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From the Chair

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As the new chair of the Legislative Studies Section, I would like to thank my predecessor, David Mayhew, for leaving the LSS in such good shape for my two-year term. Frances Lee, the LSS secretary-treasurer, continues to give us good financial reports at our annual meetings; it is good news (especially for me) that she continues to serve in that position. Nicol Rae did a wonderful job as program chair for the APSA convention in Philadelphia; he put together so many interesting panels that there were hard choices to make as to which one to attend in many of the time slots. We also owe thanks to the 15 people who served on our five prize committees.

As you know by now if you proposed a paper for the 2004 convention, the program co-chairs for this year's meeting are Sarah Binder and Forrest Maltzman; they are hard at work making decisions about the panels for the conference.

My first job as section chair was to appoint a multitude of people (okay, it was 15, but it seemed like a multitude at the time) to serve on the prize committees for 2004. Nearly everyone I asked graciously agreed to serve. The committees are a good deal of work, and I am grateful for the willingness of these colleagues to take it on. For descriptions of the prizes, the names of the members of the five prize committees, and the submission deadlines, go to <http://www.apsanet.org/~lss/announce.html>. I look forward to working with those people and everyone in the LSS.

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APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

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Black Congressmen During Reconstruction: A Documentary Sourcebook, Stephen Middleton, editor, Greenwood Press, 2002, ISBN 0313322813, \$94.95, cloth, 464 pages.

Following on the heels of the first Civil Rights movement, the first Reconstruction is a source of interest to political scientists and historians alike. The Three-Fifths Compromise gave way to the Missouri Compromise. The abolitionist movement capitalized upon the window of opportunity opened by the politics of Westward expansion. The Civil War catapulted the issue to the center of national politics. How would the country respond?

The Civil War Amendments signified a decisive turning point in the nation's history. Coupled with Congressional Reconstruction statutes, the path was paved for black participation in the political process. Middleton notes that between 1870 and 1901, twenty-two African Americans served in Congress and they defy a common misconception: each of these statesmen emanated from the South and each was elected largely by black voters.

Middleton explores the personal and public lives of each of these remarkable Reconstruction era men via brief biographical sketches and compilations of the speeches and documents. While subjugated to involuntary servitude, Middleton notes, the first African American Congressmen were

...able politicians. They were loyal to the United States in spite of its history of slavery and discrimination. They did not want to punish whites who had been slave owners, and it is clear that a few of them...were willing to grant amnesty to former confederates (Middleton 2002, xviii).

Reminiscent of Martin Luther King Jr.'s prose, Senator Blanche Kelso Bruce of Mississippi eloquently states:

I hope we have passed the critical period in our history in which race distinctions even for protection are

to be considered necessary; we will in this and all other matters of public concern forget the question of complexion or previous condition and go forward hand in hand as American citizens (Bruce in Middleton 2002, 24)

Interestingly, this historical sketch reveals some interesting political science lessons. For example, these statesmen were clearly "quality political candidates", with the professions of attorney, businessman, and teacher represented among them. Several of the black Congressmen, including Richard Harvey Cain, were ministers. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) have noted how religious experience translates to civic skills, helpful for political participation.

All of the black Congressmen who served between 1870 and 1901 were Republicans. Not a few remained active in the Republican Party, even after terrorist tactics and Jim Crow laws forced them out of office. Some held national positions. Representative John Roy Lynch of Mississippi served as President Benjamin Harrison's auditor of the treasury (Middleton 2002, 146). Representative John Mercer Langston of Virginia served as ambassador to Haiti and Santo Domingo following his term in office (Middleton 2002, 126).

Middleton's work serves as an interesting foray into black history and politics. Modern era realignments have produced a situation where the party of Lincoln has few African-American adherents. While blacks are now "captured" by the Democratic Party, Middleton upholds these black Reconstruction era statesmen as exemplars for politicians, academicians, and citizens alike.

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Born to Run: Origins of the Political Career, Ronald Keith Gaddie, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004, ISBN 0742519279, \$70.00, cloth, 240 pages.

As the framers well knew, representative government is driven by the force of personal ambition. Biographers, historians, and political scientists have offered theories and narratives to explain the role of ambition in shaping political careers. But such studies are almost always undertaken through the rear view mirror. We only become interested in the early career because the later career proved important. When he was a young state legislator, Abraham Lincoln wrote of the ambition that burned within him, an ambition that led him to participate in the creation of two political parties. But let's face it, had Lincoln not gone on to greater things, who now would remember or care about what he had to say about his ambition then?

To really understand the manner in which ambition shapes our political system, it is not sufficient to focus only on those whose ambition has been rewarded with high office. Ambition permeates and drives politics at all levels, nurturing and developing some political careers, drying out and ending many more. Our political system is as we find it not only by virtue of the actions of those who climb to the top of the mountain, but also by the withdrawal or inaction of those who give up the journey along the way.

Keith Gaddie's study of young state legislators is invaluable because it provides insight into the lure of the political life for young and ambitious men and women who have self-selected themselves into the political game. These "young guns" come from different states and different backgrounds, but they share in common a zeal and drive to run, to win, and to serve. As a comparative case study, *Born to Run* encounters the usual limitations: it is risky to generalize from only nine cases; Gaddie's selection criteria may have been somewhat arbitrary; three of his cases are from Oklahoma, two from Georgia, and two from Nebraska, along with one from Wisconsin and one from Maine. Clearly, Gaddie took on subjects to whom he had access.

But there is a range of experience among these politicians. Five are Democrats, four are Republicans. Some served in the lower house, some in the upper house, one served in both, and two served in the Nebraska Unicam. Some clearly aimed for a political career from a very early age; others wandered into the political arena more by happenstance. Some chose to pursue a longer-term career; others chose to step aside from politics. Nine men, one woman. This is not the most optimally diverse set of subjects, but it is sufficiently diverse to offer a basis for analysis and interpretation.

In searching for common denominators of their experience, one immediately settles on a high degree of interest in and commitment to public policy, supportive and activist family networks, a willingness to take risk, an ability to learn from experience, and a capacity for very hard work. The political system is filtering in very positive qualities with these candidates. At the same time, the demands of political life direct some of these legislators to abandon their political careers and other careers were cut short by mandated term limits. Thus, our political system would appear to erect several barriers to service: the risks and demands of seeking office, which only a few are willing to undertake; the demands of holding office, which drives some from it; and the belief, now sometimes codified in law, that these are jobs that anyone can do so that it makes sense to set limits on how long people can serve.

Keith Gaddie has done us a great service in undertaking the extensive effort that was required to research and write this book. He points us toward the vital importance of a qualitative understanding of politics. His narratives lay a foundation for generating hypotheses and testing theories of political ambition. He shows us that the American political system has the great virtue of attracting young citizens to public life and giving them a

chance to succeed. But it also places great demands on them such that not all are likely to have sustained political careers. We are reminded of what a great survivor Abraham Lincoln really was.

Ron Peters
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Bringing Representation Home: State Legislators Among Their Constituencies, Michael A. Smith, University of Missouri Press, 2003, ISBN 0826214525, \$34.95, cloth, 227 pages.

Malcolm Jewell once suggested, "state legislative research should be more theoretical and comparative, and that we should bridge the gap that still exists between congressional and state legislative research." Michael Smith brilliantly answers this call in his book *Bringing Representation Home: State Legislators Among Their Constituencies*. This study updates our knowledge of representational roles by interviewing and observing twelve state legislators over two legislative sessions in Missouri and Kansas. Though remarkably identical to Richard Fenno's *Home Style*, this study departs from Fenno by developing a more complex schematic of representational roles through state representative, not congressional, observations.

