"National Television News Coverage of Women in the House of Representatives," S. Greco Larson, Dickinson College and L. Andrade, University of North Texas.

"The Path to Power: Women in Pursuit of Legislative Leadership," R. E. Deen and T. Little, University of Texas, Arlington.

"Professionalization, Term Limits, and Divided Government in U.S. State Legislatures: An Updated Perspective," S. Meinke and E. Hasecke, Ohio State University.

"State Legislator's Decisions to Run for Congress," L. Richardson and C. Cooper, University of Tennessee.

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LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

APSA

"Running Against Congress When Governing From Congress: Legislative Efforts to Promote Distrust in Government," A. Fried, University of Maine and D. Harris, John Hopkins University.

"Friends and Neighbors Donate: Social Networks and Legislative Campaign Finance," R. K. Gaddie and C. Williams, University of Oklahoma.

SWPSA

"Sincere Voting, Hedging and Raiding: Testing a Formal Model of Crossover Voting in Blanket Primaries," J. Cohen, T. Kousser and J. Sides, University of California, Berkeley.

"Presidential Influence in Congressional Elections: Referendums on Agenda and Impeachment," L. Gibson, University of Maryland.

"The Role of Gender in Open-Seat Elections," R. K. Gaddie, K. Hoffman and C. Palmer, University of Oklahoma.

"Partisan Bias in State House Elections Since 1968: A 'Cheap Seats' Approach to Measuring Bias," K. Wink, University of Texas and R. Weber, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

"Predicting Open-Seat Election Outcomes on the Basis of Likely Tendencies," C. Bullock, III, University of Georgia; R. K. Gaddie, L. McCollum, and C. Williams, University of Oklahoma.

"Finding and Airing Dirty Laundry: Opposition Research Firms and Negative Political Spots in Southwestern U.S. House Races, 1998," M. Guerrieri, University of Michigan, Dearborn.

"When the Odds are Not Even: A District-Level Analysis of Candidate Competition in the U.S. House Elections, 1974-1996," E. DeSouza, Claremont Graduate University.

"Turnout, Ideology and Congress in the 1990s," D. Burke and A. Shepherd, University of Houston.

WPSA

"Female Congressional Candidates, Personal Resources, and Party Networks in 1996 and 1998," J. Bernstein and K. Pearson, University of California, Berkeley.

"Cue Voting: The Election and Reelection of Women Senate Candidates," S. Stambough d V. O'Regan, North Dakota State University.

"Much Ado About Nothing: The 1998 House Elections Meet Congressional Election Theory," S. Roberds, Southern Utah University.

"A Protest Legislature: Are Members of the European Parliament Simply the Beneficiaries of Anti-Incumbency Votes?" T. Kousser, University of California, Berkeley.

MPSA

"The Impact of the 1999-2000 Elections on Party Development in Russia," M.S. Fish, University of California, Berkeley.

"Beyond Huffington: The Effect of Personal Campaign Spending on Congressional Elections," J. Steen, University of California, Berkeley.

"Separating Incumbency and District Effects in State Legislative Elections," J. Cranor, Ball State University.

"The Strategic Behavior of Political Parties in Congressional Elections," G. Glasgow, Harvard University.

"The Statehouse of the U.S. Senate: A Comparison Between Gubernatorial and Senatorial Candidates," S. Lasley, University of Maine.

"District Factors Affecting the Election Chances of People of Color and White Minority State Legislative Candidates," P. Grant, University of Illinois, Chicago.

SPSA

"Catholic Electoral Behavior in the United States: An Examination," M. Brewer, Syracuse University.

"Crime as an Election Issue," R. Burnside, University of New Orleans.

"An Institutional Model of Congressional Elections: How Congress Controls its Own Destiny," C. Finocchiaro, Michigan State University.

"Campaigning in Des Moines and Los Angeles: What's the Difference?" D. Dulio and K. Conway, American University.

"The 1998 House Elections: Abberation or Continuation?" S. Roberds, Southern Utah University and P. Bridgmon, University of Alabama.

"Survival in the House: Micro-Level Determinants of Congressional Elections," L. Handlin and J. Gillespie, Washington University.

"Ambitious Politicians and Realignment: Strategic Candidate Emergence in Southern Politics," J. Williamson, Emory University.

"Split Ticket Voting Versus Abstentions in Uncontested State Legislative Contests: The Case of Indiana, 1992-1998," J. Cranor, Ball State University.

"The Effects of Primary Divisiveness on General Election Outcomes in State Legislative Elections," R. Hogan, Louisiana State University.

"A Longitudinal Analysis of Female Success in Runoff Primaries," C. Bullock, University of Georgia and A. Maggiotto, Bowling Green University.

"The Gender Gap in the 1990s," F. Mattei and L. Winsky Mattei, State University of New York, Buffalo.

"The Effects of Member Gender and Constituency Characteristics on Southern Congressional Voting Behavior, 1976-1998," D. Green, Florida State University.

"Assessing the Impact of Advertising, Credit Claiming and Position Taking on Incumbent Re-Election Chances: How Electoral Systems Affect Vote Choice," M. Chin and M. Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University.

"Explaining Turnout in European Parliamentary Elections: Does the Conventional Wisdom Still Hold?" D. Studlar, West Virginia University and R. Flickinger, Wittenberg University.

"Voter Participation in French Elections," J. Endersby, University of Missouri.

