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Research &
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Extension
of Remarks

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From the Chair

[David R. Mayhew](#)
Yale University

Hi, folks. Here are a few notes from my swansong summer as LSS chair.

1. Note that the annual business meeting of the Legislative Studies Section at the upcoming APSA convention will take place at an unusual time. It is scheduled for 6:15 to 7:00 p.m. on Friday evening, August 29. That 45 minutes might be a tight squeeze, since we expect to have reports from five prize committees, a nominating committee, and the LSS officers as well as a few other items of business.
2. Last spring, the executive board of the LSS chose Sean Q. Kelly as new editor of the section's semiannual issues of "Extension of Remarks." Good luck, Sean! You will enjoy working with the very helpful people at the Carl Albert Center.
3. Following the stint of Nicol Rae as LSS program chair for the APSA convention of 2003, Sarah Binder and Forrest Maltzman have agreed to assume that large task jointly for the convention of 2004.

From the Editor

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

Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma

Legislative Studies Section President David Mayhew has announced that the LSS Executive Board selected Professor Sean Kelly as the new editor of "Extension of Remarks." I'm sure that many of you know Sean, but for those who might not, here is a bit of biographical information. Sean is a native of Seattle, Washington. He received his B.A. from Seattle University, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Colorado. He is a former American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow (1993-1994), during which he worked for the Senate Democratic Leadership. He joined the faculty of the Department of Political Science at Niagara University after teaching for several years at East Carolina University. Sean's primary research interests are American political institutions, political parties and leadership, and public policy. His research has been published in *Congress and the Presidency*, *Polity*, other journals, and several edited books. His book, *Committee Politics* (co-authored with Scott Frisch) is forthcoming in the Congressional Studies Series of the University of Oklahoma Press. As the editor of that series, I look forward to working with Sean in both capacities. Sean's first issue of EOR will be uploaded to the LSS website in September.

I'm sure that I speak for all of us in thanking Bird Loomis for his long stint as EOR editor. Bird's dedication and creativity have made EOR interesting and fun to read. He has set the mark high, and I know that Sean will sustain that excellence.

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APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

Volume 26, Number 2, July 2003

Book Notes

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Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil, David Samuels, Cambridge University Press, 2003. ISBN 0521816718, \$65.00, cloth, 248 pages.

David Samuels accomplishes so much in his *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil* that it is a challenge to know what to highlight. At its most basic level, this work explores the careers paths, decisions, and strategies of Brazilian legislators. As a work on Brazil, Samuels brings to it a strong awareness of current research, substantial interviewing and other qualitative data, and quantitative analysis reflecting (at times, painstakingly) careful and thorough data collection. As a book about Brazilian politics, it sheds substantial light on the political evolution of Brazil, especially in its current redemocratization period.

Samuels' book, though, should be read with interest by a wide range of scholars. Samuels' argument is that Brazilian legislators are strategic and ambitious politicians. They make their living off of politics and desire upward mobility. Deputies are permitted to seek reelection – even encouraged to do so – and about three-fourths of Brazil's deputies do. But the rest of the picture looks quite unfamiliar, especially to scholars used to thinking about careerism in terms of American politics.

First, the number of deputies seeking reelection is not especially high, especially by U.S. standards. Second, the reelection rate is only modest – less than two-thirds during democratic periods. The results are that about half the deputies are new at the start of any given legislative term and only about ten percent have served more than three terms. If they have tried, Brazilian legislators have not been as successful at building career safeguards as have those sitting in many parliamentary bodies around the world. But, Samuels explains, the anomalies do not stop there. Some 15 to 20 percent of deputies step down during the course of their term and a like number seek other office but fail. Additionally, deputies also have done little to make a career in the legislature attractive. That is, they have built none of the incumbency and seniority rules and practices that our theories tell us to expect when members try to build a career within a legislature. There is essentially no legislative hierarchy (even for a legislative body), there is forced rotation for significant positions, there is no norm of universalism, and the benefits of office are minimal.

Maybe Brazilian deputies are amateurs and lack political ambition. Not likely on its face, but even more likely, Samuels explains, because deputies have a well-deserved reputation for being heavily engaged in pork barrel politics.

In a carefully crafted explanation to this odd combination of facts, Samuels explains that "progressive ambition" might be ambition to move up by moving "down" the federalism ladder. That is, the goal for many members might not be higher federal office (of which there are few with any substantial power and influence) but rather power (generally in the executive) in states or even large municipalities. Samuels argues that the career deputies build is aimed at moving them into positions of power and influence in the states where opportunities are greater.

This particular career path is not just a result of historical evolution or political culture. Using a rational-choice institutionalist model, he makes the case that history and culture have shaped the political opportunity structure and that Brazilian politicians have taken that opportunity structure and systematically shaped careers within it. His careful analysis both demonstrates the utility of that approach and remind us that we need to be cautious in the automatic assumptions we might make in the application of that perspective.

Gary Copeland
Professor of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

• ***Deliberate Discretion?: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy***, John D. Huber and Charles R. Shipan, Cambridge University Press, 2002. ISBN 0521817447, \$65.00, cloth, 284 pages.

Congressional scholars can reasonably be held to have taken the lead in developing theory about delegation of authority from the legislative to the executive branch. Kiewiet's and McCubbins's *The Logic of Congressional Delegation* broke new ground in explaining the rational foundations of congressional behavior and its consequences for the bureaucracy. Like many other studies of the Congress over the past two decades, these authors adopt a rational choice framework for explaining congressional action. Such studies have provided real insight into the Congress, but none have been able to produce a general theory of legislative action because their focus has been restricted to the Congress. There is a real need to test hypotheses derived from congressional studies in other legislative venues.

To the rescue come Huber and Shipan. *Deliberate Discretion* examines the relationship between legislatures and executives in a comparative context. Taking as their primary source of data the text of laws, the authors offer a theory of legislative discretion and design, and in consequence the extent to which legislators in drafting law choose to delegate discretionary power to bureaucrats. Observing variation across regimes, they seek to understand why legislators may choose to delegate authority to bureaucrats and how the extent of delegation may vary according to regime type. They also address the question of, who is empowered by legislative delegation of authority to executives? Legislators? Bureaucrats? Chief Executives? Interest Groups?

To explore these questions the authors review existing theories of delegation, provide a justification for using statutes as a basis for examining delegation, and offer their own theoretical perspective. A chapter addresses Medicaid policy in the state of Michigan, and then separate chapters are devoted to a comparative analysis of delegation across state legislatures in the United States and to a comparative analysis of delegation across parliamentary regimes in Europe. A concluding chapter offers models of legislative delegation pertinent to separation of powers and parliamentary regimes respectively.

This book offers interesting and testable theory and a number of interesting conclusions. Its most general finding suggests that legislative delegation is conditioned by regime type and institutional environment. Legislative scholars will find much here to guide future research. As importantly, the authors offer a model of comparative legislative research that we may hope will be emulated in the future.

Ronald M. Peters, Jr.
Regents Professor of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

• ***The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development***, Amie Kreppel, Cambridge University Press, 2002. ISBN 0521806259, \$60.00, cloth, 280 pages.

Kreppel presents a thorough treatment of the origins and development of the European Parliament's supranational party system. Using both the micro and macro models of congressional development, she works to formulate a general theory of institutional development within the European Parliament. She finds that "the overall pattern of internal E.P. development has been movement away from egalitarian internal structure and strongly ideological coalitions toward increased internal centralization of power and ideological moderation" (2002:10). Additionally, Kreppel finds that the party system changes, moving from an ideologically distinct spectrum of parties toward a semblance of a bipartisan cooperative system.

This work is an important contribution to the literature on comparative legislatures. The book is divided into nine chapters and provides an index and appendices. The appendices include tables

concerning the rules of procedure and the rules reforms, as well as the ideological spectrum of the party groups over time. The introductory chapter concisely develops her argument and outlines the plan of the book. In chapter two, Kreppel traces the theories of legislative development and applies these to the European Parliament. In the subsequent two chapters, Kreppel provides an historical accounting of the party groups and the European Parliament.

In the following three chapters Kreppel systematically demonstrates how the European Parliament's internal development, its party groups, ideology, and rules have been impacted by external changes in the function of the parliament and internal movements toward a party system constructed to be more capable of achieving its primary power goals of policy realization. Drawing from Copeland and Patterson (1994), Kreppel defines the external "critical moments" as those changes which are large enough to require internal reform or result in diminishment. She demonstrates a definite link between these changes and reforms in the structure of the parliament. Kreppel demonstrates that the macro model is inadequate at this point to explain the changes in internal rules. The macro model would suggest that all benefits of the changes would be collective (Polsby 1968), but Kreppel finds that as the parliament gained more legislative power, the micro model of congressional development became more relevant. The changes in the rules tended to increase the power of some groups over others and favor a more bi-partisan cooperative structure within the parliament.

Using the changes in the structure of the European Parliament as the external critical moments impacting party groups, Kreppel finds that "the change in coalition patterns was a direct result of the institutional transformation of the European Parliament from a chamber of debate to a legislative body" (2002: 151). Interestingly, the application of the micro model to the party groups would predict that the internal structure of the party groups would restrict member behavior and increase the power of party elite; however, Kreppel finds that this consolidation of power has been restricted within the party groups themselves. The increased party control of members primarily manifests itself within the institutional changes of the E.P. Kreppel then speculates on the future development of the party groups and internal development and draws conclusions about the structure and future development of the European Union and the party group system.

Amie Kreppel places the study of the European Union and its parties in its proper place in the study of legislatures and sets an important precedent for the future study of international legislative bodies. This is an important book that addresses the structure of the world decision-making bodies and produces generalizable theories of institutional development to be applied to other legislative bodies and party systems.

Melody Huckaby
Carl Albert Center Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Fair Representation: Meeting the Ideal of One Man, One Vote, Michel L. Balinski and H. Peyton Young, Brookings Institution Press, 2001. ISBN 081570111X, \$22.95, paper, 195 pages.

This book seeks to answer the question as to how to divide the seats in a legislature in a fair way proportional to the population of the states. The idea of apportionment of seats is explicitly political in a representative system of government because it gets at issues of power. The more seats a state holds, the more power it can yield. Absolutely fair apportionment of seats is not possible, however, due to the indivisibility of seats. As such, some states will be necessarily over-represented and others under-represented.

The central issue becomes how to work with fractions. What should be done when a state's proportion of seats in the House is 4.5? Do they get 4 seats or 5 seats? Balinski and Young conclude that the method created by Daniel Webster, noted American statesman, is the fairest in its treatment of small and large states, is the least biased method, and therefore the best for a federal system. They also make certain recommendations for apportioning seats in proportional representation systems.

Balinski and Young say their work is "an example of mathematical reasoning applied to a problem of public policy" (ix), and this is an apt description. Fair representation, for these authors, is both a mathematic and political problem. Over 60 pages of the book (Appendix A) are devoted to a mathematical and analytical discussion of their "Theory of Apportionment". The book is simultaneously, moreover, a thorough historical account of the representation problem of apportionment of legislative seats.

Balinski and Young's book is useful and interesting for scholars interested in both the Constitutional history and the early American experience of what fair representation means in the practical sense of how to apportion legislative seats.

Aleisha Karjala
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Going Home: Black Representatives and their Constituents, Richard F. Fenno, The University of Chicago Press, 2003. ISBN 0226241319, \$18.00, paper, 304 pages.

Using his well-honed skills of observation and insight, Richard F. Fenno provides a fresh look at representation by black members of Congress in *Going Home* and discovers both similarities and differences in the constituent connection. Based on interviews spanning more than three decades, *Going Home* examines the congressional careers and district connections of Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Barbara Jordan (D-Texas), Chaka Fattah (D-Penn.) and Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-Ohio).

Fenno's access to each of the MCs varies in duration and depth, and he qualifies his findings as "unusually tentative" in part because he is a "white researcher immersed, briefly, in the affairs of black communities" (10). Nonetheless, the portrait he weaves draws adeptly on personal interviews, first-hand observation and biographical material, and he credits the influence of contemporary work on black representatives by Carol Swain (1993) and David Canon (1999). Fenno steps beyond the concepts of "descriptive" and "substantive" representation and describes the web of connections -- electoral, policy, personal and organizational -- of his subjects.

Fenno finds some distinctive aspects of the representational connection between African American members of Congress and their districts. For example, he professes surprise at the "high-priority preoccupation with education" that the four representatives share (258). Fenno notes that the "educative" function of political representation takes on a distinctive character for these four members of Congress who not only stress the importance of educational opportunity to their own careers but also emphasize education as the key to future progress in their districts.

Fenno also suggests that the symbolic and organizational significance of black representation differs from what he has found among white representatives. Because of initial white political resistance to the candidacy of these MCs, all four congressional members featured in Fenno's study had to maintain a degree of local political involvement -- from the design of the districts (Jordan) to the development of independent party structures (Fattah and Stokes) -- in ways that are neither expected or required of white representatives (261).

In a discipline focused on elections and legislative outcomes, Fenno's *Going Home* reminds readers of the importance of the "representational process" and suggests that students of American politics too often under-appreciate its significance or nuances as an analytical category.

Cindy Simon Rosenthal
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

Legislative Politics in Latin America, Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, Cambridge University Press, 2002. ISBN 0521792193, \$65.00, cloth, 528 pages.

In this volume, Morgenstern and Nacif have compiled twelve extensive studies concerning the power, structure and policy making existing in four Latin American legislatures. Morgenstern creates a comparative model of legislative performance and structure which is utilized by the scholars in this work. Together this model and the research done by the authors effect an indispensable resource and the most comprehensive and systematic comparative work concerning the legislative politics of Latin America.

The four nations selected for inclusion in this study were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. Through the systematic research in each legislature by country specialists in three areas: the relationship between the executive and the legislature, the policy making process of the legislature, and the degree of party discipline and role of political parties, Morgenstern is able to draw generalizable conclusions and distinguish important institutional factors that indicate the role of the legislature in these four nations. The work of the authors and Morgenstern and Cox's epilogue clearly establishes that Morgenstern's model is a useful framework for future studies in Latin American legislatures.

In the opening chapter, Morgenstern explains the components of the legislative model. The model and book are divided into three sections. In each of these three sections, a scholar conducts a study of each nation's legislature. In the first section, Mustapic, Amorim Neto, Siavelis, and Amparo Casar demonstrate the executive-legislative balance and relationship in each of the four target nations. While each legislature appears to be generally reactive, this research shows that in each nation the legislatures have a degree of strength. The exercise of power, both formal and informal, by these legislatures demonstrates that they are critical to the democratic governance of each nation.

In the second section, Jones, Ames, Carey, Nacif explore the role of political parties in each nation. They show that the varying degrees of party loyalty in each institutional setting has a profound effect on the function, power and structure of the legislature. In the third section, Eaton, Samuels, Londegran, and Weldon explore the policy making functions of each legislature. Using the budgetary process, they demonstrate that reactive power is a substantial weapon. The executive budget exits the legislature a significantly different policy than that which entered the legislature. In the concluding section, Morgenstern

ties these works together, and draws conclusions from the chapters. He reiterates that while these legislatures are generally reactive in nature, there are many differences. He argues that it is institutional differentiation that causes the spectrum of effects observed by the authors (2002: 413). In the epilogue, Morgenstern and Cox use the findings and conclusions in conjunction with the role of the president in these countries to better explain the reactive relationship.