Rather than wear out readers with another convoluted theoretical treatise attempting to define representation, Smith asks instead, "How can we discover what representation is?" *Bringing Representation Home* is not about what representation is in theory but what representation is in practice. Consequently, Smith does not develop generalizations based upon previous literature, but from the descriptions and analysis of the representative's behavior. Thus, he avoids using a preconceived grand "covering law" theory to explain representational roles and adopts a grounded theory of political roles based upon the representative's perspectives, quotes, and behavior.

Smith's observations of a representative's home style -- the symbolic presentation they create to develop political support -- lead to four categories of representation: Burkeans, in-district advocates, advocates beyond the districts, and ombudsman. For the Burkean, decision-making and representation follow three steps: deliberate, decide, and justify. Thus, the Burkeans rely heavily on their character and judgment to deliberate and decide, primarily involving the constituents only when it comes time to justify their actions to the district. Advocates do not wait for issues to come to them; they "socialize the conflict" by aggressively raising concerns and bringing them to their constituents attention. Advocates are divided into two sub-categories: in-district advocates and advocates beyond the district. In-district advocates focus upon district and neighborhood concerns, while advocates beyond the district are pulled beyond their districts and gravitate towards larger state issues. Lastly, the most responsive role is that of the ombudsman. The ombudsman is passive, waiting for other representatives to place issues upon the agenda and then reacting only after heavy consultation with their constituents. These types largely, but not perfectly, predict the approach representatives take towards accomplishing four major tasks: communication with constituents, policy responsiveness, allocation of resources, and service to constituents.

In the end, Smith concludes that the successful representative must "fit" the district. This entails developing a style that is responsive to the circles of his/her constituencies, reflects the politics of that community, and emulates the district's overall characteristics.

The statehouse is not what it used to be -- it is more professional and possesses more policy responsibilities than ever before. As such, scholars and students alike need to spend more time studying our state representatives. Smith's study reminds us that it would be a travesty to ignore them in our legislative studies, to avoid using them in our comparative analysis, and to neglect their contributions for theory building. *Bringing Representation Home* is a valuable resource for anyone at any level of study interested in state politics, state legislatures, and political theory.

Josh Stockley
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Committees in Post Communist Democratic Parliaments: Comparative Institutionalism, David M. Olson and William E. Crowther, Ohio State University Press, 2002, ISBN 0814209122, \$60.00, cloth, 264 pages.

Olson and Crowther edit and present an interesting look at the institutionalization of parliamentary systems. The cases presented by the contributing authors constitute seven of the Central European post-communist parliaments. These parliaments have distinct histories and have varying levels of institutionalization. The authors examine the parliaments at the committee level, using committee institutionalization as a proxy for parliamentary institutionalization. The case study chapters are bracketed by a chapter which explains the theory, hypotheses, and analytical framework utilized by the contributors, and a concluding chapter which, using the findings of the country specialists, compares the Post-Communist European parliaments to one another.

This book "provides a unique perspective on how parliaments begin to develop the internal structures and procedures that enable them to accomplish their purposes in the wider society" (201).

Using the template devised by Olson and Crowther, each of the contributing authors explores the history and institutionalization of the parliament and committee system within the subject nations. Olson and Crowther use the seven indicators of institutionalization presented by Doring (1995) in order to indicate the current status of these parliamentary systems. Additionally, they posit six hypotheses regarding the sources of institutionalization. These sources are used to determine how successfully and quickly a parliamentary committee system becomes institutionalized. While each author uses a distinct approach, and the time periods of the studies vary greatly, the country specialists are able to integrate these hypotheses into their individual case studies. The first three countries, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic, fall into the category of institutionalized parliaments. The fourth, Bulgaria, is classified as a parliament which is in the intermediate range of full institutionalization. The final three nations, Estonia, Lithuania, and Moldova, fall into the category of least institutionalized. These case studies vary in their scope, but provide a depth of insight from which Olson and Crowther are able to present an interesting comparative analysis.

Through a systematic classification system, created by the hypotheses, Olson and Crowther are able to place the study of Post-Communist European parliaments into a broad comparative perspective. The template they devise, which uses the institutional indicators from the literature in addition to the six indicators of sources of institutionalization, is a useful tool for comparative legislative scholars. Further, the testable hypotheses provide a useful basis for further studies of developing legislative committee systems. This is a timely book which underscores the importance of further institutional studies at the committee level.

Melody Huckaby
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The European Parliament, David Judge and David Earnshaw, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, ISBN 0333598741, \$24.95, paper, 355 pages.

David Judge and David Earnshaw have written a thorough text on the parliament of the European Union, placing this parliament in the broader study of parliaments, and providing a thorough explanation of the representational and functional characteristics of the modern European Parliament. The authors provide a useful reference for legislative scholars, which establishes the position of the European Parliament in the context of other legislatures. The authors also make some useful comparisons between the European Parliament and national parliaments within the European Union, draw important conclusions about the role of the Parliament in the European Union, and ask questions about potential changes to the role and structure of that parliament.

The authors utilize the Forward as a map of their study's design, and it is a useful orientation to the subject matter. The first chapter addresses the different classifications of parliaments world-wide, and demonstrates that the location of the European Parliament within these classifications has changed dramatically over time. The second chapter provides a history of the parliament, and sheds light on the critical points at which the parliament changed, and moved within parliamentary classifications. The third chapter addresses the important questions of what and who is governed by the parliament; and how and to whom the parliament links itself. These are important questions, as the form of linkage varies from nation to nation, and the focus of representation is not clear within the structure of the parliament. The fourth chapter addresses the question of linkage more completely, and the authors discuss each of the four foci of representation, as well as how the MEPs see representation. They conclude that the party representation model is the most useful typology for understanding these linkages. This establishes the importance of party groups, and, in the fifth chapter, the authors further examine how these groups function in the EP.

Building upon the previous chapters, the sixth chapter explains the internal organization of the parliament, and how the party groups and history have impacted that organization. In the seventh chapter, the authors describe the formal powers of the EP. In the eighth chapter, they examine the influences and decision-making processes within the parliament. They find that the MEPs receive information from many different sources in order to make decisions, but confirm that it is the party groups which have the most influence on voting decisions. In the final chapter, the authors position the policy influence, power, and functions of the modern European Parliament in relation to other parliaments in Europe, and conclude that it clearly performs the functions and wields the power of a parliament, and in fact, on all scales it ranks very highly among European parliaments. They also ask questions about the future of the EP, its potential for growth in power, and its potential changes in structure.

The authors examine the European Parliament with a detailed explication of each aspect of the modern parliament. This text is an essential reference for scholars of the European Union and its institutions, as well as scholars of legislatures more generally. This is the most inclusive work on the European Parliament to date, and provides an important contribution to the comparative legislature literature.

Melody Huckaby
Carl Albert Graduate Fellow

Fred Harris: His Journey from Liberalism to Populism, Richard Lowitt, Rowman & Littlefield, 2002, ISBN 0742521621, \$41.95, cloth, 320 pages.