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REDISTRICTING AND REPRESENTATION

APSA

"Racial Redistricting and Realignment in Southern State Legislatures," D. Lublin, American University and S. Voss.

"Point and Click: Should the Exercise of Democracy Go Online, and What are the Implications?" R. Blanco Cook, University of New Orleans.

"The Fictional Function of Factions in *Federalist 10*: The Madisonian Congressional District," A. Rehfeld, University of Chicago.

SWPSA

"Linking People to Institutions: The European Parliament and the Search for Democratic Representation in the European Union," E. Edwards, University of Arkansas.

"Political Culture and Representational Style in the U.S. Senate," M. Yawn and R. Herrera, Arizona State University.

"Latino Representation in Congress," A. Santos, University of Houston, Downtown, and J. C. Huerta, Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi.

"Hispanic Representation, Empowerment, and Participation in Texas Politics," N. Momayezi, Texas A&M International University.

"Latino Political Participation: Considering Gender Differences," L. Montoya, University of Texas.

WPSA

"Increasing External Efficacy: The Importance of Gender Diversity in State Governments," L. Rae Atkeson and N. Carillo, University of New Mexico.

"Female Membership in National Legislatures: A Global Perspective," J. Jones and M.

Huckaby, University of Oklahoma.

"From Party Bosses to Public Servants: The Impact of the 17th Amendment on Senators in Their Committees," S. Masket, University of California, Los Angeles.

"Size Mattered: Revisiting the Causes of the Great Compromise," D. Wirls, University of California, Santa Cruz.

"The Politics of Public Pressure and the Pendleton Act of 1883," S. Theriault, Stanford University.

"Iatrogenic Legislatures: Enhancing the Murder of Women," P. Gregware, New Mexico State University.

"The Two Senators Thesis," J. Patten, Buena Vista University.

MPSA

"Constituency Interest and the Temporal Proximity to Elections: The Senator's Voting Decision," S. Treier, Stanford University.

"Counter-Majoritarian Bills and Legislative Repudiation of State Ballot Initiatives," D. Smith, University of Denver.

"The Use of the Local Bill as an Incumbent Advantage in State Legislatures," S. Buchanan, Midwestern State University and B. T. Schuman, University of New Hampshire.

"Does Partisan Control of Redistricting Make a Difference? J. McDowell, Indiana State University.

"Personal and Partisan Votes in Redistricting," S. Desposato, Harvard-MIT Data Center and J. Petrocik, University of Missouri.

"Constituency Interest and the Temporal Proximity to Elections: The Senator's Voting Decision," S. Treier, Stanford University.

"The Effect of Hometown Size on Voting Ideology in the House of Representatives," E. Miller, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point.

"A Voice for Black Interests: Policy Bohesion and Congressional Black Caucus Cosponsored Legislation," G. Serra, Bridgewater State College and N. Pinney, Western Michigan University.

"Pro-Life Some of the Time, But Nt All of the Time: Voting on Abortion in Congress," A. Linimon, University of Kansas.

"Candidate Gender and Citizens' Perspectives of House Candidates' Ideological Orientations," J. Koch, State University of New York, Geneseo.

"The Political Opportunity Structure and the Pace and Pattern of Women's Representation in the United States," M. Mariani, Syracuse University.

"Overrepresentation or Underrepresentation: The Policy Effects of the Three-Fifths Compromise, 1st-5th Congresses," B. Humes, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

"Geographic and Partisan Bases of Representation: Distributive Politics and the Effective

Number of Constituencies," I. Nooruddin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

"Who Represent Us Best- One Member or Many: Contact with Representatives, and Voter Satisfaction, Across Varying Electoral Systems," W. P. Shively and J. Curtice, University of Minnesota.

"Fooling All the People All the Time: Legislators' Personal Policy Preferences and Partisan Legislative Organization," R. Van Houweling, Harvard University.

"Re-Assessing the Representation of Black Interests," V. Sinclair-Chapman, Ohio State University.

"Roll Call Voting and Constituency Opinion in 67 Congressional Districts: 1972-1992," J. Faletta, Wayne State University.

"The Other White Meat? 'Pork Barrel' Spending and Racial Redistricting," C. Grose, University of Rochester.

SPSA

"Class, Race, and Representation of Minority Political Attitudes," J. Leighley and P. Elcessor, Texas A&M University.

"The Influence of Ideology, Party and Consistency on Legislative Behavior in the American States," S. Jenkins, Loyola University, Chicago.

"Variables Affecting Constituency Service in the States," P. Freeman, L. Richardson and L. Daugherty, University of Tennessee.

"A Functional Approach to Election District Compactness," D. England, Arkansas State University.

"Reapportionment, Voting, and the Role of Legislative Representation," E. Prier, Florida Atlantic University.

"The Unintended Consequences of Congressional Gerrymandering: The Effect of Redistricting on the Representative-Constituent Relationship," C. Grose, University of Rochester.

"Packed, Cracked, or Stacked (Against?): An Empirical Survey of the Distribution of Black Voters in State Legislative District," T. King-Meadows, East Carolina University and T. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

"Putting Race in its Place: Assessing the Contextual Propriety of Racial Redistricting," A. Lewis, College of Wooster.

"Redistricting: Political Strategies, Paradoxes, and Dilemmas," K. Middlemass, University of Georgia.

"Racial Redistricting and Realignment in Southern State Legislatures," D. Lublin, American University and D. S. Voss, University of Kentucky.

