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## LEGISLATIVE STUDIES SECTION NEWSLETTER

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#### From the Editor

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## From the Chair

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[David R. Mayhew](#)  
Yale University

Bruce Oppenheimer and John Hibbing came after me last summer to serve as LSS

chair for two years. I thought that was a considerable honor and I accepted and said I would do my best. John was excellent at transition help. He walked me through the various things I would need to do and said good luck.

I am grateful to the folks at the APSA and the Carl Albert Center for the information they have given me. Indeed, I found that the bulk of tasks connected with the LSS are performed by the APSA, the Carl Albert Center, the LSS secretary/treasurer, and the LSS program chairman. That leaves the LSS chair to run a decent annual meeting (I hope to meet John Hibbing's standard) and to appoint members of committees.

So far, I have appointed the new members of the prize committees. The LSS has four such committees now, with the recent addition of the Jewell/Loewenberg prize. That meant I needed to appoint twelve members, three per committee. I asked twelve people and they all accepted! The LSS has plenty of social capital. I tried to balance the selections in various ways, for example to be sure to include specialists in non-US legislatures, although there is at least one imbalance I hope to remedy next time. Let me know if you see others.

Here are the new committee members. Fenno prize for best book: Charles M. Cameron (chair), Roger H. Davidson, Elaine K. Swift. CQ prize for best 2001 APSA paper: C. Lawrence Evans (chair), John M. Carey, Patricia A. Hurley. Carl Albert prize for best dissertation: John B. Gilmour (chair), Diana Evans, Thomas F. Remington. Jewell-Loewenberg prize for best LSQ article: Ben Bishin (chair), David Samuels, Sarah M. Morehouse. Many thanks to particularly the committee chairs for taking on these tasks.

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## From the Editor

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[Ronald M. Peters, Jr.](#)

Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma

This marks the second electronic issue of the LSS Newsletter. I would like to take this occasion to remind section members that our list serve and bulletin board are available for your use. We have about three dozen members signed up for the list serve but so far very little traffic. I hope that more members will subscribe so that the list can build a constituency that will encourage its further use.

In this issue we offer an opportunity for members to provide input on the question of the creation of a working papers section of our web site. As you may know, some of the other sections have created working papers sites to the apparent satisfaction of their members. In order to address these issues, we offer a a brief survey and the opportunity for members to comment. [Please click here](#) to view a brief discussion of the working papers web site and to respond to our survey.

We welcome feedback on any other aspect of the newsletter, so please email me at [rpeters@ou.edu](mailto:rpeters@ou.edu) if you have questions, comments, or concerns.

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***The Battle for Congress: Consultants, Candidates, and Voters.*** James A. Thurber, editor. Brookings Institution Press, 2000. ISBN 0815784635, \$17.95, paper, 200 pages.

*The Battle for Congress* uses a case study approach to examine and discuss current trends in congressional campaigns. These trends are the increased use of campaign consultants and the continued reliance upon interest groups. The authors identify and study six congressional races of the 1998 election cycle. These particular campaigns were chosen because they were considered competitive, a rare occurrence in congressional elections, and would therefore be evident of the characteristics they seek to examine. These six campaigns present a variety of campaign circumstances: two of the races were for open seats, two involved strong Democratic challengers, and two involved strong Republican challengers. The methodology utilized was participant observation. The authors, most of whom resided in the districts they studied, became intimately familiar with the district and the campaign process and staff. These observational insights represent original data regarding congressional candidates, campaigns, and campaign consultants. Case studies offer qualitatively valuable insights, and it is nice to see this method of study used. While it makes for very easy reading for congressional scholars, there are also substantive generalizations that this work is able to offer.

The increased reliance upon consultants and interest groups does affect the electoral process, and that which affects the electoral process then affects the quality of our democratic process. Thurber concludes that political parties have lost power over the campaign process while campaign consultants and interest groups have gained considerable influence. Of the six races studied, all of the winners relied upon highly professionalized consultants, often brought in from outside the candidate's district and/or state, and huge campaign coffers supplemented in part, if not in significant majority, by monies from PACs and interest groups. This makes it so that candidates are able to run highly personalized campaigns because they are not beholden to political party ties. In fact, these candidates often "ran away from, or against, their party positions." As a result, candidates are indebted to themselves, their contributors, and their constituents and not to political parties, their

president, or some greater national interest. "Our case studies show that individualism is a necessity for getting elected and that this learned behavior creates a real impediment to forging commonalities among legislators once elected," Thurber surmises. This study indicates that what the nation requires of congressional representatives once elected, to work together for the public good, is not a vital component of the campaign process. These six races show that the presence of campaign consultants and interests from outside the political parties does not create an environment by which candidates come to Congress ready to work together for the public good. This is exactly why studies like this are a necessary component for understanding the actual quality of our democracy.

-- Aleisha Karjala  
Ph.D. student of Political Science  
University of Oklahoma

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***Commissioned Ridings: Designing Canada's Electoral Districts.*** John C. Courtney.  
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. ISBN 0773522263, \$75.00, cloth, 259 pages.

In *Commissioned Ridings*, Courtney demonstrates the role of federalism, the courts, parliament, and representation principles in the creation of electoral systems. The focus is on Canada and the methods utilized by a nonpartisan commission to determine the shape and character of the single member districts. Courtney compares U.S. and Australian traditions to those of Canada to demonstrate where the formation of electoral laws in these nations diverged. Canada, unlike the United States and Australia, does not concentrate primarily on representation by population, a one person, one vote standard. Rather, other considerations, such as territorial representation and the representation of groups, has traditionally played a much larger role in Canadian electoral structuring.

The book is divided into eleven chapters and provides an index. The introduction explains the role of electoral districts as representational building blocks in a modern state. Chapter two sets the comparative stage, comparing the size of Canada's assemblies to other states and Canada's historical, constitutional, and political factors that have resulted in the determination of parliamentary seats. In Chapters three and four, Courtney examines the development of the policy process, the influence of Australia, and the role of federalism in Manitoba, Quebec, and at the federal level. The following four chapters outline the guidelines for the commissions, and the role of the commissions, the parliament, and the courts in the final product. Chapter nine addresses the impact of the Supreme Court ruling in *Carter* on commissions in the 1990s. The *Carter* decision, that "the right to vote . . . was not equality of voting power per se, but rather relative parity of voting power and the right to effective representation [and deviations from that parity] could be justified on grounds of minority representation and cultural and group identity"(172), presented the possibility of substantive change in the process of riding readjustment. Courtney finds that *Carter* is but one part of the set of principles available to decision-makers, which is used at the commission's discretion. The ninth chapter outlines the roles of effective representation and community of interest in electoral politics. He finds that it is the principle of effective representation which is most resonant in the popular tradition and is most salient in decision-making. The final chapter is a look at the output of these commissions and the likely future of electoral districts in Canada.

Courtney demonstrates that the underlying principle for representation in Canada is "effective representation," a distinctly different concept from the American and Australian guiding principle of electoral equality. By examining the case of reform in a single representative institution, Courtney is able to cut to the core principles of representation and its building blocks. This work is a useful tool for scholars of electoral systems and representation in many contexts.

-- Melody Huckaby  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
University of Oklahoma

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***Congressional Primaries and the Politics of Representation.*** Peter F. Galderisi, Marni Ezra, and Michael Lyons, editors. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001. ISBN: 074250767X, \$24.95, paper, 188 pages.

This is a fascinating set of brief essays that focus upon the ways congressional primary elections have changed electoral and congressional politics. Specifically, the essays address the types of candidates who run, the kind of support they receive, the various positions they take, the amount of resources they spend, the array of media coverage they receive, and the characteristics of the party nominees that prevail. Increasing the intellectual and pedagogical value of this book, the authors highlight the implications of their findings upon the assortment of actors involved in electoral politics.

The book is divided into three parts answering three questions: (1) why should we study and what are congressional primaries, (2) how do primaries influence general elections, (3) how do primaries influence the ideology of representatives. The first essay, co-authored by the editors Galderisi, Ezra, and Lyons, argues that regardless of whether primaries are competitive or not, their very existence justifies the need for credible and accurate scholarship for all students and teachers of political science. In addition, the authors believe that the presence of congressional primary elections and their effect on incumbents, potential candidates, political parties, interest groups, and constituents must be understood. The second and last essay in the first section briefly describes the historical development of congressional primaries. Galderisi and Ezra show that the history of congressional primaries has not been uniform and diverges widely across time and region. Nonetheless, the congressional primary is the gateway to office; as such, it plays an important role in electoral politics.

The essays that comprise part two of the book generally focus upon how primaries influence general elections. For example, Sandy Maisel and Walter Stone, in the third essay, use data from the Candidate Emergence Study to argue that the existence of a primary election has a negative impact upon a potential candidate's decision to run for the House of Representatives. In chapter four, Marni Ezra challenges orthodox literature that had found primary competition to be a hindrance to general election success. Rather, Ezra finds that challengers and incumbents alike can actually be helped by primary competitiveness in some situations. Moving away from the subject of candidates and primaries, Jay Goodliffe and David Magleby concentrate on spending patterns in primary elections. The authors find that spending patterns in House primaries generally resemble the same spending patterns observed in House general elections. Finally, John C. Green explores the role of the Christian Right in the 1998 campaigns. His evidence suggests that amateur activists in some instance can use the nomination process to further their agenda; however, this type of involvement is often risky and fails.