Fred Harris has been one of the most colorful personalities on the American political scene for a half-century. He is fully deserving of a biographical interpretation of his career, and Richard Lowitt is just the right biographer to do the job. As the biographer of Nebraska Senator George Norris and an expert on America's progressive and populist traditions, Lowitt is able to set the historical context of Harris's career as few could. From his early roots in Oklahoma politics in the 1960s to his perhaps quixotic quests for the presidency in the 1970s, Harris transformed himself from an establishment liberal chosen to chair the Democratic National Committee to a populist outsider who aimed to transform American government. Was this simply a case of a politician seeking opportunity where he could find it, or did something in Harris's experience in national politics trigger his populist impulse? To answer this question, Lowitt undertook a detailed examination of Harris's national political career, focusing on his senatorial years, his service as DNC chair, and his two campaigns for the presidency (in 1972 and 1976). The picture that emerges is that of an ambitious and principled liberal who concluded that establishment politics would not, in the end, produce the reformist policies that he thought the country needed. Lowitt chronicles Harris's early successes in working with the Johnson administration to move the Great Society forward, and his later frustration in dealing with the Nixon administration, intent on undermining the Great Society where it could. The lesson seemed simple enough: the presidency matters. To reach that office, however, Harris chose to cast himself as an outsider, a people's candidate. This populist approach, always latent and sometimes manifest in his politics, could not carry him to the White House. Richard Lowitt has written a very readable political biography. Drawing on Harris's papers housed in the Carl Albert Center at the University of Oklahoma, other archival sources, and the public record, Lowitt provides a very objective account of Harris's career. He eschewed interviewing Harris, wanting to "come to my own conclusions." That he has, and here they are.

Ron Peters
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Initiative and Referendum Almanac, M. Dane Walters, Carolina Academic Press, 2003, ISBN 089089969X, \$65.00, paper, 659 pages.

For researchers interested in the mechanisms of direct democracy, Dane Walters's *Initiative and Referendum Almanac* provides a comprehensive and meticulously assembled resource on citizen lawmaking. This compendium promises to be a significant aid to scholars now and well into the future, with its projected schedule of updates every four years.

The almanac draws heavily upon prior research available through the Council of State Governments' *Book of the States*, the Initiative and Referendum Institute, a Texas legislative interim study, and David Schmidt's *Citizen Lawmakers* (Temple University Press). More than being a compilation of prior work, however, the almanac presents a coherent history of the initiative and referendum process, detailed comparisons of state and municipal procedures, and individual state chapters. The state chapters are particularly helpful, containing the constitutional and statutory provisions governing initiative and referendum as well as reporting the historical patterns and frequency of citizen lawmaking.

Chapters 5 through 9 offer readers more focused discussions of different aspects of the process. For example, Walters's fifth chapter attempts to dispel criticisms of initiative and referendum in a succinct question-answer format that is decidedly positive about the virtues of direct democracy. Other chapters deal with recent legislative attempts to regulate the signature collection process, court oversight of initiative efforts, and polling in referendum elections.

While clearly advocating the virtues of direct democracy, the *Almanac* is not without its biases, but most scholars will find the book a welcome and authoritative reference guide to this important aspect of politics and public policymaking.

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Inside the Campaign Finance Battle: Court Testimony on the New Reforms, Anthony Corrado, Thomas E. Mann, and Trevor Potter, editors, Brookings Institution Press, 2003, ISBN 0815715838, \$28.95, paper, 333 pages.

When Congress passed the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, sponsors, supporters, and

opponents predicted legal challenges to the Act. They were correct. Within hours of enactment, multiple cases were filed attacking numerous provisions of this major revision of federal campaign finance law. Ultimately, the eleven cases filed, involving more than 80 plaintiffs, were consolidated as *McConnell v. FEC*. Following a mixed decision by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the case was reviewed through an expedited appeals process by the U.S. Supreme Court. In December 2003 the Supreme Court upheld most aspects of the law.

The self-proclaimed goal of this book is to make testimony in this "historic case" accessible to an audience beyond the lawyers, political scientists, and other practitioners actually involved in the litigation. The aim is to shed light on the complexities of campaign finance and the role of money in our political system. The editors attempt to walk the tightrope between a presentation which will appeal to a general audience while also appealing to those interested in a scholarly treatment of the subject. They succeed.

Selecting forty-one sets of "testimony" from the tens of thousands of pages contained in the court record and editing them into a coherent framework of analysis and explanation must have been a daunting task. In selecting which statements to include, the editors stated their goal was to present a rough balance of the arguments and evidence from both sides. They faced several "imbalances" based on the litigation strategies from the parties. For example, the defendants produced numerous and lengthy reports providing expert testimony on television ads by groups, parties, and candidates and the likely impact of the reform act. The plaintiffs chose to submit a single witness on this issue. This imbalance is shown in the selected materials and can fairly be stated to favor the defendants and their point of view.

As in any attempt to compile a representative sample of a significant volume of material, one might question some selections and the inevitable editing required. Why are the testimonies presented by office holders only from former elected officials (i.e. David Boren and Alan Simpson's perspectives as representative of "Senate Democrats" and "Senate Republicans")? Why were the numerous *amicus* briefs filed, including one filed by 21 attorneys general (17 Democrats and 4 Republicans) in support of the defendants and one filed by 8 Republican attorneys general in support of the plaintiffs, not analyzed or included? Overall, however, comparing the material selected to the material available, the editors provide a representative and fair sample of the court record.

The "testimony" presented, of course, is not the examination and cross-examination style one might expect from litigation but is the dry, sterilized presentation of arguments prepared and submitted by witnesses without the benefit of the probing of the witness by the other side. The closest we come to this type of exchange involves the analysis of research by other scholars and appropriate rebuttals. (For example, Jonathan Krasno's response to James Gibson's criticisms and methodological concerns over Krasno's work in *Buying Time*.) For those interested in more in-depth explorations of a witness's position, there are over fifty depositions included in the court record and available at www.campaignlegalcenter.org. Also, over 200 pages of oral arguments from the September 8 hearing before the Supreme Court, providing arguments by the parties and insights into the Justices' thinking, can also be found at that location.

For those interested in a more comprehensive examination of campaign finance reform, this book provides a substantial starting point. For those seeking an overview and greater understanding of the fundamental issues and concerns of campaign finance reform, *Inside the Campaign Finance Battle* provides a concise, readable source that will serve to foster that greater understanding.

Ted Ritter
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Legislative Deferrals: Statutory Ambiguity, Judicial Power, and American Democracy, George I. Lovell, Cambridge University Press, 2003, ISBN 052182415X, \$65.00, cloth, 312 pages.

In *Legislative Deferrals*, one of the most fundamental questions facing the field of public law -- whether judicial power is somehow "undemocratic" -- is addressed. Many scholars have made a career out of arguing that unelected judges have too much power to make public policy in the United States, and this problem is often blamed on ideologically driven judges. However, George I. Lovell argues that this perspective should be reexamined.

In his book, Lovell contends that the narrow focus on the behavior of the judicial branch is incomplete, and he argues for a fundamental shift in the way scholars think about judicial policymaking to a stronger focus on the role that legislators play in creating judicial power. In order to prove his theory that the legislative branch is equally responsible for the role that the judiciary plays in policymaking, the author examines the history of four labor statutes, the Erdman Act, the Clayton Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and the Wagner Act. In each of these cases, the legislature passed statutes that were later struck down or fundamentally reinterpreted by the courts. Through his historical analysis, the author finds that the legislative branch is equally responsible for the role that the court played in these instances, because the legislature either passed intentionally vague and/or ambiguous laws. For this reason, Lovell argues that the courts cannot be seen as completely undemocratic or opposed to the legislative branch, as they often have no choice but to intervene.

Legislative Deferrals is a thought-provoking book that challenges the proposition that judicial ideologues

are responsible for the often important role that the courts have played in public policymaking. In arguing that the legislative branch is equally responsible due to the passage of vague and ambiguous statutes that require a great deal of interpretation, Lovell restructures the understanding of judicial power.

Carrie Palmer Sparling
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No Holds Barred: Negativity in U.S. Senate Campaigns, Kim Fridkin Kahn and Patrick J. Kenney, Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2003, ISBN 0130977608, \$20.00, paper, 130 pages.