"Campaign Techniques in State Legislative Elections," F. Monardi, University of Wisconsin, Parkside.

"Race to the Golden Dome: An Analysis of the Effects of Campaign Contributions,

Incumbency, and Party Affiliation on State House o Delegate Elections in West Virginia," J. Underwood, Virginia Tech.

"African- American Majority Districts in the South and Polarized Voting in the U.S. House: An Update," K. Wink, University of Texas, Tyler.

"Influencing Home Style: The Effect of Background on Representation in New York State," P. Goggi, III and L. Murray, State University of New York, Albany.

"Issue Salience and Representation of Racial Interests," V. Hutchings, H. McClerking and G. Charles, University of Michigan.

"Symbiotic Politics: Legislative Feminization and Party Competition in Western States," C. De Clercy, University of Saskatchewan.

"Women in National Legislature: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa," M. Yoon, Hanover College.

"Electoral Districts and Communities," R. Engstrom, Rice University.

"Racial Context and Elite Mobilization," H. McClerking, University of Michigan.

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New Website for American Government and Politics

ThisNation.com is one of the most comprehensive American government and politics sites on the Internet. It includes a free online textbook, a large documents library, a daily news briefing, a search engine that scours more than 5,000 policy and political Websites, and several other resources for students, teachers, and the generally curious. One of the most powerful features of the site is the ThisNation Capitol Watch. By entering a Zip Code, site visitors can find a wealth of information about their members of Congress, including votes, election information, and e-mail addresses. The site's Election 2000 feature also provides video clips of presidential candidates speaking about a variety of issues.

ThisNation.com has been recognized as a "Site of the Week" by Britannica.com, an "Incredibly Useful Site of the Day" by ZDNet-Yahoo, and a "Cool Site of the Day" by Netscape. The Scouting Report, a review of educational Websites published by the University of Wisconsin Library system, observed: "This extraordinary Website bills itself as 'the most comprehensive guide to American government and politics on the net,' and from an educational standpoint, it is surely a major contender for the title."

ThisNation.com is written and maintained by Jonathan Mott (Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Oklahoma) and his wife Kim Mott. Jonathan is a former Carl Albert Fellow who also participated in the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program. The site reflects his teaching experience at the University of Oklahoma and at Brigham Young University, where he also works as an instructional designer and technologist.

The site URL is <http://www.thisnation.com>.

CongressLink.org

The Dirksen Congressional Center maintains a Website that is a classroom friendly service

for

teachers and students in upper elementary schools through college who want to pursue the study of

Congress as a springboard for learning activities related broadly to civic education. The program seeks to facilitate student-centered and inquiry-based learning through the use of a Website and involvement in an online learning community.

Drawing on the events of the day, CongressLink provides authentic decision-making and problem-solving activities guided by experts on Congress, including selected members of Congress and their staffs. Features include sample lesson plans, suggested student activities, access to original

historical documentation from the Center's collections, an annotated list of more than 75 Websites on related topics, access to subject matter experts online, and collaborative communications.

CongressLink has been selected as one of the best Websites in the humanities by EDSITEment, a

consortium consisting of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Council of the Great City

Schools, MCI WorldCom, and the National Trust for the Humanities.

The site URL is <http://www.congresslink.org>.

New Journal on State Politics Announced

The State Politics and Policy organized section of the APSA proudly announces the establishment of a new journal, State Politics and Policy Quarterly. SPPQ will be the official journal of the section,

published out of the Illinois Legislative Studies Center at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

Christopher Z. Mooney of the University of Illinois at Springfield will be the Editor, and Kevin B. Smith of the University of Nebraska will be the Associate Editor.

The mission of SPPQ is to stimulate research on state politics and policy, and to provide an institutional structure for developing a progressive and coherent research agenda for the field. SPPQ will publish high quality academic studies that develop general hypotheses of political behavior and

policymaking and test these hypotheses using the unique methodological advantages of the states. SPPQ has begun accepting manuscripts for the first issue, which will be published in March 2001. Manuscripts on all aspects of political behavior and policy in the states are sought, with no restriction on methodological or theoretical approach. Qualitative and quantitative, single-state and multi-state studies will all be considered, but only those manuscripts that meet the most rigorous methodological and theoretical academic standards will be published in SPPQ. Studies that deal with other sub-national units of government in the U.S. and elsewhere will also be considered for publication. All manuscripts submitted for consideration will be double-blind reviewed. The editor will place a high priority on keeping review and publication turnaround time to a minimum.

For submission, subscription and other information on SPPQ, please visit the Website at: <http://www.uis.edu/~sppq>.

Research Committee of Legislative Specialists International Political Science Association

Invitation to join or renew membership

The Research Committee of Legislative Specialists of the International Political Science

Association is an organization of more than 150 scholars from 30 different countries of the world whose goal is to facilitate research into the comparative forms and effects of legislative institutions, processes, and politics. The resulting network of international scholars includes individuals interested in national, cross-national, and sub-national aspects of legislatures.

