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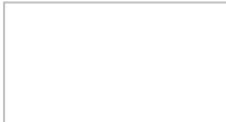


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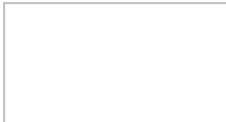
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From the Chair

[Diana Evans](#)
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Proposal to Link LSS with LSQ

Normally the annual business meeting of the Legislative Studies Section at the APSA convention consists largely of the pleasant ritual of giving out awards to authors of outstanding books and papers. We will do that again this year, of course. Beyond that, this year's meeting has shaped up as one of unusual opportunity for LSS. On behalf of the LSS Executive Committee I will bring to the business meeting a proposal to link membership in LSS with a subscription to the *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. LSQ has long been "the medium of scholarly publication for [LSS] members," according to our bylaws, but there is no formal connection between the two. In June, Gerhard Loewenberg and Michelle Wiegand, Co-Editor and Managing Editor, respectively, of LSQ, proposed to the Executive Committee of LSS that the linkage become formal, with LSS dues rising from \$10 to \$30 to cover the cost of providing LSQ to all LSS members. A subscription to LSQ alone now costs \$40, so this proposal would give our members a subscription of half the normal cost; this much lower price was calculated by LSQ to cover its marginal cost of providing the journal to our members. LSS members would, of course, continue to receive the excellent LSS Newsletter. As required by the LSS Bylaws, this proposal will be presented to LSS members for a vote at our annual meeting, which will be held on Friday, September 3 at 6 p.m. at the APSA convention in Chicago.

The Executive Committee of LSS believes this to be an exciting opportunity for LSS to play an even more significant role in the advancement of legislative scholarship. We also consider this offer a generous one and believe that the scholarly value of the journal is so great that it warrants the cost. As most LSS members know, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* is the leading journal of legislative politics; it is devoted to disseminating "scholarly work on parliaments and legislatures, their relations to other political institutions, their functions in the political system, and the activities of their members both within the institution and outside." For more information on the *Quarterly*, go to <http://www.uiowa.edu/~polisci/legstudiesquarterly.html>, from which this quote is taken.

Nevertheless, as we considered this proposal, a primary concern was the potential impact on our membership of tripling LSS dues. There is reason to be optimistic on this score: Two other APSA sections, the Political Methodology Section and the State Politics and Policy Section, have taken a similar step in recent years, and both saw increases in membership. But there might be a transition period in which we see a decline in numbers; thus, the Executive Committee, which consists of myself, Frances Lee as Secretary-Treasurer, Executive Council members Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Gary Cox, and Larry Evans (who, as co-editor of LSQ, removed himself from the discussion) and program co-chairs Sarah Binder and Forrest Maltzman, carefully considered the proposal and devised an agreement with LSQ that would protect LSS from excessive financial damage if membership did decline dramatically. That agreement, to which LSQ has agreed, includes a provision for prorating of our payments to LSQ in the event of large drops in membership and a two-year trial period for the linkage. The change would take effect in January, 2005. The full agreement will be presented at the business meeting. Of course, each member will have to decide for himself or herself whether it is worth it; the members of the Executive Committee strongly believe that it is.

I encourage you to come to the business meeting and look forward to a lively discussion and vote on the proposal.

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A Majority of One: Legislative Life, Senator George W. Scott. Civitas Press, 2002, ISBN 0972276505, paper, 443 pages.

As former Washington Senator George W. Scott himself describes it, *A Majority of One* divides into three separate sections: one on the legislative process, one on the evolution of lawmaking in Washington and throughout the states, and one on the biography of a state legislator/insider. Drawing on his fourteen years of service in the Washington State House of Representatives and State Senate, Scott manages to make each section informative and interesting for the student of politics and the legislative process.

Commencing with his decision to run for political office in 1968, Scott gives the reader a first-hand account of how to succeed in a first attempt at electoral office. Although dated somewhat (he notes this was the period before computer-generated mailing lists and walking packets), the fifteen pages contained in Chapter 1: Getting Elected should be required reading for the novice campaigner. Simple yet practical, each chapter concludes with "Guideposts" that distill the main points of the chapter into a how-to kit for the beginner.

Similarly, the middle section of the book deals with the practical day-to-day experiences of a citizen legislator including how to survive in the minority, the committee process, and building power through leadership. While obviously tailored to reflect his experiences in the Washington legislature, the insights and observations are edifying for any student of the legislative process especially on the local level.

Concluding with the comment that politics is like an intestinal parasite, a systemic affliction with no known cure, Scott offers the next best thing—a lively, intelligent glimpse into the disease.

Breach of Trust: How Washington Turns Outsiders into Insiders, Tom A. Coburn with John Hart. Thomas Nelson, 2003, ISBN 0785262202, \$24.95, cloth, 272 pages.

Written from the viewpoint of a practitioner, *Breach of Trust* offers the academic a seemingly honest look inside the House of Representatives from 1995 to 2000. Coburn's book speaks to many of the topics most studied by congressional scholars – member motivations, the potential (and sometimes realized) power of congressional leadership, and the potential for meaningful and effective citizen participation in representative democracy. First elected to the House of Representatives during the “Republican Revolution” in 1994, Coburn shares his experiences in a quite candid manner. He speaks, first and foremost, to the re-election motive of members, confirming what countless scholars have assumed for decades. Members want to be re-elected, and for the vast majority re-election is the proximate goal. The consequences of this motivation on policy outcomes and the institution are also explored.

Coburn also talks at length about the Speakership of Newt Gingrich and the power he attempted, often successfully, to wield over the Republican Congress. This discussion offers insight into the conditions under which something approximating conditional party government can emerge in the House, and why such leadership may be destined to fail in the American system.

As with any work written in the style of a memoir or biography, one should expect explicit normative overtones. And this work would not disappoint those expectations. But despite its normative nature, *Breach of Trust* might prove useful in a number of academic settings, as it does speak quite clearly and openly to the questions of member motivations and the power of parties and leadership.

Courtney Cullison
Carl Albert Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

Glass Houses: Congressional Ethics and the Politics of Venom, Susan J. Tolchin and Martin Tolchin. Westview Press, 2003, ISBN 0813341612, \$22.00, paper, 216 pages.

Glass Houses explores the political and partisan world of congressional ethics investigations. According to Tolchin and Tolchin, congressional ethics investigations, which have never been more than quasi-judicial in nature, became increasingly politically charged following the Republican revolution of 1994 and under the Speakership of Newt Gingrich. The current congressional environment, a fiercely partisan standoff, has produced an increasing propensity for both parties to employ ethics investigations with the intent to damage the political reputation of partisan opponents.

The post-1994 congresses, suggest Tolchin and Tolchin, offer something new in the way parties and members approach questions of ethics. “For most of its history,” according to the authors, “Congress ignored the ethical lapses of its members until rare outbursts of public outrage or media attention forced it to act” (22). Examining the recent history of ethics investigations, Tolchin and Tolchin find evidence that, although public outrage continues to spur ethics investigations, partisan and political influences have become more

prevalent catalysts of congressional investigations.

The book covers a range of highlights in ethics probes ranging from McCarthyism to Abscam to the Packwood scandal. Along the way, the development and evolution of ethics committees is examined in detail. An increase in the “politics of venom” has not, suggest the authors, produced meaningful improvement in ethical conduct among representatives. Nor can it be expected to elicit better behavior unaccompanied by significant public pressure. The scandal surrounding the fall of Jim Wright from the speakership followed by the rise and eventual fall of his arch accuser, Gingrich, provide what the authors term convenient “bookends to an era” during which congressional ethics investigations became unabashed tools of partisan politics.

Walt Wilson
Carl Albert Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and its Consequences, 1948-2000, Julian Zelizer. Cambridge University Press, 2004, ISBN 0521801613, \$30.00, cloth, 376 pages.

All members of the Legislative Studies Section should read this book because it provides that which has been missing and hence most needed in contemporary congressional scholarship: a good historical narrative. A generation or more ago American historians largely abandoned the field of political history in favor of social history. During the same period, political scientists turned toward history, founding a “Politics and History” section, journals devoted to policy history, the emergence of a new field called American political development, and host of empirical studies drawing on measurable indicators such as, in the case of the Congress, votes. Yet, while historians abandoned the field to political scientists, political scientists did not entirely fill the void, especially in providing thorough narrative accounts of historical periods. Thus, if one searched for a history of the Congress, one had to look back three decades to Alvin Josephy’s, *On The Hill*, a book that skims the ground it covers.