In this work, Kahn and Kenney provide an illustrative and thorough investigation of negativity in Senate campaigns. They combine qualitative data (interviews with campaign managers and content analysis of campaign ads and press coverage) and quantitative data (National Election Studies data) which enables them to simultaneously analyze and speak to the major players of the electoral system itself -- the candidates, the press, and the citizens.

The first question Kahn and Kenney address is why and when do candidates go negative. Negativity in campaigns is not random, they conclude, but highly predictable. They identify three significant factors which help predict when campaigns turn negative. The first is the level of competition in elections. As elections become more competitive and election outcomes become more uncertain, both incumbents and challengers are more likely to go negative. The second factor is the status of the candidate. Challengers, because they need to provide reasons for voters to turn away from incumbents, must attack and this means infusing a campaign with negativity. Incumbents generally try to stay away from negative campaigning but will vociferously attack if their job is on the line. The third factor is the proximity to the election. Candidates are more likely to go negative at the end of campaigns, right before the election. Kahn and Kenney find that 25% of all negative ads appear during the week prior to Election Day.

Kahn and Kenney then turn to the role of the press in negative campaigns. Conventional wisdom is that the press is a contributor to a political environment which encourages negativity. They conclude otherwise. "The truth is negative press coverage is almost nonexistent unless races become competitive" (112). The press, they argue, is responsive to the campaign environment, meaning that when candidates start attacking one another they will indeed report on it, but they do not necessarily foster negative campaigning.

How, then, does negativity in Senate campaigns affect the citizenry? It has mixed effects, some positive and some negative. When campaign rhetoric is negative, citizens tend to be much more knowledgeable about the campaign and the candidates. Negativity has an additional effect on the behaviors and beliefs of citizens that vary according to the content and tenor of the message. Legitimate negative criticism increases citizen engagement with campaigns and increases the likelihood that people will vote, while intense mudslinging negativity decreases interest and the probability of voting. The citizenry is able to discern differences in negativity.

Kahn and Kenney's research is insightful and concise. They intersperse their analysis with examples of real life negative campaigning, clear graphs and charts, and they provide succinct summaries at the ends of all of their chapters which reiterate their findings.

Aleisha Karjala
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University of Oklahoma

Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress, David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, editors, Stanford University Press, 2002, ISBN 0804745714, \$31.95, paper, 556 pages.

Party, Process, and Political Change pulls together some of the leading scholars in partisanship and the historical development of congressional politics to offer an invaluable addition to the library of any student of Congress. Noting that the current literature on Congress focuses mainly on post-New Deal politics, this work takes a historical approach to understanding political change. The book is divided into three parts. In sum, these parts are designed to examine the role of party organizations in policymaking, the ways in which congressional processes and procedures have changed, and the relationship between institutional processes and procedures and congressional politics and policy (3). The book's historical perspective allows us to critically examine the variables we use and the assumptions we make when studying the modern Congress.

Part I explores the role of party organizations in policymaking by looking for evidence of the conditional party government model, agenda control through the strategic choice of rules, the partisan model and negative agenda control, and party control over committees and committee chairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examining the development of the standing committee system in the House, the role of individual actors such as Clay and Reed, the origins of the "Tuesday-Thursday Club", and the rise of majority

party leadership positions in the Senate, Part II explores how congressional processes and procedures have changed. Finally Part III suggests how institutional change and policy change are related. Through a comparison of the Continental and Federalist Congresses, an analysis of the evolution of the Compromise of 1850, and the decisions to add new states to the Union, this section of the book demonstrates how institutional structures can advance or limit policy change. The decisions to add new states to the Union present a fascinating example of how members sometimes are faced with choices that not only change policy but the institutional composition of the Congress itself. The final chapter compares actual outcomes with an outcome that could have occurred under a different set of institutional rules, specifically how history would have been different had population in the South not been based on the 3/5th clause.

Jocelyn Jones Evens, Ph.D.
Former Carl Albert Fellow
Assistant Professor of Government
University of West Florida

Speaking Freely: Washington Insiders Talk About Money in Politics, Larry Makinson, Center for Responsive Politics, 2003, ISBN 0939715295, \$15.00, paper, 154 pages.

For over two decades now, The Center for Responsive Politics, a non-profit, non-partisan research organization, has been recording financial contributions to candidates, parties, and committees and has been discussing its concomitant effect on elections and policy. Recently, the Center has focused upon compiling databases on campaign contributions and making this publicly available either on their website which operates under the name of Opensecrets.org or in their newsletter which is now located at Capitaleye.org. As a result, they have long been a convenient resource for those interested in campaign finance and the role of money in politics. Their latest publication, *Speaking Freely*, is a follow-up to the 1995 publication bearing the same name. Although this latest version hails as the second edition, it departs sharply from the first edition because one will find that the updated version bears a new author, contains an entirely different structure, utilizes brand new interviews, and lacks an explicit focus upon and calls for campaign reforms.

Speaking Freely is not an analytical and scientific account of campaign finance as much as it is a compilation of quotes from twenty-four individuals who have at one time or another given or received campaign contributions. The reader will find a series of disconnected vignettes describing the financial realm of politics interspersed with some editorial comments. Nonetheless, these stories capture both angles of campaign finance -- the receiving side and the giving side. Thus, the first half of the book reveals the perspectives of former members of Congress (for example, Peter DeFazio, Rick Lazio, Chuck Robb) who received money, while the second half of the book unveils the standpoints of PAC directors and individuals (for example, Ellen Malcolm of EMILY's List, Mike Mathis of Teamster's Union, Peter Bittenwieser, Arnold Hiatt) who gave money. Consequently, readers gain a firsthand account of the large amounts of time members reserve for fundraising, the fears of losing that motivate members to spend so much time raising money, and the expectations of access which members must contend with from contributors. *Speaking Freely* then shifts from former members of Congress to PAC directors and individuals who apparently share with members the drudgery of fundraising. More importantly, the stories reveal their strategies, reasons, and expectations for financial contributions.

In conclusion, *Speaking Freely* is a colorful insiders' account of the world of campaign finance. It highlights the human dimension of campaign finance not readily captured by charts, databases, and statistical regressions. Although *Speaking Freely* reflects the Center's perception of money as the cold and dark side of politics, it is an interesting collection of honest thoughts regarding the impact of money on elections, legislative processes, and politicians from the actors themselves -- a remarkable feat given the sensitivity of the subject.

Josh Stockley
Ph.D. Student in Political Science
University of Oklahoma

The States of Campaign Finance Reform, Donald A. Gross and Robert K. Goidel, Ohio State University Press, 2003, ISBN 081425103X, \$24.95, paper, 131 pages.

In a policy debate dominated by studies of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and subsequent revisions like the McCain-Feingold Campaign Finance Reform Act, Donald A. Gross and Robert K. Goidel seek to broaden the scope of inquiry and understanding of campaign finance legislation by exploring state laws aimed at gubernatorial campaigns.

Gross and Goidel assert that while studies of national campaign finance legislation offer a methodologically advanced volume of literature, they generally suffer from a lack of variance because campaign finance laws remained essentially consistent throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By using data on state gubernatorial elections across all fifty states during a twenty-year period from 1978 to 1997, *The States of Campaign Finance Reform* addresses a number of the limitations encountered by previous studies. Data from

state campaign finance laws provide ample variability to their study. The diverse approaches states use to regulate gubernatorial campaign finance also offer opportunities to distinguish among the effects that contribution limits, spending limits and public financing have on candidate spending, voter turnout, electoral competition and electoral outcomes (xvii).