The RCLS, which in 2001 will be celebrating its 30th year of scholarly activity, regularly organizes

international gatherings of parliamentary and legislative specialists. Three recent major scholarly

conferences sponsored by the Research Committee include an International Conference on "Parliaments as Agents and Subjects of Change" held in St. Petersburg, Russia in June 1999 which involved more than 70 scholars of parliaments; an International Conference on "The Significance of the Individual Parliamentary Member in Parliamentary Politics" held in Budapest, Hungary on July 1-5, 1998, which included 43 scholars from 16 countries presenting 18 papers; and an International Conference on "Opportunities and Dilemmas of Parliamentary Leadership" held in Ljubljana, Slovenia on July 6-9, 1998, which involved 50 scholars from 15 countries presenting 26 papers. Details of these and other conference, research, and publishing initiatives are sent regularly to current RCLS members world wide.

Scholars and others interested in parliaments and legislatures are invited to join this international

network of scholars and thus facilitate communication among researchers with common interests in the comparative forms and effects of legislative institutions, processes, and politics. Membership in the Research Committee of Legislative Specialists currently runs through the year 2003 IPSA World

Congress in Durban, South Africa, and entitles international scholars to information concerning the

professional activities of the Research Committee (including program plans for sessions at the year 2000 IPSA World Congress in Québec City, Canada), receipt of the RCLS International Newsletter, and listing in the RCLS International Membership Directory and Research Register.

You may join by sending your name, professional address, telephone and fax numbers, E-mail address, and current legislative research interests, together with a check or international money order for \$30 U.S. or £20 sterling to either of the following co-chairs:

Professor Lawrence D. Longley

Co-Chair, RCLS

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News from the Congressional Papers Roundtable

Update on House Historian

The following is compiled from various editions of the NCC Washington Update:
At the 6 Dec. 1999 meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress, Clerk of the House Jeff Trandahl said that a proposal was being developed to reestablish the House Historical Office and that by the June 2000 meeting he hoped to have positive and specific news to report on this matter. He stated that the Legislative Resource Center, which absorbed the Historical Office, recognized the important services that had previously been provided by the Historical Office and the archival staff. He is thus recommending the reorganization of the Legislative Resource Center, which would include, among other things, the reestablishment of the Historical Office. The Advisory Committee members strongly support this development.

After the Senate Historical Office announced its oral history project to create a record of the Clinton impeachment trial, a 17 Jan. 2000 article in the Washington Post noted that an official in the House of Representatives said that the House does not have the staff to make any special efforts to preserve the impeachment process. The article also stated that "the House has just begun the process of looking for a House historian."

By Feb. 2000, Rep. Bill Thomas (R-CA), the chair of the House Administration Committee, indicated that there were no plans to revive the position of House Historian. An article in the weekly publication The Hill quoted staff for the congressman as saying that new technology had rendered the old Historical Office obsolete and that the House Legislative Resource Center could document the history of the House without a historian. The House Administration Committee would have to approve any changes in the organization and staffing of the Legislative Resource Center. Despite Thomas's opposition, there still appears to be some support in the House for reestablishing the House Historical Office.

Institutional News

In June 1999, the University of Arkansas Libraries received the papers of U. S. Sen. Dale L. Bumpers (D-AR). The collection is more than 1650 linear feet, and it includes correspondence, legislative files, speeches, photographs, videotapes, sound recordings, printed matter, and memorabilia.

The family of former U. S. Rep. John V. Dowdy, Sr., (D-TX) has established the John Dowdy Memorial Congressional Research Endowed Fund as part of the Baylor Collections of Political Materials (BCPM), Baylor University, to encourage and enable researchers from outside Waco, TX, to utilize the resources of the BCPM. Awards will be made to qualified applicants to cover travel and/or lodging expenses while visiting Baylor. Further details regarding the application process for the annual award will be announced on the BCPM Website (http://www.baylor.edu/~Ben_Rogers/BCPM).

On 24 Sept. 1999, Boston College's O'Neill Library opened a new exhibit commemorating the life and legacy of Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., (D-MA), who spent his career in public service, culminating in a record ten-year continuous tenure as Speaker of the U. S. House.

The Brandeis University Library's Special Collections Department received the congressional papers of Rep. Stephen Joshua Solarz (D-NY). The congressman was elected as a Democrat to the 94th Congress and to 6 succeeding Congresses (3 Jan. 1975 - 3 Jan. 1993). Special Collections is in the process of organizing the collection. Currently, access is restricted.

The University of Delaware Library announces the opening of the Thomas R. Carper (D-DE) Congressional Papers. The papers document Carper's career as member-at-large for DE in the U.S. House, 1983-1993. There is an illustrated online finding aid (<http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/carper/index.htm>).

The Florida State University Libraries and the Claude Pepper Foundation are pleased to announce the release of the Claude Pepper Library Website and POLARIS (Pepper OnLine Archival and Retrieval Information System) at <http://pepper.cpb.fsu.edu/library/default.htm>. Congressman Claude Denson Pepper (D-FL) donated his collection to the Florida State

University Libraries in the early 1980s. Containing 1200 linear feet, the collection includes official and personal correspondence; speeches; news clippings; legislative, committee, and campaign files; photographs; audiovisual recordings; and memorabilia. The library also houses the personal papers of Pepper's wife and other family members.

The Williamson Stuckey (D-GA) Congressional Collection at the Richard B. Russell Library, University of Georgia, has been processed and is available for research use. This collection spans the dates 1966-1977, with the bulk of the papers representing Stuckey's ten years of service in the U. S. House of Representatives, 1967-1977. There are also some papers related to his business activities. Topics of interest include the environment, the Watergate affair, the Vietnamese Conflict, and the Energy Crisis, as well as agricultural, transportation and health related issues. There are materials related to his congressional campaigns, as well as his legislative work. The collection also includes photographs and audio-visual films.