Zelizer takes a similar title but his book is more focused and more thorough. He uses the prism of congressional reform through which to view the changes in the Congress and the American political system during the second half of the twentieth century. He identifies key periods in the transformation of Congress, and provides a systematic account of each. Drawing on numerous archival sources as well as the broad secondary literature provided to him (much of it by political scientists), Zelizer weaves a narrative account that allows the reader to feel what it was like to be there as these historical events unfolded.

This book is meticulously researched but it is interesting to observe the difference in approach that historians take. Political scientists who study the Congress often draw on extensive interviews with members and other observers, usually focusing on relatively recent events. Nelson Polsby has described this research technique as “sitting around on the couch.” Zelizer appears to have undertaken no interviews in preparing this book, even though many of the characters about whom he writes are alive and well. In contrast, Zeliger draws heavily upon archival sources and is thus able to identify what his characters wrote and thought when things happened, and does not rely on memories that may be uncertain or self-serving.

Some readers of this book will search it for an over-arching thesis that “explains” the historical events that the book so well describes. To the extent that this book offers such a thesis, it lies in arguing that during the last half-century of American political history a “reform” coalition emerged that sought to fundamentally break down an older, more insulated, less democratic, and less visible political structure. This process was slow and

incremental, but eventually the coalition succeeded in transforming the congressional process. The events and actors that Zelizer describes will be familiar to most members of the LSS, as they have been the objects of our own research for many years. Readers of the book may differ in their assessments of his thesis; but all should appreciate the thoroughness of his research and the vitality of his narrative. When asked, “where can I find a good narrative history of the modern Congress?,” we now have an answer.

Ron Peters
Regents’ Professor in Political Science
University of Oklahoma

The Financiers of Congressional Elections: Investors, Ideologues, and Intimates, Peter L. Francia, John C. Green, Paul S. Herrnson, Lynda W. Powell, and Clyde Wilcox. Columbia University Press, 2003, ISBN 0231116195, \$22.50, paper, 203 pages.

Financiers, n. 1. fat-cats, robber-barons, corporate rich, and Hollywood jetsetters that conspire to purchase the best Congress money can buy to further their own interests.

This is the predominant stereotype of the American political donor; an image easily supported and conjured when scanning the front pages of our newspapers or while watching any number of investigative television reports. Unfortunately, it was buttressed recently by the political rhetoric surrounding the introduction, discussion, and passage of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002. Yet, political scientists are burdened with the challenge of debunking various myths and stereotypes propagated by various media outlets and politicians. In this vein, a team of researchers, headlined by congressional election and finance expert Paul Herrnson, seek to uncover the facts and paint a truer portrait of the financier.

Contributions, to point out the obvious, are crucial to American elections. Nonetheless, it is the individual contribution that typically accounts for more than half of all the money in congressional elections. Significant contributors – defined as those who contribute more than \$200 – comprise roughly two-thirds of this group. *The Financiers of Congressional Elections* focuses upon these significant contributors in answering seven general questions: who contributes, how much do they contribute, what motivates donors, how do campaigns entice candidates to give, who gives to whom, what is the purpose of the contribution, what do donors think about the campaign finance system. Relying on multiple surveys of donors and interviews with donors and congressional finance directors, this book reveals that some of our stereotypes are accurate; however, they also find that financiers have more nuances than previously assumed (those concerned about the methodology of this research will find an appendix that succinctly and systematically outlines the research project).

The book divides itself into two substantive parts: one, confirmation of past knowledge (or stereotypes); two, new discoveries. Among the not surprising aspects of the book: most significant contributors are white, middle-aged professionals who are well integrated into social and political networks. There are few young people, women, racial minorities, union members, and modest citizens. Financiers primarily give to incumbents or candidates in competitive elections. Additionally, these donors are far more likely than the rest of the public to regularly maintain personal contact with congressmen. Creating a symbiotic relationship that repeats in every cycle, donors maintain personal contacts to express their needs and desires placing themselves into a pool of individuals who are constantly solicited by numerous congressmen. Unfortunately, little of this information is surprising and confirms journalistic stereotypes. Yet, not all is lost.

The contribution of this book is its ability to show that, despite the demographic homogeneity of financiers, their motivations are heterogeneous. The subtitle of the book

reveals three types of donors: investors, ideologues, and intimates. The investor is the stereotype; the self-interested professional. Yet, ideologues, those that deeply care about certain issues, will help most candidates demonstrating a common support on particular issues and legislation. Finally, we have the intimate. Many of these intimates are incidental donors; individuals with little interest in politics giving money at the behest of some friend or relative. When intimates do have issue concerns, they tend to be local in nature. While at the macro-level these individuals confirm conventional financial wisdom, a micro-level examination reveals nuances between these typologies in their patterns of giving, their method and amount of contacts with candidates, and their motivation for contributing. Last, but not least, across all groups, most of the financiers expressed dissatisfaction regarding the heightened role of money and voiced a desire for reforms of the campaign finance system.

Initially, I feared that the book, by being published in 2003 and relying largely on surveys conducted in 1996, had become a bit outdated in the wake of the passage of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002. This fear is a bit unwarranted because the BCRA of 2002 increases the amount that these significant donors may give to candidates; thus, it is presumed that the role of financiers will increase. This book lets us know who stands to gain the most and provides a factual means to ground discussions regarding the possible implications of this courtship between financiers and candidates. I feel those interested in the financial dimension of congressional elections should, at the very least, peruse this book. This book will become a comparative resource for the next study of financiers in the post-BCRA, 527-sponsored campaign finance world.

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The Invention of the United States Senate, Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, ISBN 0801874394, \$18.95, paper, 274 pages.

The Invention of the United States Senate by Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls provides an examination of the theoretical and practical precedents of republican government, the deliberative process of the constitutional convention, and the process of institutionalization which led to the formation of what has been referred to as the “world’s greatest deliberative body.” This comprehensive analytical approach leads to a number of conclusions, probably the most significant being the argument that the need for a strong Senate provided a catalyst for the “great compromise,” rather than the more common assumption that the Senate was merely a result of the constitutional bargain.

The Invention of the United States Senate provides a more complete assessment of institutional origins than those provided in earlier studies, according to the authors. Their argument incorporates an “integrative way of looking at the politics of the convention by showing the ways in which principles about a properly constructed Senate interacted with political interests and power politics in the multidimensional struggle to construct the Senate before, during, and after the convention (6). Specifically, chapters cover theoretical sources and models of republican and liberal thought, theory and practice in American predecessors (1776-1787) to the federal institution, the constitutional convention and debate surrounding the creation of the Senate, the early institutionalization of the body, theoretical arguments advanced by proponent and opponent founders that eventually proved unfounded, and the evolution which eventually constructed an institution “that became neither the embodiment of wisdom and stability nor the vigorous defender of

federalism” anticipated by its inventors (9). Wirls and Wirls provide a detailed, well-written and argued analysis of a unique and evolutionary democratic institution that lends significant insight into the world’s most powerful legislative upper house.

Walt Wilson
Carl Albert Graduate Fellow
University of Oklahoma

The Medium and the Message: Television Advertising and American Elections

Kenneth M. Goldstein and Patricia Strach. Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004, ISBN 0131777742, \$26.67, paper, 164 pages.

Originally presented as a series of papers at a conference in April 2001, this compilation is an attempt to shed new light on television advertising in modern political campaigns. Using a technology developed and marketed by Competitive Media Reporting and extensive coding exercises, the authors hope to contribute to what they perceive as a lack of comprehensive data on the content, timing, volume, and targeting of political advertising. As is sometimes the case, the technology employed is almost as interesting as the results produced. The ad-tracking technology monitors the transmissions of the national networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox) as well as the twenty-five national cable networks (such as CNN, ESN, and TBS). It also monitors local spot advertising in the country’s top seventy-five media markets. Political spots are downloaded and individual storyboards are created for each spot. Analysts code the advertisements into particular categories and the “creatives” are tagged with unique digital fingerprints. Thereafter, the system automatically recognizes and logs that particular commercial whenever and wherever it airs. As a result, the data presented is probably some of the most comprehensive to date on this subject.