The essays of the third part address the impact of congressional primaries on representation. Barry Burden, in his essay "The Polarizing Effects of Congressional Primaries," argues that primary winners do not converge in the general elections. Thus, primary elections have a polarizing effect and tend to produce extremists. The next essay, by Kristin Kanthak and Rebecca Morton, shows that subtle differences in the rules and structure alter the nature of House general elections. Specifically, they demonstrate that an open primary system appears to benefit the moderate candidate, but too much openness can inadvertently result in more extreme candidate positions. Focusing upon the Senate, Bernard Grofman and Thomas Brunell similarly seek to discover whether subtle differences in the rules influence Senate elections. They conclude that the type of primary can explain ideological differences. The last essay in this section is a case study of California's experience with the blanket primary. Elisabeth Gerber finds that blanket primaries produced higher levels of crossover voting, increased participation, and more moderate candidates.

This book successfully demonstrates that the existence of congressional primaries simply cannot be ignored. Despite the fact that primaries are generally non-competitive and receive little attention, they undoubtedly play an instrumental role in the American electoral process. While comparative congressional scholars will be disappointed by the absence of any cross-national or explicit cross-state studies, the absence of these studies should serve

as an excellent point of departure for future research. At the very least, students and instructors of Congress have at their disposal a brief and simple collection of essays covering an important, yet obscure, facet of electoral politics.

-- Josh Stockley  
Ph.D. student of Political Science  
University of Oklahoma

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***Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress.*** Eric Schickler. Princeton University Press, 2001. ISBN 0691049262, \$22.95, paper, 350 pages.

*Disjointed Pluralism* offers an explanation of institutional innovation in the Congress based on the premise that none among prevalent theoretical explanations of congressional change is able to capture its complexity. Instead, Schickler argues, innovation takes place when members pursuing disparate goals coalesce around reform strategies. Reform is thus "disjointed" because no single theoretical explanation suffices.

In effect, Schickler's strategy is to disaggregate the concept of interest. Instead of assuming that members are motivated by an overarching interest in reelection, chamber control, policy, or career advancement (to mention several usual suspects), it makes more sense to suggest that there are a variety of self-interested motivations at play and that what happens will depend upon how the varying interests come together in a particular historical period to shape incentives for institutional change.

To examine this premise, Schickler traces congressional innovation during four periods: 1890-1910, 1919-1932, 1937-1952, and 1970-1989. Each of these periods is given a distinct characterization based on an analysis of the configuration of interests that predominated and the nature of the innovations that were produced. In developing his case, Schickler appeals to a wide variety of evidence that includes the identification of key innovations, the arraying of parties at interest, narratives explaining their motivations and actions, and statistical analysis of votes.

Schickler's aim is to forge a synthesis of the rational choice approach, with its emphasis on generalizations derived from assumptions about human motivation, and historical-institutional approaches, which emphasize narrative interpretation. To an extent he succeeds. That is, we find here an analytic structure that is an elaboration upon (or perhaps a synthesis of) prevailing rational choice theories, as well as a set of rich narratives offering interpretation of historical events. Schickler demonstrates that the simplifying assumptions of rational choice theory can distort our understanding unless set within a more comprehensive framework, and that historical narratives may lead nowhere unless guided by theory.

Schickler's search is for an overarching theory. He rejects other rational choice theories as too limited in scope. His solution is a "meta" theory that would integrate them all. The search for a comprehensive theory of social institutions is, like Einstein's search for a unified field theory, a quest for the philosopher's stone. Its conclusion might be that "everything counts." It is not Congress alone that is disjointed; so too is our effort to explain it.

-- Ronald M. Peters  
Regents' Professor  
Chair, Political Science Department  
University of Oklahoma

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***Eye of the Storm: The South and Congress in an Era of Change*** John C. Kuzenski, Laurence W. Moreland, and Robert P Steed, editors. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001. ISBN 0275971147, \$59.95, cloth, 232 pages.

V.O. Key was one of the first scholars to note how pivotal the southern region of the United States is to American politics. Since Key, many students of the Congress have made the case that the South is unique in its congressional politics and warrants study as a unique region. In this edited volume, many of the authors challenge such an assumption. The South has undergone many changes since Key's seminal 1949 book, and *Eye of the Storm* suggests it is time we reexamine whether or not the South should be treated as a unique region in congressional politics.

Every chapter in this book adds to our knowledge of southern politics, but a few warrant specific mention. Ronald Keith Gaddie and Donna R. Hoffman start the book off with an affirmation of what scholars have been long awaiting: news of a realignment. They note that the realignment, though unique in the sense that it did not hinge upon a single critical event, has been concentrated in the southern region and has been secular in nature. This slow-moving partisan shift culminated in the 1994 mid-term election, when the Republicans gained control of Congress. Nicol C. Rae observes how the relatively cohesive message of the 1994 election changed both the way the Republicans operate and the Democratic agenda. Having to account for the perceived shift in the electorate, President Clinton likewise shifted rhetorically away from "big government" liberalism. Looking at party defectors in the South, James M. Glaser finds further evidence of a secular realignment. Newly converted Republicans vote much more conservatively than they did as Democrats, not surprisingly, perhaps due to their new election constituency, the influence of their colleagues, or because they had conservative tendencies all along but felt pressure from other Democrats to moderate their views.

In an interesting turn on conventional assumptions, Ronald M. Peters, Jr. looks at the disproportionate number of party leaders from the South since congressional reforms. He suggests that this might be due to the fact that southern Republicans tend to represent mainstream Republicanism more so than any partisans from any other region. Since the conservative Democrats in the South have realigned with the Republican party, what have been left behind are the more liberal Democrats, a group more ideologically synchronized with northeastern Democrats than at any other point in history. This evidence implies that what separates the South from the rest of the country politically is not geography, but rather ideology. Southern leaders are selected because they are the quintessence of the Republican credo, not because geography matters in a way that it has in the past.

While there may be some differences of opinion regarding the exact impact the South has on politics today, every chapter in this volume confirms the general proposition that the metamorphosis of the Congress over the past fifty years would be inadequately explained without a comprehensive look at changes in southern politics. This volume's merit lies in the authors' attempts to reexamine conventional thought on the South while probing below the surface level to understand the sources of change in American politics.

-- Monica Lynsey Morris  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
University of Oklahoma

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***Legislative Institutions and Ideology in Chile.*** John B. Londregan. Cambridge University Press, 2000. ISBN 052177084X, \$60.00, cloth, 280 pages.

Londregan examines the effect of the Chilean constitution on the legislature's ability to enact law. He uses the Chilean example to demonstrate both the twists of the negotiation process and its outcome. He explores the strengths and weaknesses of the constitutions left by outgoing military governments. He finds that the Pinochet constitution restricts the ability of the electorate to enact laws in keeping with their preferences. The powerful presidency reduces the amount of flexibility legislative leaders have to adapt, but Londregan finds that in the Chilean context, the powerful presidency offers the appropriate flexibility for a controlled transition back to democracy. The Chilean example is not universally applicable as Londregan notes: "Countries with deep and persistent ethnic, religious, or

regional conflicts should be cautious about adopting the Chilean model" (11). The restrictive nature of this system would prevent strife-torn nations from achieving successful transition to democracy.

The book is divided into ten chapters and provides an index. The introduction provides a plan of the book and an introduction to the Chilean case. In chapter one, Londregan explains his policy model and the role of valence. This model measures the ability of legislatures and executives to formulate high valence proposals within constitutional restrictions. Chapter two addresses the "ideological legacy of Allende and Pinochet"(51) and the effect of that legacy on constitution building. Chapter three outlines the institutional structures created by the 1980 Constitution, with particular emphasis on the Senate's status as a House divided, comprised of both "institutional" Senators and elected Senators. In the next four chapters Londregan uses his model to measure preferences in Senate roll call votes in three Senate committees across the four issue areas of labor, education, morality, and human rights. Chapter eight addresses the interaction of social, moral, and human rights issues in a multi-dimensional preference model and the prospects for Chile's complete democratic transition. In the final chapter, Londregan discusses how his model may be applied to other constitutional systems in transition.

This study presents useful lessons for democracies in transition. John B. Londregan applies sophisticated statistical methods to demonstrate how the Chilean constitution of 1980 continues to constrain the legislative process. He shows that the legacy of dictatorship extends beyond the scars of human rights abuses to impinge the processes of democracy.

-- Melody Huckaby  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
University of Oklahoma

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***The Politics of Institutional Choice: The Formation of the Russian State Duma***

Steven S. Smith and Thomas F. Remington. Princeton University Press, 2001. ISBN: 0691057362, \$42.50, cloth, 160 pages.