On 12 Nov. 1999, the Congressional and Political Research Center was established in Mississippi State University's Mitchell Memorial Library. The Research Center will contain the papers of Sen. John C. Stennis (D-MS); Reps. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-MS), David Bowen (D-MS), Chip Pickering (R-MS), Charles Griffin (D-MS), Mike Espy (D-MS); and aides Wiley Carter (for Sen. Thad Cochran, R-MS) and Wayne Weidie (for Rep. Gene Taylor, D-MS). The papers of former Rep. and U. S. Sec. of Agriculture Mike Espy were officially received on 13 Dec. 1999, and the collection will be opened after it has been processed. The John C. Stennis Collection is now open to researchers, except for certain case files and other materials.

The Space Business Archives, whose mission is to collect, preserve, and make accessible documents that trace the development of the commercial space industry, currently holds hundreds of congressional documents in the form of correspondence, legislative calendars, testimony, and other miscellaneous reports related to the space industry. Included are legislative calendars from the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences from 1958-1970 and Library of Congress Congressional Research Service reports and testimony concerning the development of COMSATs (communication satellites), space commercialization issues, and national space policy. Letters and correspondence include those with Sens. Robert Packwood (R-OR), Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Frank Moss (D-UT), and Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX); Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA); and Gov. Michael Dukakis, among others. The Space Business Archives collection is accessible through a keyword search of abstracts on the World Wide Web at <http://www.spacearchive.org>, under the section entitled "Archives Abstracts."

Senate Historical Office

Betty K. Koed reports:

The Senate Historical Office continues the online distribution of its oral history series with the publication of two additional interviews: William F. Hildenbrand, administrative assistant of Senate Minority Whip Hugh Scott (R-PA), and Jesse R. Nichols, the first African American hired as a clerical staff member of the Senate. Since 1976, the Senate Historical Office has conducted a series of oral history interviews with former senators and retired members of the Senate staff. To read the interviews, click on "Senate History" at the Senate home page (<http://www.senate.gov>).

The most recent publication of the Senate Historical Office, *Minutes of the U. S. Senate Republican Conference, 1911-1964*, edited by Wendy Wolff and Donald A. Ritchie (Washington: GPO, 1999), is now available online at the Websites of the Senate and of the GPO (http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate/index.html#senate_publications). The Senate Historical Office is offering a limited number of two free publications to scholars and others interested in the History of the Senate: *United States Senate: Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases, 1793-1990* by Anne M. Butler and Wendy Wolff (U.S. Senate Historical Office, 1995) and *The Senate, 1789-1989: Addresses on the History of the United States Senate* (1991).

For more information about these and other publications of the Senate Historical Office, please contact Betty K. Koed, Assistant Historian, Senate Historical Office, U. S. Senate, SH-201, Washington, DC 20510-7108, Betty_Koed@sec.senate.gov (e-mail), (202) 224-0753 (tel.).

Congressional Papers Roundtable Newsletter
February 2000. Reprinted with permission.

Dirksen Center Makes Congressional Research Awards

Each year, The Dirksen Congressional Center awards research grants to scholars in an effort to fund thoughtful, original study into congressional leadership and Congress. Since 1978, the Congressional Research Awards (formerly the Congressional Research Grants) program has paid out nearly \$450,000 to support over 250 projects. The Caterpillar Foundation, Peoria, Illinois, has provided generous financial support in recent years. This year's awardees include:

- Steven Balla, The George Washington University, *The Delegation Decision: Congressional Creation and Organization of Bureaucratic Advisory Committees*
- Colton Campbell and Nicole Rae, Florida International University, *Ignoring Electoral Outcomes: House Judiciary Committee Republicans and the Clinton Impeachment*
- Celia Carroll, Emory University, *The Impact of Congressional Caucuses upon Deliberation in the House of Representatives*
- Kevin Conway, American University, *Party Defectors on Roll Call Votes in the United States House of Representatives*
- Marian Currinder, University of Florida, *The Institutional Effects and Political Implications of Outside Lobbying on the US House of Representatives*
- Diane Duffin, University of Nebraska at Kearney, *Nontraditional Career Paths to the U.S. House of Representatives*
- Victoria Farrar-Myers, University of Texas at Arlington, *The Money Career: The Changing Notion of Institutional Leadership in the U.S. Congress*
- T. Jens Feeley, University of Washington, *Partisanship and Policy Learning in the U.S. Congress, 1987-1998*
- Tobin Grant, Ohio State University, *Ordinary Lawmaking*
- Douglas Harris, University of Texas at Dallas, *Public Leadership in the US Senate, 1950-2000*
- Valerie Hunt, University of Washington, Congress, *Courts and Changes in US Immigration Policy*
- Jeffrey Jenkins, Michigan State University, *Can Party Leaders Influence Congressional Roll-Call Voting? Evidence from the Civil War Congresses*
- Sean Kelly, Niagara University, *Comparing Republican and Democratic Committee Requests and Assignments*
- Greg Koger, University of California-Los Angeles, *The Strategy of Cosponsorship*
- Dean Kotlowski, Ohio University, *Farewell to the Great Father: Congress and Native American Policy Since 1960*
- Frederic Lee, De Montfort University, *Congressional Response to the Problem of Corporate Size, Monopoly and Competition, 1945 to 1980*
- Nicole Mellow, University of Texas, *Reconstituting the Party: A Study of the Regional Dimensions of Party Conflict in the Post-war House of Representatives*
- Elizabeth Rybicki, University of Minnesota, *The Impact of Bicameralism, 1789-2000*
- Brian Schaffner, Indiana University-Bloomington, *Competing for Coverage: Legislators and the Local Press*
- David Siemers, Colorado College, *Managing Adversity: Congressional Leaders'*