This work is an important addition to the legislative studies literature and an invaluable resource for scholars of Latin American politics. The systematic application of the model created by Morgenstern to other Latin American legislatures and presidential systems worldwide would offer important insight into the institutional factors affecting the power, function, and policy-making ability of legislatures.

Melody Huckaby

Carl Albert Center Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Mary Parker Follett: Creating Democracy, Transforming Management, Joan C. Tonn, Yale University Press, 2003. ISBN 0300096216, \$45.00, cloth, 623 pages.

In 1978 I began to look into the prospect of writing a book on the speakership of the U.S. House of Representatives. My first step was a trip to the library where I found, in the old Dewey Decimal section, a book called *The Speaker of the House* by Mary Parker Follett. The book had been published at the turn of the century, and I figured that it would not much inform my interest; but in reading it I was soon disabused of that expectation. I can recall saying to myself, "this is a good book." Parker's take on the speakership said a lot about the office and a lot about the development of political science as an academic discipline. She was the first student of the Congress, Woodrow Wilson notwithstanding, to argue for an explicitly political (what later would be called a "behavioral") understanding of this important political institution. Her interpretation of the speakership fundamentally shaped my impression of it. To take but one example, scholars have argued for decades about the true nature of Henry Clay's speakership. Some suggest that he revolutionized the office by shaping the committee system to fit his needs; others have suggested that he temporized his leadership by conforming it to the expectations of his members. I always have had the impression that Henry Clay was first and foremost a charismatic leader who led by the force of his personality. I got that idea from Follett and found it confirmed by other sources. This explanation is mostly unsatisfying to a political science that seeks nomothetic explanations, but I still think Follett was right. She, at least, had one big advantage over us: she actually interviewed men who knew Clay and had worked with him. Her use of the personal interview was, by the way, another important contribution to research methodology.

Two decades later I stumbled upon Mary Parker Follett again. This time, it was in the context of our MPA program. I taught a course called "Classics of Public Administration," grounded in a book by the same title, in which was included a famous essay by Follett on approaches to management. I learned then that she had become a major theorist in organizational leadership and had been the earliest known advocate of the "soft" approach to leadership, one that stressed persons rather than tasks, the fulfillment of human potential as a means to organizational productivity. Follett developed this perspective at a time when scientific management was in its heyday, and while it might not now seem too hard to offer a benign alternative to Taylorism, Follett was the one who did. Subsequently, I have taught a course in organizational leadership and I am struck by the extent to which modern leadership theory traces itself to Follett's insights.

So for me, Mary Parker Follett brings together two intellectual strands that have shaped my research and teaching over the past quarter century. It is with great pleasure, then, that I welcome the publication of Joan Tonn's excellent biography of Follett. This book is rich in historical detail and well textured in its interpretation. We learn here much about Follett's private life of which I, at least, was unaware. We also are given a full picture of the range of Follett's scholarship and her impact on public affairs. In this book we see Mary Parker Follett, and through her, the evolution of American government and administration during the first half of the twentieth century. From the speakership of the House, to the settlement movement, to the origin and evolution of modern management theory, Follett's life and career provides a path to the American experience. Her application of psychological principles to an interpretation of that experience places her alongside (and chronologically ahead) of Harold Laswell. Her revolutionary approach to management is a precursor of Douglas MacGregor, TQM, and its progeny. And all of us who labor in the vineyard of congressional studies may trace our work to her. She was a truly seminal thinker, richly deserving of a full length biography. And of how many American political scientists can that be said?

Ronald M. Peters, Jr.

Regents' Professor of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

Political Consultants in U.S. Congressional Elections, Stephen K. Medvic, The Ohio State University

Press, 2001. ISBN 0814208738, \$49.95, cloth, 224 pages.

In this work on political consultants, Medvic examines the relationship between hiring campaign consultants and attracting votes. He raises three primary questions: "what consultants do, the effects of their activity, and the normative consequences of those effects" (xi). Medvic's analysis provides a theoretical framework for understanding the role of political consultants. His theory of deliberative priming suggests that campaigns use messages to develop themes to appeal to targeted voters. In this way, campaigns prime voters to think about candidates in certain ways. Consultants help frame these campaign messages. While the message can always be misunderstood or misinterpreted by the American public, it is consultants' job "to be aware of the numerous potential decodings of any message they create. . . (and to reduce) the number of aberrant decodings that occur" (63). Medvic further tests this theory through a sophisticated empirical examination of consultant usage in the early 1990s.

The primary finding of this analysis is that, independent of candidate spending levels, consultants do significantly influence election outcomes. Consequently, they have become increasingly marketable in contemporary electoral politics. Those most advantaged by consultants are those candidates most disadvantaged in their races. Consequently, challengers have much to gain by hiring political consultants to frame their campaigns. Changes in party identification and ideological orientation occurring between 1990 and 1994 explain many of the trends identified by Medvic's work. Democratic incumbents who employed consultants in 1990 and 1992 could have largely postponed the inevitable upsets to come in 1994. Consultants hired by Republicans were also largely responsible for their gains in open seat races during this period.

Medvic suggests that the normative implications of his work are unclear. While many feel that the professionalization of politics through the use of consultants is detrimental to our democratic system, Medvic suggests that "consultants serve as intermediaries in a complex of media/cultural/political practices that often seem to have a life of their own" (156). Whether weakening or substituting for the party system, shaping or responding to media coverage, creating cynicism or conforming to it, consultants are part of the contemporary political scene and deserve much more theoretical and empirical investigation.

Jocelyn Jones Evans
Assistant Professor of Government
University of West Florida

Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy, edited by Stephan Haggard and Matthew D. McCubbins, Cambridge University Press, 2001. ISBN 0521773040 (cloth), \$70.00, ISBN 0521774853, paper, \$25.00), 359 pages.

Employing a comparative case study method, this edited volume seeks to move beyond the question of "Do institutions matter?" Assuming that this question has been answered adequately in the affirmative by previous research, the works in this volume begin to explore how institutions matter. How do institutions effect policy change?

In answering this question, Haggard and McCubbins find the traditional institutional distinction between presidential and parliamentary systems lacking. In order to narrow the focus, this volume focuses on differences among presidential systems, with no case studies of parliamentary systems. In this way the title is perhaps misleading, but this in no way detracts from the value of the book.

Only four countries (Argentina, Taiwan, Chile, and Poland) are studied here. At first glance, this may seem to be an odd mix. But the logic behind these choices is well explained. In addition, the variables and plan of the book are well laid-out in the introduction. Haggard and McCubbins have managed to assemble a collection of works that connect well with each other and that are consistent with the purpose and model presented in the introduction.

The book does prove to be a frustration, in that more questions are raised than answered. However, this frustration also makes the book especially useful. By accepting that institutions do matter, Haggard and McCubbins have opened a new arena of research. The work brings forth a wealth of areas for future research, most obviously a similar study of parliamentary systems.

Courtney Cullison
Carl Albert Center Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Scandal Proof: Do Ethics Laws Make Government Ethical? G. Calvin Mackenzie with Michael Hafken, Brookings Institution Press, 2002. ISBN 00815754035, \$16.95, paper, 196 pages.

The idea that our public servants should act in an ethical and responsible manner is not a very controversial idea. The methods used to achieve that end, however, have had debatable success, as G. Calvin Mackenzie explains in his work *Scandal Proof: Do Ethics Laws Make Government Ethical?* His book is both a brief introduction to scandal and corruption in American history and an analysis of the ethics laws

and regulations directed at executive branch employees.

The beginning of Mackenzie's book is devoted to explaining the historical perspective on corruption in American government. He explains that while corruption has always existed, the scope and level of corruption has changed in ways that will make historical comparisons difficult. The first difficulty is that statistics on corruption are difficult to obtain, because it is only after major scandals that legislation is introduced to counter the problem, and most corruption has gone unpunished. Moreover, what constitutes true corruption has evolved over time. The idea of "honest graft" has now gone the way of Tammany Hall, and can no longer claim a place in honest politics. Finally, Mackenzie acknowledges that corruption in the federal government, the focus of his study, is a more recent development, owing to the increasing interaction between the government and corporate America of the late nineteenth century as well as the expansion of the federal bureaucracy that occurred in the wake of the New Deal.

After his introduction to corruption in America, Mackenzie then details the modern attempts to eliminate it. Beginning with President Kennedy, he examines the practice of enforcing high standards of ethical behavior on executive branch employees through executive orders. These rules were finally supplemented by the comprehensive Ethics in Government Act of 1978. Passed in the shadow of Watergate and signed by President Carter, this act was an attempt to set up enforceable rules that would take the discretion out of ethics. The idea was that black and white rules would deter unethical activity.

Mackenzie is skeptical about the effectiveness of these rules when viewed against their costs, which he examines in detail. He acknowledges that there has been a steady increase in legal investigations and convictions of corruption in office, what he considers one of the better measures of corruption in office, but he does not see a vast improvement in the character of our public employees. Instead, he examines the plethora of paperwork, which can take up to four months to fill out, that is required of some positions. He is not only worried that this, along with the strenuous public financial disclosure required of higher officials, deters those who would make excellent public servants. He is also unconvinced that the benefit of these programs outweighs their financial costs.

"The costs are too great, the benefits too scare to sustain the current ethics policies" (159). Whether or not one agrees with Mackenzie's conclusion, the detailed research presented in his book is above par. Presenting both an introduction to ethical problems in American political history as well as an in-depth analysis of recent attempts to enforce ethical behavior on governmental employees, his work presents a well-rounded picture. It is both a policy case study and an historical analysis of ethics in government. This book would be an excellent supplement to any class on American politics.

Travis Chapman

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Shades of Gray: Perspectives on Campaign Ethics, Candice J. Nelson, David A. Dulio, Stephen K. Medvic, Brookings Institution Press, 2002. ISBN 0815706170, \$18.95, paper, 262 pages.

For some, there is nothing funnier in politics than the phrase "campaign ethics." All laughter aside, *Shades of Gray: Perspectives on Campaign Ethics*, edited by Candice Nelson, David Dulio, and Stephen Medvic, addresses critical questions concerning ethics in campaigns from the perspective of actors who play critical roles in today's elections – candidates, political consultants, parties, interest groups, the media, and citizens. The release of a book addressing campaign ethics could not be better timed, as public perceptions of campaigns are increasingly negative, political spot ads are progressively growing more controversial, and the media's "horse race" treatment are promoting a paparazzi-like atmosphere. *Shades of Gray* contains fourteen chapters that attempt to outline, understand, assess, and critique the ethical challenges, roles, and responsibilities of candidates, political consultants, parties, interest groups, the media, and citizens. Each actor is discussed in two chapters: one written by a scholar and one by a practitioner. While both the scholars and practitioners talk about the role of actors in fostering ethical campaigns and their success in fulfilling ethical roles, the chapters diverge in one crucial manner. The scholars accentuate relationships, i.e. how well other actors influence each other. Yet, the practitioners give more emphasis to providing solutions for how each actor can do a better job nurturing campaign ethics. For example, Robin Kolodny, an academic, highlights the relationships that political parties have with various other actors and how these relationships compromise the parties' ability to act as ethical agents; however, she concludes that the parties' goal of, and method for, winning elections is not unethical. It is the system they operate within that is unethical. In contrast, Mark Siegel, former executive director of the DNC, centers his discussion on how both parties have intentionally circumvented the spirit of electoral laws and how certain types of ethics training could increase participation and restore faith in democracy.

One of the stronger, interesting, and more important chapters of this book is the second chapter, "Civic Responsibility or Self-Interest?" Dale Miller and Stephen Medvic distinguish what the term *ethics* means to philosophers – how we are to lead our lives, morality- versus everyday people – the rules and standards that are used to judge an individuals' actions. This is important for two reasons: one, it clarifies to the reader what exactly is meant by *campaign ethics*; two, it allows the authors to provide a framework for evaluating campaign activity. Two schools of thought buttress the framework. On one side is the "self-interest" perspective, where individuals and groups look for their own self-interest before serving the public interest. Adherents to this thought believe that the common good is best served when people protect their own interest. In contrast is the "civic responsibility" perspective, which argues that the public interest should be served before individual interests and only by serving the public interest can individuals be truly protected. By specifying the framework, the editors made it easier to understand the varying approaches and conclusions found in *Shades of Gray*.

In conclusion, the strength of this book is in the assortment of approaches and conclusions about the role of ethics by the central actors in campaigns. Although some may be disappointed by the lack of consensus by the authors or the lack of association between the articles, the book does an excellent job of precipitating a larger discussion regarding the role of ethics in politics – something all of us, scholars and candidates alike, do not do enough.

Josh Stockley

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Stalemate: Causes & Consequences of Legislative Gridlock, Sarah A. Binder, Brookings Institution Press, 2003. ISBN 0-8157-0911-0, \$16.95, paper, 202 pages.

In her study of legislative productivity, Binder embarks on what is essentially an exploration of the recent trends in legislative performance. Specifically, Binder is concerned with the questions surrounding legislative stalemate – frequency, causes, consequences, lasting effects on the institution. In an era when divided government (and presumably stalemate) are the norm, the more important question may be how does anything get done at all?

Binder begins her study by challenging the traditional notion that the framers desired legislative stalemate and designed a system that would ensure gridlock. However, Binder contends that stalemate is an unintended consequence of the constitutional design – one which could be rectified in the present without compromising the vision of the framers. The prime objective of the framers design was to insulate the judiciary and the legislature from executive manipulation. The legislative process, or even the electoral process, could be reformed without opening up the judiciary and legislature to undue executive influence.

Binder's work rests on three primary findings. First, divided government is one cause of legislative stalemate, but it is not the only cause. "Unified gridlock" is also a significant problem. Second, the polarization of political parties in the American system increases the frequency of gridlock. This is due to the lack of middle ground (or room for compromise) that is found with highly polarized congressional parties. And third, conflict between the House and the Senate effect the likelihood of policy change. By treating Congress as a unicameral body, previous studies have missed this important dimension of the legislative gridlock.

Binder closes her work with a discussion of the consequences of legislative gridlock, including the electoral and institutional impacts, as well as a section exploring the larger dilemma surrounding stalemate. Binder concludes that some minor institutional reforms are in order, but legislators have little electoral incentive to enact such reforms.

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Voting with Dollars: A New Paradigm for Campaign Finance, Bruce Ackerman and Ian Ayres, Yale University Press, 2002. ISBN 0300092628, \$29.95, cloth, 304 pages.

Ackerman and Ayres present a unique solution to the problem of campaign finance reform. Instead of working under the traditional paradigms of campaign finance reform as typified by the debates over the McCain-Feingold bill, they step back to take a look at the problem with different assumptions. While they still acknowledge that *Buckley v. Valeo*, the landmark case that established many of the rules constraining campaign finance reform today, still has merits, they reevaluate how to approach these constraints. The book proposes a virtually fully formed new system for financing campaigns.

The "patriot" funding system formulated in the text posits that each citizen will vote with dollars, specifically

50 "patriot" dollars, allocated to them from public funds each election cycle. Citizens may give more than their 50 "patriot" dollars, but anything above the equal allocation comes out of their own pocketbooks. The key to this system is secrecy and the authors fill most of the chapters explaining and defending this concept. Essentially the "patriot" dollars system would function like the secret ballot. Just as each citizen receives one vote that is cast in secret, each citizen's "patriot" dollars would be allocated in secret. The goal is to eliminate the system of money for influence that many believe corrupts the current political system. The logic is that if candidates are not able to ascertain how much donors gave to them, then they cannot be certain that they should allow donors the appropriate influence over public policy. In the end the authors believe that such a system will encourage candidates to aggressively seek out a wider range of voters and donors.