Smith and Remington examine the degree to which re-election, policy, and partisan goals account for institutional design choices. In particular, they examine the electoral system, the leadership structure within the legislature, the committee behavior, and floor voting in order to determine whether these goals are relevant. The authors find that no overarching goal accounts for legislative behavior, rather, legislatures have multiple goals, and each of these goals vary in importance systematically and predictably.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter provides a brief history of the Duma as it has developed and an introduction to the institutional theories that provide a basis for this work. In the next five chapters the authors demonstrate how legislators' articulated and assumed goals corresponded with actual votes regarding institutional choice. In the final chapter, Smith and Remington show that the institutional choices made in the 1993 Duma were continued by the two successive Dumas. An index and an appendix which describes the data used in the study are also included in the book.

Smith and Remington hypothesize that the "policy, electoral, and partisan differences among parliamentarians structured their preferences ... about the internal organization of the Duma" (21). Their analysis indicates that the legislators exhibit each of these goals, but the weight and relevance of these goals vary according to the particular political context and the certainty of the consequences of the legislators' actions. When deciding upon a course of action, the legislator will prioritize the goal which is more immediately and more clearly affected, and so as certainty and temporal consequence become more distant in the context of one goal, a goal will be favored whose consequences are more locally rational.

Smith and Remington have presented a study that is relevant for scholars of institutional choice in legislative bodies and for scholars of legislative behavior. The Russian case seems

to demonstrate that legislators have multiple goals whose importance varies predictably according to the political context. The authors demonstrate that these multiple goals are not merely influenced by institutional structures, but are instrumental in the choice of institutional structures.

-- Melody Huckaby  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
University of Oklahoma

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***Southern Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives*** Stanley P. Berard.  
University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. ISBN 0806133058, \$22.95, paper, 272 pages.

In this work, Berard seeks to provide some explanation for the rise in party voting in the House of Representatives in the late 1980s. Finding this party cohesion primarily in the Democratic party, Berard looks to the southern Democratic representatives as a means of explanation for this partisan change.

Building on the commonly held assumption that members will vote in accordance with constituent views in most cases, Berard examines the voting behavior of southern Democratic members and the preferences and attitudes of the districts from which they were elected.

Through this examination, Berard finds that, indeed, the voting patterns of southern Democrats are more in line with those of their northern Democratic colleagues. Berard attributes this change to a "northernization" of southern Democratic constituencies. Urbanization and the mobilization of black voters have served to make the Democratic party in the South more liberal. At the same time, a rise in credible Republican electoral competition has pulled the most conservative Southerners to the Republican party, leaving a more moderate to liberal base in the Democratic party. Berard concludes from these findings that the rise in party line voting among Democrats is due in large part to a change in the constituencies that elect southern Democrats. Southern Democratic constituencies are becoming more like northern Democratic constituencies. Berard does point out that these "northernizing" factors do not account for all of the rise in party voting, but they do provide a solid starting point from which to conduct further analysis.

For the student of southern politics, this book is a worthwhile undertaking. Berard's conceptualization of the new South raises some interesting questions, and provides several avenues for future research.

-- Courtney Cullison  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
University of Oklahoma

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***The Uneasy Relationship Between Parliamentary Members and Leaders.*** Lawrence D. Longley and Reuven Y. Hazan, editors. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 2000. ISBN 0714650595, \$57.50, cloth, 344 pages.

Longley and Hazan present a collection of articles examining the impact of institutional features on the delicate balance between parliamentary leaders and members. The scope of articles encompasses the range of Western democratic states, including case studies on Great Britain, Israel, New Zealand, Germany, and the United States as well as broader comparative studies encompassing most advanced democracies. These studies shed light on the distinctions between institutions and political cultures that result in a diversity of power relationships between members and leaders in parliaments. The book is divided into ten chapters. In the first chapter, Longley and Hazan provide an overview of the roles and tools of parliamentary leaders and members, and comment on the impact of differing institutions on the utility and balance of these roles and tools. The remaining nine chapters, written by a number of authors, examine these relationships in particular institutional settings. An index

and abstracts describing each of the articles are also included in the text.

Each chapter offers insight into aspects of the relationship between leaders and members. In chapter two, "What Can an Individual MP Do in German Parliamentary Politics?," Werner J. Patzelt finds that the particular institutional features of the German political system shape the deputies' rational choices. Philip Norton, in "The Individual Member in the British House of Commons: Facing both Ways and Marching Forward," shows that individual Members of Parliament increased their institutional power during the twentieth century, but not proportionately to the degree to which they increased their constituency service. In the fourth chapter, "From Committee Government to Party Government," John E. Owens demonstrates that the norms of apprenticeship in the United States House of Representatives have not declined in floor behaviors, but these norms now conform to the change from committee government (pre-1970s) to party government. In "The Individual Parliamentary Member and Institutional Change: The Changing Role of the New Zealand Member of Parliament," Fiona Barker and Stephen Levine demonstrate that the recently enacted electoral reforms have not yet increased the power of individual Members of Parliament, rather, the political culture of New Zealand, which favors collective decision-making, appears to be the persistent factor in the balance of power between the cabinet and individual members.

The next three chapters are broader comparative studies. In chapter six, "Parliamentary Members and Leaders as Agents of Reform: Parliamentary and Regime Change Revisited," Longley and Taylor M. Hoffman demonstrate that institutional change in parliament results in regime change. In "The Office of the Speaker in Comparative Perspective," Stanley Bach compares the basic functions of Speakers across several democratic assemblies and finds that differences in these functions impact the distribution of power within the assembly and the capacity of the majority to control the proceedings. In chapter eight, "Coalition Agreements in Parliamentary Democracies," Kaare Strøm and Wolfgang C. Müller assess the choices of agreements and governance institutions in the thirteen European democracies which most often require coalition government and find that both the number of parties and the length of time determine those choices.

Chapters nine and ten address particular cases. Barbara Sinclair examines the "Dilemmas and Opportunities of Legislative Leadership in a Non-Parliamentary System: The U.S. Case," and finds that there has been an increase in leadership power since the change from committee government to party government in the 1970s. In the final chapter, "Yes, Institutions Matter: The Impact of Institutional Reform on Parliamentary Members and Leaders in Israel," Reuven Y. Hazan finds that the electoral changes in Israel dramatically increase both the autonomy of individual Members of Parliament and the independence of the Prime Minister, making legislative agenda-setting and output very difficult. The exploration of different institutional aspects of parliaments makes this work an invaluable addition to the field of comparative legislative studies.

-- Melody Huckaby  
Carl Albert Congressional Fellow  
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## Journal Articles

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 source for this information is *CSA Political Science and Government*.

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### **AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST**

"The Candidates' View of the Power of the Incumbency in Campaign 2000," 44, 12 (Aug. 2001): 2435-2439.

### **AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

"A Panel Probit Analysis of Campaign Contributions and Roll-Call Votes," Gregory Wawro, 45, 3 (July 2001): 563-579.

"Tactical Maneuvering on Omnibus Bills in Congress," Glen S. Krutz, 45, 1 (Jan. 2001): 210-223.

"The Politics of Speaker Cannon's Committee Assignments," Eric D. Lawrence, Forrest Maltzman, and Paul J. Wahlbeck, 45, 3 (July 2001): 551-562.

### **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW**

"Congressional Decision Making and the Separation of Powers," Andrew D. Martin, 95, 2 (June 2001): 361-378.

"Convergence and Restricted Preference Maximizing under Simple Majority Rule: Results from a Computer Simulation of Committee Choice in Two-Dimensional Space," David H. Koehler, 95 (Mar. 2001): 155-167.

"The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation," Claudine Gay, 95, 3 (Sept. 2001): 589-602.

"Estimating Party Influence on Roll Call Voting: Regression Coefficients versus Classification Success," 95, 3 (Sept. 2001): 689-698.

"The Hunt for Party Discipline in Congress," Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, 95, 3 (Sept. 2001): 673-687.

### **AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH**

"The Influence of State and District Conditions on the Representation of Women in the U.S. State Legislatures," Robert E. Hogan, 29, 1 (Jan. 2001): 4-24.

### **AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Preston, Noel, "Codifying Ethical Conduct for Australian Parliamentarians 1990-99," Noel Preston, 36, 1 (Mar. 2001): 45-59.

Russell, Meg, "Upper House Reform in the United Kingdom and Australia," Meg Russell, 36, 1 (Mar. 2001): 27-44.

### **BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

"Race, Issue Heterogeneity and public policy: The Republican Revolution in the 104th US Congress and the Representation of African-American Policy Interests," Kenny J. Whitby and George A. Krause, 31, 3 (July 2001): 555-572.

### **BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

"In Their Own Words: New Labour Women and the Substantive Representation of Women," Sarah Childs, 3, 2 (June 2001): 173-190.

"Legitimacy in British Policy-Making: Functional Alternatives to the Civil Service," Nelson W. Polsby, 3, 1 (Apr. 2001): 5-35.

### **COMMONWEALTH AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS**

Moncrieffe, Joy M., "Problems of Parliamentary Accountability in Jamaica: Consequences for Health Administration," Joy M. Moncrieffe, 39, 2 (July 2001): 73-97.

### **CONTEMPORARY BRITISH HISTORY**

"'Unfinished Business': The Land Question and the Scottish Parliament," Ewan A. Cameron, 15, 1 (Spring 2001): 83-114.