Responses to Catastrophic Losses

- Charles Stewart III, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Speakership Elections Before the Civil War*

Applications for the Congressional Research Awards are accepted at any time, but the deadline is February 1 for the annual selections, which are announced in March. A total of \$50,000 will be available in 2001. For further information, visit the Dirksen Center's Web page at <http://www.pekin.net/dirksen> or contact Frank H. Mackaman, Executive Director, (309) 347-7113, or by email to fmackaman@pekin.net.

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The purpose of the Legislative Studies Section is to provide APSA members with an interest in legislative processes, behavior, and representation opportunities to meet and exchange ideas.

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Business Meeting
Legislative Studies Section
Friday, September 1, 2000
5:30 - 6:30 p.m.

Legislative Studies Section Panels

American Political Science Association Meeting
August 31 - September 3, 2000 Washington, D.C.
LSS Program Chair: Patricia K. Freeland, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Thursday, 8:45am to 10:30am

22-6 Legislative Careers

Chair: Wayne L. Francis

- Papers: "When to Risk It? How Office Holders Decide to Run for the U.S. House," Cherie Maestas, L. Sandy Maisel
- "Post-Congressional Lobbying and Legislative Sponsorship: Do Members Reward Their Future Employers?" Adolfo Santos
- "Congressional Staff as Members of Congress: Standing for Election, the Congressional Career," Susan Hammond, Connie M. Jorstad
- "New Members of the House: First Year Legislators in Congress," Matthew A. Potoski, Tom Rice

Disc: James D. King, Peverill Squire

22-10 Legislative Representation and Public Policy

Chair: Lauren C. Bell

Papers:

- "Incrementalism and Single Issue Politics: Abortion Policy in the U.S. Congress (94th-105th Congresses)," Scott H. Ainsworth
- "Running on Empty: Exogeneous and Endogeneous Explanations of Turf Control in Energy Policy," Jeff Worsham
- "Representation in State Legislatures: Higher Education Policy in Arizona," Lilliard E. Richardson, Brian E. Russell
- "Representation versus Self Interests in U.S. Politics: The Case of Tobacco," Barry C. Burden

Disc: James H. Cox, David L. Feldman

Thursday, 10:45am to 12:30pm

22-9 Partisanship and Representation in Legislatures

Chair: Patricia A. Hurley

Papers:

- "Position-Taking versus Fence-Straddling in the U.S. Congress: Does a Diverse Constituency Promote Legislator Obfuscation?" David R. Jones
- "Conventional Politics in Exceptional Times: Representation, Impeachment, and the Power

of Money," Irwin L. Morris

- "The Electoral Basis of Partisan Polarization in Congress," Gary C. Jacobson
- "The Electoral Consequences of Position Taking in Congress: Exploring the Relationship Between Roll Call Behavior and House Election Results," Gregory Bovitz

Disc: David T. Cannon, Bruce I. Oppenheimer

Thursday, 1:30pm to 3:15pm

22-15 Legislatures and Parliaments in the Modern World: A Session in Honor of the Scholarship of Samuel C. Patterson

Chair: Herbert F. Weisberg

Papers:

- "The Impact of Money on Congressional Elections," Gary Copeland
- "Party, Gender, and Racial Influences on Candidates in Congressional Elections," Frank D. Gilliam, Jr., Kenny J. Whitby
- "As Good as it Gets? Public Support in a Partisan Climate," David C. Kimball
- "How to Make Legislatures Popular with the Public," John R. Hibbing

Disc: David W. Brady

Thursday, 3:30pm to 5:15 pm

22-16 Legislatures and Parliaments in the Modern World: A Session in Honor of The Scholarship of Samuel C. Patterson (Continued)

Chair: Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier

Papers:

- "The Dynamics of Senate Campaign Strategies," Patrick Kenney, Kim Fridkin Kahn
- "From the Sidelines to the Trenches: Senate Careers Since WWII," Laura W. Arnold
- "Making Lemonade Out of Lemons: Institutional Responses to Term Limits in State Legislatures," Thomas H. Little
- "Accounting for Major Restructuring of State Legislative Committee Systems: The Impact of Executive Branch Reorganizations," Keith E. Hamm, Ronald D. Hedlund, Laura L. Delgado

Disc: James Kuklinski, Donald A. Gross

Friday, 8:45am to 10:30am

22-5 Legislative Leadership

Chair: Ronald M. Peters, Jr.