The authors address some of the potential problems with the patriot system including fractionalization of political parties, attempts to circumvent the secrecy aspect, incumbency advantages and so on. The constant, driving principle is that even with some potential problems, the voting with "patriot" dollars system will better address the financing of political campaigns in a democratic manner than the current thinking about campaign finance reform. One of the more potent aspects of the book is that while they address quite a lot of theoretical concerns, the authors also present a practical system with practical recommendations. This book would be an appropriate text for advanced courses on campaigns and American politics. The ideas presented in the book should make for lively discussions and debates in any classroom setting.

Chris Grossman

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Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government, Barry C. Burden and David C. Kimball, The University of Michigan Press, 2002. ISBN 0472112864, \$52.50, cloth, 205 pages.

In the last thirty years, there has been an increased frequency of divided government in the United States. Because the incidence of divided government has numerous consequences on the political system, it has become extremely important to understand the reasons for this phenomenon. In *Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government*, Barry Burden and David Kimball explore the causes of divided government by examining the reasons behind split-ticket voting.

Using new quantitative techniques in their study, Burden and Kimball find that the dominant explanations of split-ticket voting are faulty. Contrary to popular belief, divided government is not a result of strategic balancing by voters who prefer divided government to one-party control. Similarly, the authors also argue that divided government should not be interpreted as a mandate for compromise between the parties' extremist positions. Rather, the authors argue that the absence of competition in congressional races is a major source of ticket splitting in the United States. Supporting their conclusions is a very strong association between ticket splitting and incumbency, campaign spending, and candidate name recognition -- all indicators of candidate quality in congressional elections.

In addition to their major findings on the causes of divided government and ticket splitting, Burden and Kimball also note that split-ticket voting has declined in the past ten years. However, this finding is not a result of increased competition in congressional races. Instead, the authors argue that the decline in ticket splitting in recent years is related to the sharpening policy differences between the political parties which make it much less likely for voters to split their tickets.

In *Why Americans Split Their Tickets*, Burden and Kimball contribute a great deal to the discussion over the causes of divided government. Not only do they debunk the popular explanations of ticket splitting, but they also offer an alternative explanation for the reasons behind split-ticket voting. Because of these findings, this book makes a strong contribution to the research on divided government.

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This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about journal articles dealing with legislatures. The source for this information is Cambridge Scientific Abstracts' database, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, using the query: KW= ((congress) OR (parliament) OR (legislative)). The report is arranged in alphabetical order by author name.

Banwart, Mary Christine; Bystrom, Dianne G; Robertson, Terry

"From the Primary to the General Election: A Comparative Analysis of Candidate Media Coverage in Mixed-Gender 2000 Races for Governor and U.S. Senate"

American Behavioral Scientist, 2003, 46, 5, Jan, 658-676.

Abstract: Prior research on the media's portrayal of female candidates in comparison to male candidates has indicated that differences do exist, although most studies have focused on general election races of senate candidates. This study analyzed the media's portrayal of candidates in mixed-gender gubernatorial & U.S. Senate races through a comparison of primary coverage to general election coverage in 2000. The study relied on content analyses of more than 1,200 articles from major newspapers to understand how female & male candidates might be framed differently when running for their party's nomination as opposed to during the general election. The findings suggest that although the coverage from the primaries to the general election was relatively consistent across most categories of analysis, female candidates continue to face some stereotypical biases in the news coverage of their campaigns. 3 Tables, 39 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Bavastro, Roberto; Szusterman, Celia.

"The Congressional Elections in Argentina, 2001"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 2, June, 352-360.

Abstract: The 14 Oct 2001 election marked a watershed in the Argentine political system for at least two reasons. First, the government did not actively support any candidate standing in the election. Secondly, it was the first time that a considerable proportion of the electorate declined to be represented by any of the political parties; instead, they either abstained or spoiled their ballot paper. In addition, the 2001 election marked the first time that the entire Senate was directly elected by a popular vote, following an amendment to the constitution in 1994. 2 Tables, 3 References. Adapted from the source document.

Birch, Sarah

"Two-Round Electoral Systems and Democracy"

Abstract: Taking as its point of departure a little-noted recent increase in use of two-round electoral systems in parliamentary elections, this article assesses the impact of such systems on democratic performance. It argues that the possibility of holding a second round of voting is a destabilizing factor that inhibits democratic development & encourages the use of nonelectoral means of exercising power. This is because the institution of the double ballot works to fragment the party system by establishing district-specific strategic incentives & by diminishing the element of uncertainty that is key to securing cooperation by important political actors. This proposition is tested on a data set of all states that as of 1 January 1999 held elections to the lower houses of their national assemblies, as well as on a smaller database of democratizing countries. 4 Tables, 1 Appendix, 65 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Bond, Jon R; Fleisher, Richard; Wood, B Dan

"The Marginal and Time-Varying Effect of Public Approval on Presidential Success in Congress"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 92–110.

Abstract: We analyze the relationship between public approval & presidential success in Congress using time-varying parameter regression methods. Cues from constituency, ideology, & party dominate congressional vote choice, so the effect of public approval of the president is typically marginal. Because the strength of these primary cues varies through time, the effect of public approval on presidential success should also be time varying. Analysis of conflictual roll-call votes from 1953 through 2000 using the time-varying Kalman filter reveals that the effect of public approval on presidential success is marginal & changing through time. These models assume that the time variation is a stochastic process, & finding time-varying relationships may indicate model misspecification. Our theory, however, suggests that this time variation depends on a systematic factor – partisanship. A better specified model that allows systematic parameter variation confirms that the level of partisanship conditions the relationship between public approval & presidential success in Congress. 1 Table, 3 Figures, 46 References. Adapted from the source document.

Bryner, Gary (Review of: Tzoumis, Kelly)

"Environmental Policymaking in Congress: The Role of Issue Definitions in Wetlands, Great Lakes, and Wildlife Policies"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 283–285.

Burnell, P

"The Tripartite Elections in Zambia, December 2001"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 2, June, 388–395.

Abstract: On 27 Dec 2001, Zambia held elections for the presidency, parliament, & local government, the first ever tripartite elections. The last general election, in Nov 1996, returned President Frederick Chiluba & the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to power. On that occasion, Chiluba won almost 69% of the vote; his party won just over 60% of the vote & 131 of the 150 elected seats in the legislature. Those elections were boycotted by the main opposition party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), due to changes to the constitution that barred UNIP's leader, former President Kenneth Kaunda, from contesting the presidency (Burnell, 1997) 2 Tables, 5 References. Adapted from the source document.

Butler, Anthony

"South Africa's Political Futures"

Government and Opposition, 2003, 38, 1, winter, 93–112.

Abstract: The prospects for strengthening democracy in South Africa are contemplated. The consequences of the African National Congress' (ANC) electoral dominance for South African democracy are considered; specifically, it is stated that South African democracy cannot endure further domination by the ANC yet also cannot survive the fragmentation of the current liberation movement. The capacity of existing mechanisms to render the ANC politically accountable in the immediate future is then addressed; the need for the executive & judicial branches to cooperate rather than adopt adversarial positions toward each other is stressed. In addition, the question of whether the ANC will challenge the existing political alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party, & the Congress of South African Trade Unions is pondered. Moreover, issues concerning the continuing spread of political corruption & whether the HIV/AIDS epidemic will engender a crisis within the South African government are tackled. It is concluded that preserving the existing political alliance will provide the best strategy for maintaining democratic politics in South Africa. J. W. Parker.

Carey, John M

"Discipline, Accountability, and Legislative Voting in Latin America"

Comparative Politics, 2003, 35, 2, Jan, 191–211.

Abstract: Accountability in legislative representation carries implications for the relationship between legislators & constituents regarding communication, information, responsiveness, & the potential for punishment. There is an inherent tension between party discipline & responsiveness by individual legislators to their constituents. Recent institutional reforms in Latin America have sought to increase individual responsiveness of legislators, even at the expense of party discipline. The most important are mixed electoral systems combining single member districts with proportional representation & public voting in legislatures. 1 Table, 2 Figures. Adapted from the source document.

Carrubba, Clifford J

"The European Court of Justice, Democracy, and Enlargement"

European Union Politics, 2003, 4, 1, Mar, 75–100.

Abstract: In Europe, there is increasing concern with how the operation of the Commission, Council of Ministers, & European Parliament is creating a democratic deficit. One institution that is generally considered central to the effective functioning of a democratic system, but tends to be neglected in these discussions, is the European Court of Justice (ECJ). After all, it is at least ostensibly the job of the legal system to ensure that no one is above the law, not even governments. This study applies a theory of judicial politics to identify under what conditions the ECJ can act as an effective democratic check in the European Union & how enlargement may affect that role. 3 Tables, 1 Figure, 38 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Case, William

"Singapore in 2002: Economic Lassitude and Threats to Security"

Asian Survey, 2003, 43, 1, Jan–Feb, 167–173.

Abstract: During 2002, Singapore's government attempted to stimulate political life by encouraging debate among its backbenchers in parliament. It took steps also to revive economic competitiveness, adjusting tax incentives & targeting new industries. It tried to

perpetuate security, setting up a range of new agencies through which to deal with terrorist threats. Adapted from the source document.

Chaisty, Paul

"Defending the Institutional Status Quo: Communist Leadership of the Second Russian State Duma, 1996–99"

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2003, 28, 1, Feb, 5–28.

Abstract: The 1995 Russian parliamentary elections returned a State Duma dominated by an alliance of the Communist Party (CPRF) & the Agrarian (APG) & Popular Power (PP) groupings, whose combined number fell just four votes short of an overall majority. Such a powerful voting bloc might have been expected to undo the power-sharing principles on which the First Duma (1994–95) operated. Rather than challenge the status quo, however, the CPRF defended it on several occasions. In this paper, I argue that existing arrangements held benefits for the CPRF & its leftist allies. In the absence of a stable, disciplined majority, the Duma's rules gave leftist deputies the incentives & flexibility to organize collectively. 3 Figures, 23 References. Adapted from the source document.

Clayton, Dewey M

"African American Women and Their Quest for Congress"

Journal of Black Studies, 2003, 33, 3, Jan, 354–388.

Abstract: As many barriers to Black electoral success were removed during the latter half of the 20th century, Black representation in Congress increased dramatically from 2 in 1949 to 38 in 2000. Many of these Black congresspersons (particularly from southern states) were first elected from majority Black districts but were subsequently reelected from majority White districts. However, the percentage of Blacks in Congress remains low. Black females face a double disadvantage when running for Congress because of race & gender biases. The 2000 congressional election in the third district of Louisville, KY, provides an excellent case study to examine what obstacles Black females running for Congress outside the South encounter in forming multiracial coalitions to win election. This race pitted Eleanor Jordan, a Black female challenger, against Anne Northup, a White female incumbent. 6 Tables, 1 Appendix, 43 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Cole, Alistair; Jones, J Barry; Storer, Alan

"Inside the National Assembly for Wales: The Welsh Civil Service under Devolution"

Political Quarterly, 2003, 74, 2, Apr–June, 223–232.

Abstract: Draws on 2001/02 data from about 50 interviews conducted with Welsh National Assembly members, ministers, & other key policy personnel to explore devolution in Wales. It is argued that a stronger National Assembly with full legislative powers would clarify the role & character of the Welsh civil service. The history of Welsh devolution is traced from the 1964 creation of the Welsh Office. Civil service organization is discussed, highlighting why Wales & Scotland went a different route than Northern Ireland, resulting in much ambiguity regarding the Welsh system. Following a brief description of the National Assembly administrative structure, civil servants' perceptions of life under devolution are detailed in terms of changes, relationships with ministers & other officials, the new civil servant masters, linkages to civil servants elsewhere, & expectations for the future. It is demonstrated that change in Wales far exceeds that in Scotland & Northern Ireland under devolution. J. Zendejas.

Cook, Robin

"A Modern Parliament in a Modern Democracy"

Political Quarterly, 2003, 74, 1, Jan–Mar, 76–82.

Abstract: Proposed changes to the UK's Parliament are discussed. In the House of Commons, significant changes to the select committee system will make it easier for committees to hold ministers to account. Additionally, Prime Minister Tony Blair has agreed to testify before the Liaison Committee twice a year. Other proposals include allowing bills to be carried over from one session to the next, changing the start time of the House of Commons to make it easier for the media to report key exchanges in the House, shortening the period of notice for questions to ministers from two weeks to three days, & increasing the transparency of the parliamentary press lobby system. Responsibility for the reform of

the House of Lords, which includes the removal of hereditary peers, has been given by the government to Parliament. In addition to these changes, it is argued that the health of democracy in the UK depends on government's ability to engage voters. This, it is concluded, requires that Parliament show more concern for the public interest than party politics. J. Paul.

Croissant, Aurel; Dosch, Jorn

"Parliamentary Elections in Thailand, March 2000 and January 2001"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 1, Mar, 153–160.

Abstract: On 4 Mar 2000, Thai voters went to the polls for the first ever Senate elections held since the installation of a bicameral parliament in 1946. On 6 Jan 2001, the reforms to the electoral system withstood another crucial test when the first vote to the House of Representatives was held under the 16th Constitution, which was promulgated in Oct 1997. Election law, the electoral system, & election results are discussed. 3 Tables, 8 References.

Crombez, Christophe

"The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing?"

European Union Politics, 2003, 4, 1, Mar, 101–120.

Abstract: This paper studies the democratic deficit in the European Union (EU). It examines what constitutes a democratic deficit, analyzes whether there is one in the EU, & offers suggestions for a solution. I focus on the output of the legislative process & study whether policies deviate from those emerging in other political systems. In particular, I present a formal model of policy-making in a bicameral system, apply it to the EU, & compare the EU with the United States. I conclude that the institutional setup of the EU does not lead to policies that are fundamentally undemocratic, & that the composition of its institutions is not inherently less democratic than that of the US political institutions. I also find, however, that a democratic deficit may exist owing to a lack of transparency & an excess of delegation in the legislative process. 4 Figures, 17 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Darmanovic, Srdjan

"Montenegro: Dilemmas of a Small Republic"

Journal of Democracy, 2003, 14, 1, Jan, 145–153.

Abstract: Discusses Montenegro's democratization, identifying two transitions à la Guillermo O'Donnell (1994): 1989–1996 & 1997–present. The first transition hinged on the Jan 1989

ousting of the communists in what is deemed a Serbian-driven nationalist coup; this developed into a dominant-party semiauthoritarian oligarchy, or competitive semidemocracy. By 1997, the perennial Montenegrin dilemma of choosing Serbian nationalism or independence had reared its head in the form of a pro- vs anti-Slobodan Milosevic conflict, leading to the second transition as evidenced by the Sept 1997 regime reformist-opposition agreement on the development of the democratic infrastructure. Details surrounding the Oct 1997 presidential election of Milo Djukanovic & the legislative elections are related, along with the upshot of NATO's 1999 intervention in Kosovo. Post-Milosevic developments are examined, highlighting the onvergence with European/Western standards. J. Zendejas.

Dawood, Yasmin A

"Minority Representation, the Supreme Court, and the Politics of Democracy"

Studies in Law, Politics, and Society, 2003, 28, 33–72.