The seven chapters of the book examine different aspects of political television commercials and provide information and analysis that is always interesting and sometimes new and creative. For example, Travis Ridout, in Chapter 1, examines the specific characteristics of the presidential primary process including their timing, their sequential nature, and the presence of multiple candidates in an intraparty contest. While his expectations are not necessarily groundbreaking (i.e. candidates are likely to advertise more in primaries that they have a chance of winning and candidates are more likely to compete in states with a greater number of delegates), the use of the extensive data allows empirical proof of these expectations and provides the impetus for a new series of scholarly research on the effects of the commercials in areas such as voter learning, for example.

Similarly, by analyzing the specific spot purchases of advertising across the major media markets, a later chapter points out that in 2000 Bush enjoyed a significant late-campaign media advantage in the Little Rock, Nashville, Memphis, and Knoxville markets. Of course, as we know, had Gore won either Arkansas or Tennessee the debacle of Florida would have been an obscure footnote and Gore would have won the presidency.

Other chapters include an analysis of what motivates issue advocacy by interest groups, whether outside “soft” money influences voters as effectively as regulated “hard” money and the effectiveness of negative advertising. While some chapters are written more in a scholarly vein, the editors never veer from their goal of communicating to a wide variety of audiences and to help create a dialogue among scholars, journalists, and political professionals.

Ted Ritter
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The Other Campaign: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Congressional Elections, David B. Magleby, editor. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, ISBN 0742517713, \$27.95, paper, 263 pages.

David B. Magleby provides an insightful examination of the effect of outside money, in its varied forms, in competitive congressional elections. The structure of this edited volume is useful to scholars, practitioners, and professors of American campaigns. In the initial chapter, Magleby discusses the different types of campaign funds used in the 2000 congressional elections. He is careful to place the 2000 election cycle into its political context, showing that only seventeen races are considered competitive, the control of Congress is at stake, and a highly competitive presidential race is taking place. For the case studies, Magleby utilizes the expertise of locally based academics in the competitive districts. He then, in turn, uses the data they have gathered in conjunction with co-authors to analyze the impact of the different forms of outside money.

Magleby and Eric A. Smith examine the use of party soft money in Chapter Two. This analysis indicates that the Republican party has \$200 million, or 2 to 1, advantage over the Democratic party in terms of hard money spending. In terms of congressional elections, the soft money expenditures were roughly equal. In examining the effect of party resources on the elections, they find that both parties were able to use money strategically and thus, the messages of each were transmitted to the public. The Democratic party was more strategic than the Republican party; they utilized victory funds, targeted deployment to key races, and transferred money to the states for local use. In addition, Democratic issues were more salient than were Republican issues. Strategy plus issue salience compensated for the relative dearth of funds, and Democrats were able to gain seats. The sources for party soft money were traditional in nature: labor contributed the most for the Democrats and business contributed the most for the Republicans. Party ads were candidate focused, but not candidate controlled, and as a result, they were occasionally off-message, had factual errors, and were negative. This party "help" often harmed the candidate. Magleby and Smith found that parallel party campaigns and party fund transfers to the district may make candidates more indebted to the national party and the sources of national party money, but did not result in strengthened party politics within the electorate.

Interest groups and issue advocacy is the topic of Chapter Three. Anna Nibley Baker and Magleby give a short history of interest groups and their use of issue advocacy in political campaigns, and then examine their impact. The Christian Coalition and insurance lobby groups were the first on the scene, anonymously targeting congressional races and President Clinton in 1996. In general, issue advocacy ads target competitive races, can be negative or supportive, and the anonymous interest groups responsible ally themselves consistently with either Republicans or Democrats. They find that, in general, issue advocacy ads aid candidates, but candidates often object to their aid. Candidates necessarily have no control over the ads that groups choose to run. As a result, they lose control over the content, agenda, and tone of the campaign. Nibley Baker and Magleby assert that loss of candidate control over the agenda to a more pluralistic array of voices reduces candidate accountability.

Magleby and Jason Richard Beal examine the internal communication strategies utilized by interest groups in Chapter Four. They point to three strategies utilized by interest groups: the above-mentioned issue advocacy, internal communications, and independent expenditures. The allies of the Democratic party used this more effectively than did the allies of the Republican party. Only the National Rifle Association was as effective for the

Republican party.

The following seven chapters track eight of the seventeen competitive congressional races of 2000. The authors examine the impact of interest group and party activity on the candidate-centered congressional races. In the concluding chapter, Magleby utilizes these analyses and addresses the significant impact of soft money in these races.

As a whole, the authors found that while Republicans still led in the area of hard money, raising and spending twice as much as Democrats, party soft money and party-allied interest groups aided the Democrats in gaining parity in outside money. Due to the low number of competitive races, money was concentrated heavily, and while some races became oversaturated, citizen interest did not decrease, rather, saturation mobilized partisan tendencies. In addition, strategic early intervention in races and strategic media purchases by parties and interest groups were effective aids to candidates. While internal communications aided candidates allied with groups which have clearly defined member bases, issue advocacy, independent expenditure ads, and party ads were harmful to candidates if they were off-message, negative, or had errors.

Soft money transforms candidate-centered elections. Interest groups create an agenda in competitive races that is broader and more pluralistic. Parties, however, have not chosen to use money to advance party politics within the electorate, but electorally vulnerable members of Congress must increasingly rely on the national party for support and funds throughout the election cycle in order to compete. This book raises important questions about the effect of outside money on the electoral connection between members and constituents.

Melody Huckaby
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War Stories from Capitol Hill, Colton C. Campbell and Paul S. Herrnson, editors.
Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004, ISBN 0130280887, \$20.00, paper, 140 pages.

War Stories From Capitol Hill is a long overdue contribution to the study of Congress. In this examination of conflict and change in the legislative process, authors have brought to the table their collective experience both as teachers and students of congressional politics. Most of the contributors are former American Political Science Association Congressional Fellows, having personally served as legislative staff in the House and the Senate for both Democrats and Republicans. David Leal, in fact, worked in the office of presidential-candidate Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.), and offers a riveting account of the unorthodox lawmaking surrounding juvenile crime legislation in the aftermath of the Columbine shootings from the vantage point of a staff member on Kerry's team.

Students of Congress will see Washington politics from the vantage point of a real insider, watching partisan and personal contests ranging a wide gamut of issues. From the battle over term limits in the mid-1990's that brought district-level consequences for the Speaker of the House, to the battle over the census in 2000 that struck at the heart of representative government and clearly demonstrated the role of the judiciary in policy implementation, these battles have defined the politics on the Hill for the last decade. Consequently, this book is useful for not only describing the legislative process as it really operates but also for presenting the raw politics at play in the policy decisions of the last decade. In just 15 pages, the introductory chapter skims across our full knowledge of legislative behavior with the ease that only comes from first-hand experience. I truly appreciate the contribution of this text to the literature and can undoubtedly say that I plan to integrate it into my legislative politics course readings for both undergraduate and graduate courses alike.

Women and Power on Capitol Hill: Reconstructing the Congressional Women's Caucus, Irwin N. Gertzog. Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2004, ISBN 1588262839, \$49.95, cloth, 197 pages.

In *Women and Power on Capitol Hill*, Irwin Gertzog analyzes the history of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI) from its creation in 1977 to its struggle to survive within the congressional reforms made by the "Republican Revolution" of 1994. Through his historical analysis, Gertzog traces the development, barriers, and successes of the organization while highlighting many of the women who used the caucus as a way to champion "women's issues."

While the initial attempts to create a women's caucus suffered many false starts and a great deal of opposition from key female congressional members, several women were finally able to get it up and running in 1977. With an eye towards bipartisanship, inclusiveness, and diversity, the Caucus was able to withstand the 1980s – even through twelve years of Republican presidential leadership. However, the advent of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues was not far ahead. Between 1993 and 1994, the CCWI witnessed unparalleled success. The 1992 elections had brought 24 new women to the House of Representatives – many of whom joined the organization – and a new administration to the White House. Largely because of these changes, 66 caucus-sponsored measures were passed during the 103rd Congress. Unfortunately, this success was not long-lasting. The 1994 elections ushered in a Republican majority that was focused on reorganizing Congress in a way that would effectively dissolve many legislative service organizations, like the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. Although the CCWI was nearly destroyed during this period of reorganization, Gertzog points out that it has continued to survive and fight for "women's issues" throughout the 1990s.

In *Women and Power on Capitol Hill*, Gertzog provides a thorough historical analysis of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues that would be extremely interesting to students of women and politics. In addition, he provides an interesting perspective on the importance and impact of the Republican reorganization of Congress in 1994 that would be useful to any student of Congress.