### **DADOS**

"Disciplina partidaria e base parlamentar na Camara dos Deputados no primeiro governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-1998) ["Party Discipline and the Executive's Constituency in the House of Representatives during the First Fernando Henrique Cardoso Administration (1995-1998)], 43, 4 (2000): 709-735. (POR)

### **DEMOCRATIZATION**

"Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa," Mi Yung Yoon, 8, 2 (Summer 2001): 169-190.

"Opposition in the New South African Parliament," Lia Nijzink, 8, 1 (Spring 2001): 53-68.

### **DEMOKRATIZATSIYA: THE JOURNAL OF POST-SOVIET DEMOCRATIZATION**

"The Special Powers of Russia's Parliament," Igor V. Grankin, 9, 1, (Winter 2001): 26-43.

### **EUROPE ASIAN STUDIES**

"Legislative Activism of Russian Duma Deputies, 1996-1999," Iulia Shevchenko and Grigori V. Golosov, 53, 2 (Mar. 2001): 239-261.

### **ISSUES AND STUDIES**

"Legislative Activism and Effectiveness of Provincial Delegates at the 1998 NPC," Hongyi Harry Lai, 37, 1 (Jan-Feb 2001): 73-101.

### **JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS**

"Russia's 'Permanent' (Uninterrupted) Elections of 1999-2000," Richard Sakwa, 6, 3

(Septe. 2000): 85-112.

### ***JOURNAL OF COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR***

"Uncle Sam Does NOT Want You to Organize: The 1977 Senate Armed Services Committee Hearings on Outlawing Military Unionization," Victor G. Devinatz, 29, 2 (2000): 123-38.

### ***JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY***

"Impatient Legislators and New Issue Dimension: A Critique of the Garrett-Tsebelis 'Standard Version' of Legislative Politics," Berthold Rittberger, 7, 4, (Oct. 2000): 554-575.

### ***JOURNAL OF LEGISLATIVE STUDIES***

"Parliamentary Party Groups and Their Parties: A Comparative Assessment," Ludger Helms, 6, 2 (Summer 2000): 104-120.

### ***JOURNAL OF POLITICS***

"Divided Government Interest Representation, and Policy Differences: Competing Explanations of Gridlock in the Fifty States," Cynthia J. Bowling and Margaret R. Ferguson, 63, 1 (Feb. 2001):182-206.

### ***LEGISLATIVE STUDIES QUARTERLY***

"Agenda Setting in the U.S. House: A Majority-Party Monopoly?" Gary W. Cox, 26 (May 2001): 185-210.

"Anchoring Legislative Careers," E. Lee Bernick, 26 (Feb. 2001): 123-143.

"Congressional Responsiveness to Redistricting Induced Constituency Change: An Extension to the 1990s," Christine Leveaux-Sharpe, 26 (May 2001): 175-286.

"Dancing with the One Who Brought You: The Allocation and Impact of Party Giving to State Legislators," David L. Schecter and David M. Hedge, 26 (Aug. 2001): 437-456.

"Determinants of Home Style: The Many Incentives for Going Home in Colombia," Rachael E. Ingall and Brian F. Crisp, 26 (Aug. 2001):487-512.

"The Distribution of Senate Committee Positions: Change or More of the Same?" Laura W. Arnold, 26 (May 2001):226-248.

"The Effect of Messages Communicated by Members of Congress: The Impact of Publicizing Votes," Daniel Lipinski, 26 (Feb. 2001): 81-100.

"Gender and the Decision to Run for Office," Richard L. Fox, Jennifer L. Lawless, and Courtney Feeley, 26 (Aug. 2001): 411-436.

"It's Monica, Stupid: The Impeachment Controversy and the 1998 Midterm Election," Alan I. Abramowitz, 26 (May 2001): 211-226.

"Joseph G. Cannon: Majoritarianism from Illinois," Keith Krehbiel and Alan Wiseman, 26 (Aug. 2001): 357-390.

"Legislative Politics in Authoritarian Brazil," Scott W. Desposato, 26 (May 2001): 287-318.

"Multiple-Method Measurement of Legislators' Ideologies," Kim Quaile Hill, 26 (May

2001): 263-274.

"Parliamentary Agenda Control and Legislative Outcomes in Western Europe," Herbert Doring, 26 (Feb.2001): 145-165.

"Partisan Change in Southern Legislatures, 1946-95," Aubrey W. Jewett, 26 (Aug. 2001): 457-486.

"The Powell Amendment Voting Cycle: An Obituary," John B. Gilmour, 26 (May 2001): 249-262.

"Principal-Agent Theory and the Power of State House Speakers," Richard A. Clucas, 26 (May 2001): 319-338.

"Quiet Influence: The Representation of Diffuse Interests on Trade Policy, 1983-94," Michael Bailey, 26 (Feb. 2001): 45-80.

"Reexamining the Politics of Talk: Partisan Rhetoric in the 104th House," Jonathan S. Morris, 26 (Feb. 2001): 101-121.

"Senate Apportionment and Partisan Advantage: A Second Look," Franco Mattei, 26 (Aug. 2001): 391-410.

"When Experience Fails: The Experience Factor in Congressional Runoffs," Charles S. Bullock and Ronald Keith Gaddie, 26 (Feb. 2001): 31-44.

### ***PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS***

"What Are Second Chambers For?" Meg Russell, 54, 3 (July 2001): 442-458.

### ***PARTY POLITICS***

"Ideology, Partisanship and Decision-Making in a Contemporary American Legislature," Roger Scully and Samuel Patterson, 7, 2, (Mar. 2001): 131-155.

"Political Parties, Electoral Systems and Women's Representation in the Regional Legislative Assemblies of Russia, 1995-1998," Grigorri V. Golosov, 7, 1 (Jan. 2001): 45-68.

### ***POLITICAL QUARTERLY***

"New Scotland? Policy, Parties and Institutions," Gerry Hassan and Chris Warhurst, 72, 2 (Apr-June 2001): 213-226.

### ***POLITICAL RESEARCH QUARTERLY***

"Building Institutional Legitimacy: The Role of Procedural Justice," Vanessa A. Baird, 54, 2 (June 2001): 333-354.

"Party Polarization and Legislative Gridlock," David R. Jones, 54, 1 (Mar. 2001): 125-141.

"Race, Roll Calls, and Redistricting: The Impact of Race-Based Redistricting on Congressional Roll-Call," Christine Leveaux Sharpe and James C. Garand, 54, 1 (Mar. 2001): 31-51.

### ***POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY***

"A House and Senate Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Elections of 2000," Gary C. Jacobson, 116, 1 (Spring 2001): 5-27.

## **POLITICAL STUDIES**

"Bicameralism and Party Politics in Germany: An Empirical Social Choice Analysis," Thomas König, 49, 3 (Aug. 2001): 411-437.

## **POLITICS**

"'Attitudinally Feminist'? The New Labour Women MPs and the Substantive Representation of Women," Sarah Childs, 21, 3 (Sept. 2001): 178-185.

"Australian Democracy and Privileged Parliamentary Speech," Lisa Hill, 21 (May 2001): 101-113.

"Truth and Fiction: A Study of the Gender Gap in the US National Legislature," Stephanie L. Hallett, 21, 3 (Sept. 2001): 186-192.

## **POLITICS & POLICY**

"Congressional Partisanship, Bipartisanship and Public Opinion: An Experimental Analysis," Jonathan Morris and Marie Witting, 29, 1 (Mar. 2001): 47-67.

"Legislative professionalism and Influence on State Agencies," Michael Baranowski, 29, 1 (Mar. 2001): 147-161.

"Partisanship and the Purse: The Money Committees and Procedures in the Post-Reform Congress," Bryan W. Marshall, Brandon C. Prins, David W. Rohde, 29, 2 (June 2001): 291-314.

"Racial Redistricting and Ideological Polarization in Southern U.S. House Delegations," Kenneth A. Wink and Allison L. Hayes, 29, 2 (June 2001): 361-384.

## **POUVOIRS: REVUE FRANCAISE D'ETUDES CONSTITUTIONNELLES ET POLITIQUES**

"Parlement et secret(s) [Parliament's Secret(s)]," Marc Guillaume, 97 (2001): 67-84. (FRE)

"Un Nouveau Speaker pour la chambre des communes [A New Speaker for the House of Commons]," Olivier Hubert Maricourt, 97 (2001): 131-138. (FRE)

## **PS: POLITICAL SCIENCE & POLITICS**

"Comments on David Mayhew's Congress: The Electoral Connection," Lawrence Dodd, 34, 2 (June 2001): 262-264.

"Concluding Observations," David R. Mayhew, 34, 2, (June 2001): 265-266.

"Congress: The Electoral Connection: Reflections on Its First Quarter-Century," John H. Aldrich, 34, 2, (June 2001): 255-256.

"David Mayhew's Congress: The Electoral Connection after 25 Years," Patricia A. Hurley, 34, 2 (June 2001): 259-261.

"'Mr. Mayhew, Meet Mr. Delay,' or the Electoral Connection in the Post-Reform Congress," Alan Abramowitz, 34,2 (June 2001): 257-258.