The findings of Gross and Goidel suggest that well framed reform measures adopted by states like Maine and Arizona, which seek to regulate spending by financing campaigns with public money, produce the most favorable results. They conclude that the numerous and diverse approaches to campaign finance ensure both a continuing public debate over proposed reforms as well as a continuing need for analysis of the topic.

Walt Wilson

Carl Albert Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

The Test of Time: Coping with Legislative Term Limits, Rick Farmer, John David Rausch, Jr., and John C. Green, editors, Lexington Books, 2003, ISBN 0739104454, \$26.95, paper, 298 pages.

The time has come to quit telling the non-political scientist world that we cannot say for sure whether terms limits will make a difference because "we don't have any data yet." By now we do have data. Some state legislators were first prohibited from further service in 1996. In 1998, term limits had completely taken effect in Maine and California. By 2002 a dozen states had been affected. The accumulation of data is not great, but it is certainly enough to merit serious attention to this important topic.

The fine collection of articles in the *Test of Time* begins the serious process of systematically sorting through the hypotheses that have accumulated around term limits to determine which have merit, which are wrong, and which need more careful scrutiny. The editors of this book provide a valuable service by trying to organize expectations and, therefore, the essays into a manageable approach.

The first set of papers in this volume is a series of case studies of the states which have experienced the earliest impact of term limits. Generally, these parallel case studies look at how the legislatures operate under term limits, the electoral consequences of term limits, and whether the demographics of the legislatures have changed. The second section focuses on select topics: leadership, career paths, representation, and legislative performance or success. In the final section, the editors pull together essays that address the linkages between term limited legislatures and other political actors such as the media, interest groups, and citizens.

It is impossible to summarize the findings of this important book in a brief review, but reading it should dispel any notion that because nothing tragic has happened in these states (excepting, perhaps, California), that term limits have not done much. These essays routinely talk about increased volatility and commotion, challenges to make the legislature work, shifting loci of power, and surprising little change in demographics.

Reading these essays reminds one how adaptable legislative institutions are. That they survived term limits should not be a surprise; they are, after all, nearly ubiquitous because they are so adaptable. But the powers they have and the functions they serve are quite different in different settings. The mere survival of legislatures that are term limited tells us little. The editors conclude that term limits "are neither the panacea that proponents hoped for nor the Pandora's box that opponents feared." The essays demonstrate great changes are taking place in these state legislatures; changes that do seriously affect who wins and who loses. And that is exactly what proponents wanted and opponents feared.

Gary Copeland

Professor of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

Women Transforming Congress, Cindy Simon Rosenthal, editor, University of Oklahoma Press, 2002, ISBN 0806134968, \$34.95, paper, 506 pages.

Cindy Simon Rosenthal and the contributing authors have put together a comprehensive volume on the impact of women on the American Congress. Each chapter addresses the role of women in Congress through a different lens, providing a multi-faceted view of gender and the role it plays in Congress. This text provides an excellent resource for both gender scholars and congressional scholars seeking to understand the role of women in both the decision-making process and the institutional structure of the Congress.

Simon Rosenthal provides an introduction to the tome and explains the overarching question "Have women transformed Congress?" as well as the book structure and the lenses used by the authors. The second chapter is theoretical in nature, and Georgia Duerst-Lahti argues that the lens of gender explains much about the institution of Congress that is not understood without this lens. She argues that it is essential to study the role of gender in Congress if one is to understand the institution. In the remaining chapters, the authors utilize gender to study the different aspects of Congress.

The third chapter looks at how women view their role in Congress. Carroll argues that it is the norm that women members view their role as surrogate representatives of women outside of their districts, whereas

members who are men are unlikely to see themselves as representing the interests of women specifically. Costain and Frazier examine the women's movement as an understanding of how Congress reacts to social movements. Hertzog examines the unique pathways to Congress utilized by women members. In chapters six and seven, campaigns are examined. Matland and King examine how women differ from men as candidates; Bystrom and Lee Kaid examine how campaign communication is used by women candidates. Chapters eight through ten examine the impact women members have on the congressional agenda. In single policy areas, Wolbrecht examines the impact of women members on the advancement of women's rights, while Kedrowski and Stine Sarow examine the impact that gender has had on cancer policy. Michele Swers demonstrates that women are more likely to sponsor bills that are women's issues than are men in either party. These three chapters show that women have a significant impact on how the congressional agenda looks.

Chapters eleven and twelve investigate how women operate in congressional committees. Arnold and King examine this in the context of the Senate, and Noelle Norton looks more specifically at the House. The committee systems in both houses have been barriers to women. It has been difficult for women to attain seats in committees critical to women's issue legislation, and thus, women have been unable to attain institutional power commensurate with their numerical strength. In one area of congressional committees, women do enjoy greater representation. Simon Rosenthal and Cohen Bell address the role of committee staff, and find that the passive representation of women by women staffers can translate into active representation.

The impact of women members is also seen in how they use floor debate. Cramer Walsh argues that women present arguments from a greater number of perspectives, often drawing upon experiences unique to women. Further, floor debate places women Members in the public spotlight, giving women the opportunity to remove prejudice regarding the ability of women as legislators. In the final focus on the U.S. Congress, Thomas, Herrick, and Braunstein look at the effect gender has on congressional career choices. They argue that women in Congress have allowed men to focus also on the importance of the private sphere in their career choices, and have elevated this societal issue in public awareness as members plot their career path using both considerations. The final case chapter is comparative in nature. Joyce Gelb examines the opportunity structures for women in both Britain and the United States. In the concluding chapter, Simon Rosenthal presents a discussion of the collective findings of the book. She argues that the Congressional policy agenda has been transformed by women in the twentieth century, but at this point, the institution itself remains largely unchanged by the influence of women.

This book addresses the study of gender and Congress at many levels, utilizing a large variety of perspectives and methods. This volume offers a number of testable hypotheses and frameworks for further study as well as the most current research on gender in Congress. This text is a useful resource for scholars and is well designed for classroom use. The collected essays of this work provide a comprehensive view of the literature on women and Congress today. It is a critical addition to both the Congressional and gender literature.

Melody Huckaby
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University of Oklahoma

Workways of Governance: Monitoring Our Government's Health, Roger H. Davidson, editor, Brookings Institution Press, 2003, ISBN 0815717539, \$18.95, paper, 177 pages.

In this volume, Roger Davidson presents a systematic, feasible means to address the assessment of governmental institutions. In conjunction with the Brookings Institution, Davidson and six additional contributors suggest approaches to the examination of the working environments of the House, the Senate, the president's advisory system, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy. In applying the concept of periodic evaluation to the branches of the federal government, guidelines are established to achieve a meaningful measure, which is comparable to parallel entities in the states and other nations. The use of longitudinal data, rather than cross-sectional, is employed, and the inclusion of qualitative as well as quantitative indicators are recommended to establish performance trends.

Davidson addresses the House of Representatives, focusing on the core functions of that institution -- representation, deliberation, and public education. He points out much of the data needed for quantitative measurement of these functions (members' backgrounds, scheduling, staff compensation) is currently available as public record; however, qualitative measures such as the quality of committee deliberation should also be considered in determining overall effectiveness and performance. Sarah Binder provides a similar discussion of the Senate, emphasizing the challenge of collective action within this chamber, and suggests several approaches to the evaluation of the decision-making capability of this body. The evaluations of presidential advisors and the judiciary are equally informative and present new ideas for conducting research in these areas.