Carrie Palmer Sparling
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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.

Borchert, Jens; Stolz, Klaus

"Fighting Insecurity: Political Careers and Career Politics in the Federal Republic of Germany"
Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 2003, 44, 2, June, 148-173.

Abstract: Political careers differ from other professional careers in several regards, but most significantly in the peculiar degree of insecurity they impose. This insecurity is due to the democratic accountability to voters, which includes the possibility of electoral defeat & deprofessionalization. Therefore a continuous career is rendered much more difficult than in other occupations. This calls for specific strategies of access to & staying in political positions, which may be subsumed under the rubric of "career politics." This article deals with political careers in the Federal Republic of Germany & the elements of individual career politics that may be reconstructed from these careers. The analysis is based on a dataset comprising the political biographies of all 1948 German state legislators with the date being taken from the official legislative handbooks. The features that are most interesting here are the succession & the cumulation of different political offices. Four strategies of career politics can be distinguished: a local politics, a party politics, an interest group, & a fourth strategy, that proceeds via staff positions. In analyzing these strategies the article wants to contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between political careers & career politics. 3 Tables, 1 Figure, 2 Appendixes, 43 References. Adapted from the source document.

Bottom, Willilam P; Eavey, Cheryl L; Miller, Gary J; Victor, Jennifer Nicoll

"The Institutional Effect on Majority Rule Instability: Bicameralism in Spatial Policy Decisions"
American Journal of Political Science, 2000, 44, 3, July, 523-540.

Abstract: The constitutional requirement that legislation must be approved by a majority of two chambers increases the likelihood that a core will exist, even in situations in which a core would not exist under a unicameral majority rule. Laboratory experiments were run on forty six-person groups, with constant induced preferences in a two-dimensional policy space. Groups were assigned to one of four treatments. In three treatments, members were assigned to two three-person chambers, & a majority of each chamber was required to make policy decisions. In two of these treatments, the assignment induced a bicameral core; in one it did not. The fourth, a control treatment, was a unicameral, simple majority-rule game with no core. The variance in each of the two cases with a bicameral core was significantly less than in the no-core bicameral or the unicameral treatments. In the cases with a bicameral core, the outcomes clustered closely around the predicted core outcomes. The results provide strong support for the stability-inducing properties of bicameralism & for the core as a predictor of this effect. Players received statistically greater rewards in those treatments in which their role was pivotal in achieving the core. 4 Tables, 4 Figures, 3 Appendixes, 17 References. Adapted from the source document.

Brabazon, Tara

"Whiteboard, Docs and a Boa: Edith Cowan and the Making of a Political Woman"
AQ - Journal of Contemporary Analysis, 2003, 75, 4, July-Aug, 28-34.

Abstract: Reconsiders the narrative of Edith Cowan, the first Australian woman elected into parliament in 1921, to invigorate her portrayal in a manner that has poignancy for the current political climate for women. It is noted that writers have focused on her extraordinary qualities & life, ignoring the advantages not so readily available to women today that she possessed in achieving this position. In tracing her professional pursuits, the problematic nature of the concomitant narrative that emerged is demonstrated, & it is lamented that her success in public life was not emulated by others. The demands on today's women are many, & in a context of the tabloidization of information, it is deemed important that the pioneering narrative of women overcoming adversity be supplemented by a complex, plural image of women managing failure. The trouble with Edith Cowan's narrative is that none of her suffering is reflected there. □
J. Zendejas.

Carey, John M; Siavelis, Peter

"Insurance for Electoral Runners Up and the Survival of Chile's Concertacion"

Estudios Publicos, 2003, 90, fall, 5-27.

Abstract: To secure legislative majorities under Chile's unique, two-member district electoral system, coalitions have to put their strongest candidates in the most precarious electoral list positions. This generates a divergence of interests between coalitions & politicians. Chile's largest coalition, the Concertacion, has resolved the dilemma by providing appointed posts to candidates who accept personal risk on the coalition's behalf & run good – but just not good enough – campaigns for Congress. We argue that this insurance system has provided glue critical to holding the coalition together since Chile's transition to democracy in 1990, & we illustrate the point with data on electoral performance & the distribution of postelectoral appointments among losing congressional candidates. We then show that recent changes in the electoral environment threaten the Concertacion's control over the pool of appointed posts used to insure such candidates against losses undertaken on behalf of the coalition. This, in turn, undermines the Concertacion's prospects to hold together throughout the contentious process of negotiating coalition candidate lists for the next legislative elections, in 2005. 8 References. Adapted from the source document.

Cunin, Elisabeth

"Ethnic Politics between Otherness and Stereotypes. Reflections on the March 2002 Elections in Colombia."

Analisis Politico, 2003, 48, Jan-Apr, 77-93.

Abstract: The Colombian Political Constitution of 1991 has allowed the introduction of new multicultural policies aimed at African-Colombian people. The creation of two seats at the Chamber of Representatives is the clearest expression of this transition from homogeneity to differentiation. Paradoxically, while this positive discrimination is a political arena of identity & recomposition, the stereotypes of African-Colombian people consolidate. Based on the analysis of 2002 election in Colombia, & the introduction of an ethnic policy, this article aims to reflect on the multiculturalism practices. 3 Tables. Adapted from the source document.

Eaton, Kent

"The Logic of Delegating Legislative Powers: The Reform of Regional Promotion in Argentina"

Desarrollo Economico, 2003, 42, 168, Jan-Mar, 499-518.

Abstract: This study evaluates the role played by the legislature in one of Argentina's most important economic reforms of recent decades: the reform of tax incentives for regional development. As implemented by the last military government, this system of tax incentives provoked sharp distributive conflicts among provinces. Although a majority of legislators favored reform after the return to democracy in 1983, interprovincial conflicts created bargaining problems that prevented the passage of reform legislation through regular channels. Pro-reform legislators decided instead to delegate reform authority to President Raul Alfonsin because he shared their interest in containing the fiscal cost of tax incentives. Subsequent uses of this delegated authority by two presidents promoted the interests of the enacting coalition that supported delegation. These findings support the usefulness of delegation models when carefully applied to Latin America & challenge theories that neglect the different ways that legislators shape economic reform. 3 Charts, 34 References. Adapted from the source document.

Fowler, B

"The Parliamentary Elections in Hungary, April 2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 799–807.

Abstract Discusses the results of the 7 & 21 Apr 2002 parliamentary elections in Hungary, highlighting the electoral system, party system, election campaign, & procedural issues & conflicts. 1 Table, 1 Reference.□

Golosov, Grigori V

"Electoral Systems and Party Formation in Russia. A Cross-Regional Analysis"

Comparative Political Studies, 2003, 36, 8, Oct, 912–935.

Abstract: This article draws on a comprehensive data set from the 1993–1999 Russian regional legislative elections to estimate the consequences of different plurality or majority rules, as well□ as their combinations with proportional representation (PR), for party formation in the country. The results of multiple regression analysis indicate that the system of single-member plurality does not support party formation. Mixed electoral systems involve PR support parties in two ways: first, mechanically, by excluding independents from party list competition, & second, as a□ result of contamination effects across these systems' components. Counterintuitively, the□ analysis reveals that the systems of multimember plurality & two-round majority tend to be relatively supportive of party formation. The article explains this phenomenon by developing a model that incorporates these systems' ability to set lower effective thresholds & to enhance the□ information value of party labels, thus facilitating the entry of party candidates & their electoral success. 6 Tables, 1 Appendix, 43 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Helland, Leif; Saglie, Jo

"Candidate Competition and Strategic Coordination: Evidence from Four Early Norwegian Elections"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 581–602.

Abstract: This article investigates strategic coordination in four elections to the Norwegian Storting (1909–1918). The elections were held under a majority-plurality dual-ballot system, with unrestricted participation in the second-ballot. The focus is on elections with Conservative, Liberal, & Labour candidates as main contenders. Supported by historical & theoretical arguments, the authors assume universally sincere voting in the first-ballot. Given this□ assumption, second-ballot elections can be analyzed as regular plurality elections. Hypotheses about behavior are formed using the game theoretic framework of Myerson & Weber (1993). It is found that while voters follow the predictions of theory fairly closely, the extent of coordination present at the candidate level can be questioned. 3 Tables, 4 Figures, 32 References. Adapted from the source document.