"Observations on Congress: The Electoral Connection a Quarter Century after Writing It," David R. Mayhew, 34, 2 (June 2001): 251-252.

"A Silver Anniversary Retrospective on David Mayhew's Congress: The Electoral Connection," Jon R. Bond, 34, 2 (June 2001): 253-254.

## **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

"An Exocet in a Red Box: Parliamentary Accountability in the Sandline Affair," Charles Polidano, 79, 2 (Summer 2001): 249-275.

## **PUBLIC CHOICE**

"Changes in the Location of the Median Voter in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1963-

1996," Bernard Grofman, William Koetzle, Samuel Merrill and Thomas Brunell, 106, 3-4 (Mar. 2001): 221-232.

"On the Membership of Decision-Making Committees," George Bulkley, Gareth D. Myles and

Bernard R. Pearson, 106, 1-2 (Jan. 2001): 1-22.

"Representation, Voluntary Retirement, and Shirking the Last Term," Charles Tien, 106, 1-2 (Jan, 2001): 117-130.

"Understanding the Clayton Act of 1914: An Analysis of the Interest Group Hypothesis," Carlos D. Ramirez and Christian Eigen-Zucchi, 106, 1-2 (Jan. 2001): 157-181.

## **WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS**

Kriesi, Hanspeter, "The Federal Parliament: The Limits of Institutional Reform," Hanspeter Kriesi, 24, 2 (Apr. 2001): 59-76.

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## APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

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### **Legislative News**

**Links to recent articles on the *Governing* magazine web site**

<http://www.governing.com/>

**"[Crash Course](#)" by Alan Greenblatt**

**"[Fit to be Tied](#)" by Alan Greenblatt**

**"[Rightsizing' the Legislature](#)" by Alan Ehrenhalt**

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**Recent articles from NCSL's magazine, *State Legislatures*:**

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**"[The Legislature as Sausage](#)" by Alan Rosenthal**

**"[The State Advantage](#)" by Alysoun McLaughlin**

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This section contains a listing of papers in the area of legislative studies that have been presented at professional conventions in recent months. Entries were taken either from preliminary or official convention programs. The following meetings are represented:

- **APSA**: Papers presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, August 30 - September 2, 2001.
- **NEPSA**: Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association in Philadelphia, November 8-10, 2001.
- **SPSA**: Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in Atlanta, November 7-10, 2001.

## APSA Papers

"Abortion Politics in the U.S. Congress: A View across Committees and over Time," Scott Ainsworth, Janna Deitz, Thad Hall.

"An Institutional Perspective on the Failure to Pass Campaign Finance Reform," Pamela Fiber.

"Are Women Effective Legislators? Evidence From the U.S. House In the 103rd-105th Congresses," Alana Jetdel, Andrew J. Taylor.

"Bringing Home the Ratings: U.S. Senator Approval from the Home Perspective, 1981-2000," Jennifer L. Anderson, Adam J. Newmark.

"Campaigns, Issue Uptake and Representation in the U.S. Senate," Tracy Sulkin.

"Casework, Issues, and Voting in State Elections: Bridging the Gap Between Congressional and State Legislative Research," George Serra, Neil Pinney.

"Conflict and Control in Committees in a Term Limited Legislature," Jovan Trpovski, Marjorie Sarbaugh-Thompson, John Strate.

"Congressional Fundraising and Committee Ambition," Eric S. Heberlig.

"Congressional Party Defection in American History," Timothy P. Nokken, Keith T. Poole

"Congressional Response to Supreme Court Activism," Jamie L. Carson, Kirk A. Randazzo.

"The Consequences of Party Switching in Congress: The Electoral Fortunes of Incumbent Legislators Who Switched Parties, 1947-2000," Christian R. Grose, Antoine Yoshinaka.

"Constituency Diversity and the Puzzle of Electoral Competition," Jeff Gulati.

"The Determinants of Leadership in Term-Limited and Non-Term Limited State Legislatures," Kathleen A. Bratton, Kerry L. Haynie.

"The Dimensional Structure of Issue Agendas in the House," Jeffery Talbert, Matthew Potoski.

"The Disappearance of Moderate and Cross-Pressured Members of Congress: Conversion, Replacement, and Electoral Change," Jon R. Bond, Richard Fleisher.

"Disasters, Delegation and Institutional Design," Jacob E. Gersen.

"The Electoral Consequences of Institutional Loyalty in the Contemporary Congress: The Case of the 1994 Elections," Daniel Lipinski, William T. Bianco, Ryan Work.

"Electoral Effects of Congressional Job Performance on the Majority Party," David R. Jones, Monika L. McDermott.

"Estimating the Impact of the Three-Fifths Clause: Examining Speakership and Presidential Elections in the Ante-Bellum United States," Brian D. Humes.

"Fighting for Women's Issues on the House Floor: An Analysis of Floor Amending Behavior in the 103rd and 104th Congresses," Michele L. Swers.

"Follow the Law: How Legal Mobilization Affects Congressional Responses to Supreme Court Decisions," J. Mitchell Pickerill, Kevin R. den Dulk.

"Gatekeeping and the Majority Party in the Antebellum House," Chris Den Hartog.

"Gatekeeping or Obstruction? An Empirical Investigation of the Second Face of Committee Power," E. Scott Adler, John D. Wilkerson.

"Getting in the Shorter Line: Party Loyalty and the Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives," Kristin Kanthak.

"Increasing Diversity or More of the Same? Term Limits and the Representation of Women, Minorities, and Minority Women in State Legislatures," Susan J. Carroll, Krista Jenkins.

"Individual Issue Ownership in the Modern Congress, 1981-1996," T. Jens Feeley.

"The Influence of Parties and the Appropriations Committee on Federal Spending Decisions," Mary Sprague.

"Instability and the House Appropriations Committee: The Consequences of Partisanship and Special Dis-Integration, 1994-2001," Joshua Gordon.

"Investigating the Electoral Roots of Conditional Party Government," Jamie Carson, Jeffery Jenkins, Eric Schickler.

"Judicial Review and the Legislative Process: Some Empirical and Normative Aspects of Due Process of Lawmaking," Philip P. Frickey, Steven S. Smith

"Leadership Cues and Member Preferences: A Case Study in Roll Call Voting," Sarah Fulton.

"Leadership PAC Contribution Strategies and House Member Ambitions," Marian L. Currinder.

"Legislating in Women's Interests? Congresswomen in the 106th Congress," Kathryn Pearson.

"Legislative Organization and the Policymaking Process: The Effect of Women State Legislators on Welfare Policy," Sarah Poggione.

"Legislative Term Limits' Impact on Minority Candidates in the California State Assembly and the Michigan State House," Stanley M. Caress.

"Legislators, Activities, and Local Media," Brian F. Schaffner.

"The Logic of Congressional Organization: A Multi-Institutional Rationale," Gregory L. Bovitz, Thomas H. Hammond.

"Majority status and reelection in U.S. State Houses, 1970-88," Cary W. Cox, Chris Den Hartog.

"The Making of Legislative Agents: Interest Group Influence in Congressional Policymaking," Craig A. Williams.

"Managing Morality: House Leadership Strategies in the Face of Absolutist Conflict," Elizabeth A. Oldmixon.

"Modeling Lobbyist Access: Ideology, Political Participation, and Specialized Policy Knowledge," Kevin M. Esterling.

"The Money Career: Solving Collective Action Problems Through Creative Financing," Victoria A. Farrar-Myers.

"Musical Chairs: The Changing Seniority System in Congress," Russell D. Renka, Daniel E. Ponder.

"On Measuring Partisanship in Roll Call Voting: The U.S. House of Representatives, 1877-1," Gary W. Cox, Keith T. Poole.

"On the Endurance of Legislative Leadership Power in the US States: Participatory Shirking, Delegation, and Centralized Power in Professionalized Legislatures," H.W. Jerome Maddox.

"The Other Half of the Puzzle: Republican Committee Assignments in the House: 1965-1991," Scott A. Frisch, Sean Q. Kelly.

"Party Defectors on Roll Call Votes in the United States House of Representatives: A Model Estimating When Members are Most Likely to Defect," Kevin J. Conway.

"Party Unity and the Value of Party Labels," Jeffrey D. Gynaviski.

"Party Voting in US State Legislatures," Shannon Jenkins.

"Policy Dynamics and Interest Group Lobbying Opportunities: The Impact of Issue Dimensions," John W. Hardin, K. Nicole Shumaker.

"The Price of Party Unity: The Financial Power of America's Political Parties," David C.W. Parker.

"Race Matters: Exploring Differences in the Campaigns of Minority and White State Legislative Candidates," Paul S. Herrnson, Atiya Kai Stokes.

"Reassessing the Impact of Campaign Contributions on Legislative Roll Call Votes: Controlling for Heterogenous Effects," Matthew Jarvis, Justin Buchler.

"The Role of War Chests and Fundraising in Congressional Elections," Jason Daniel Mycoff.

"Senate Apprenticeship in Historical Perspective: Senator's Maiden Floor Speeches," David R. White.

"Strategic Decision Making and the Invoking of Cloture in the," Gregory R. Thorson, Tasina Nitzschke, Nicholas J. Maxwell.