Abstract: This article develops an alternative theoretical approach to the Supreme Court's controversial electoral redistricting decisions in *Shaw v. Reno* (1993) & its progeny. Instead of relying on the traditional equal protection interpretation, this paper argues that controversies over electoral redistricting are at base disputes among competing visions of democracy. In the Court's recent redistricting cases, the majority & the dissent adopted fundamentally different visions of democracy – Individualist Democracy & Democracy as Power. In addition to elaborating these rival understandings of democracy this article develops the concept of Symbolic Democracy to explain a central paradox in the Court majority's decision: its simultaneous denial & recognition of the relevance of racial groups in representation. 50 References. Adapted from the source document.

Dezhbakhsh, Hashem; Tohamy, Soumaya M; Aranson, Peter H

"A New Approach for Testing Budgetary Incrementalism"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 2, May, 532–558.

Abstract: We present evidence suggesting that the widely used regression method for testing budgetary incrementalism (Davis, Dempster, & Wildavsky, 1966a, 1966b, 1971) is not suited for US budgetary data that appear to be nonstationary. The method, moreover, cannot detect a nonincremental period following (or preceding) an incremental period. We offer an alternative method that is valid even in nonstationary cases. Our method exploits both the cross-sectional & time-series characteristics of the budgetary data to identify statistically the occurrence of incremental decisions (counts) & to estimate incremental cycles for various agencies. More important, the method lends itself to explanatory hypotheses testing. We formulate a set of hypotheses about how various political & economic factors may affect incremental budgeting. We test these hypotheses using the estimated counts in a Poisson regression context. Our results suggest that the Democrats' control over the political process, a switch in the party controlling the White House or Congress, & presidential election year promises (& political vulnerabilities) all cause departures from incremental budgeting. The public pressure resulting from a persistently large deficit has a similar effect. This work may contribute to our understanding of legislative choice. 1 Table, 2 Figures, 71 References. Adapted from the source document.

Farnsworth, Stephen J

"Congress and Citizen Discontent: Public Evaluations of the Membership and One's Own Representative"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 1, Jan, 66–80.

Abstract: This study, which uses a national survey conducted by Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, finds

that evaluations of the membership of Congress & of one's own representative in the U.S. House are both tied closely to issues of procedural justice &, in particular, to the perceived fairness of Congress & to the perceived responsiveness of the legislative branch to the citizenry. The extent to which a citizen desires parochial legislative behavior is of little consequence for evaluating the legislative branch, or even one's own representative. 2 Tables, 1 Appendix, 32 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Finocchiaro, Charles J

"An Institutional View of Congressional Elections: The Impact of Congressional Image on Seat Change in the House"

Political Research Quarterly, 2003, 56, 1, Mar, 59–65.

Abstract: The literature on seat change in US House elections abounds with explanations regarding the factors contributing to the biennial change in the partisan balance of the body. While a number of theoretically & empirically appealing models have been presented, many base their explanations around presidential politics & a variety of factors independent of Congress. In this article, I argue that in developing models of congressional seat change, it is worthwhile to consider how the public image of the institution impacts the electoral success of its members. I describe & test a model that captures the influence of the public's perception of Congress on party seat change. Encompassing tests suggest that this framework significantly improves upon existing models. The results underscore the importance of endogenous, Congress-specific factors in explaining aggregate seat change in the US House of Representatives. 1 Table, 1 Appendix, 35 References. Adapted from the source document.

Fitzmaurice, J

"Parliamentary Elections in Lithuania, October 2000"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 1, Mar, 161–165.

Abstract: Describes the Oct 2000 parliamentary elections in Lithuania, focusing on the electoral system, party system, campaign, & election results. 1 Table.

Frendreis, John; Gitelson, Alan R; Jenkins, Shannon; Roscoe, Douglas D

"Testing Spatial Models of Elections: The Influence of Voters and Elites on Candidate Issue Positions"

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2003, 28, 1, Feb, 77–101.

Abstract: This research tests spatial models of electoral competition using survey data on state legislative candidates' policy positions & ideology in eight US states. Our data support several hypotheses: (1) candidates' issue positions do not converge; (2) party elites have more extreme positions than do candidates; (3) candidate issue positioning is a function of party–elite issue positions & union involvement in the campaign, as well as constituency characteristics; & (4) when candidates rely heavily on elite resources during their campaign, elites become more important in shaping candidate issue positions. 4 Tables, 4 Figures, 1 Appendix, 54 References. Adapted from the source document.

Frisch, Scott A; Kelly, Sean Q

"Don't Have the Data? Make Them Up! Congressional Archives as Untapped Data Sources"

PS: Political Science & Politics, 2003, 36, 2, Apr, 221–224.

Abstract: An examination of the nature, usefulness, & accessibility of congressional archives for scholarly research maintains that they contain a wealth of valuable information that has remained largely untapped because of geographic, financial, & time constraints. The papers of former members of Congress are usually located in the state the legislator represented. The results of 10 visits to seven archives in different states indicate that the papers provide important insights into both current & lapsed debates. However, a strong research design is needed before delving into the voluminous archival material. Helpful Web sites maintained by the Clerk of the House of Representatives are described, available funding to support archival research is discussed, & helpful hints are provided for planning trips, as well as making the best use of both time & copying funds. The enormous benefits of archival research for congressional scholars are enumerated. J. Lindroth.

Gay, Oonagh

"Parliamentary Standards: A Developing Issue"

Political Quarterly, 2003, 74, 1, Jan–Mar, 83–90.

Abstract: The problem of enforcing ethical codes of conduct for Members of Parliament (MPs) in the UK is discussed. It is claimed that a major obstacle to this process is the fact that Parliament, to maintain its independence from the judicial & executive branches, has been given the right to regulate its own affairs. This lack of external oversight is said to have led to several scandals involving MPs in recent years. Solutions to this dilemma recommended by the Committee on Standards in Public Life in 1995 & 2002 are reviewed, followed by an overview of systems for regulation of parliamentary standards in Australia, Canada, & Ireland. It is noted that standards of conduct in the House of Commons have improved considerably since the recommendations of the 1995 Committee were adopted. However, it is argued that there is a risk of over-enforcement; MPs could end up being policed for all aspects of their behavior, which would make it more difficult to recruit potential members from broader sections of society. J. Paul.

Golden, Miriam A

"Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy"

British Journal of Political Science, 2003, 33, 2, Apr, 189–212.

Abstract: This article examines the relationship between the legislature & the public administration in postwar Italy (understood as the period from about 1948 through 1994). Italian public administration is normally characterized as badly designed & inefficient, & government performance is usually classed as poor. I argue by contrast that bureaucratic inefficiency, excessive legislation, & widespread bureaucratic corruption were features of Italian public administration that were deliberately designed by legislators & intended to enhance the reelection prospects for incumbents by providing them with opportunities for extensive constituency service. The underlying incentives stemmed from the candidates' search for the personal vote, essential for retaining public office. Differences in the laws regulating the financing of political campaigns explain why excessive bureaucratization in the Italian context also resulted in extensive political corruption. Adapted from the source document.

Grose, Christian R; Yoshinaka, Antoine

"The Electoral Consequences of Party Switching by Incumbent Members of Congress, 1947–2000"

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2003, 28, 1, Feb, 55–75.

Abstract: What are the electoral consequences of switching parties for incumbent members of Congress? Do incumbents who switch fare better or worse after their switch? Aldrich (1995) & Aldrich & Bianco (1992) present a model of party affiliation for all candidates. We empirically extend this model for incumbent legislators who have switched parties. Specifically, we look at the universe of incumbent representatives who have run for Congress under more than one party label since WW II. We find that the primary & general election vote shares for party switchers are

not as high after the switch as before. Additionally, we learn that party switching causes the primaries in the switcher's party & in the opposing party (the switcher's old party) to become more competitive in the short run. Over the long run, however, primaries in the switcher's new party are less competitive than those in the old party before the switch. 5 Tables, 1 Appendix, 30 References. Adapted from the source document.

Harper, M A G

"The 2001 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Bulgaria"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 2, June, 335–344.

Abstract: Discusses the 2001 parliamentary & presidential elections in Bulgaria, focusing on the campaigns & results. 2 Tables.

Harris, Douglas B (Review of: Irwin, Lewis G)

"A Chill in the House: Actor Perspectives on Change and Continuity in the Pursuit of Legislative Success"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 268–270.

Herrnson, Paul S; Stokes, Atiya Kai

"Women Running as Women: Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 244–255.

Abstract: Previous research has demonstrated that voter stereotypes about gender place certain strategic imperatives on female candidates. This study examines the effects of the interplay of candidate gender & campaign strategy using a new data set consisting of survey responses from US House & state legislative candidates who ran for office in 1996 or 1998. We demonstrate that women gain a strategic advantage when they run as women, tressing issues that voters associate favorably with female candidates & targeting female voters. These findings suggest that one of the keys to success for female candidates is to wage campaigns that use voters' dispositions toward gender as an asset rather than a liability. 2 Tables, 1 Appendix, 37 References. Adapted from the source document.

Hirsch, Michael

"Painted into a Corner: Liberals amid the Wreckage of the 2002 Elections"

New Politics (New Series), 2003, 9, 2(34), winter, 43–46.

Abstract: The Democratic Party was unsuccessful in gaining a majority in Congress because its members were afraid to campaign on the party's core progressive values. The party lacked the courage to present positive plans for the economy or to stand against war. The huge issues of unemployment, state budget cuts, global markets & job exports, & inexpensive prescription medication for seniors were neglected while the Republicans stood for war & national security issues. The election demonstrated that fear is not successful. Although the Democratic Party held only a two-seat deficit in the Senate & was close to a majority in the House, its candidates lacked the courage to take a stand &, therefore, brought an election collapse. L. A. Hoffman.□

Hogan, Robert E

"The Effects of Primary Divisiveness on General Election Outcomes in State Legislative Elections"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 1, Jan, 27–47.

Abstract: Does a divisive primary contest harm a candidate's chances in the general election? This question is addressed in an analysis of legislative campaigns in nine states during the 1994 & 1996 election cycles. Findings indicate that primary divisiveness does affect general election outcomes but in the opposite direction than anticipated. Greater divisiveness in a candidate's primary leads to a higher vote share in the general election. Similarly, greater divisiveness in a general election opponent's primary leads to a candidate receiving a lower vote share. Simply the presence of a primary challenge is found to exert a substantial positive influence for a candidate in the general election, particularly in open seat contests. Such counterintuitive results are attributed to the low levels of information that voters typically possess about state legislative primaries & to the strategic decisions of candidates who seek legislative office.□

Tables, 1 Appendix, 41 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Hogan, Robert E

'Sources of Competition in State Legislative Primary Elections'

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2003, 28, 1, Feb, 103–126.

Abstract: Primaries are an important but understudied component of American elections. In this article, I examine competition in state legislative primaries across 25 states during the 1994 & 1996 election cycles. My findings indicate that competition varies greatly & is affected by a number of factors on the state & district levels. The presence of an incumbent reduces competition, but strong district support for a party leads to greater competition in that party's primaries. Population size & social diversity do little to affect competition, but urbanism & unified party control have a positive impact. Further, legislative professionalism is associated with greater competition, particularly in open-seat races. Overall, the results have important implications for theories about the conditions that enhance or inhibit competition across different types of elections. 4 Tables, 1 Figure, 62 References. Adapted from the source document.

Hug, Simon

"Endogenous Preferences and Delegation in the European Union"

Comparative Political Studies, 2003, 36, 1–2, Feb–Mar, 41–74.

Abstract: The interplay among intergovernmental & supranational actors is a defining feature of the institutional life of the European Union (EU). Too often, however, these actors are considered independent of each other, & their autonomy is assessed in a vacuum. This is problematic because if there is such a thing as endogenous preferences in the EU, it appears exactly through this interdependence of intergovernmental & supranational actors. None of the

institutionalist approaches to the EU has come to grips with this fact yet. Based on some very simple game-theoretic ideas, I offer in this article a rationale for endogenous preferences & discuss their impact on issues of delegations. Some cursory empirical evidence supports the claims that the preferences of supranational actors are related to those of the actors who select or appoint them. Similarly, the analyses presented here suggest that preferences over delegation to supranational actors are influenced by differences in policy views between principals & agents. 5 Tables, 10 Figures, 1 Appendix, 60 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Hurley, Patricia A; Hill, Kim Quaile

"Beyond the Demand-Input Model: A Theory of Representational Linkages"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 2, May, 304-326.

Abstract: We offer a theory of the direction & nature of representational linkages between constituents & their elected representatives based on two attributes of issues: their complexity & their relationship to the lines of partisan cleavage. We show that the theory is compatible with the existing evidence on representation & then offer results of tests of new predictions from the theory for both simple & complex party-defining issues. For additional evidence of the dyadic basis of these findings, we also show that the strength of the observed linkages varies in accordance with theoretical expectations about the seniority of members of Congress &, for senators, recency of election. We also explain how the theory can account for a number of seemingly contradictory empirical findings in the large literature on policy representation & how it allows scholars to make precise predictions about the characteristics of representational linkages. 3 Tables, 2 Figures, 79 References. Adapted from the source document.

Jackson, David J; Engel, Steven T

"Don't Bite the PAC That Feeds You: Business PAC Punishment over the China Vote"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 2, Mar, 138-154.

Abstract: Previous research has found evidence that in high-profile cases, political action committees (PACs) sometimes punish members of Congress for voting in opposition to the PACs' interests. This finding contradicts the conventional understanding of campaign contributions as an inducement or reward for voting record or access to a member of Congress. To understand better the dimensions of the punishment strategy, we test whether corporate PACs engage in punishment by examining the pattern of contributions of finance & insurance PACs in the wake of the House vote on granting permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) with China in May 2000. Using ordinary least squares regression models, we find support for a punishment strategy of finance & insurance PACs as a result of a no vote on PNTR. The magnitude of the punishment is highest for those members of the House who have the strongest relationship with the PAC. 2 Tables, 1 Appendix, 40 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Jacobson, David; Ruffer, Galya Benarieh

'Courts across Borders: The Implications of Judicial Agency for Human Rights and Democracy'

Human Rights Quarterly, 2003, 25, 1, Feb, 74-92.

Abstract: The global expansion of human rights has shifted modes of political engagement in significant ways. This article analyzes this shift as one towards 'judicial agency', where an increasingly dense web of legal rights mediated by judicial & administrative bodies enables the individual to bypass traditional democratic forms of political mobilization. Through this new

mode of political engagement, litigants challenge legislative & executive authority as they cross organizational & even national boundaries through a 'nesting process', seeking judicial ways through which they can restructure rules & norms over a range of issues. This development is particularly marked in the EU. Adapted from the source document.

Jahanbegloo, Ramin
"Pressures from Below"

Journal of Democracy, 2003, 14, 1, Jan, 126–131.

Abstract: Explores the impasse between Iranian reformist president Mohammad Khatami & conservative clerics & security establishment that control power in the armed forces, intelligence services, & judiciary. Iran's political landscape is characterized as chaotic, marked by multiple diverse power struggles between the broad forces of reformism & conservatism, resulting in institutional gridlock. The idea of democratization is seen to be diffusing among the population, adding to the problem, as it backlights the conservative campaign against reform in a glare of illegitimacy. The spread of reformism among the populace is seen in the emergence of an ethic of individualism counter to the ethic of obedience & the rise of a new generation of intellectuals. However, there is some disillusionment among the movement over the lack of success of Khatami & the legislative branch. The poor economic conditions of Iran are seen to motivate antigovernment demonstrations & popular mobilization. In light of this, & the failure of the reform movement thus far, three scenarios are posited: hardline coup against Khatami, popularly compelled fracturing of & changing of the guard in the conservative government structures, toppling of repressive elements by a student–intellectual democratic movement. J. Zendejas.