Papers:

- "The Rise to Power and Turnover Among Leaders in Congress," Sunil Ahuja
- "Making Public Policy or Making the Trains Run on Time: A Comparison of the Information Sources of Policy and Process Oriented Leaders," Thomas H. Little, Jill Clark
- "Developing Measurements of Congressional Leadership: A Proposal and Initial Report," Carl M. Rhodes
- "Leadership and Followership in the U.S. Senate: Rational Behavior or the Norm of Cooperation," L. Marvin Overby, Lauren C. Bell

Disc: Vincent G. Moscardelli, John D. Rausch

Friday, 10:45am to 12:30pm

22-12 Congressional Floor Behavior

Chair: Stanley I. Bach

Papers:

- "Congressional Leaders and the Winnowing of Legislation," Glen S. Krutz
- "Strategic Leadership in Congress: The Use of Senate Rules to Shape Intra-Chamber and Inter-Chamber Legislative Behavior," Wendy J. Schiller
- "Of Shotguns, Rifles, and Hoppers: The Strategic Determinants of Bill Sponsorship and Legislative Effectiveness in the U.S. House of Representatives," Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Valeria Sinclair Chapman
- "Floor Decision Making in the U.S. Senate," Larry Evans

Disc: Lawrence C. Dodd, Irwin L. Morris

Friday, 1:30pm to 3:15pm

22-2 Congress, Parties, and American Political Development

Chair: David W. Brady

Papers:

- "Congress, Legislative Performance, and American Political Development," John Lapinski
- "Speakership Contests: The Problem of Strategic Voting Under Plurality Rule," Charles Stewart, Jeffery A. Jenkins
- "State Electoral Structures and Party Control of the House of Representatives from 1840 to 1940," Samuel H. Kernell, Erik J. Engstrom
- "Party Registration Laws and Voter Partisanship, 1892-1908," Anna L. Harvey

Disc: Gregory J. Wawro, Eric Schickler

22-20 Roundtable on When Rules Matter: A Conversation With Chairman Dreier

Chair: Walter J. Oleszek

David Dreier

Bruce I. Oppenheimer

David W. Rhode

Barbara Sinclair

Steven S. Smith

Larry Evans

Friday, 3:30pm to 5:15pm

22-14 Women Transforming Congress: Gender Analyses of Institutional Life

Chair: Cindy Simon Rosenthal

Papers:

- "Female Legislators and the Women's Rights Agenda," Christina Wolbrecht
- "Women, Committees, and Power in the Senate," Laura W. Arnold
- "Transforming Congress from the Inside: Women in Committee," Noelle Norton
- "Invisible Power: Congressional Staff and Representation Behind the Scenes," Cindy Simon Rosenthal, Lauren C. Bell

Disc: Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Randall W. Strahan

22-19 Legislative Agenda Control

Chair: Kenneth A. Shepsle

Papers:

- "Controlling the House Appropriations Agenda: 1953-1994," Gregory Bovitz
- "Party Effects in the Senate," Eric D. Lawrence, Forrest A. Maltzman, Steven S. Smith
- "Agenda Power in the Senate," Andrea Campbell, Gary W. Cox, Mathew D. McCubbins

Disc: Sarah A. Binder

Saturday, 8:45am to 10:30am

22-1 Racial Redistricting and Minority-Majority Districts

(Co-sponsored by 32-4)

Chair: Christine Marie Sierra

Papers:

- "Minority Politics, National Implications: Representing Minority-Majority Districts," Sally Friedman
- "Redistricting and the Future of Minority Representation," Charles E. Menifield
- "Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Representation: Theory and Evidence on When," Alan Szarawski

Disc: Wilbur C. Rich

22-4 Redistricting/Incumbency Advantage

Chair: Brian D. Humes

Papers:

- "Sources of Partisan Competition in State Legislative Elections," Robert E. Hogan
- "The Redistricting Cycle and the Importance of National Factors in House Races," Bruce A. Larson, Suzanne Globetti
- "The Localization of House Politics? Incumbency as the Disappearance of Partisan Vote Shifts," Bernard I. Tamas
- "Static Ambition in a Changing World: Legislators, Preparations for Redistricting," Robert G. Boatright

Disc: Willaim T. Bianco, Michael K. Moore

22-17 Institutional Change in the U.S. Congress

(Co-sponsored by 7-7)

Chair: Randall W. Strahan

Papers:

- "Analyzing Institutional Change: Bill Introduction in the U.S. Senate, 1789-1890," Joseph Cooper, Elizabeth Rybicki
- "The Politics of Asking: House Member Committee Requests in the Early 20th Century," Eric D. Lawrence, Forrest A. Saltzman
- "Institutional Evolution and the Rise of the Tuesday-Thursday Club in the House of Representatives," Brian R. Sala, Timothy P. Nokken
- "The Politics of Public Pressure and the Pendleton Act of 1883," Sean M. Theriault

Disc: Randall W. Strahan

Saturday, 10:45am to 12:30pm

22-13 External Influences on Legislatures

Chair: Kaare Strom

Papers:

- "Legislative Perspectives on Direct Democracy: A Three Nation Study," Todd Donovan, Jeffrey A. Karp
- "Where Have All the Moderates Gone, Long Time Passing? The Disappearance of Cross-Pressured in Congress," Jon R. Bond, Richard Fleisher
- "Will the Triangle Be Unbroken? Interest Group Perceptions of the Effects of Term Limits," Gary F. Moncrief, Joel A. Thompson
- "Going Public and Staying Private: House Leaders' Use of Media Strategies of Legislative Coalition Building," Douglas B. Harris

Disc: Sunil Ahuja, William Mishler

Saturday, 1:30pm to 3:15pm

22-8 Congress and the Public

Chair: Elaine Ann Willey

Papers:

- "Assessing Congressional Performance," Roger H. Davidson
- "More Than Reelection: Media Events in the U.S. Senate, 1979-1998," Patrick J. Sellers
- "Which Senators Receive Media Coverage and Why?" Sean M. Theriault, David W. Brady
- "The Public's Need for Ethical Lawmakers," Rebekah Herrick, Michael K. Moore

Disc: John R. Hibbing, Sarah Poggione

Saturday, 3:30pm to 5:15pm

22-18 Roundtable on David Mayhew's "America's Congress: Actions in the Public Sphere from James Madison Through Newt Gingrich"

Chair: Rogan Kersh

Richard F. Fenno

Sarah A. Binder

Barbara Sinclair

Timothy E. Cook

Sunday, 8:45am to 10:30am

22-11 Congress and Distributive Politics

Chair: Brian Roberts

Papers:

- "Appropriations Committee Earmarks and Vote-Buying in the U.S. Senate: Do Both Parties Do It?" Diana Evans
- "Geographic Politics in Bicameral Perspective: The Politics of Distributing Federal Funds for Transportation," Frances. E. Lee
- "The Distributive Politics of Federal Grants: Some Empirical Tests," H.W. Jerome Maddox
- "Intra-Party Voting in the House of Representatives and Public Opinion: A Time Series Analysis," David Hogberg

Disc: James G. Gimpel, Eric M. Uslander

Sunday, 10:45am to 12:30pm

22-3 Presidential/Congressional Relations

(Co-sponsored by 23-6)

Chair: Samuel B. Hoff

Papers:

- "The Effects of Divided Government on the Ideological Content of Legislation," Cary R. Covington, Andrew Bagen
- "The President's Lieutenants: Clinton's Use of Political and Career Executives to Advocate Presidential Priorities on Capitol Hill," Julie A. Dolan
- "Explaining Congressional Provocation of Presidential Vetoes," John B. Gilmour
- "Voting Scared? The Impact of Going Public on Electorally Vulnerable Members of Congress," Richard J. Powell, Dean D. Schloyer

Disc: Michael L. Mezey, Steven A. Shull

22-7 Strategic Behavior of Legislative Elites

Chair: John W. Hardin

Papers:

- "Campaign Fundraising and Political Ambition in Congress: The Influence of Member-to-Member Contributions," Eric S. Heberlig
- "PAC Contributions as Signals to Legislative Agents," Richard L. Hall, Kristina C. Miler
- "How Strong Should Our Party Be? Party Member Preferences Over Party Strength," Elizabeth Bergman
- "Party Leadership and Committee Jurisdictions in the U.S. House," William Hixon, Aaron E. Wicks

Disc: Burdett A. Loomis, Carl M. Rhodes

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Burdett A. Loomis, Editor
University of Kansas
July 2000

Legislatures and Civic Education: What Opportunities? What Responsibilities?

Editor's note:

From scholarly jeremiads like Rosenthal's *The Decline of Representative Democracy* or Putnam's *Bowling Alone* to politicians' hand-wringing over low voter turnout to so-called civic journalism, almost everyone expresses concern over declining levels of support for political institutions and increasing levels of cynicism toward politics and political life. A quick check at the American Political Science Association's web site (see Mann, below) demonstrates the large number of initiatives designed to reverse these trends. So far, however, government remains distrusted and politicians are viewed with a jaundiced eye.

Legislatures have never been especially popular with the electorate. After all, they cater to strong-minded, ambitious individuals whose competing agendas often clash in all-too-public ways. And, on occasion, legislators have seriously betrayed the public's trust. Still, legislators must find ways to reach agreement on difficult subjects. They must be capable of building majorities within their own chamber and working with their counterparts in the other chamber to forge legislation, to say nothing of addressing the concerns of the chief executive.

Indeed, despite criticism from the media, from the public, and from their own members, legislatures do come to terms with most of the thorny issues placed before them. As detailed at the national level (Sinclair's *Unorthodox Lawmaking*) and in the states (Rosenthal's *The Decline of Representative Democracy*), legislatures find ways to bring together the myriad interests of society and produce laws that retain the support of almost all citizens. And most legislators win reelection, at least as much for their services as for their built-in advantages as incumbents.

If we are to make progress in developing an enhanced understanding - and appreciation - of political institutions, the civic education movement could do worse than focusing on legislatures, which make up the core of representative democracy.

The authors in this edition of *Extension of Remarks* address the questions of whether and (especially) how we should implement a "civic education" approach to legislatures. Even if we concur that we should weave civic education into our instruction, there is no clear set of directions on how to do this. What may be most important is for high school teachers and college professors to think through their responsibilities on this front, and for some scholars to produce the materials that will assist in understanding the complexities of legislatures without encouraging the easy cynicism that seems the norm on campuses in particular and within the broader society in general.

Contents of this issue:

[The Challenges of Civic Education](#)

Melvin Dubnick, Rutgers University

[Continuing Connections: Work on Legislatures and Civic Education](#)

Sheilah Mann, American Political Science Association

[Civic Education: Stakes, Perspective, and Strategy](#)

Alan Rosenthal, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University

Karl Kurtz, National Conference of State Legislatures

[Cynicism Sells: Legislatures and the Polity Pay](#)

Steve Frantzich, U.S. Naval Academy

Contributions to "Extension of Remarks" are encouraged. The total length of such contributions should be four pages, text typed, single spaced, with references following the style of *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. Works may be edited for content or for length. Please send proposed contributions to Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2157.

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