"Strategic Influences and Congressional Voting: Continuity and Change," Lawrence S. Rothenberg, Mitchell S. Sanders.

"Strategic Redistricting, the Secret Ballot and Electoral Competition, 1840-1940," Erik J. Engstrom.

"Structure, Preferences, and Outcomes: Explaining When Bills Do-and-Don't Become Law," Barbara Sinclair.

"Term-Limited Legislators Responsiveness to Constituents: The Case of the" Chris Wilson, Charles Elder, Lyke Thompson, Richard Elling.

"Term Limits and Institutional Maintenance in the Maine Legislature," Matthew C. Moen.

"Term Limits and the New York City Council," Jeffrey Fred Kraus.

"Term Limits, Professionalism, and Committee Roles: Theories from Congress and Evidence from States," Thaddeus Kousser.

"A Theory of Institutional Choice," Gregory Koger.

"A 'Tools of the Trade' Look at Comparing Congress with State Legislatures," Keith E. Hamm, Peverill Squire.

"The Use of Self-Executing Rules Under Democratic and Republican Majorities in the House of Representatives, 1989-2000," Don Wolfensberger.

"The Use of Verbal Political Symbols by U.S. Senators to Enhance Representational Linkages," Kim Quaile Hill, Patricia A. Hurley.

"Using State Legislative Rules of Procedure to Test Existing Theories of Legislative Organization," Nancy Martorano.

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## **NEPSA Papers:**

"Congressional Budget Priorities: A Representational Perspective," Patrick Fisher, Monmouth University.

"The House Budget Committee: Policy Change and Political Conflict in 2001," Joan Hulse Thompson, Arcadia University.

"Ideological Polarization in Congress and the Delegation of Legislative Authority to Agencies," Margit Tavits, University of Pittsburgh.

"The Impact of Budget Reform on Congressional Spending Decisions," Bill Heniff, Jr., University of Maryland, College Park.

"The Impact of Redistricting on Legislative Roll-Call Behavior," Johanna Dunaway, University of North Texas.

"Political Change, Shifting Coalitions: Factions and Cleavages in the Republican Committee on Committees," Scott A. Frisch, California State University, Bakersfield; Sean Q. Kelly, Niagara University.

"Soft Behavior Responses (SBRs): How and Why Members of the U.S. House of Representatives Attempt to Affect Legislation through Off-the-Record Behavior," Bert Levine, Bucknell University.

"Towards a New Theory of Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives," Matthew N. Green, Yale University.

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## **SPSA Papers:**

"Accuracy of Early Versus Late Predictions of Outcomes in Open House Seats," Ronald Keith Gaddie, Charles S. Bullock III, Craig A. Williams, University of Oklahoma.

"Building Coalitions for Women's Issues: An Analysis of Cosponsorship in the 103rd and 104th Congresses," Michele Swers, Mary Washington College.

"Controlling Turf: Referral and Amendment Rights in the House," Charles J. Finocchiaro, Michigan State University, Bryan W. Marshall, University of Missouri, St. Louis.

"Cosponsorship Among Supporters of Legislation," Brian M. Harward, University of Georgia.

"Delegates to the U.S. House of Representatives: Evolution and Effectiveness, 1970-2000,"

Michael K. Fauntroy, Congressional Research Service.

"Deference or Dissent? Congress Responds to U.S. vs. Eichman," Christopher N. Lawrence, University of Mississippi.

"Deliberation in the House of Representatives: The Role of Congressional Members Organizations," Celia M. Carroll, Emory University.

"District Heterogeneity and Roll Call Voting," Abby Lorenz, Texas A&M University.

"Divided Government, Legislative Professionalism and the Veto in the American States," David W. Prince, University of Kentucky.

"Does Political Money Enhance or Inhibit Congressional Responsiveness?" Michael Bailey, Georgetown University.

"Electoral Accountability and Roll Call Voting in the U.S. Senate," Jamie Carson, Michigan State University.

"Growing Congress: An Agent-Based Model of Congressional Organization," Scott Graves, Jack Buckley, SUNY, Stony Brook.

"Heterogeneity and Representation: Constituent Influence in Congress," Benjamin G. Bishin, University of Miami and Harvard-MIT.

"Ideological Convergence and Political Risk in U.S. House Elections," Nathan Burroughs, Robert Rudy, University of Georgia.

"Leading a Divided Senate," C. Larry Evans, College of William and Mary, Walter Oleszek, Congressional Research Service, Elizabeth A. Isaacs, College of William and Mary.

"Linking Legislators and Constituents: The Role of the Local Press," Brian Schaffner, Indiana University.

"Long-Term Position Change in Roll Call Voting," Scott R. Meinke, Ohio State University.

"Measuring District Interests: What Have We Been Missing?" Kristina Miler, University of Michigan.

"Measuring Legislative Contentiousness over Time: An Aggregate Analysis of the U.S. Legislative Process," Scot. D. Schraufnagel, Florida State University.

"One Party Dominant System in the Legislature Was Not Built in a Day: Institutionalization of the Japanese Diet Based on the Individual Government Bills Data Base During 1947-1996," Kentaro Fukumoto, Gakushuin University.

"The Politics of treaty Ratification: Insights into Presidential Congressional Relations," Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University, Glen S. Krutz, Arizona State University.

"Presidential Scandal, Impeachment Politics, and Congressional Elections: An Examination of Strategic Retirement in 1998-2000," Phillip B. Bridgmon, University of Alabama.

"The Puzzle of Constituency Diversity Revisited: Conditional Effects of District Diversity on Competition in Congressional Elections," Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University; Kristen Campbell, Hamilton College; James Cottrill, Texas A&M University.

"Reexamining Gridlock in the Legislative Process: A Transaction Cost Approach," Brad T. Gomez, Sarah M. Gubala, University of South Carolina.

"The Rules of the Game: The Genesis and Nature of Parliamentary Rule Changes in Legislative Systems," Julianne Flowers, Georgia State University.

"Seniority and Support for Government Spending in the House: Is There a Culture of Spending?"

Renee Renegar, James C. Garand, Louisiana State University.

"Tenure, Policy Accountability, and Congressional Elections," George A. Krause, University of South Carolina.

"Testing the Vote-Buying Hypothesis: Evidence from the 1922 Ship Subsidy Bill," Craig Goodman, Timothy O. Nokken, University of Houston.

"Voting Behavior of Congress Members: Does Statesmanship Matter?" Micheala C. Denny, Florida State University.

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### **The Campaign Finance Institute**

CFI announces a new disclosure portal now available on their website. The portal's direct address is [http://www.cfinst.org/disc\\_links/index.html](http://www.cfinst.org/disc_links/index.html)

The portal contains deep links -- not just home pages -- for:

- FEC disclosure by candidates, parties, PACs, soft money, etc.
- IRS disclosure of "527" political committees that do not disclose to the FEC.
- Lobbying disclosure reports under the Lobbying Disclosure and Foreign Agents Registration Act.
- State electronic disclosure websites for the states and some cities.
- Select nongovernmental websites for campaign finance data, issue advertising data, nonprofit organizations' tax filings, federal contractors, and more.

The general address for the Institute's website is <http://www.cfinst.org>

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### **Conference Call**

#### ***"Political Parties, Parliamentary Committees, Parliamentary Leadership and Governance"***

Research Committee of Legislative Specialists  
International Political Science Association  
Bilgi University  
Istanbul, Turkey  
June 23-26, 2002

Conference website: [www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya](http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~genckaya)

The Research Committee of Legislative Specialists (RCLS) of the International Political Science Association invites researchers in legislatures and parliaments around the world to

propose papers for the forthcoming international conference, "Political Parties, Parliamentary Committees, Parliamentary Leadership and Governance."

The conference in Istanbul is an opportunity to both explore topics continuing from our previous conferences, and to examine the place and functions of parliaments in the geopolitical regions adjacent to Turkey. These topics will also lead into IPSA's next Triennial Conference in Durban, South Africa in 2003. The conference is sponsored by the Research Committee of Legislative Specialists of IPSA in conjunction with the Political Science Association of Turkey and Istanbul Bilgi University.

Papers accepted for the conference should contain an abstract, and a bibliography in standard format used in the IPSA Review. Participants should bring 25 copies for distribution. For purposes of broad dissemination, papers should be written in English or French, the two working languages of IPSA. We will attempt to post the abstracts on a website.

We invite the attention of political scientists and other social scientists, and of members and staff of legislatures from around the world, to the themes of our conference. To indicate your interest in giving a paper or in organizing a panel, please contact Prof. David Olson ([dmolson@uncg.edu](mailto:dmolson@uncg.edu)), a RCLS co-chair, by November 15, 2001.

For local information, please contact Dr. Omer Genckaya ( [Genckaya@bilkent.edu.tr](mailto:Genckaya@bilkent.edu.tr)) and see his conference website listed at the top of this notice.

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## News from the Congressional Papers Roundtable

The Ashland University Archives has finished adding the congressional papers of Rep. **John M. Ashbrook** (R-Ohio) to the university archives website ( [www.archives.ashland.edu](http://www.archives.ashland.edu)). The site includes photographs and RealAudio files of some of Mr. Ashbrook's speeches. Also found is an overview of his collection.