Jenkins, Jeffery A; Munger, Michael C

"Investigating the Incidence of Killer Amendments in Congress"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 2, May, 498–517.

Abstract: While much empirical research has been devoted to the study of killer amendments in recent years, few studies have explicitly examined the theoretical foundations of the phenomenon. The goal of this paper is to investigate why some killer amendment attempts are successful, when theory suggests that they should always fail. More specifically, we examine the practical political constraints on legislators' abilities to neutralize the imminent threat of killer amendments through sophisticated voting. We also present two new cases, both occurring during the Reconstruction era, in which killer amendments were used successfully. In the end, our findings support previous research on all successful killer amendments detailed in the congressional literature: race was the issue under consideration at the amendment stage. 4 Tables, 36 References. Adapted from the source document.

Jerome, Bruno; Jerome–Speziari, Veronique; Lewis–Beck, Michael S

"Reordering the French Election Calendar: Forecasting the Consequences for 2002"

European Journal of Political Research, 2003, 42, 3, May, 425–440.

Abstract: French politicians sometimes change election rules for political advantage. In the spring of 2001, the ruling Socialists pushed through the inversion of the 2002 election calendar despite stiff opposition. What were the consequences of scheduling the presidential election before the legislature elections? Employing new techniques for French election forecasting, we show that the inversion brought great vote gains to the Socialist–led coalition in both the legislative & presidential arenas. One advantage of this forecasting methodology is that it allows counterfactual comparisons in advance of the actual election contest. Comparing the scenarios 'inversion' vs 'no inversion,' the Socialist leadership appeared highly strategic &

successful. 2 Tables, 24 References. Adapted from the source document.

Jeydel, Alana; Taylor, Andrew J

"Are Women Legislators Less Effective? Evidence from the U.S. House in the 103rd–105th Congress"

Political Research Quarterly, 2003, 56, 1, Mar, 19–27.

Abstract: We compare the ability of female & male members of the House of Representatives to turn policy references into law – something we label legislative effectiveness. The existing literature on women in American legislatures is opaque, with some scholars suggesting women are less effective than their male colleagues & others arguing they are just as effective. Using data from the 103rd–105th Congresses – specifically, data on bill & amendment sponsorship & Stein & Bickers' data on the distribution of federal domestic spending – we argue women House members are not demonstrably less effective than their male counterparts. Legislative effectiveness is the product of seniority, preferences, & membership in important House institutions. 4 Tables, 67 References. Adapted from the source document.

Johnson, Robert David

"The Unintended Consequences of Congressional Reform: The Clark and Tunney Amendments and U.S. Policy toward Angola"

Diplomatic History, 2003, 27, 2, Apr, 215–243.

Abstract: Explores the impact of the Tunney amendment to the Dept of Defense appropriations bill that terminated covert assistance to anticommunist forces in Angola & Dick Clark's amendment to the foreign aid bill that extended the ban. The two amendments gave Congress unprecedented & controversial power in foreign policy to oversee covert intelligence operations & to legislate foreign policy through the regulation of defense spending. Surprisingly, the amendments, inspired by liberals, did not support the liberal agenda of eroding the Cold War institutional structure of Congress & forming an anti-interventionist, pro-human-rights foreign policy. The amendments, instead, allowed the conservatives in Congress to utilize the revitalized power for their own interests. Although Congress had more tools to challenge executive authority, its approach to international affairs became the subject of ideological & tactical shifts. L. A. Hoffman.

Jones, Mark P; Mainwaring, Scott

"The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas"

Party Politics, 2003, 9, 2, Mar, 139–166.

Abstract: Political parties & party systems exhibit widely varying degrees of nationalization, that is the extent to which a party receives similar levels of electoral support throughout the country. The level of party nationalization has a prominent effect on such important factors as the survival of democracy, the types of issues that dominate political competition, legislative behaviour & public policy. In spite of its importance, party nationalization has been neglected in the comparative politics literature. Our article makes two contributions. First, it provides a measure of party & party system nationalization, based on the Gini coefficient, that is superior for comparative analysis to those employed to date. Second, it utilizes these measures to analyse nationalization in 17 democracies in the Americas, the first time nationalization has been examined empirically outside the advanced industrial democracies. The measure underscores the widely varying degrees in nationalization across party systems, within party systems over time, across parties within countries & within parties over time. 7 Tables, 1

Kar, Mehrangiz

"Constitutional Constraints"

Journal of Democracy, 2003, 14, 1, Jan, 132–136.

Abstract: Examines the obstacles to democratization in Iran's Constitution, noting that while some articles call for the implementation of basic rights & freedoms, others negate liberal concepts. The failure of reformist legislators is rooted in contradictory provisions on the functions & prerogatives of the Iranian legislature, the Majlis. Passed bills are not binding until the Guardian Council of jurists & clerics accepts it; every reform bill for the past 2 years has been rejected by the council. Further, the so-called Expediency Council, created by the Ayatollah Khomeini & added to the Constitution in 1990, exists to settle impasses between the Guardian Council & Majlis in the interest, it is claimed, of the Islamic Republic & not the citizenry. Thus, it is argued that the Majlis is not a true parliament, having to answer to two other bodies, & its ineffectiveness in oversight only adds to its impotence. These factors indicate that democratic progress is unlikely, & in light of persistent social tensions, violence would appear a likely prospect. J. Zendejas.

Karp, Jeffrey A; Banducci, Susan A; Bowler, Shaun

"To Know It Is to Love It? Satisfaction with Democracy in the European Union"

Comparative Political Studies, 2003, 36, 3, Apr, 271–292.

Abstract: Recent reforms have been designed to enhance the power of the European Parliament to counter criticisms of a democratic deficit in the European Union (EU). We examine how citizens now view these institutions & whether such evaluations influence their satisfaction with the way democracy works in the EU. Previous research has maintained that evaluations of the quality of democracy are difficult to assess because opinions about the EU largely reflect opinions about national institutions. Our results indicate that this is not necessarily the case, particularly among those who are politically aware. Those with high levels of political knowledge rely more heavily on evaluations of EU institutions when assessing democracy in the EU. We also find evidence that evaluations of democratic performance in the EU are motivated by the economic benefits & costs associated with membership. The implications for the democratic deficit & the satisfaction with democracy measure are discussed. 1 Table, 4 Figures, 30 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Kellough, J Edward; Selden, Sally Coleman

"The Reinvention of Public Personnel Administration: An Analysis of the Diffusion of Personnel Management Reforms in the States"

Public Administration Review, 2003, 63, 2, Mar–Apr, 165–176.

Abstract: Reform is a common theme in American public administration. During the twentieth century, at least 12 major administrative reforms took place at the federal level & countless others in state & local governments. Frequently, these reforms addressed the operation of public personnel management systems. Recent efforts associated with the reinventing government movement, for example, have proposed numerous alterations to civil service rules & procedures, & many jurisdictions have implemented significant changes in their personnel practices. This article examines the extent to which these kinds of personnel reforms have been implemented by state governments. A reform index is developed to document the considerable variation among states in their approach to personnel practices. Several state characteristics are associated with scores on this index, including legislative professionalism, which bears a

positive relationship to reform, & the level of unemployment within a state & the proportion of state employees associated with public employee unions, which are both negatively associated with reform. 3 Tables, 1 Appendix, 59 References. Adapted from the source document.

Kramer, Karl-Heinz

"Nepal in 2002: Emergency and Resurrection of Royal Power"

Asian Survey, 2003, 43, 1, Jan-Feb, 208-214.

Abstract: Under a nine-month state of emergency amid civil war, violence escalated & the human rights situation deteriorated. Dissent over extension of the emergency, & personal aversions between Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba & party president Girija Prasad Koirala, led to a split in the ruling Nepali Congress Party. King Gyanendra dissolved the House of Representatives on the recommendation of the prime minister & called new elections for 13 Nov. Gyanendra dismissed Deuba on 4 Oct, as Deuba proved unable to hold the elections in time. The king assumed executive powers himself, nominated a new council of ministers, & delayed elections for an uncertain time. Adapted from the source document.

Krehbiel, Keith

"The Coefficient of Party Influence"

Political Analysis, 2003, 11, 1, winter, 95-103.

Abstract: In a 2000 article in American Journal of Political Science, James Snyder & Tim Groseclose develop & apply an innovative method for detecting & estimating the frequency & magnitude of party influence in congressional roll call voting. This paper presents a framework for assessing the coefficient that the authors interpret as party influence. The analysis reveals that, & shows why, the coefficient manifests two troublesome characteristics. The coefficient cannot discriminate between disparate types of party influence because the mapping between types of partisan influence & signs of the coefficient is not one-to-one. Similarly, the coefficient has a responsiveness problem because a marginal increase in one party's influence can cause the estimate of the coefficient to increase, decrease, or remain constant. Because the literature on parties in Congress emphasizes majority-party strength, the inability of the coefficient to isolate party-specific effects is a serious drawback in the ongoing hunt for genuine party discipline. 1 Table, 2 Figures, 23 References. Adapted from the source document.

Kreppel, Amie; Hix, Simon

"From Grand Coalition to Left-Right Confrontation: Explaining the Shifting Structure of Party Competition in the European Parliament"

Comparative Political Studies, 2003, 36, 1-2, Feb-Mar, 75-96.

Abstract: In this article, the authors address the rationalist-constructivist debate head on. They start by discussing a significant empirical phenomenon in contemporary EU politics: the changing pattern of political competition in the European Parliament (EP), from a grand coalition of the two main parties in the 1994-1999 EP, to a new structure of left-right competition in the 1999-2004 EP. The authors then illustrate how rational choice & constructivist assumptions offer competing explanations of this shift in the culture of competition in the EP, which in turn generate competing empirically testable hypotheses. These propositions are tested using a logistic analysis of more than 400 roll-call votes in a period from the 1994-1999 & the 1999-2004 parliament. The authors conclude that neither basic theoretical framework performs well & that the best explanation needs to incorporate assumptions from both frameworks. 6 Tables, 28 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Ladrech, Robert

"The Left and the European Union"

Parliamentary Affairs, 2003, 56, 1, Jan, 112–124.

Abstract: This article surveys the efforts of the party–political Left (primarily social democratic parties) to influence the European Union policy agenda. It does so by analyzing (a) the points of contact between the Left & the EU, & (b) evaluating the output of such efforts. It focuses on the recipients of the EU's regional policy, the interaction of national ministers in EU settings such as the Council of Ministers & European Council, & the activities of the Left in the European Parliament. It next evaluates the policy influence of social democrats through the initiatives of the Party of European Socialists, their transnational party federation. The party's actions as regards the Employment Chapter in the Treaty of Amsterdam, as well as efforts at promoting economic coordination in monetary & fiscal affairs, are specifically reviewed. Adapted from the source document.

Leal, David L

"Early Money and Senate Primary Elections"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 1, Jan, 93–104.

Abstract: This article investigates the role of early money in Senate primary elections. The data show that in elections from 1988 to 1996, early money played an indirect role by leading to more money raised in the normal (nearly) electoral period but not by directly affecting election outcomes. This dynamic exists while controlling for factors such as previous political experience & candidate wealth, so it is not simply the case that early money is following the more experienced candidates or reflecting personal resources. These results confirm the view that the possession of early money signals political elites that a candidate is credible. The conclusions are similar to those of some previous researchers, although this study focuses on a different electoral arena & a different type of election & uses a different specification of the early variables. Early money does not specifically benefit female candidates, however, which has not been previously tested. 2 Tables, 21 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Lewis, Jeffrey

"Institutional Environments and Everyday EU Decision Making: Rationalist or Constructivist?"

Comparative Political Studies, 2003, 36, 1–2, Feb–Mar, 97–124.

Abstract: What difference do institutional environments make? Do they primarily affect strategy, with constraining & enabling effects on behavior as rationalists hold? Or do they also affect attitudes, identities, & how interests are formulated as constructivists assert? Within a given institutional environment, what impact does the style of decision making – which beyond formal characteristics such as the decision rule includes informal rules, norms, & shared understandings – play in determining bargaining outcomes? This article examines these questions in the context of EU decision making by focusing on the Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper). Coreper is an ideal laboratory to test these questions empirically, because this committee represents the needle's eye through which the legislative workload of the Council flows. And the permanent representatives who live in Brussels & meet weekly to prepare upcoming ministerial meetings are exemplars of state agents given their prominence in articulating & defending national interests across the gamut of EU affairs. 1 Table, 49 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Lopez, Edward J

"Term Limits: Causes and Consequences"

Public Choice, 2003, 114, 1–2, Jan, 1–56.

Abstract: This paper consults multiple literatures to specify & evaluate the economic rationales for term limitation, particularly on Congress. I first consider theories that arose to explain, among related issues, why individual states might unilaterally self-impose term limits on their own delegations to Congress. Next, I consider two main lines of argument for universal limits, both of which begin with the empirical phenomenon of high & rising congressional tenure. First, supporters of term limits argue that higher tenure biases legislatures toward inefficient big government (high spending). Second, higher tenure creates inefficient (anti-competitive) conditions in the legislative election market. Term limitation would remedy these inefficiencies by virtue of decreasing average tenure. These claims are then evaluated in light of the evidence amassed in the literature. Based on the literature reviewed, this paper finds that, while term limits will reduce average tenure, there is no evidence to suggest that term limits will affect the underlying causes of these inefficiencies. Further research on a more general reform, which would strike deeper at these underlying causes, is implied. 3 Tables, 2 Figures, 39 References. Adapted from the source document.

Louishomme, Claude

"Competing for Growth: The Exceptional Case of Gaming"

American Behavioral Scientist, 2003, 46, 8, Apr, 1104–1125.

Abstract: Contrary to what the urban political economy literature would lead us to predict, riverboat casinos have increasingly faced strong, organized opposition in many states across the country despite the large amounts of private investments, jobs, & tax revenues generated by casino developments. Yet at the same time, no such significant opposition has developed to successfully challenge the granting of large public subsidies to other private businesses by state & local governments. The author argues that this anomaly is explained by the mobilization of nationally organized interest groups that are successful in framing gaming as a moral, expressive issue, not only an instrumental strategy of economic development. These groups have been able to exploit the decentralization & fragmentation of the political system by exerting influence in several arenas, including citizen referenda, legal appeals, & legislative action. 6 Tables, 56 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Lovenduski, Joni; Norris, Pippa

"Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence"

Political Studies, 2003, 51, 1, Mar, 84–102.

Abstract: The entry of the 1997 cohort of Labour women into public life offers a test case of whether, & under what conditions, women politicians have the capacity to 'make a substantive difference.' We outline the theory of the politics of presence & discuss how to operationalize this in a testable model. We use the British Representation Study survey of 1,000 national politicians (including parliamentary candidates & elected Members of Parliament) conducted in the 2001 general election. Analysis centers on the impact of gender on five scales measuring attitudes & values on issues that commonly divide British party politics. Once we control for party, there are no significant differences among women & men politicians across the value scales concerning the free market economy, Europe, & moral traditionalism. Yet on the values most directly related to women's interests – ie, the affirmative action & the gender equality scales – women & men politicians differ significantly within each party, even after controlling for other common social background variables that explain attitudes, such as their age, education, & income. The conclusion considers why these findings matter for the composition of parliament, the public policy agenda, & women's roles as political leaders. 4 Tables, 1 Figure, 63 References. Adapted from the source document.

Lublin, David; Voss, D Stephen

"The Missing Middle: Why Median-Voter Theory Can't Save Democrats from Singing the Boll-Weevil Blues"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 227-237.