Hofmann, Herwig C H

"A Critical Analysis of the New Typology of Acts in the Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe"

European Integration – Online Papers <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/eiop1-e.htm>, 2003, 7, 9, Sept 30.

Abstract: This article describes & critically analyzes the proposed new typology of acts in the "draft treaty establishing a constitution for Europe" & its implications for the EU legal system. It comments on the categories of act on the three levels of constitutional law, legislation, & implementation. It highlights the importance of the correlation between the catalogue of fundamental rights on one hand & the definition of legislation on the other, which will reform□ the relation between legislative & executive powers in the Union. The article also uncovers several shortcomings in the proposed typology of acts including the problematic relation between delegated regulations & implementing regulations as well as the lack of adjustment of the proposed system of legal acts to the special nature of the EU. Adapted from the source document.

Hooghe, Marc; Noppe, Jo; Maddens, Bart

"The Effect of Electoral Reform on the Belgian Election Results of 18 May 2003"□

Representation, 2003, 39, 4, 270–276.

Abstract: Assesses the outcomes of the May 2003 Belgian elections in light of electoral reforms. This is accomplished via three simulations centered on the effect of (1) imposing a threshold,□ (2) larger constituencies, & (3) the combination of the two. Analysis begins with the assumption that voters would not have voted differently given other election laws. Findings indicate that the□ electoral reforms had almost no effect on the distribution of seats in the Chamber. It is□

suggested that the minimal impact might be a result of the counterbalancing effect that the electoral threshold had on the larger constituencies. The simulation showing larger constituencies & no threshold revealed no change in parliamentary representation. However, simulating the small constituencies evidences the opposite; thus, any effects are attributed to the threshold. The effects of reform were likewise minimal for the Senate. It is tentatively concluded that a second-tier distribution system will be as representative as larger constituencies & that party elites are more adaptive to reform than voters. 2 Tables, 1 Figure. J. Zendejas.

Horiuchi, Yusaku; Saito, Jun

"Reapportionment and Redistribution: Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan"

American Journal of Political Science, 2003, 47, 4, Oct, 669-682.

Abstract: Does reapportionment in a legislature affect policy outcomes? We examine this question from a comparative perspective by focusing on reapportionment associated with the electoral reform in Japan. First, we show that the reform of 1994 resulted in an unprecedented degree of equalization in legislative representation. Second, using municipal-level data, we present evidence that municipalities in overrepresented districts received significantly more subsidies per capita, as compared to those in underrepresented districts, in both pre-reform & post-reform years. Third, by examining the relationship between the change in the number of seats per capita & the change in the amount of subsidies per capita at the municipal level, we show that the equalization in voting strength resulted in an equalization of total transfers per person. 4 Tables, 1 Figure, 49 References. Adapted from the source document.

Ilonszki, Gabriella; Kostova, Dobrinka

"Why Less Can Be More for Women in Politics. The Parliamentary Representation of Women in Bulgaria and Hungary"

Osteuropa, 2003, 53, 5, May, 662-674.

Abstract: From the perspective of women's politics, Hungary is considered a comparatively successful example of domestic transformation. The Hungarian CP's successor party made it quite easy for women to enter politics. However, a comparison with Bulgaria reveals that there are at present more women members of parliament in the latter country. The main reason for this is to be found in the priorities of a new surprisingly successful conservative-traditional party (& movement). Even the future prospects for women seem better in Hungary. Here the image of women is less firmly rooted in the traditional division of labor between the sexes, & a group of professional women parliamentarians that could become the core of gender-aware politics has managed to establish itself within the stable Hungarian party system. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the large number of women parliamentarians is combined with a high turnover of individuals, so most of them are politically inexperienced amateurs who have no power to take decisions. 5 Tables. Adapted from the source document.

King, David C; Matland, Richard E

"Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 6, Nov, 595-612.

Abstract: We report the results of an experiment involving 820 randomly sampled adults. Half heard about a female Republican candidate for Congress. The other half learned of an otherwise identical male candidate. Democrat & Independent voters were more likely to trust, think qualified, view as a leader, & vote for the female Republican (contrasted with the male Republican). On the other hand, being female led to associations that hurt Republican women within their own party. We augment our experimental results by providing evidence that Republican women have done significantly worse than Democratic women in winning nominations in open-seat congressional districts. 4 Tables, 40 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications, Inc.].

Kolodny, Robin

"The US Mid-Term Elections of 2002"

Representation, 2003, 39, 4, 277-285.

Abstract: Discusses the 2002 US midterm elections. Following a discussion of the single member plurality electoral system's laws & regulations, particularly regarding reapportionment as a result of the 2000 Census, attention turns to the nature of competition in these elections &

the sorts of issues around which the campaigns were based. The significance of the Republican Party gaining seats in the House & the Senate is seen in the following: (1) They gained control of the Senate. (2) Democratic leader, Richard Gephardt stepped down & the first woman to assume the position, Nancy Pelosi, took over. (3) Results challenge the conventional wisdom that the president's party gets punished at midterm elections. Theories of midterm elections are touched on to shed further light on the implications of this outcome. 4 Tables, 12 References. J. Zendejas.

Kraatz, Susanne; Zvinkliene, Alina

"Between Super-Presidentialism and State Feminism. Women in the Parliaments of Russia and Lithuania"

Osteuropa, 2003, 53, 5, May, 647-661.

Abstract: It would appear at first glance that in the field of gender politics, Lithuania, a candidate for EU membership, has a better prospect of overcoming the joint legacy of the tsarist-Soviet eras than Russia, an endangered democracy. Nevertheless, the representation of women has developed in a strikingly similar way in the two cases. Both countries have seen a new start in gender politics at the level of civil society & of the state, but the effectiveness of this has been limited by extensive social problems, the discrediting of feminism, & the pressure on women members of parliament to conform. In addition, the party systems are only weakly institutionalized & the political spheres are becoming increasingly informalized. Short-term improvements in the situation have in each case been connected with the electoral success of a single party. This means that the prospects for, & obstacles to, women's political participation are in some respects very similar to, & in other respects, very different from, those that can be observed in established Western democracies. The decisive factors are the political institutions & the context in which they operate. 4 Tables. Adapted from the source document.

Krause, George A

"Partisan and Ideological Sources of Fiscal Deficits in the United States"

American Journal of Political Science, 2000, 44, 3, July, 541-559.

Abstract: Past research investigating the relationship between politics of fiscal institutions & fiscal deficits has primarily focused on how different configurations of partisan control over the executive & legislative branches produce distinct policy outcomes. Such models rely on the strength of majoritarian parties in Congress & party affiliation of president, as reflected in the theory of divided party government. In this study, a simple, fluid unidimensional spatial framework based on the degree of ideological fragmentation among the President, Senate, & House is set forth to arrive at a richer understanding of fiscal policy. It is hypothesized that US fiscal deficits will rise as the degree of ideological fragmentation among these institutions increases because it is more difficult to reach compromise & reconcile conflicting preferences over fiscal policy. Using annual data from the post-war period from 1948-1995, strong consistent empirical support for this thesis exists across alternative empirical specifications that reflect different pivotal House & Senate members, institutional alignments, & measures of ideological fragmentation. These findings indicate that the degree of ideological policy divergence among political institutions, independent of divided partisan control of government, plays a notable role in explaining fiscal budget deficits in the US during the post-war period. 1 Table, 1 Figure, 1 Appendix, 69 References. Adapted from the source document.

Lee, Frances E

"Geographic Politics in the U.S. House of Representatives: Coalition Building and Distribution of Benefits"

American Journal of Political Science, 2003, 47, 4, Oct, 714-728.

Abstract: This article argues that scholars need to consider the structure of House representation to better understand distributive politics. Because House districts (unlike states) are not administrative units in the federal system, House members cannot effectively claim credit for most grant-in-aid funds. Instead, their best credit-claiming opportunities lie in earmarked projects, a small fraction of federal grant dollars. As a consequence, I expect to find: (1) political factors have a much greater effect on the distribution of earmarked projects than on federal funds generally, & (2) project grants are a better support-building tool for coalition leaders than allocations to states. I test this argument with a study of the 1998 reauthorization of surface transportation programs & find strong support for both hypotheses. 5 Tables, 56 References. Adapted from the source document.

May, Roy; Massey, Simon

"Presidential and Legislative Elections in Chad: 2001–2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 765–772.