A definite highlight of this volume is Paul Light's contribution in regard to federal public service. Light directs the reader to imagine public service as top heavy in leadership, lacking in adequate training and development for middle management, and virtually despised in such a way that no bright, ambitious college graduate would even consider a career in this field. He then challenges this perception of public service, relying on the Volker Commission finding that what really matters most in public service is the commitment public servants bring to their work. He proceeds to outline a workable means of assembling data to evaluate the state

of public service today through both objective indicators such as turnover, recruitment, and career advancement, and subjective indicators such as morale, job satisfaction, and sense of purpose. Light utilizes data from two surveys conducted pre- and post-September 11 of federal government employees, conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates on behalf of the Brookings Institution's Center for Public Service.

This book's premise is that periodic systematic appraisal of federal agencies is both necessary and beneficial. The authors propose a wide variety of measures of institutional health, and demonstrate how such assessments can be conducted. The book challenges scholars and researchers to utilize these approaches and to develop new means of monitoring the effectiveness of government. For those interested in institutional accountability, this book provides a wealth of research innovations and proposals.

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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= legislatures.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

"Congressional Response to Mandate Elections," David A.M. Peterson, Lawrence J. Grossback, James A. Stimson, and Amy Gangl, 47, 3 (July 2003): 411–426.

"Reapportionment and Distribution: Consequences of Electoral Reform In Japan," Yusaku Horiuchi and Jun Saito, 47, 4 (October 2003): 669–682.

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW

"Bargaining in Bicameral Legislatures: When and Why Does Malapportionment Matter?" Stephen Ansolabehere, James M. Snyder, and Michael M. Ting, 97, 3 (August 2003): 471–481.

AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH

"Congress Invokes Public Opinion on Welfare Reform," Catherine Paden, Benjamin I. Page, 31, 6 (November 2003): 670–679.

"Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on □ Support for a Republican Candidate," David C. King and Richard E. Matland, 31, 6 (November 2003): 595–612.

"Congressional Passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882," Patrick Fisher and Shane Fisher, 20, 2, (July 2001): 58–74.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVES

"Ministry of Fear: The 1947 National Security Act in Historical and Institutional Context," Douglas T. Stuart, 4, 3 (August 2003): 293–313.

ISSUES & STUDIES

"A Blue Tango: Electoral Competition and the Formation of Taiwan's Opposition Coalition," Jih–

wen Lin, 39, 2 (June 2003): 41–72.

JOURNAL OF POLITICS

“Beyond the Demand–Input Model: A Theory of Representational Linkages,” Patricia A. Hurley and Kim Quaile, 65, 2 (May 2003): 304–326.

“Investigating the Incidence of Killer Amendments in Congress,” Jeffery A. Jenkins and Michael C. Munger, 65, 2 (May 2003): 498–517.

LEGISLATIVE STUDIES QUARTERLY

“Congressional Vote Options,” David C. King and Richard J. Zeckhauser, 28, 3 (August 2003): 387–411.

“The Keys to Legislative Success in the U.S. House of Representatives,” William D. Anderson, Janet M. Box–Steffensmeier, and Valeria Sinclair–Chapman, 28, 3 (August 2003): 357–386.

“The Politics of the Difficult: Congress, Public Opinion, and Early Cold War Aid and Trade Policies,” Michael A. Bailey, 28, 2 (May 2003).

“What Happens When House Members ‘Run with Congress’? The Electoral Consequences of Institutional Loyalty,” Daniel Lipinski, William T. Bianco, and Ryan Work, 28, 3 (August 2003): 413–429.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

“Procedural Justice Theory and Evaluations of the Lawmaking Process,” May Gangl, 25, 2 (June 2003): 119–149

POLITICAL RESEARCH QUARTERLY

“Congressional Parties, Fundraising, and Committee Ambition,” Eric S. Heberlig, 56, 2 (June 2003): 151–161.

“Punctuating the Congressional Agenda: Strategic Scheduling by House and Senate Leaders,” Susan Webb Yackee, 56, 2 (June 2003): 139–149.

POLITY

“Bridging the Lawmaking Process: Organized Interests, Court–Congress Interaction, and Church–State Relations,” Kevin R. DenDulk and J. Mitchell Pickerill, 35, 3 (April 2003): 419–440.

PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES QUARTERLY

“The Law: The Constitutionality of Congressional–Executive Agreements,” Louis Klarevas, 33, 2 (June 2003): 394–407.

REVISTA DE SOCIOLOGIA E POLITICA

“Political Capital and Electoral Career: Some Variables in the Elections for the Brazilian Congress,” Luis Felipe Miguel, 20 (June 2003): 115–134.

"Presidential Success in the Realm of Foreign Affairs: Institutional Reform and the Role of House Committees," Bryan W. Marshall, 84, 3 (September 2003): 685–703.

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Link to recent article on the *Government Executive* magazine web site:

["Weighing In on Job Competitions"](#) by Jason peckenpaugh, October 2003

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

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["Legislators Teach and Learn"](#) by Jan Goehring, January 2004

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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:

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- [APSA](#): Papers presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-31, 2003, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- [NPSA](#): Papers presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, November 6-8, 2003, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- [SPSA](#): Papers presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 8-11, 2004, New Orleans, Louisiana.

APSA

Author	Title of Paper
Aguayo, Julio	The Legislature Strikes Back in Peru?: The Role of Congress in the Demise of Fujimori
Aleman, Eduardo	Legislative Rules and the Amending Process: Theory and Evidence from Argentina, Chile and Mexico
Altman, David	Cabinet Determinants of Structural Reforms in Latin America (1990-2000)
Arnold, Charles Benjamin	A Reappraisal of Candidate Emergence in Congressional Elections, 1972-2002
Arter, David	Cohesion and Discipline in West European Parliamentary Committees
Bach, Stanley I.	Bicameralism in Canberra: Assessing the Legislative Impact of Australian Senate
Bargen, Andrew	Party Control and its Ideological Impact in the U.S. Senate
Barkan, Joel D.	Emerging Legislatures in Emerging Democracies: The African Experience
Basinger, Scott J.; Ensley, Michael J.	Endogeneity Problems in Congressional Elections Research: Challenger Quality, Campaign Spending, and Incumbent Vulnerability
Baumgartner, Frank R; Mahoney, Christine	Lobbying in Coalition with Government Allies
Beckmann, Matthew N.	Presidential Lobbying: How the White House Promotes the President's Policy Preferences on Capitol Hill
Bentley, Roisin	Impact of Constituency Influences in 2002 Mid-Term Elections
Bratton, Kathleen A.	Agenda Development in the U.S. Congress: The Intra-Institutional Diffusion of Women's Issues, 1973-2000
Buchler, Justin	Building Intra-Party Coalitions with Leadership PACs