Abstract: Racial redistricting decimated the southern congressional districts once represented by centrist Democrats. Electoral maps drawn in the 1990s instead helped polarize the South's congressional delegation into a mixture of minority Democrats & right-wing Republicans, creating a more favorable environment for conservative legislation. The median-voter approach offered by Ken Shotts misses this phenomenon, primarily because neither his statistical model nor his formal model incorporates the sharp rightward shift in the House median that followed the 1994 Republican takeover of Congress. As a result, his models completely discount gains made by hard-Right Republicans at the expense of moderate Democrats. 1 Table, 1 Figure, 11 References. Adapted from the source document.

Maestas, Cherie

"The Incentive to Listen: Progressive Ambition, Resources, and Opinion Monitoring among State Legislators"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 2, May, 439-456.

Abstract: This article argues that political ambitions combined with the resources offered by professional legislatures can enhance the prospects for representation of citizen interests because ambitious legislators have strong incentives to closely monitor constituent opinions while they wait for a strategic opportunity to run for higher office. The effect of ambition for higher office should be especially pronounced in professional legislatures that provide members with high salaries, staff, & office budgets to aid their efforts. The relationship between ambition, legislative professionalism, & behavior are tested using data drawn from a survey of upper & lower chamber members in 8 state legislatures. The results show that legislators who are progressively ambitious spend more time monitoring public opinion than legislators who are nonambitious or statically ambitious & that legislative resources augment this effect. 2 Tables, 1 Figure, 28 References. Adapted from the source document.

Maestas, Cherie; Neeley, Grant W; Richardson, Lilliard E , Jr

"The State of Surveying Legislators: Dilemmas and Suggestions"

State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 2003, 3, 1, spring, 90-108.

Abstract: State-level research affords scholars a unique opportunity to study legislative behavior because state legislators are accessible in ways that members of Congress are not. State legislators' willingness to respond to interviews & questionnaires has provided scholars with a rich array of data about their behavior & perceptions. This survey research has contributed greatly to our theoretical & practical knowledge of legislative behavior & institutions. We examine 73 articles published in top academic journals from 1975 to 2000 to identify common techniques of surveying state legislators, & suggest ways in which scholars can enhance the prospects for collecting high quality data. We also consider what type of collective efforts could be undertaken to enhance this underutilized resource for studying legislative politics. 3 Tables, 92 References. Adapted from the source document.

Marcella, Rita; Baxter, Graeme; Moore, Nick

"The Effectiveness of Parliamentary Information Services in the United Kingdom"

Abstract: A pilot study was conducted to reveal the quality of the public information services provided by the UK Parliament in London & also the legislatures in Scotland, Wales, & Northern Ireland as they sought to increase democratic participation & reach marginalized groups. The study, funded by the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC), conducted interviews with service providers & also with visitors to the road shows throughout the UK. The service providers possessed differing activities & resources, but each faced specific challenges due to the rapid growth of e-mail & blocks to user focus & consistency of approach over the official Web sites. While the road show approach was promising in its potential to raise interest & participation, many people found the resources difficult & confusing, & excluded groups did not seem to be materially assisted by the information & communications technologies. 1 Table. L. A. Hoffman.

Maurer, Andreas

"Less Bargaining–More Deliberation. The Convention Method for Enhancing EU Democracy"

Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, 2003, 1, 167–190.

Abstract: The decision-making process in the EU has a fundamental flaw: because negotiations take place largely behind closed doors the European demos feels left out of it, therefore undermining the democratic basis of the EU & its reason for existing. Such a demos needs to be gradually formed by deliberative democracy that focuses not on majority decision, but on the joint search, by means of an open exchange of arguments, for solutions to shared problems. This Convention Method points to new ways to democratize the EU decision-making processes, because, separately from all rules on who is responsible for what, it brings members of the European Parliament & of national parliaments together with government & commission representatives for an intensive, results-oriented exchange of views. It creates scope for the representatives of the people at the EU & national levels to substantively influence EU policy & should therefore be promoted by all European parliaments. Adapted from the source document.

May, R J

"Turbulence and Reform in Papua New Guinea"

Journal of Democracy, 2003, 14, 1, Jan, 154–165.

Abstract: Examines Papua New Guinea's (PNG) brand of democracy, which while continuous since independence, exhibits multiple signs of a weak state. The fluidity of the party system is described in terms of a lack of ideological distinction, mass organization, & party discipline; a fondness for coalition politics that prohibits the legislative process; & the large number of candidates who stand & win as independents, a sign that party's lack campaign resources. The nature of PNG elections is addressed, finding most votes cast along clan or village lines, corruption & unscrupulous tactics by candidates who need only secure a small number of votes, & problematic provincial governments established to forestall potential regional separatist movements in Papua & Bougainville. The role of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force in civilian affairs is recounted, highlighting the Sandline International scandal & instability at the top military echelons. Reform efforts, eg, the Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties & Candidates, are noted, & the troubling circumstances of the 2002 national election are recounted. The future of PNG's democracy is assessed in light of the country's deep ethnolinguistic fragmentation, volatility of the electoral process, & impact of coalition politics on governance. J. Zendejas.

Mayhew, David R

"Supermajority Rule in the U.S. Senate"

PS: Political Science & Politics, 2003, 36, 1, Jan, 31–36.

Abstract: Explores the topic of supermajority rule & legislative dynamics in the US senate. Examples of 1937–1938 legislative drives, e.g., the push for anti-lynching legislation, are underpinned with theoretical arguments surrounding the congressional strategies. Guidelines for studying congressional behavior & supermajority politics are evaluated. 40 References. L. Collins.

McDermott, Monika L; Jones, David R

"Do Public Evaluations of Congress Matter? Retrospective Voting in Congressional Elections"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 2, Mar, 155–177.

Abstract

Although recent research has made great strides in explaining the causes of public approval or disapproval of Congress, there has been little evidence that evaluations of Congress have had any demonstrable effects on the political system. In fact, the literature suggests that individual members are largely insulated from public judgments of Congress. In contrast, we show that attitudes toward congressional performance affect outcomes in congressional elections. Specifically, voters hold the congressional majority party responsible for Congress's performance, punishing House candidates from this party when they disapprove of Congress & rewarding them when they approve, regardless of incumbent status. These findings carry implications both for the behavior of those in Congress, where majority party members would benefit from acting in ways that boost the public image of Congress, & for strategic politicians hoping to attain office, who should take congressional approval into account when deciding whether to challenge an incumbent from a particular party. 2 Tables, 1 Appendix, 29 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Messmer, William B

"Taming Labour's MEPs"

Party Politics, 2003, 9, 2, Mar, 201–208.

Abstract: The national party leaders of Europe, sitting in separate national parliaments from their party's Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), normally have difficulty influencing MEP policy decisions. This article, after pointing out the obstacles which minimize national party influence, analyzes a new & largely unacknowledged system of MEP coordination & control developed by the British Labour Party. Using data from interviews with Labour's MEPs, the article concludes that Labour's leaders have created an influential system of rewards & sanctions that have encouraged a closer & more disciplined relationship in this dual-parliamentary setting. 5 Tables, 24 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Millard, F

"The Parliamentary Elections in Poland, September 2001"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 2, June, 367–374.

Abstract: The parliamentary election in Poland in Sept 2001 accelerated upheaval in the party system. It saw the victory of a new left-wing electoral coalition led by the successor following the trend in limiting the scope of parliamentary immunity, the use of the Authorization Model applies a sensitivity to accountability that accommodates the tension between political corruption & representational independence. L. A. Hoffman.

Morris, Lorenzo

"Presidential Impeachment, Ideology, and Party Politics: Comparing 1868 to 1999"

National Political Science Review, 2003, 9, 206-229.

Abstract" A comparison of the Andrew Johnson & Bill Clinton impeachment cases reveals that a breakdown in the established party alignment made each president vulnerable to impeachment for personally reprehensible acts. For Clinton, the sexual indiscretion, & for Johnson, the violation of the Tenure of Office Act, were not seen as betraying political expectations. Clinton's Democratic Leadership Council placed barriers between the liberal & conservatives wings of the Democratic Party in 1992 that survived the elections, but not the tensions of public scandal. Only the divisions within the Republican Party & the impulsion of incumbency saved Clinton from losing the office. Both Johnson & Clinton faced both Houses of Congress controlled by opposition parties, a rare situation that has occurred only eleven times in American history, & both uniquely faced unbalanced factions with their own parties. Ironically, both presidents appeared to gain greater support from Congress & their fellow party members after their impeachment trials. 3 Figures, 25 References. L. A. Hoffman.

Pacek, Alexander C; Radcliff, Benjamin

"Voter Participation and Party-Group Fortunes in European Parliament Elections, 1979-1999: A Cross-National Analysis"

Political Research Quarterly, 2003, 56, 1, Mar, 91-95.

Abstract: Scholars have addressed the relationship between voter participation & party electoral fortunes for some time. Specifically, a number of studies postulate that Left-of-center parties are the primary beneficiaries of higher rates of voter turnout. This research note extends this argument to a classic low turnout environment: the elections to the European Parliament. Using data from 11 members of the European Union between 1979 & 1999, we test the turnout-party vote linkage through pooled cross-national time series analysis. We find that, indeed, increased turnout benefits the Left party groups in the European Parliament. We conclude with some implications for this finding. 3 Tables, 32 References. Adapted from the source document.

Popescu, Marina

"The Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Romania, November 2000"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 2, June, 325-395.

Abstract: Parliamentary & presidential elections took place in Romania on 26 Nov 2000, with the second round of the presidential elections held two weeks later. The elections saw defeat for the parties that governed Romania in the 1996-2000 period. Following the elections, the Romanian Party of Social Democracy (PDSR), the left-wing party that governed Romania before 1996, returned to government & Ion Iliescu regained the presidency he lost in 1996. For most observers, the most surprising aspect of the election was not the victory of the PDSR & Iliescu, but the unexpectedly high support gathered by the extremist nationalist Party of Greater Romania (PRM). 3 Tables, 8 References. Adapted from the source document.

Ripley, Randall B (Review of: Henahan, Marie T)

"Foreign Policy and Congress: An International Relations Perspective"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 259-261.

Romero, David W

"Divisive Primaries and the House District Vote: A Pooled Analysis"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 2, Mar, 178-190.

Abstract

The verdict on the divisive primary hypothesis has fluctuated as investigators have pursued a

variety of theoretical &

methodological debates. Although most recent studies find that divisive primaries harm general election outcomes, some claim that this effect is spurious, an artifact of uncontrolled electoral prospects phenomena. I argue that this claim is debatable because it rests on questionable conceptual & model constructs & evidence inconsistent with an investigation that controls for the phenomena central to the spurious effect claim. Instead, I show that null & alternative hypothesis findings turn on an unfeatured design characteristic, pooling election years. After controlling for phenomena central to the spurious effect claim & pooling election years, I extend the divisive primary hypothesis to the arena currently void of evidentiary support: elections to the House of Representatives. In addition, I find that the divisive primary penalty is asymmetric, applying in incumbent but not open-seat races. 1 Table, 1 Appendix, 17 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Rosenson, Beth A

"Against Their Apparent Self-Interest: The Authorization of Independent State Legislative Ethics Commissions, 1973-96"

State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 2003, 3, 1, spring, 42-65.

Abstract: Why do state legislators enact policies that conflict with their immediate self-interest? I address this question by assessing the impact of traditional & nontraditional policy determinants on ethics policy adoption. Specifically, I use event history analysis to identify the factors that explain the authorization of independent state legislative ethics commissions from 1973 to 1996. I find that the determinants of ethics policy are substantially, but not completely, different from those of other policies, with ethics policy fitting into an agenda-setting model better than many other policies. Scandals & the actions of other states played a prominent role in setting the agenda & facilitating the authorization of ethics commissions. The agenda-setting process transforms the immediate self-interest of legislators on this issue from one of concern about their own economic well being to one of concern about reelection. In addition, political culture, institutional power arrangements, legislative compensation, & party competition had small but discernible effects on the likelihood of a state establishing a legislative ethics commission. 3 Tables, 94 References. Adapted from the source document.

Rudolph, Thomas J

"Institutional Context and the Assignment of Political Responsibility"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 190-215.

Abstract: Comparative analyses of economic voting in Europe & in the American states suggest that institutional context structures the assignment of political responsibility for policy outcomes. Since most of it has proceeded at the aggregate level, however, the extant literature is ill equipped to comment critically on the ability of individuals to incorporate information about institutional context into their responsibility judgments & on whether the effects of such contextual factors outweigh those of individual-level characteristics. This article analyzes attributions of executive versus legislative responsibility for fiscal policy outcomes in the American states & represents the first attempt to integrate both institutional context & responsibility attributions into a single analysis. Exploiting recent advances in multilevel modeling techniques, this article analyzes the extent to which individuals' responsibility judgments are shaped by institutional & individual-level factors & how, in turn, these responsibility judgments influence political evaluations. 5 Tables, 1 Appendix, 66 References. Adapted from the source document.

Saez, Lawrence

"India in 2002: The BJP's Faltering Mandate and the Morphology of Nuclear War"

Asian Survey, 2003, 43, 1, Jan–Feb, 186–197.

Abstract: This article surveys some of the critical events that took place in India in 2002, paying particular attention to India's uneasy relationship with Pakistan. It also evaluated the significance of internal political developments, such as the significance of state assembly elections & the occurrence of riots in Gujarat. The survey concludes with a brief examination of India's economic developments. Adapted from the source document.

Samuels, David J; Shugart, Matthew Soberg

"Presidentialism, Elections and Representation"

Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2003, 15, 1, Jan, 33–60.

Abstract: How does presidentialism affect various forms of representation? All else being equal, presidentialism is likely to impede the prospects for 'mandate' representation but enhance the prospects for 'accountability' representation. The degree of mandate or accountability representation is a function of the balance of powers & the degree of separation of purpose between the branches. Strong presidentialism works against mandate representation by freeing the president from his/her legislative copartisans & promoting 'policy switching'. In contrast, a high 'separation of purpose', defined primarily by a country's electoral institutions, clarifies for voters the responsibility of each branch for policy. Thus presidentialism – under certain common institutional configurations – provides accountability representation to a degree overlooked by existing research. 2 Tables, 1 Figure, 47 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Santos, Gevanilda Gomes dos

"Racism: A Contradiction within the Brazilian Democratic System"

National Political Science Review, 2003, 9, 87–95.

Abstract: Studies the role of the Brazilian political party system within the democratic system in offering a legal & administrative framework for the equitable distribution of power & the guarantee of black civil rights. In the 1930s the Frente Negra Brasileira (FNB) was organized to achieve social integration through the party system. From 1945 through 1964, the Brazilian Workers Party (PTB) worked for racial–social relations, but it was the National Democratic Union (UDN) that introduced the Afonso Arinos Law against discrimination. Under the Geisel regime, the ideological myth of racial democracy necessitated an enforced silence to hide the reality of racism. The Unified Black Movement emerged in 1978, & a few black people were elected to parliament. A political opening was created in the 1980s allowing the operation of a multiparty system. A racial vote emerged, & new uncompromising black legislators defended black rights. In the 1990s, the federal government acknowledged social & racial inequalities & the need to transform the discourse into effective change. L. A. Hoffman.

Sarkees, Meredith Reid; Wayman, Frank Whelon; Singer, J David

"Inter–State, Intra–State, and Extra–State Wars: A Comprehensive Look at Their Distribution over Time, 1816–1997"

International Studies Quarterly, 2003, 15, 1, Mar, 49–70.