Abstract: Examines the results of the 20 May 2001 presidential election & the 21 Apr 2002 legislative elections in Chad, emphasizing political parties. 2 Tables.

Melo, Marcus Andre

"The Politics of Regulatory Action: Accountability, Credibility and Delegation"

Revista Brasileira de Ciencias Sociais, 2001, 16, 46, June, 55–68.

Abstract: Delegation & accountability are two poles of an unsolved tension in democratic societies. Institutions that acquire a more & more important role in these societies, as regulatory agencies & central banks, need a decision-making autonomy in order to enhance their performance. However, delegation implies in a progressive democratic deficit & insufficient accountability for the leaders. The article discusses the question involving the tension between delegation & accountability that underlies the creation of independent regulatory agencies. The main arguments concerning the logic of delegation & controlling are discussed in the article. The first one refers to the role of Legislative's control (or the lack of) on independent agencies. The second one refers to the delegation of autonomy to regulatory agencies as a rational choice for rulers in a globalized economic environment aiming to bolster credibility. Such arguments are not quite convincing in the public debate. Therefore, it can be inferred that the institutional framework in contemporary democracies presents a limited capacity to promote social control & legitimacy. 4 Tables, 1 Figure, 46 References. Adapted from the source document.

Mughan, A; Bean, C; McAllister, I

"Economic Globalization, Job Insecurity and the Populist Reaction"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 617–633.

Abstract: A striking change in the political party systems of many established democracies in recent years has been the rise to electoral & political prominence of right-wing populist parties. Moving beyond the usual anti-statism & racism attitudinal explanatory foci, this article posits that popular support for these parties is associated with the job insecurity that populist party leaders have attributed to deepening international economic integration, or economic globalization. The conceptualization of job insecurity is discussed & its expected relationship to the mercantilism of right-wing populist parties clarified. The hypothesis is tested in the specific context of support for Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party in the 1998 election to the Australian federal House of Representatives. The article concludes with a consideration of the wider implications of its findings. 4 Tables, 35 References. Adapted from the source document.

Nureev, R

"Public Choice Theory. A Textbook. Chapter 7. Public Choice under Representative Democracy: Government and Coalitions in Parliament"

Voprosy ekonomiki, 2003, 2, Feb, 111–132.

Abstract: The specifics of public choice under representative democracy are considered in the seventh chapter of the textbook. The factors of forming of coalitions in parliament are analyzed. The methods of voting manipulation including the formulation of Arrow's impossibility theorem are described. The concept of logrolling is distinguished. The chapter also includes further readings, control tests, & questions. 7 Tables. Adapted from the source document.

Paden, Catherine; Page, Benjamin I

"Congress Invokes Public Opinion on Welfare Reform"

American Politics Research, 2003, 31, 6, Nov, 670–679.

Abstract: If democratically elected public officials respond to the policy preferences of ordinary citizens, one might expect them to make frequent, favorable references to public opinion as revealed by polls & surveys. An analysis of the 1995 congressional debates leading up to the passage of the Personal Responsibility & Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (welfare reform), however, generally corroborates the findings of Cook, Barabas, & Page concerning policy elites' discussions of Social Security. Congresspersons' references to public opinion were quite infrequent & vague. In some cases, they were significantly misleading. The implications of these findings are briefly discussed. 1 Table, 8 References. [Copyright 2003 Sage Publications,

Inc.].

Pasquino, Gianfranco

"Varieties of Models of Parliamentary Government"

Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, 2003, 33, 2, Aug, 295–315.

Abstract: This article offers a brief overview of the most important models of parliamentary government. The purpose is to explore whether according to the Constitution as well as in practice the Prime Minister has at his/her disposal the power to appoint & dismiss the Ministers & the power autonomously to dissolve parliament. Taking into consideration, among others, the cases of Germany, GB, Italy, & Sweden, it is found that, constitutionally available or not, those powers are actually exercised when the existing party coalitions & political & parliamentary majorities can afford to do so. Moreover, it is suggested that the power to dissolve Parliament is frequently implemented in order, for instance, to impose discipline on the parliamentarians or to prevent parliamentary turnovers, is contrary to the institutional logic of parliamentary government. Though in some cases unscrupulously practiced, the possibility of creating different governmental coalitions in parliament provides for political & institutional flexibility & prevents too frequent & potentially very dangerous electoral consultations. The strengthening of any parliamentary government can be obtained through intelligent "manipulations" of the electoral system & hence a restructuring of the party system & of the coalitional game. Exactly what still remains to be done in the Italian political system & cannot be obtained just by strengthening the Prime Minister. 28 References. Adapted from the source document.

Paxton, Pamela; Kunovich, Sheri

"Women's Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology"

Social Forces, 2003, 82, 1, Sept, 87–114.

Abstract: Women's low rate of participation at the highest levels of politics is an enduring problem in gender stratification. Previous cross-national research on women in national legislatures has stressed three explanations for differences in women's political representation: social structure, politics, & ideology. Despite strong theory suggesting the importance of ideology, it has not found support in previous cross-national statistical studies. But ideology has not been as well measured as structural & political factors. In this article, we demonstrate that gender ideology strongly affects the number of women in national legislatures. We do so by introducing a newly available measure of national gender ideology into a cross-national model of women in legislatures. We demonstrate that ideology, when measured more precisely, strongly predicts differences in women's political representation. 2 Tables, 1 Figure, 2 Appendixes, 69 References. Adapted from the source document.

Plecita-Vlachova, Klara; Stegmaier, Mary

"The Chamber of Deputies Election, Czech Republic 2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 772–778.

Abstract: Investigates the results of the 14–15 June 2002 Chamber of Deputies election in the Czech Republic, focusing on the campaign, movement for reform, & formation of a government. 1 Table, 5 References.

Sagas, E

"Elections in the Dominican Republic, May 2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 792–798.

Abstract: Reviews the campaign & results of the 16 May 2002 congressional & municipal elections in the Dominican Republic. 1 Table, 4 References.

Schuster, Karsten; Pukelsheim, Friedrich; Drton, Mathias; Draper, Norman R.

"Seat Biases of Apportionment Methods for Proportional Representation"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 651–676.

Abstract: In proportional representation systems, an important issue is whether a given apportionment method favors larger parties at the expense of smaller parties. For an arbitrary number of parties, ordered from largest to smallest by their vote counts, we calculate (apparently for the first time) the expected differences between the seat allocation & the ideal share of seats, separately for each party, as a function of district magnitude, with a particular emphasis on three traditional apportionment methods. These are (1) the quota method with

residual fit by greatest remainders, associated with the names of Hamilton & Hare, (2) the divisor method with standard rounding (Webster, Sainte-Lague), & (3) the divisor method with rounding down (Jefferson, Hondt). For the first two methods, the seat bias of each party turns out to be practically zero, whence on average no party is advantaged or disadvantaged. On the contrary, the third method exhibits noticeable seat biases in favor of larger parties. The theoretical findings are confirmed via empirical data from the German State of Bavaria, the Swiss Canton Solothurn, & the US House of Representatives. 1 Table, 10 Figures, 1 Appendix, 27 References. Adapted from the source document.

Shipan, Charles R; Shannon, Megan L

"Delaying Justice(s): A Duration Analysis of Supreme Court Confirmations"

American Journal of Political Science, 2003, 47, 4, Oct, 654-668.

Abstract: Presidents traditionally have had great success when nominating justices to the Supreme Court, with confirmation being the norm & rejection being the rare exception. While the confirmation process usually ends with the nominee taking a seat on the Court, however, there is a great deal of variance in the amount of time it takes the Senate to act. To derive a theoretical explanation of this underlying dynamic in the confirmation process, we draw on a spatial model of presidential nominations to the Court. We then employ a hazard model to test this explanation, using data on all Supreme Court nominations & confirmations since the end of the Civil War. Our primary finding is that the duration of the confirmation process increases as the ideological distance between the president & the Senate increases. We also find evidence that suggests that the duration increases for critical nominees & chief justices & decreases for older nominees, current & previous senators, & nominees with prior experience on state & federal district courts. 3 Tables, 2 Figures, 53 References. Adapted from the source document.

Smolin, O N; Komarov, A E

"Strategies of Education: Differences in Positions of State Duma Deputy Blocs"

Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniya, 2003, 29, 4, 107-112.