Author	Title of Paper
Burden, Barry C.	The Discharge Rule and Majoritarian Politics in the House of Representatives
Carey, John M.	Term Limits in the State Legislatures: Results from a New Survey of the 50 States
Carrubba, Cliff	Using Roll Call Votes to Study Legislative Behavior: Demonstrating Roll-Call Vote Selection Bias in the European Parliament
Carson, Jamie L.; Marshall, Bryan W.	Checking Power with Power: A Strategic Choice Analysis of Presidential Vetoes and Congressional Overrides
Casellas, Jason P.	Voting and Delivering: Latino Representation in Congress
Covington, Cary R.; Bagen, Andrew	Divided Government and the Ideological Character of Bills Enacted by the House of Representatives, 1963-1996
Cruz, Jose E.	Interminority Relations in Legislative Settings: The Case of African Americans and Latinos
Den Dulk, Kevin R.; Pickerill, J. Mitchell	Organized Interests, Issue Definition, and Congressional Responses to the Supreme Court
Depauw, Sam	The Iron Cage of Party on the Government Backbenches in Belgium, France and the United Kingdom
Desposato, Scott W.	The Impact of Party Switching on Representation in Brazil
Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto	Coalition Building Strategies and Transfer Dependence in Mexico's Federalism
Doherty, Leanne	Level Playing Field for All? Female Political Leadership and Athletics
Engstrom, Erik J.	The Partisan Consequences of Congressional Redistricting in the 19 th and Early 20 th Centuries
Escobar-Lemmon, Maria C.; Avellaneda, Claudia Nancy; Botero, Felipe	Is Timing Everything? An Analysis of the Path to Legislative Success in Colombia
Espino III, Rodolfo	Electoral Influences on Latino Representation in Congress
Farmer, Rick D.; Powell, Richard J.	Moving On, But Not Moving Out: Comparing Career Paths of Term Limited Legislators
Feldman, Daniel L.	Legislating or Litigating Public Policy Change: Gunmaker Tort Liability
Fleisher, Richard; Bond, Jon R.	Chamber Medians, Party Medians and Theories of Party Politics in Congress
Flowers, Julianne F.	If Congress Sends Preference Signals and the Bureaucracy Doesn't Listen, Did Congress Really Say Anything?
Fogarty, Brian J.	Out-of-Step: Local News Media Coverage of U.S. House Members
Frisch, Scott A.; Kelly, Sean Q.	ñA Plate at the Table: Women's Committee Requests and Women's Committee Assignments in the U.S. House
Gaddie, Ronald Keith	Bridging the Loss of Institutional Memory in the Term-Limited Legislature: Institution-Building in the Maine Legislature

Author	Title of Paper
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Gershtenson, Joseph; Bishin, Benjamin	Middle of the Road or Private Cul de Sac? Candidate Proximity to Constituents in U.S. Senate Elections
Gillespie, Andra; Mann, Christopher Baird	When Redistricting is No Longer Black and White: Majority-Minority Districts and the Maximization of Substantive Representation for Blacks and Latinos in Congress
Goodman, Craig	Roll Call Behavior and Career Advancement: Analyzing Committee Assignments from Reconstruction to the New Deal
Gordon, Joshua	The (Dis) Integration of the House Appropriations Committee: Revisiting the Power of the Purse in a Partisan Era
Green, Matthew	Leadership in Legislative Institutions: Speakers of the House of Representatives and Acts of Power
Gulati, Girish J.	Gender and the Presentation of Self on the WWW
Gulati, Girish J.	Members of Congress, Congressional Candidates, and the Presentation of Self on the WWW
Gungor, Gaye	Institutionalization of Legislatures and the European Parliament
Hamm, Keith E. Hamm; Hogan, Robert E.	The Impact of Campaign Finance Laws: First Order Effects?
Han, Hahrie C.; Brady, David W.	From Here to There and Back Again: The Changing Impact of Issues on the Political Parties and Elections in the Post WWII Era
Hart, David M.	Think Tanks, Expert Advice and the New U.S. Technology Policy Agenda
Heath, Roseanna; Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M.	All Dressed Up With No Place to Go? Political Ambition in Unitary Political Systems With Unicameral Legislators
Heller, William B.; Mershon, Carol A.	Party Switching in Italian Regional Legislatures, 1996-2001
Herrera, Richard; Shaver, Karen	The Influence of Party on Congressional Decision Making: Bringing Back Constituents
Herrick, Rebekah; Fisher III, Samuel H.	Citizen vs. Professional Legislators: Representation in the House of Representatives
Holyoke, Thomas T.	Madam Chair, We Respectfully Disagree: Interest Group Competition and Congressional Testimony
Jenkins, Jeffery A.	Partisanship and Contested House Elections, 1789-2000
Jenkins, Jeffery A.; Finocchiaro, Charles J.	Killer Amendments in the Contemporary Congress
Jensen, Jennifer M.	Gendered Ambition? Career Choices of Staff Members in the U.S. House of Representatives
Jun, Hae-Won	Initiatives and Amendments: Euro-Parliamentarians' Preferences on the Commission's Discretion
Kernell, Samuel	To Stay, To Quit, or To Move Up: Explaining the Growth of Careerism in the House of Representatives, 1876-1940

Author	Title of Paper
Kloha, Philip A.	Majority Party Reliability: Explaining Majority Party Stacking and Ideological Outliers in House Committees
Klotz, Robert J.	Reed Rules: Leadership and Institutional Change in Congress
Koenig, Thomas	Conference Committees: A Comparative Analysis of Bicameral Conflict Resolution
Koger, Gregory	The Sources of Congressional Partisanship
Kreuzer, Marcus	The Calculus of Party Affiliation in Post-Communist Democracies
Lapinski, John	Representation and Public Policy: A Study of the Role of the President and Congress in the Legislative Process, 1877-2000
Larson, Bruce A.; Heberlig, Eric S.; Hetherington, Marc J.	The Redistribution of Campaign Funds and Institutional Advancement in the U.S. House
Lazarus, Jeff L.	The Speaker's Discretion: Selection of House Delegates to Conference Committees
Londregan, John	Centrifugal Voting
Maddox, H. W. Jerome	An Analysis of Career Decisions in US State Legislatures, 1994-2002
Malloy, Jonathan P.	Grassroots Party Membership Patterns and Effects on Party Discipline and Cohesion in Canadian Legislatures
Martinez-Gallardo, Cecilia	Sources of Cabinet Instability in Latin American Presidential Regimes
Martorano, Nancy	Partisan Realignment and Its Impact on the Legislative Process
Maslin-Wicks, Kimberly S.	Evolution of Leadership in the 19 th Century U.S. Senate
McElroy, Gail	Party Switching in the European Parliament: Why Bother Defect?
Meinke, Scott R.	Vote Choice and Vote Change in the Antebellum House: Evidence from the Gag Rule, 1836-1845
Middlemass, Keesha M.; Grose, Christian R.	Congressional Representation, Position-Taking, and The Median Voter: Testing Legislative Theories with Newsletters and What it Says about Members' Representational Styles
Miler, Kristina C.	Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Legislative Perceptions and Congressional Representation
Milyo, Jeffrey	The Electoral and Financial Consequences of Legislative Oversight
Noel, Hans; Zaller, John R.	Local News and the Quality of Congressional Representation
Ono, Keiko	The Voter Turnout and Polarization of US Congress: A Casual Relationship?
Orr, Ivy	Competing Agents in Parliamentary Oversight of the European Union: National Governments and European Affairs Committees
Overby, L. Marvin; Petrocik, John R.	Uncertain Terms: Preliminary Empirical Assessments of the Effects of Term Limits in the American Statehouse
Owens, John E.	Legislative Party Cohesion in Comparative Perspective
Paden, Catherine	From Protest to Politics? An Examination of Class-Based Barriers to African American Political Representations

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Parker, Glenn R.	Self-Policing in Legislatures
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Pereira, Carlos; Renno Jr., Lucio R.	Political Ambition in Brazil: How Do Incumbents Decide their Political Career?
Potoski, Matthew; Lowry, Robert C.	Leadership PACs in Congressional Campaigns: Long-Run Party Building versus Short-Run Ambition
Primo, David M.; Milyo, Jeffrey	Political Institutions and Public Trust: Evidence From the States
Rackaway, Chapman	Congressional Campaigns and Congressional Campaign Committees in the 2000 Elections
Rocca, Michael	It's Showtime: Explaining Policy Oriented Non-Legislative Debate in the House of Representatives
Roberts, Andrew	Ministerial Allocation in Eastern Europe
Rosenson, Beth A.	The Effects of Ethics Laws on the Recruitment, Retention, and Occupations of State Legislators
Rothenberg, Lawrence S.; Chou, Fang-Yi	Preferences, Parties, and Legislative Productivity
Rozzi, Alan	Explaining Conference Committee Membership in the New Partisan Era
Rybicki, Elizabeth	Avoiding Delegation: Bicameral Resolution Practices of the U.S. Congress, 1851-2002
Saiegh, Sebastian M.	Coalitions, Responsiveness and Government Defeat: Evidence from the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies
Sala, Brian R.	War Chests and Committee Chairs: Estimating the Value of a Committee Chairmanship Via Fund Raising and Deterrence
Samuels, David J.; Neto, Octavio Amorim	Cabinet Partisanship and Proportionality and Executive-Legislative Relations Across Regime Types
Sarbaugh-Thompson, Marjorie	Democracy Among Strangers: Relationships between Term-Limited Legislators in Michigan
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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 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.