The Baylor Collections of Political Materials has finished processing the papers of **Hyde Murray**, Minority Counsel to the House Committee on Agriculture, 1958-1978, which was during the time **W. R. "Bob" Poage** (D-TX) was vice chairman/chairman of that committee. The BCPM contains 1000 lin. ft. of Poage's papers ([www.baylor.edu/~Ben\\_Rogers/Poage/welcome.html](http://www.baylor.edu/~Ben_Rogers/Poage/welcome.html)). . . The collection also includes about 4 lin. ft. of materials from Hyde's father, Congressman **Reid Murray** (R-WI) at [www.baylor.edu/Library/BCPM/reidmurray.html](http://www.baylor.edu/Library/BCPM/reidmurray.html).

In April, The Associated Press reported that seven missing cartons, documenting the first ten years of Sen. **Frank Church's** (D-Id) career were found in storage at a Senate Office Building. The papers include correspondence, memoranda, speeches, news releases, and notes from foreign trips. Church passed away in 1984 at the age of 59 after serving four terms in the Senate (1956-1980). His papers are held at Boise State University Special Collections Department ([www.library.boisestate.edu/Special/PARGRAPH/mss56.htm](http://www.library.boisestate.edu/Special/PARGRAPH/mss56.htm)). The Senate Historical office shipped the long-lost boxes to Boise to be added to the rest of the collection.

Layne Library at Dakota Wesleyan University in Mitchell, South Dakota, has the Sen. **Francis H. Case** (R-SD) Collection and the Sen. **George S. McGovern** (D-SD) Collection. The Case Collection consists of his congressional and senatorial papers from 1936 to 1962, as well as photographs, memorabilia and mementos. . . The McGovern Collection consists of George McGovern's personal collection of photographs, papers, and memorabilia. The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University holds his congressional papers. A finding aid to Layne Library's McGovern Collection currently is available in paper format and will soon be mounted on the library's home page ([www.dwu.edu/library/](http://www.dwu.edu/library/)).

Missouri Southern State College has the papers of Congressman **Gene Taylor** (R-MO). The papers document congressman Taylor's 16 years (1973 to 1989) as Congressman from

Missouri's 7th District. The publication for this is *The Guide to the Papers of U.S. Congressman Gene Taylor of Missouri*, published in 1990. The collection is located in the Archives and Special Collections Department in George Spiva Library at Missouri Southern State College.

The Oklahoma Humanities Council recently granted more than \$10,000 to the Carl Albert Center at the University of Oklahoma. The funds will enable the center to convert two existing in-house exhibits into traveling exhibits. One of these exhibits is titled "Climbing Capitol Hill and Staying," and it highlights the impact that women have made in transforming national government, especially the U.S. Congress... The other exhibit reviews the life of Carl Albert (1908-2000) and focuses on his role in the House leadership.

The Carl Albert Center announces the availability of an Oral History Project Procedures Manual on the Center's web site ([www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/oralhist.htm](http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/oralhist.htm)).

Congressional Papers Roundtable Newsletter  
July 2001. Reprinted with permission.

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## **Dirksen Congressional Center Research Awards**

The Dirksen Congressional Center invites applications for grants to fund research on congressional leadership and the U.S. Congress. The Center, named for the late Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit research and educational organization devoted to the study of Congress and its leaders. Since 1978, the Congressional Research Awards (formerly the Congressional Research Grants) program has paid out nearly \$500,000 to support nearly 275 projects. Applications 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 2002.

The competition is open to individuals with a serious interest in studying Congress. Political scientists, historians, biographers, scholars of public administration or American studies, and journalists are among those eligible. The Center encourages graduate students to apply and awards a significant portion of the funds for dissertation research.

The awards program does not fund undergraduate or pre-Ph.D. study. Organizations are not eligible. Research teams of two or more individuals are eligible. No institutional overhead or indirect costs may be claimed against a Congressional Research Award.

Detailed information regarding the grants program and the application process can be found on the Dirksen Center's website at <http://www.pekin.net/dirksen/grantcongresearchaward.htm>

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## **NCSL News**

### ***Joint Term Limits Project***

The Joint Project on Term Limits is a cooperative effort among the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Council of State Governments, the State Legislative Leaders Foundation and a group of legislative scholars. The purpose of the project is to assess the effects of term limits on state legislatures and identify successful approaches for dealing with them.

This joint project among three national organizations of state legislators and a group of legislative scholars is a unique collaborative effort. Not only is it the first time the three national organizations have undertaken a joint project, it is also the first time that legislative scholars and the users of legislative research have joined together to identify a priority research topic and collaborate on carrying it out. The scholars and the national

organizations hope that this project is a model for future mutually beneficial research.

The project will combine three different methods to study term limits: a demographic database on the characteristics of all state legislators; a national survey of all state legislators based on a survey instrument first developed and administered in 1995 by John Carey, Richard Niemi and Lynda Powell before term limits had taken full effect; and in-depth case studies of six term-limited legislatures and a control group of three non-term-limited legislatures. A legislative scholar will be paired with a staff person from one of the three national organizations to conduct the case study in each of the nine states. The project team has selected Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Maine and Ohio as the case study states, recruited political scientists as investigators in each of those states and held a planning meeting to coordinate the work in each of the case study states. The control group of three non-term-limited legislatures will be selected at the end of 2002.

A complete description of the project and a list of the project participants can be found at <http://www.ncsl.org/programs/legman/aBOUT/jtproject.htm> (click through the first screen as a "public user").

### ***Legislative Intern Programs***

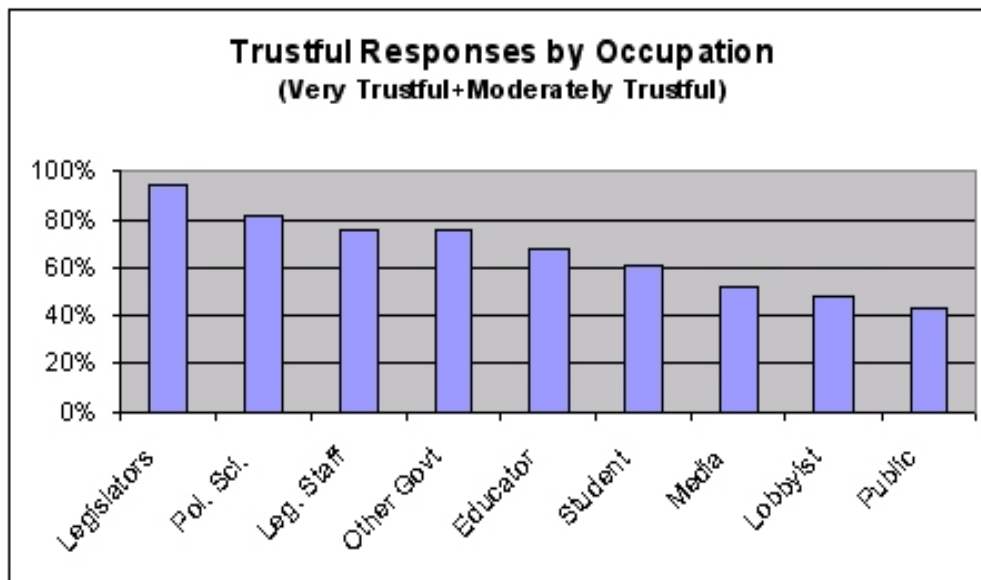
NCSL has developed a list of legislative internship programs and contacts and has begun to offer services to the coordinators of these programs. The list of programs can be found on the menu page of NCSL's Trust for Representative Democracy at <http://www.ncsl.org/public/civiced.htm> (click through the first screen as a "public user"). Political scientists who coordinate state legislative internship programs in their states are urged to check this list, report any missing information and sign up to participate on the legislative internship coordinator listserve. The internship coordinators who work for legislatures have held programs at each of the last two NCSL annual meetings, and faculty coordinators are invited to join them. The next NCSL annual meeting is in Denver, July 22-28, 2002.

### ***Legislative Scholars' Trust in Representative Democracy***

NCSL's short book, *The Case for Representative Democracy*, is designed to take on cynical public attitudes toward the legislative process and to offer an alternative, more positive perspective on Congress and state legislatures. One of the reasons that the authors, Alan Rosenthal, Karl Kurtz, John Hibbing, and Burdett Loomis, decided to write this book was their belief that legislative scholars have a much more positive view of American legislatures than do the media or the general public. NCSL has tested this supposition with an online survey of public attitudes toward legislatures.

The survey measures attitudes on a scale that ranges from a distrustful view of legislatures to a trustful one on six different dimensions that match the principal issues raised by *The Case for Representative Democracy*. Political scientists were asked to respond to the survey through a solicitation on the Statepol listserve. Out of a total of 1,643 respondents to the survey, 60 (4 percent) identify themselves as political scientists.