Abstract: For more than three decades the Correlates of War Project's database has served the research needs of most of the quantitative world politics community, especially in identifying & trying to account for several classes of war (interstate, extra–systemic, & civil) throughout the

international system since 1816. However, a number of the disagreements in the literature concerning the prospects of war derive from the tendency of many researchers to

rely on only one of our data sets (eg, interstate war). Here we wish to stimulate a broader view of war by examining the interplay among the three major types of war. Historical developments of the past half-century, & especially since the end of the Cold War, have rendered the original COW war typology increasingly incomplete. Consequently, we developed a modified typology of war & attempted to format the descriptive variables in ways that would facilitate a more comparative & comprehensive analysis of warfare. While the reader should be reassured that Interstate Wars remain as previously defined, we introduce the term 'Intrastate War' in place of our original Civil War category, & the term 'Extra-state War' in place of our initial Extra-systemic War category, allowing us to reclassify several such wars. This revised typology coupled with an update of the data allows us to take a fresh look at the question whether, from the perspective of the past two centuries, war is in fact becoming less common. The article concludes with a series of analyses that describe the patterns & trends of all types of war – reflecting the new typology – since the Congress of Vienna. These analyses reflect a disquieting constancy in warfare & hint at patterns of interchangeability or substitutability among the types of war. 4 Tables, 6 Figures, 55 References. Adapted from the source document.

Schleiter, Petra

"Mixed Constitutions and Political Instability: Russia 1991–1993"

Democratization, 2003, 10, 1, spring, 1–26.

Abstract: Mixed constitutions combine executive presidents with assembly-dependent prime ministers. While some analysts argue that these regimes foster stability, their presidents are also often viewed as pivotal actors when such regimes collapse. Russia's First Republic seemed to fit the latter pattern, & this article inquires into whether the addition of an executive presidency to its constitution truly had a destabilizing effect on Russia's first attempt at democracy. Specialists provide different perspectives on this question. One view is that the constitution had no effect on political outcomes; a second suggests that it may have had effects particular to Russia. Alternatively, its impact may have followed patterns similar to other countries. To examine these views, the article provides the first classification of this constitution using a comparative typology & then looks at the outcomes of political disagreements over government, policy, & the constitution. It finds that these followed the sort of patterns of compromise & conflict that one might expect from a comparative perspective. The implications for our understanding of Russian politics & political transitions are explored. It is argued that the Russian case helps to clarify the strengths & weaknesses of the mixed constitutions that have attracted such divergent views. 3 Tables, 4 Figures. Adapted from the source document.

Scully, Roger

"External Change, Internal Development: Studying the European Parliament"

Government and Opposition, 2003, 38, 1, winter, 131–138.

Abstract: A review essay on a book by A. Kreppel, *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 2002).

Semetko, Holli A; Krasnoboka, Natalya

"The Political Role of the Internet in Societies in Transition: Russia and Ukraine Compared"

Party Politics, 2003, 9, 1, Jan, 77–104.

Abstract: Our research investigates the opportunities provided by the Internet for political parties to communicate to the electorate, & the extent to which party Web sites are used vs other information sources on the Web. We find that parties in Parliament, major parties & newly created parties are more prominent online than others, &, based on standard quality indicators, that parliamentary parties & new parties have better quality Web sites. This confirms some of the findings concerning parties online in established democracies. On comparing party with news Web sites, however, we find that sites of online-only newspapers are the most popular; that online versions of offline news outlets are of secondary importance, in contrast to what has been found in established democracies; & that party & politician Web sites are of least importance to users, based on the number of hits to these Web sites. The political role of the Internet in Russia & Ukraine is discussed in conclusion. 2 Tables, 2 Figures, 2 Appendixes, 49 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Sharlet, Robert

"Constitutional Law and Politics in Russia: Surviving the First Decade"

Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization, 2003, 11, 1, winter, 122–128.

Abstract: Examines the survival of Russian constitutional reforms across the tumultuous 1990s. Critical moments include the constitutional crisis of the First Republic's 1993 collapse; the 1994–1996 (first) Chechen war, which motivated parliamentary challenges to executive power & the reemergence of the Constitutional Court; the Aug 1998 economic crisis, which set a new benchmark for legislative–executive culture in the constitutional framework; the first transfer of power, 1999/00, from Boris Yeltsin to Vladimir Putin, which stayed within constitutional & legal bounds of presidential succession; & the 1992–2002 challenge of nurturing a constitutional culture. The increasing salience of the Constitutional Court is cited. J. Zendejas.

Shotts, Kenneth W

"Does Racial Redistricting Cause Conservative Policy Outcomes? Policy Preferences of Southern Representatives in the 1980s and 1990s"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 216–226.

Abstract: This research note uses a median legislator model to assess the claim that racial redistricting leads to conservative policy outcomes. I examine policy preferences of southern representatives to the US House in the late 1980s & early 1990s. Surprisingly, the fraction of southern representatives who were liberal, that is, to the left of the House median, increased after racial redistricting. To explain this empirical pattern, I develop a simple formal model of redistricting's electoral effects. In the model, racial redistricting in a conservative state increases the number of members of that state's delegation to the left of the US House median, thereby moving national policy outcomes to the left. 1 Table, 2 Figures, 11 References. Adapted from the source document.

Shotts, Kenneth W

"Racial Redistricting's Alleged Perverse Effects: Theory, Data, and Reality"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 238–243.

Abstract: In this rejoinder I address Lublin & Voss's (2003) theoretical & empirical critique of my analysis of racial redistricting. I first show that their theoretical critique simply consists of unsubstantiated assertions. Moreover, Lublin & Voss fail to recognize that their unproven assertions are directly contradicted by previously published theoretical analysis. I then turn to Lublin & Voss's empirical critique & demonstrate that the research design underlying their

claims is fundamentally flawed. Thus, Lublin & Voss provide no compelling reason to question my conclusion that racial redistricting for the US House of Representatives promotes liberal policy outcomes. 11 References. Adapted from the source document.

Smith, Daniel A

"Overturning Term Limits: The Legislature's Own Private Idaho?"

PS: Political Science & Politics, 2003, 36, 2, Apr, 215–220.

Abstract: Discusses the ID legislature's 2002 overturning of a 1994 statutory initiative that mandated term limits for nearly all state & local elected officials. The action, which was in opposition to both public opinion & the will of Republican governor Dirk Kempthorne, made ID the first state to use legislative action to strike down citizen-imposed term limits. The focus is on what led the GOP-controlled legislature to make the bold, seemingly self-serving move to reverse a ballot initiative that had overwhelming public support. Contributing factors explored include the large number of uncontested seats; the power of long-serving legislators; Republican desire to continue dominance of the legislature; & geographic considerations, including rural/urban differences. The impact of each factor is assessed to conclude that, although self-serving motives were obviously in play, there was equal concern over the consequences of the 1994 initiative for local official like county clerks, sheriffs, tax assessors, & mayors, who have powerful lobbying associations. The political repercussions are discussed. 2 Tables, 1 Photograph, 44 References. J. Lindroth.

Sorensen, Rune J

"The Political Economy of Intergovernmental Grants: The Norwegian Case"

European Journal of Political Research, 2003, 42, 2, Mar, 163–195.

Abstract: The centralization of local public finance is commonly justified in terms of equality. The welfare state regulates local government & allocates grants in a way that sacrifices efficiency to achieve equality. The political economy model suggests that democratically elected national politicians may pursue policies that diverge from this. This article outlines a version of the political economy model based on seat-maximizing politicians in central & local government. Both parliamentary policy making & local government lobbying may generate disparities in grant allocation. On the basis of data on central grant distribution in Norway, we observe persistent disparities in local government revenues that cannot be accounted for by regional policy aims or egalitarian objectives. Extensive data on local governments, the lobbying activities of local council members & the Storting (the Norwegian Parliament) allows us to test the political economy hypotheses. Disparities in the number of seats allocated to the national election districts, & differences in the local lobbying activities, influence the distribution of grants between municipalities & counties. 7 Tables, 1 Figure, 30 References. Adapted from the source document.

Talbot, Ian

"Pakistan in 2002: Democracy, Terrorism, and Brinkmanship"

Asian Survey, 2003, 43, 1, Jan–Feb, 198–207.

Abstract: This article focuses on three areas that dominated Pakistan during 2002. The first was the transition to democracy in Oct. The background to the elections & the controversies surrounding this are examined along with the main party groupings & the outcomes. Second, the article considers the tense relations with India that threatened war both in Jan & May. The military standoff is explained in terms of the cross-border terrorism issue. Third, the article explains that Pakistan itself was a major victim of terrorism during the year. These outrages

were designed to hit out at soft Western targets, & to undermine the Musharraf government. Uncertainties abounded in Pakistan throughout much of the year. These arose firstly from the military standoff with India that followed the 13 Dec 2001 attack on India's Parliament; secondly, from the threat of terrorist outrages within Pakistan; & thirdly, from anxieties concerning the future of civil-military relations in the wake of the Oct parliamentary elections. Adapted from the source document.

Tate, Katherine

"Black Opinion on the Legitimacy of Racial Redistricting and Minority-Majority Districts"

American Political Science Review, 2003, 97, 1, Feb, 45-56.

Abstract: Minority-majority districts are highly controversial. To assess the degree to which black positions on this controversial matter were well-thought-out & fixed, questions based on Sniderman & Piazza's (1993) counterargument technique were included in the 1996 National Black Election Study. Black opinion instability on the issue of race & redistricting reveals the complexity of mass attitudes & the reasoning process, & reflects the manner in which a set of clashing interests & core values is balanced & prioritized. Although a large majority of blacks voiced initial opposition to creating districts where blacks & Hispanics are the voting majority, most blacks changed their position in response to the counterargument. This asymmetry suggests that blacks more strongly favor the goal of increasing minority representation than the principle of color blindness in Congressional redistricting. Education & racial identification are key predictors of black opinion on racial redistricting. Less educated blacks & weak racial identifiers were less supportive of minority-majority districts & racial redistricting practices. These results support the revisionist perspective among public opinion scholars that rational, thinking individuals can hold wavering opinions on questioning because they generally encapsulate a set of contradictory values & interests. 9 Tables, 1 Appendix, 45 References. Adapted from the source document.

Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn

"Campaigning to Govern: Presidents Seeking Reelection"

PS: Political Science & Politics, 2003, 36, 2, Apr, 199-202.

Abstract: A symposium contribution examines the mechanics of presidential reelection campaigns & the impact of campaigning on a president's ability to take care of government business. The three components of presidential reelection campaigns explored are the White House, the national party organization, & the campaign organization. Functions & responsibilities of all three components are described to argue that the White House, which has top-level aides devoted to campaign strategizing & communicating with the other two components, is the most influential. Problems that arise when there is an intra-party challenge for the nomination are examined, along with the effect of the priority shift from governing to campaigning on the substance & quantity of presidential staff work. It is noted that there is usually a decline in legislative proposals & executive orders between the third & fourth year of a president's first term. It is concluded that governing takes a back seat to campaigning during reelection years when presidents face the delicate challenge of balancing a dual role. 19 References. J. Lindroth.

Theriault, Sean M

"Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People"

Journal of Politics, 2003, 65, 1, Feb, 50-68.

Abstract: The conventional wisdom & congressional scholarship find that members of Congress use their public authority to facilitate their re-elections (Aldrich 1995; Moe 1990; Parker 1992;

Weingast & Marshall 1988). The adoption of the Pendleton Act of 1883 has been cited as another in a long line of examples in which members have stacked the deck in their own self-interests (Johnson & Libecap 1994a). I challenge these pervasive views by presenting evidence that public pressure was an important & frequently overlooked factor in explaining the adoption of civil service reform in the late 19th century. More generally, I argue that members of Congress will enact reforms that diminish their power or restrict their authority only when the public is attentive & united; otherwise, they will establish governing structures & rules that facilitate their own re-elections. This insight sheds light, more broadly, on the relationship between the represented & their representatives. 4 Tables, 1 Figure, 34 References. Adapted from the source document.

Tkach-Kawasaki, Leslie M

"Politics@Japan: Party Competition on the Internet in Japan"

Party Politics, 2003, 9, 1, Jan, 105–123.

Abstract: This article discusses how Japanese political parties & candidates have been using the Internet to compete for public support in two national elections held in 2000 & 2001. The major question examined is how far the unique institutional context within Japan of long-standing one-party rule & a controlled media environment has affected the development of Web campaigning by political actors. This question is addressed through analysis of trends over time in party activity online & content analysis of Web sites. It is concluded that the Internet has had a significant impact on the fortunes of minor parties, opening up cross-party competition & enhancing their calls for legislative reform. 7 Tables, 40

References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications Ltd.].

Valen, Henry

"The Storting Election in Norway, September 2001"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 1, Mar, 179–185.

Abstract: Discusses the Sept 2001 Storting (parliament) elections in Norway. The formation of a government coalition is described, along with the election issues & results. 3 Tables, 12 References.

Wigley, Simon

"Parliamentary Immunity: Protecting Democracy or Protecting Corruption?"

Journal of Political Philosophy, 2003, 11, 1, Mar, 23–40.

Abstract: Two stylized models of parliamentary immunity, the Legislative Agency Model & the Authorization Model, are compared to determine the correct balance between protecting representatives from outside interference & limiting their potential to abuse their positions. The Legislative Agency Model only bars the legal questioning of the immediate legislative agency of representatives, while the Authorization Model also requires the consent of the representative assembly before the nonlegislative agency of representatives can be legally questioned. The author argues that the Authorization Model provides a better protection for representative self-government. Rather than following the trend in limiting the scope of parliamentary immunity, the use of the Authorization Model applies a sensitivity to accountability that accommodates the tension between political corruption & representational independence. L. A. Hoffman.□

Yang, Dali L

"China in 2002: Leadership Transition and the Political Economy of Governance"

Asian Survey, 2003, 43, 1, Jan–Feb, 25–40.

Abstract: The 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party defined the policy agenda for 2002. Hu Jintao succeeded Jiang Zemin as Party general secretary, but Jiang retained the chairmanship of the Central Military Commission. Politically, the Chinese leadership gave special emphasis to stability, & continued to combat the Falungong & crack down on dissent on the Internet. In the economic sphere, the People's Republic of China enjoyed another year of rapid growth, & largely complied with the first-year requirements of its WTO membership. Restructuring & regulatory reforms in major industries accelerated. In the face of major worker protests, populism dominated social policy, with greater assistance to the poor & a crusade against tax evasion by the new rich. Major fiscal reforms were implemented. China enjoyed stable relations with the world's major powers but its ties with North Korea came under strain. Adapted from the source document.

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Legislative News

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

["New Day Under the Dome"](#) by Rob Gurwitt

Links to recent articles on the *Government Executive* magazine web site:

["Up to Our Eyeballs in Pork"](#) by Winslow T. Wheeler

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

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["Do Ethics Laws Work?"](#) by Peggy Kerns and Ginger Sampson

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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:

- **[MPSA](#)**: Papers presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 3-6, 2003, Chicago, Illinois.
- **[SWPSA](#)**: Papers presented at the Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 16-19, 2003, San Antonio, Texas.
- **[WPSA](#)**: Papers presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, March 27-29, 2003, Denver, Colorado.