Abstract: Ratings of support of various strategies of reform of education in Russia by different deputies blocks in Russian State Duma are presented for Second (1996-1999) & Third Duma (data for 2000-2001). Among the Second Duma parties & blocs most readily supporting transformation & modernization of education are the Communist Party of Russian Federation (with 84.3% of deputies belonging to the party supporting education-related legislations), Agrarian Deputies Group (73.2%), 'People's Power' group (66.4%), Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (64.6%), 'Yabloko' (56.1%), & 'Russian Regions' group (49.6%). Ratings of support of individual legislations are provided. 4 Tables, 3 References. V. Oboronko.

Torre, Juan Carlos

"The Orphans of Party Politics. On the Scope and Nature of the Party Representation Crisis"

Desarrollo Economico, 2003, 42, 168, Jan-Mar, 647-665.

Abstract: The scope & nature of abstention & rejection of the political parties in Argentina are analyzed, citing voting trends for presidential elections between 1983 & 1995 & legislative elections for 1999 & 2001. Throughout the earlier period, the concentration of votes for the two major national parties – the Partido Justicialista & the Union Ciivica Radical – diminished, while voting for Center-Left & Center-Right parties increased. The Peronists, who are linked to their electorate, least felt the abstention problem in 2001. The party representation crisis in 2001 is an expression of the breach between the democratic expectations of the citizenry & the effective behavior of the parties, not an expression of political apathy; this crisis is particularly acute for the independent electorate of the center-left & center-right. 3 Tables, 1 Figure, 4 Charts, 21 References. M. Pflum.

Trystan, D; Scully, R; Jones, R Wyn

"Explaining the 'Quiet Earthquake': Voting Behaviour in the First Election to the National Assembly for Wales"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 635-650.

Abstract: This paper examines voting behavior in the inaugural election to the National Assembly for Wales (NAW), held in May 1999. We address two questions: (1) why did the election produce a 'quiet earthquake' in Welsh electoral politics, with the nationalist Plaid Cymru denying the Labour party their expected majority in the Assembly? (2) What broader lessons does this case study offer for the study of elections in the UK under devolution? Drawing on

data from the Welsh National Assembly Election Study, we find that while some features of second-order election theories, such as lower turnout & a lower vote share for the governing party were manifest, contrary to the predictions of such theories the surge in electoral support for Plaid was largely prompted by Welsh-specific factors rather than UK-wide ones. The findings are argued to indicate limits to the applicability of second-order approaches to the study of devolved elections in the UK. 5 Tables, 1 Figure, 27 References. Adapted from the source document.

Ulloa, Fernando C; Carbo, Eduardo P

"The Congressional and Presidential Elections in Colombia, 2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 785-792.

Abstract: For Colombia, 2002 was a year of elections: on 10 Mar, Colombians went to the polls to elect members of the Senate & the House of Representatives; on 26 May they returned to elect a President. Alvaro Uribe, a Liberal dissident heading a coalition movement – Primero Colombia – won an outright majority in the first round. On 7 Aug, Uribe took power, replacing Andres Pastrana, a Conservative who had successfully led another coalition movement in the 1998 elections. In the past, congressional & presidential elections had been somewhat intertwined, since the parliamentary parties had a significant role in selecting candidates & in delivering the vote to their candidates. However, presidential elections have become increasingly independent of congressional elections, following general crisis & fragmentation in the party system. In 2002, the congressional contests were very low-key, with voter attitudes characterized principally by indifference. National attention focused instead on a presidential campaign that was fiercely contested, amid an atmosphere of intimidation by illegal armed groups. 2 Tables, 1 Reference. Adapted from the source document.

Van Walraven, Klaas

"The End of an Era: The Ghanaian Elections of December 2000"

Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 2002, 20, 2, July, 183-202.

Abstract: Examines the Ghanaian presidential & legislative elections of Dec 2000, which were remarkable for the dramatic defeat of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC). First, the key trends in the outcomes of the parliamentary & presidential polls are considered. Next, some major elements of the electoral process itself are analyzed. Third, the reasons for the NDC's losses are explored toward supporting the claim that its defeat was sparked by multiple factors, particularly the feeble economic conditions & the formal exit of Jerry Rawlings as government head. Other elements were party arrogance regarding the nominating process, flagrant NDC corruption, & more broadly, exhaustion with the dominant class's high-handedness & complacency. Last, the implications of the NDC's ouster are examined in terms of multiparty politics' development in Ghana & political development on the continent itself. 2 Tables, 25 References. K. Coddon.

Widfeldt, Anders

"The Parliamentary Election in Sweden, 2002"

Electoral Studies, 2003, 22, 4, Dec, 778-784.

Abstract: Analyzes the results of the 15 Sept 2002 parliamentary election in Sweden, which are described as status quo. The electoral system & campaign are also discussed. 1 Table.

Wyn Jones, Richard; Scully, Roger

"'Coming Home to Labour'? The 2003 Welsh Assembly Election"

Regional and Federal Studies, 2003, 13, 3, autumn, 125-132.

Abstract: Scrutinizes the 2003 Welsh Assembly Election in the context of devolution. Background is provided before detailing aggregate results providing some comments on the low voter turnout & Labour's victory. A tentative evaluation of election outcomes is offered in terms of perceptions, "Welshness," differential voting, & governance. Post-devolution Wales evidences an emerging political subsystem. 1 Table, 8 References. J. Zendejas.

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APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

Volume 27, Number 2, July 2004

Legislative News

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

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- **["Experience Counts"](#)** by Cynthia Kyle and John Lindstrom, February 2004
- **["The New Legislative Reality: How Leaders See It"](#)** (roundtable), July/August 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:

- **MWPSA**: Papers presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 15-18, 2004, Chicago, Illinois.
- **SWPSA**: Papers presented at the Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, March 18-20, 2004, Corpus Christi, Texas.
- **WPSA**: Papers presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, March 11-13, 2004, Portland, Oregon.

MWPSA	
Author	Title of Paper
Acosta, Andres Mejia	Party Brokers and Legislative Discipline in the Ecuadorian Congress
Adler, Scott; Maestas, Cherie; Wilkerson, John	The Internal and External Factors that Influence Legislative Specialization and Expertise
Aleman, Eduardo; Tsebelis, George	The Origins of Presidential Conditional Agenda Setting
Arnold, Charles B.; Hawkins, Larycia A.	Candidate Emergence in Congressional Elections, 1976-2002
Bargen, Andrew A.	Party Power in the U.S. Senate: Shaping the Ideological Content of the Legislative Agenda
Basinger, Scott J.; Ensley, Michael J.; Cann, Damon	Turnout, Mobilization, and Campaign Finance in Congressional Elections
Baughman, John	Subcommittee Government After the Republican Resolution
Bejan, Andriana	Legislative Efficiency in the Czech Parliament
Benton, J. Edwin	The Interplay of Party Leadership and Standing Committees in a Competitive versus a Non-Competitive State Legislative Setting: The Case of Florida
Berard, Stanley B.	Moderation, Extremism, and Representation in Congress
Binder, Sarah	Transforming Senatorial Courtesy
Bond, Jon R.; Durham, Brandy M.; Fleisher, Richard; Cohen, Jeffrey E.	The Effect of Constituency Level Presidential Approval on Support in Congress

MWPSA

Author	Title of Paper
Brady, David; Han, Hahrie; Pope, Jeremy	Dynamics of Candidate Ideology in House Primaries, 1956-2000
Brancati, Dawn	Regional Parties, National Instability: The Effect of Regional Parties on Government Stability
Brierly, Allen B.	A Nash Bargaining Model of Redistricting
Calfano, Brian R.	Keystone State Christianity and Parish Politicking: Do Conservative Pennsylvania Parishes Influence Abortion Politics in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives?
Campbell, Andrea C.	Senate Amending: Winners and Losers
Campbell, Kristin L.	Struggling to Set the Campaign Agenda: Re-examining Media Bias
Carlson, Matthew M.	The Costs of Japan's Mixed-Member Electoral System
Carroll, Celia M.	Assessing Deliberation on Environment Policy in the House Resources Committee, 104th-108th Congresses
Carson, Jamie L.; Crespín, Michael H.; Finocchiaro, Charles J.; Rohde, David W.	The Impact of Congressional Redistricting on Candidate Emergence in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1962-2002
Carson, Jamie L.; Engstrom, Erick; Roberts, Jason M.	Congressional Redistricting and Candidate Emergence in Nineteenth Century U.S. House Elections
Clinton, Joshua D.; Jackman, Simon; Rivers, Doug	Same Principals, Same Agents, Different Institutions: Roll Call Voting in the Congresses of Confederation and the U.S. Senate, 1781-1797
Cody, Scott	Shifting Pivots: Cloture Rules and Legislative Outcomes in the Nebraska Legislature
Cortina, Jeronimo	Minority Governments and Legislative Professionalization: The Case of the Mexican State Legislatures
Crespín, Michael H.	Direct Primaries, Sore Losers, and the Openness of the Two Party System, 1904-1910
Culhane, Paul J.	Interest Group Capacity, Issue Involvement, and Influence Strategies in the Energy and Environment Policy Arena
Curry, Brett W.	Moving Up: Assessing House Member Success in U.S. Senate Elections
David, Felsen J.	The Executive, the Treasury, and Budget Decision-making In Italy
Davis-Denny, Grant	Divergent Disclosure: The Value of Uniform Campaign Finance Disclosure Laws
Deposato, Scott W.	How Robust are Electoral Institutions? An Agent-Based Test of Electoral Rules and Ideal Points
Feeley, T. Jens	Institutional Conflict: Party versus Governance in Congress, 1979-1998