<b>Trust in Representative Democracy by Occupation</b>																		
	<i>Legislators</i>		<i>Staff</i>		<i>Other Govt</i>		<i>Lobbyist</i>		<i>Media</i>		<i>Educator</i>		<i>Student</i>		<i>Public</i>		<i>Pol Sci</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very Trustful	119	75	129	40	21	40	24	19	11	18	53	30	103	23	35	15	28	47
Moderately Trustful	29	18	115	36	32	36	28	29	21	34	65	37	169	38	69	29	21	35
In-between	9	6	62	19	34	19	8	31	22	35	43	25	137	31	57	24	8	13
Moderately Cynical	0	0	11	3	15	3	4	14	7	11	10	6	34	8	49	20	3	5
Very Cynical	1	1	5	2	7	2	4	6	1	2	3	2	5	1	31	13	0	0
	158	100	322	100	109	100	68	100	62	100	174	100	448	100	241	100	60	100



The survey is obviously not a scientific one for a variety of reasons, not least because legislators and staff make up a disproportionate share (29 percent) of the respondents. But the distribution of responses among different occupations as shown in the following table is nonetheless instructive. Next to legislators themselves, political scientists are indeed the most trustful group of respondents, coming in ahead of legislative staff and other government officials. The 82 percent trustful response from political scientists is nearly twice that of the general public. While the 52 percent trustful responses for the media may seem surprisingly high, the difference between their views and those of political scientists who study legislatures is still significant. Other results of the survey are similar to other surveys on government trust that show that trust increases with age, level of political knowledge and extent of political involvement.

A description of *The Case for Representative Democracy* and the survey instrument itself ("How do you Feel about Representative Democracy?") can be found on NCSL's Trust for Representative Democracy web page at <http://www.ncsl.org/public/civiced.htm> (click through the first screen as a "public user"). For complete results of the survey, contact Karl Kurtz at [karl.kurtz@ncsl.org](mailto:karl.kurtz@ncsl.org).

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## **National Endowment for Democracy**

### ***Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program***

The National Endowment for Democracy is pleased to announce the establishment of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program to enable democracy activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of and enhance their ability to promote democracy. Reagan-Fascell Fellows will be in residence at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the research and publications arm of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), located in Washington, D.C.

The International Forum hosts 12-15 fellows per year for three to ten months each. Each fellow will receive a monthly stipend for living expenses plus health insurance and reimbursement for travel to and from Washington, D.C. Stipend levels range from a minimum of \$3500/month to a maximum of \$7500/month, taking into account the fellow's previous annual income, level of experience, and the cost of living in Washington, D.C. Limited funds may be available for travel within the United States.

Applicants for Reagan-Fascell fellowships must choose between two tracks: a practitioner track (typically three to five months) to improve strategies and techniques for building democracy and to exchange information with counterparts in the United States; and a research and writing track (typically five to ten months) to conduct original research for publication.

**Eligibility:** The Reagan-Fascell fellowship program is intended primarily to support practitioners and scholars from new and aspiring democracies. Distinguished scholars from the United States and other established democracies are also eligible to apply. Practitioners are expected to have substantial experience working to promote democracy. Applicants who will focus on research and writing are expected to have a Ph.D. or, for non-academics, to have published in an area of expertise. The program is not designed to support students working toward a degree.

**Application:** Applications should be sent by air mail as well as by e-mail to the address below and should consist of the following materials:

- Eight copies of a cover letter
- Eight copies of a 5-10 page description of the proposed project to be carried out while in Washington, DC.

Those choosing the practitioner track should: 1) describe the work that they have been doing to advance democracy; 2) explain what they hope to accomplish through the fellowship, identifying a feasible fellowship project that takes into account the specific resources that they would draw on and the activities they would undertake; 3) provide a preliminary outline of the fellowship product (short article, policy memorandum, etc.); and 4) discuss how the fellowship will strengthen their ability to conduct their work and contribute to the more effective promotion of democracy in their country or region.

Those choosing the research and writing track should: 1) discuss how their project will advance public understanding of the theory or practice of democracy; 2) briefly describe how the proposed research relates to or extends existing literature on the subject; 3) indicate how a fellowship at the International Forum in Washington, D.C., will facilitate this research; and 4) provide a preliminary description of the proposed written product (article, monograph, or book).

- Eight copies of a detailed CV or resume
- An indication of the preferred starting date and desired duration of fellowship
- Three letters of reference

**The deadline for fellowships beginning in Fall 2002 is April 1, 2002** although applicants are encouraged to submit their materials earlier.

Notification: Late June 2002

For more information, visit [www.ned.org/forum/fellowship\\_program.html](http://www.ned.org/forum/fellowship_program.html), or contact:

Kristin Helz

Program Assistant, Fellowship Programs

International Forum for Democratic Studies

National Endowment for Democracy

1101 15th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005

Tel.: (202) 293-0300

Fax: (202) 293-0258

[kristin@ned.org](mailto:kristin@ned.org)

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## Visiting Scholars Program

The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma seeks applicants for its Visiting Scholars Program, which provides financial assistance to researchers working at the Center's archives. Awards of \$500 - \$1000 are normally granted as reimbursement for travel and lodging.

The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; and Neil Gallagher of New Jersey. Besides the history of Congress, congressional leadership, national and Oklahoma politics, and election campaigns, the collections also document government policy affecting agriculture, Native Americans, energy, foreign affairs, the environment, the economy, and other areas.

Topics that can be studied include the Great Depression, flood control, soil conservation, and tribal affairs. At least one collection provides insight on women in American politics. Most materials date from the 1920s to the 1970s, although there is one nineteenth century collection.

The Center's archives are described on their website at <http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/> and in the publication titled *A Guide to the Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives* by Judy Day et.al. (Norman, Okla.: The Carl Albert Center, 1995), available at many U.S. academic libraries. Additional information can be obtained from the Center.

The Visiting Scholars Program is open to any applicant. Emphasis is given to those pursuing postdoctoral research in history, political science, and other fields. Graduate students involved in research for publication, thesis, or dissertation are encouraged to apply. Interested undergraduates and lay researchers are also invited to apply. The Center evaluates each research proposal based upon its merits, and funding for a variety of topics is expected.

No standardized form is needed for application. Instead, a series of documents should be sent to the Center, including:

- (1) a description of the research proposal in fewer than 1000 words;
- (2) a personal vita;
- (3) an explanation of how the Center's resources will assist the researcher;
- (4) a budget proposal; and
- (5) a letter of reference from an established scholar in the discipline attesting to the significance of the research.

Applications are accepted at any time.

For more information, please contact Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019.

Telephone: (405) 325-5401.

FAX: (405) 325-6419.

Email: [kosmerick@ou.edu](mailto:kosmerick@ou.edu)

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## **Working Papers Web Site for LSS**

At the 2001 APSA meeting in San Francisco, LSS members attending the section business meeting discussed the possibility of adding a working papers section to the LSS web site. An example of such a working papers site may be found at the Political Methodology web site at <http://web.polmeth.ufl.edu/>. We have discussed the technical and related policy requirements of creating a working papers section. We conclude that it would be technically feasible to set it up with parameters similar to those listed below.

- Any member of the section could submit working papers for posting (uploading) to the LSS Working Papers web site.
- The author submitting a paper would do so by emailing to the editor an electronic file, in MS Word or Word Perfect format. This file would subsequently be converted to PDF and posted to the LSS Working Papers Web Site.
- The author would provide his/her email address, and the web site would provide a

link to enable readers to send email messages to the author about the paper.

- Papers would be catalogued alphabetically and by year.
- Submitted papers would be posted at or about the first of each month if received by the 25th day of the preceding month.
- The LSS would provide a statement on the web site to indicate that all work is the property of the author and that no work should be cited or quoted without permission of the author.
- The LSS editor would exercise only minimal editorial discretion; papers would be posted unless they were clearly unsubstantial or improperly formatted.
- All submitted papers must be complete and references supplied.

Among the questions that need to be addressed prior to the establishment of a working papers web site are these:

1. What is the extent of interest in LSS offering this service, i.e. how many members would choose to submit their work?
2. Should there be any limit on the number of papers a member could post in a given year?
3. What would be the effect on the review process of journals for papers posted to the working papers site? How, in particular, would it affect double-blind reviewing?
4. Should the section allow papers that have been previously presented at professional meetings to be posted to the working papers web site?

In order to address these issues, we offer a a brief survey and the opportunity for members to comment. [Please click here to fill out and submit the survey.](#)

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Burdett A. Loomis, Editor  
University of Kansas  
January 2002

## **Between the Branches: The Congress, the Courts, and the President**

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### **Contents of this issue:**

#### *Court-Congress Interaction in Statutory Law*

Lawrence Baum, Ohio State University  
Lori Hausegger, Louisiana State University

#### *Emerging Multi-Institutional Analyses: Congress and the Courts*

Jamie L. Carson, Michigan State University  
Kirk A. Randazzo, Michigan State University

#### *United We Fall: Unified Government and Divided Party Communication*

Tim Groeling, University of California - Los Angeles

#### *Interconnecting Tissue: A Quantitative Analysis of the Inter-Branch Policy Conversations*

Leah A. Murray, University of Albany, SUNY

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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, Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2157.

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Members may go to <http://lss.proboards.com/> to post comments on the Bulletin Board for *Extension of Remarks*.

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