MPSA

Author	Paper Title
Abbee, Owen	Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Maryland 8th Congressional District Election
Adams, Kimberly S.	Taking it to the Floor: The Effects of Descriptive Representation Upon State Legislative Agendas
Anglund, Sandy; Morehouse, Sarah	Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Connecticut 5th Congressional District Election
Austen-Smith, David; Feddersen, Timothy J.	Deliberation and Voting Rules
Baldez, Lisa	Elected Bodies: Gender Quota Laws for Legislative Candidates
Basinger, Scott J.; Ensley, Michael J.	Candidate Quantity in Congressional Elections: Malapportionment, Selection Bias, and Uncontested Elections
Basinger, Scott J.; Lebo, Matthew	Congressional Election Forecasting: Some Time-Serial and Micro-Foundational Considerations
Battista, James S. C.	Explaining Variation in Committee Representativeness
Baughman, John	To the Sponsor the Spoils: Preferences, Partisanship, and Legislative Success
Becker, Lawrence A.	Re-Opening the Who Wins Debate: An Individual-Level Analysis of Conference Committee Performance
Benoit, Kenneth R.; Marsh, Michael	A Fistful of Euros: Campaign Spending Effects under the Single-Transferable Vote Electoral System
Bergan, Daniel E.	Voting on the Soft Money Ban in the House of Representatives
Bernstein, Jeffrey L.	An Individual-Level Study of Committee Transfers in the House of Representatives
Bishin, Benjamin G. ; Dow, Jay	Issue Representation and Descriptive Diversity in Senate Elections
Boles, Janet K.	Congresswomen, Creativity and Support for the National Endowment for the Arts

Bond, Jon R.; Durham, Brandy M.; Cohen, Jeffrey E.; Fleisher, Richard	The Effects of Changes in State Level Presidential Approval on Support in the Senate
Brady, David W.; McAdam, Doug; Han, Hahrie	American Political Parties in the Post-New Deal Era: An Electoral Explanation of Historical Convergence and Polarization
Brunell, Thomas L.	Testing the Effects of the Redistricting Revolution on the Incumbency Advantage: Assessing the Cox and Katz Argument
Buchler, Justin M.	Alternative Strategies: Leadership PACs and Party Inactivity
Burns, Burns; Evans, Laura; Gamm, Gerald H.; McConnaughy, Connie	Politics without Professionals
Busch, Andrew E.	Members of Congress and Constitutional Issues
Cain, Sean A.	Changes in Competitive Context, Redistricting, and Political Consultants in U.S. House Elections—Risk-seeking vs. Risk-averse Strategies
Campbell, Andrea C.	The Scope of Senate Partisan Agenda Control
Campbell, Kristin L.	Struggling to Set the Campaign Agenda: The Effectiveness of Interest Group Advertisements Campaigns
Carlisle, Julie E.; Knecht, Thomas	The Rise of the Millionaire Candidate
Carman, Christopher J.	Public Preferences for Political Representation
Carne, Margaret A.; Apollonio, Dorie	Independent Expenditures and Interest Group Strategy
Carroll, Celia M.	Does Ideology Influence the Level of Deliberation in the U.S. House of Representatives? Evidence from the Western Caucus and the Northeast-Midwest Coalition
Carson, Jamie L.; Crespín, Michael H.; Finocchiaro, Charles J.; Rodhe, David W.	Redistricting, Constituency Influence, and Party Polarization in Congress
Carson, Jamie L.; Roberts, Jason M.	The Historical Context of Congressional Elections: Candidate Emergence in 19th and Early 20th Century U.S. House Elections
Chambers, Paul W.	Factions, Parties and the Durability of Cabinets and Coalitions in Thailand: 1980-2000
Chin, Michelle L.; Robbins, Suzanne	Two to Tango: How Interest Groups and Legislators Maximize Political Access and Campaign Contributions
Cho, Wonbin	Party Leadership Vs. Rank and File: The 105 th House Cosponsored Bills
Choi, Eunjung	Appealing Images or Begging Votes?: Comparing Media Effects With Canvassing Effects on Turnout in Presidential and House Elections
Clinton, Joshua D.	Senators, States and Constituencies: Constituency Influences on Senatorial Roll Call Voting
Cody, Scott	Party and Profession in the State Legislatures
Comiskey, Michael C.	The Senate Confirmation Process and the 'Quality' of U.S. Supreme Court Justices in the Twentieth Century
Cooper, Joseph; Hering, Martin	Proximity Voting versus Party Effects: A Revised Theory of the Importance of Party in Congressional Decision Making
Cooperman, Rosalyn	All in Favor? Examining Ideological Compatibility Among Women Congressional Candidates, Party Elites and Masses
Covington, Cary R.; Barga, Andrew	The Effects of Divided Government on Policy Change in the House of Representatives, 1953-1996
Davison, Donald L.; Krassa, Michael	Ambition, Accomplishment, and Institutional Change: The Consequences of Rule Change on Career Goals, Expectations, and Attitudes

DeSart, Jay A.; Patterson, Kelly D.	Campaign Messages and Voter Information in Congressional Elections
Diermeier, Daniel; Merlo, Antonio; Eraslan, Hulya	Bicameralism and Government Formation
Dodson, Debra L.	The Evolving Awareness of the Gendered Dimensions of Policy: Women in Congress, Substantive Representation, and Reproductive Health
Dolan, Julie; Kropf, Jonathan S.	Credit Claiming from the U.S. House: Gendered Communication Styles?
Engstrom, Erik J.	Stacking the States, Stacking the House: The Partisan Consequences of Congressional Redistricting in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries
Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew; Nicholson-Crotty, Sean	Presidential Campaigning during Midterm Elections
Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew; Peake, Jeffrey S.	A Lack of Presidential Influence: The 'Going Public' Assumption Revisited
Espino, Rodolfo	Electoral Influences on Latino Representation in Congress
Evans, C. Lawrence Evans; Ng, Stephen M.	Presidential Veto Threats and the Lawmaking Process
Ferguson, Margaret R.; Funyan, Joshua D.	Public Support, Crisis Events and the Separation of Powers
Finocchiaro, Charles J.	Suspensions, Special Rules, and Selection Effects: A Unified Model of Agenda Setting in the U.S. House
Flowers, Julianne F.	Institutional Restraints on Legislative Oversight
Forestiere, Carolyn	Opposition Empowerment and Constitutional Amendments
Francia, Peter L.	Learning from the Professionals: Candidate's Perspectives on Negative Campaigning
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Congress to Campus Program

The United States Association of Former Members of Congress

The Congress to Campus Program is designed to address several aspects of the civic learning and engagement deficit among the country's college-age young people, combining traditional educational content with a strong message about public service. The Program sends bipartisan pairs of former Members of Congress - one Democrat and one Republican - to visit college, university and community college campuses around the country. Over the course of each visit, the Members conduct classes, hold community forums, meet informally with students and faculty, visit high schools and civic organizations, and do interviews and talk show appearances with local press and media.

In the summer of 2002, the Board of Directors of the U. S. Association of Former Members of Congress (USAFMC) engaged the Center for Democracy & Citizenship (CDC) at the Council for Excellence in Government to help manage the Congress to Campus Program in partnership with the Stennis Center for Public Service (Stennis). CDC and Stennis, with the blessing of the USAFMC, agreed to undertake a number of initiatives to greatly increase the number of campuses hosting program visits each year, expand the pool of former Members of Congress available for campus visits, develop new sources of funding, raise the profile of the program and its message in the public and academic community, and devise methods of measuring the impact of the program at host institutions.

[To access full report on Congress to Campus, [click here](#).]

Dirksen Center Invites Applications for Grants

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 \$585,000 to support 315 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 up to \$35,000 will be available in 2004.

According to Center staff member Frank Mackaman, political scientists will use the grants to study such topics as congressional intervention in defense budgeting, congressional oversight of the executive branch, and campaigns for

the U.S. House. Historians will explore the culture of violence in Congress in the antebellum years and the influence of incumbents in selecting congressional candidates at the turn of the 20th century. A complete list of this year's Congressional Research Award recipients is posted at <http://www.dirksencenter.org/grantcongresearchaward.htm>.

The Dirksen Congressional Center is a nonpartisan, not-for-profit organization in Pekin, Illinois, that seeks to improve civic engagement by promoting a better understanding of Congress and its leaders through archival, research, and educational programs.

European Consortium for Political Research

ECPR has a new standing group on Parliaments, coordinated by Shane Martin, University of California, San Diego) and Matti Wiberg (University of Turku).

For a number of years the study of legislatures has concentrated on the US Congress. Parliaments in Europe have not been a subject of investigation to any comparable extent. Nevertheless, the body of knowledge is ever expanding on both the long-standing parliaments in Europe and the new institutions of the European Union and Central and Eastern Europe.

The Standing Group's aim is to promote comparative research and theory-building on the institutionalisation, capacity, operation, and performance of legislatures and the dissemination of such research.

For more information, and to register for membership (which is free) please see their web site at: <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/parliaments/index.htm>

A Prolegomenon on the National People's Congress of China: Legislating Consensus and Learning Democratic Participation

By Jiang Jinsong and Jack R. Van Der Slik

"After the train wreck of China's Cultural Revolution and Mao's passing, the Chinese leadership had to shape on the consensus for both its governing system and its economy. A piece of that consensus was to establish an authentic rule of law. The patriarchy and personal arbitrariness experienced under Mao convinced the next generation of the Communist Party leaders that one-man rule had brought disastrous consequences and that a more deliberative and broadly based set of institutions were needed. To have a rule of a law implied that no longer would the Communist Party operate by decrees and party papers. Increasingly the party would propose and rationalize its policies through people's congresses that would enact laws and statutes. Moreover, at the pinnacle of the state power would be the National People's Congress, actually fulfilling the rhetorical place assigned to it by the Chinese Constitution: 'the highest organ of state power' (Article 57)."

To access the full article on the National People's Congress of China, [click here](#).

Research Fellowship Grant

Central Valley Political Archive, California State University, Fresno

The Research Fellowship

The Central Valley Political Archive at California State University, Fresno, is pleased to announce the availability of a research fellowship grant. Generously supported by the Kenneth L. Maddy Institute of Public Affairs, the purpose of the research fellowship is to support the individual research of graduate students, university professors, and independent scholars for an extended period at the Central Valley Political Archive. Fellows will have the opportunity not only to conduct intensive research but also give a lecture on their research to the campus community. The availability of the fellowship runs from July 1, 2004 through June 30, 2005.

The Resources

The CVPA currently houses the papers of Kenneth L. Maddy (CA State Assemblyman, 1971-1978, CA State Senator, 1979-1998), Jim Costa (CA State Assemblyman, 1979-1994, CA State Senator, 1995-2002), Bernie F. Sisk (U.S. Representative 1955-1979), and Charles Pashayan, Jr. (U.S. Representative 1979-1991). Major topics include water, agriculture, reclamation and other legislative issues. For more information, please visit the CVPA's web site at: <http://www.cvparchive.org>

The Grant

This grant will provide up to \$2,000 to fund transportation, lodging and related research costs such as photocopying and photographic reproduction. One grant is available in each fiscal year.

CVPA staff will assist the chosen fellow in obtaining housing. Free borrowing privileges within the Henry Madden Library at California State University, Fresno during the fellow's stay will also be offered.

Application

To apply, please send your curriculum vitae and a research proposal of no more than 4 pages, including the dates of your visit, a proposed budget and a description of the ultimate end result of your research. Letters of recommendation may be requested during the review process. We encourage you to contact us prior to applying in order to ascertain the viability of your proposal. You may call the Central Valley Political Archive at (559) 278-8573. Please send all materials by March 31, 2004 to: Glenn R. Gray, Archivist, Central Valley Political Archive, 5200 N. Barton Avenue M/S ML34, California State University, Fresno, CA 93740-8014

All applicants will be notified by April 30, 2004.

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

The Sixth Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians

31 July- 1 August 2004
Wroxton College, Oxfordshire, UK

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Sixth Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians is to be held on Saturday 31 July and Sunday 1 August 2004. The venue is the same as for earlier Workshops: Wroxton College in Oxfordshire, UK, an ideal venue for international gatherings.

The Workshop is sponsored by the Centre for Legislative Studies at the University of Hull and the Research Committee of Legislative Specialists of the International Political Science Association. It is anticipated that, as with previous Workshops, it will also be sponsored by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

The Workshop serves to bring together scholars and parliamentarians - from legislatures around the globe - to discuss research findings likely to be of practical interest to members of parliaments. Topics covered in previous Workshops have included the role of committees, career paths, the prospects for parliamentary reform, legislatures and the courts, legislative staff, parliaments and the European Union, regulating the conduct of members, parliaments and foreign policy, ministerial accountability, the changing nature of legislatures, and the role of independents.

Paper proposals are invited for the Sixth Workshop. Proposals are invited that cover any aspect of legislatures - their development, behaviour, functions and consequences - and which are likely to have some relevance for parliamentarians in relation to their own institutions. Papers may be country specific, though papers that present comparative research are encouraged. Papers covering legislative developments in Africa, Asia and South America - areas not extensively covered in previous Workshops - are especially welcome. As with the Fourth and Fifth Workshops, it is anticipated that there will be a concluding panel comprising members of various parliaments.

Once paper proposals are accepted, paper givers will later be asked to submit abstracts for circulation in advance of the Workshop, with copies of the papers being brought to the Workshop for distribution. Papers are normally up to 5,000 words in length and may subsequently be considered for publication in *The Journal of Legislative Studies*.

Paper proposals (no more than 300 words), plus requests for further information, should be sent to:

Professor The Lord Norton of Louth,
Centre for Legislative Studies,
University of Hull, HULL HU6 7RX,
United Kingdom.
Tel: +44 (0)1482-465863
Fax: +44 (0)1482-466208
E-mail: P.Norton@hull.ac.uk

To arrive no later than Friday, 9 January 2004. Up to that date, paper proposals will be considered as soon as received, with proposers receiving a decision within three weeks of receipt.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: It is with great pleasure and pride that I assume the editorship of Extension of Remarks. I have had a long association with EOR. As a graduate student in the late-1980s and early-1990s at the University of Colorado I worked with Larry Dodd, a long-time editor, on a number of issues of EOR; my first academic publication was in EOR, and I have been an avid reader over the last two decades. EOR has traditionally been a special forum for the discussion of new and emerging perspectives on legislative studies, and an appropriate venue for considering and reconsidering the landmarks of our subfield. I hope to continue this tradition in the coming years. Another tradition that I intend to maintain is creating issues around a unified theme. This format is valuable for promoting discussion, and as a teaching tool. I invite readers who have ideas for issue themes to contact me with those ideas. My most sincere thanks go to the executive council of the Legislative Studies Section for selecting me for this position. Finally, my apologies for the tardiness of this first issue; I hope readers find that it was worth the wait. --SQK

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☐ [The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle After 25 Years: Editors Introduction](#), Sean Kelly, Niagara University

☐ [The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle at 25: A View from the Backbenches](#), Garry Young, George Washington University

☐ [The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle: A Giant Leap Forward](#), E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder

☐ [A Few Missing Pieces from The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle](#), Keith Krehbiel, Stanford University

☐ [The Behavioral Foundations of Committee Power: Reflections on Ken Shepsle's The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle at 25 years](#), Richard Hall, University of Michigan

☐ [Jigsaw Puzzle Redux](#), Kenneth Shepsle, Harvard University

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Coming in January 2004

Shaping Congressional Studies and Careers: The APSA Congressional Fellowship Program at 50
Essays by former APSA Fellows: William Connelly, Frances Lee, Jack Pitney,
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