EITM Summer Institute at Duke University

Duke University's Social Science Research Institute and the Department of Political Science will sponsor the third annual summer institute on EITM, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models. The EITM program seeks to train a new generation of scholars who can better link theory and empirical work. Each institute, conducted by a team of around 15 research faculty, can accommodate up to 25 advanced graduate students and junior faculty. The program will run from June 14 until July 9, 2004.

Three weeks are devoted to teaching that integrates formal-theory and empirical-methods with research presentation and interaction. Each teaching team features a lead and partner lecturer(s), who survey their area, its theory, its empirics, and the state of its EITM, plus two guest lecturers, who present completed research exemplifying current integration of formal theory and empirical methods. This year, these three weeks will cover political institutions, computational political economy, and political dynamics. The fourth week provides intense mentoring and aims to help germinate new research ideas in the EITM mold.

Funding to support participants' costs of travel, accommodation, and subsistence is available. EITM institutes are selective, with admission based significantly on the quality and potential of research presented. Institute training includes teaching and research components, providing students a highly individualized interaction with a far wider and deeper array of mentors than is available at any individual institution.

Lead and partner lecturers for this summer will be Scott de Marchi, James Granato, Arthur Lupia, Michael Munger, Scott Page, and Curt Signorino.

Visit <http://www.poli.duke.edu/eitm/> for more information and application procedures.

EITM Summer Institute at Washington University

The Washington University Summer Institute on the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models is an NSF-sponsored program to train junior faculty and graduate students on the problems of testing formal models of politics. This summer's institute meets June 14-July 2, 2004. The application deadline is February 15, 2004. Up to 25 participants will receive a \$1,000 stipend to be used for housing, meals, and transportation.

The program website is <http://wc.wustl.edu/eitm>. You will find seminar summaries, application information, and housing information on the website.

Five seminars will be held this summer:

June 14-17 Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

Professors Randall Calvert and Andrew Martin
(both of Washington University in St. Louis)

June 18-19 Quantal Response Models

Thomas Palfrey (Caltech)

June 21-23. The Methodological Challenges of Coalition Theory

Itai Sened and Norman Schofield □
(both of Washington University in St. Louis)

June 24-28 Experimental Tests of Theoretical Models

Rick Wilson (Rice University)

June 29-
July 2 Issues in Testing Positive Theories of
Legislative Politics

Steven Smith (Washington University in St. Louis)
and Keith Krehbiel (Stanford University)

The institute has an excellent set of seminars and instructors. Up to 25 subsidies of \$1,000 each are available for full-time participants.

The application process is not complicated. You must submit a complete curriculum vita and a 1-2 page statement of the value of the institute for your education and work. We recommend that graduate students also submit a transcript of their graduate work and 1 or 2 letters of recommendation. The vita and statement may be submitted by email to eitm@wc.wustl.edu

Please do not hesitate to email or call with any questions you have about the program. You can either email your questions to eitm@wc.wustl.edu or contact Alana Bame, EITM Administrative Assistant, at (314) 935-5657 or Steven Smith at (314) 935-5630.

Election Results Archive

Center on Democratic Performance at Binghamton University

The Center on Democratic Performance at Binghamton University is pleased to announce the launch of the Election Results Archive (ERA), a collection of electronic files containing data on election results from around the world. This unique online database with global coverage provides researchers, policy-makers, scholars, and others interested in elections with information on over 900 elections from around the world. It includes information on the following:

- Types of Elections: Results for presidential and national legislative elections.
- Countries: The Archive currently contains election results from 134 countries that have met a minimum threshold of democratic performance for the year in which the elections took place.
- Dates of Elections: The ERA contains results back to 1974, This date was selected because it is frequently cited as a beginning point of the recent phase of democratic expansion (democratic elections in Greece and Portugal).

More election data will be added to this Archive as time and resources permit.

The archive can be searched by country, region, or year and type of election. Please visit the archive at <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era/index.html>

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>

Parliamentary Representation in the Internet Age

Economic and Social Research Institute, University of Salford, UK

ESRI has announced a new research project that looks into parliamentarians' use of internet based technologies in the UK and Australia. In particular, they are examining the role of new technologies in shaping the work of MPs and the nature of parliamentary representation. The project is wide ranging, looking at a number of complementary issues, and does involve a range of research activities and methodologies:

- Regular analyses of parliamentary/MPs websites to assess the function of such sites (over the next two years);
- Postal surveys of parliamentarians to gauge the attitude toward, and importance of, Internet communication and online participation;
- Interviews with MPs to understand Internet communication strategies, and their associated benefits and problems;
- Public opinion survey to evaluate citizen awareness, usage and problems of internet communication with representatives;
- Focus group assessment of the design and content of parliamentary websites.

For more information, visit the web site at <http://www.ipop.org.uk> or contact Wainer Lusoli by email at s.lusoli@salford.ac.uk.

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

APSA Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs

The American Political Science Association recently opened the Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs in its headquarters building in Washington, D.C. As part of its programs, the Centennial Center assists scholars from the United States and abroad whose research and teaching would benefit from a stay in and access to the incomparable resources available in the nation's capital. The Center provides to Visiting Scholars the infrastructure needed to conduct their work, including furnished work space with computer, phone, fax, conference space, and library access.

The Center has space to host 10 scholars for extended periods of time, ranging from weeks to months. Space for shorter "drop-in" stays is also available. Scholars are expected to pursue their own research and teaching projects and contribute to the intellectual life of the residential community by sharing their work with Center colleagues in occasional informal seminars.

Eligibility is limited to APSA members. Senior or junior faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students are also strongly encouraged to apply. A short application form is required, and submissions will be reviewed on a rolling basis. Positions are awarded based on space availability and relevant Center programming.

For more information and an application, please visit the Centennial Center web site <www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter> or call Sean Twombly at 202.483.2512.

Visiting Scholars Program

Carl Albert Center

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: channeman@ou.edu

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EDITOR'S NOTE: The 2003-2004 American Political Science Congressional Fellows are the 50th class of Fellows in this unique program. In 1953 the Congressional Fellowship Program was established to provide political scientists and journalists with an opportunity to learn about the Congress through participant-observation. This landmark anniversary was celebrated at the APSA Conference in Philadelphia in 2003 with two roundtable discussions with former Fellows describing their Fellowship experiences and reflecting on how their time in Washington influenced the development of their perspective on Congress. Fellows also met during a reception at the grand Union Club in downtown Philadelphia where they heard from former Fellows – among them Thomas Mann, Norman Ornstein, and Paul Herrnson -- and supporters of the program like David Broder who was designated as an Honorary Congressional Fellow for his service to the program. This issue of Extension of Remarks seeks to chronicle the influence of the Fellowship experience on the work of congressional scholars representing alumni over the last four decades. More information about the program and application guidelines may be found at: <http://www.apsanet.org/about/cfp/>--SQK

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