MWPSA

Author	Title of Paper
Finocchiaro, Charles J.; Marshall, Bryan W.	Why Do it on the Floor when we can Do it in the Rules Committee?: The Role of House Floor Waivers in Affecting Committee Turf
Forestiere, Carolyn	Institutional Reform and Legislative Behavior: The Case of Italy
Forgette, Richard G.; Platt, Glenn	Partisan Stratification, Legislative Electoral Competitiveness, and 2002 Redistricting
Forrest, Walter; Ciftci, Sabri; Tekin, Yusuf	The Role of Parliamentary Committees in a Nascent Party System; Committee Assignments in the Turkish Grand National Assembly
Fowler, Linda	Mixed Signals: Rules' Response to Committee Requests, 96th-103rd Congress
Frey, Laura K.	The Legislative Process and Presidential Influence in Times of Crisis
Fukumoto, Kentaro	How Many Laws does the Legislature Make? Cross Country Comparison and Cointegrated Time Series of Japan
Fulton, Sarah A.	An Expected Utility Model of Gender and Candidate Emergence
Gamble, Katrina L.	Minority Representation: An Examination of Legislative Activity with U.S. House Committees
Garrett, Elizabeth; Smith Daniel	Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Disclosure Statutes
Gerrity, Jessica C.; Osborn, Tracy; Mendez, Jeanette Morehouse	Women and Representation: A Different View of the District?
Gibson-Gleiber, Lynne	Congressional Support for Social Policy Bills: Ideology and Intervening Factors
Gilmard, Sean; Hammond, Thomas H.	Legislative Organization in a Multi-Institutional Policymaking Context
Gilmour, John B.	The Role of Uncertainty in Legislative-Executive Bargaining
Glasgow, Garret; Cain, Sean	The Signaling Effect of Political Party Contributions in Congressional Races
Goodman, Craig	Senate Elections and Consequences for Pivotal Politics
Gordon, Stacy B.; Gillham, Casey	Party Pressure and Legislative Voting on the Contract with America
Green, Matthew N.	Rivals for Power: Leadership Challenges in the U.S. Congress
Griffin, John D.	Assessing Explanations for Declining Representation
Grose, Christian R.; Middlemass, Keesha M.	Congressional Representation and Position-Taking
Grove, Sara A.	Serving Seniors: Examining State Legislators' Constituency Service for Older Adults
Gulati, Girish J.; Treul, Sarah A.	Gender and Presentation of Self on WWW
Gungor, Gaye	Legislative Institutionalization Re-Examined: How and Why?
Habel, Philip D.	The Impact of Changing Electoral Institutions on Careerism: Evidence from the Illinois Legislature

MWPSA

Author	Title of Paper
Hammon, Susan Webb; Bawden Allison	Congressional Staff Elected to the US House of Representatives: A Fast Track Career?
Hartog, Chris Den; Monroe, Nathan W.	The Value of Majority Status: The Effect of Jeffords's Switch on Asset Prices of Republican and Democratic Firms
Heberlig, Eric S.; Hetherington, Marc J.; Larson, Bruce A.	The Continuing Polarization of Congressional Parties: The Role of Fundraising and Leadership Transitions
Hines, Eric H.; Civettini, Andrew J.	Strategic Selection of Conferees in the United States House of Representatives
Hirano, Shigeo	How the Tail Wags the Dog: The Impact of Minor Party Entry on Roll Call Voting
Hoffman, Adam H.	The Impact of Campaign Contributions on State Legislators
Jacobson, Gary C.	Explaining the Ideological Polarization of the Congressional Parties in the Postwar Era
Jarvis, Matthew G.	Legislative Productivity and Congressional Approval
Jones, David R.	The Effect of Divided Government on Legislative Gridlock: Disaggregating the Data
Jones, Mark P.; Wyang, Wonjae	Provincial Machine Politics and Party Government in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies
Kim, Henry A.	Congressional Voting, Parties, and Divided Government
Kim, Jangsu	Reelection Constituency and Roll Call Voting in the U.S. Senate
Koger, Gregory; Bawn, Kathleen	From Strom Thurmond to Jesse Helms: Transaction Costs and Filibustering in the Senate
Kyung-Jin, Jun	Comparative Law Production Reconsidered
Lawless, Jennifer L.; Fox, Richard L.	The Initial Run for Office: Decision Dynamics of Entering Electoral Politics
Lazarus, Jeffrey L.	Push vs. Pull: Examining the Experienced Challenger Effect in U.S. House Elections
Lewis, Jeffrey B.; Poole, Keith T.	The Effect of Measurement Error on the Findings of Studies Employing NOMINATE Scores
Lindstaedt, Rene; Vander Wielen, Ryan J.	Wherever but not Whenever; Analyzing the Effects of Elections on Strategic Position Taking in the Senate
Lipinski, Daniel W.	Analyzing Congressional Party Communication Operations from a Formal Perspective
Liu, Zihua	PAC Campaign Contributions and Congressional Voting: Have Oil & Gas PAC Dollars bought the Drilling Rights in ANWR?
Londregan, John B.; Aninat, Cristobal	Legislative Parties in Chile
Lowry, Robert	Does Party Support Make Congressional Elections More Competitive?
MacDonald, Jason A.	Republicans, Roll Calls and Rifle Shots: Policy Making through the Appropriations Process
Martin, Lanny W.; Vanberg, Georg S.	More than a Rubberstamp: Parliaments, Coalition Governments and Legislative Scrutiny

MWPSA

Author	Title of Paper
Matsumoto, Shunta	Policy Determines the Inter-Branch Relationship The Interactive Effect of Presidential Influence and Policy Types on Party-Line Voting in the House of Representatives
McCall, Kathryn; Bratton, Kathleen	Determinants of Legislative Behavior on Crime Policy
McCollum, Leslie E.	The Role of Personal Policy Interests in Congressional Activity
Meyer, Fred A.; Baker, Ralph E.	Punitive Correctional Policy: The Impact of the State Legislature
Miler, Kris	Mental Access: Congressional Perceptions and Organized Interests
Milstein, Andrew E.	Sending Institutional Messages?: Tracking Opposition to Presidential Executive Nominees
Moffett, Ken W.	Reassessing Procedural Choice in the House Rules Committee
Mondak, Jeffery; Carmines, Edward; Huckfeldt, Robert, Schraufnagel, Scot D.	Citizen Knowledge of Congress and its Members
Monson, Quin	Uncertainty, Information, and Polling in Congressional Campaigns
Newmark, Adam J.; Witko, Christopher	Mobilization and Public Policy: Business versus Environmental Organizations
Nokken, Timothy P.	Partisan Dynamics: Investigating Partisan Floor Activities Across Congressional Eras
Nussbaumer, Kirsten	Election Campaigns, Independent Expenditures and Issue Ads: The Implications of Bright Line vs. Intent-based State-law Disclosure Rules for Strategic Behavior
Nyblade, Benjamin	The Effective Number of Issue Dimensions
O'Neill, Timothy; Barnes, Tiffany	Learning to Govern: The Texas Experience
Pahre, Robert	Euroskepticism in Parliamentary Coalition Systems
Patten, Joseph N.	Ethnic Politics: The Motivation Behind Senate Foreign Policy Voting Behavior
Pearson, Kathryn	Does Where you Sit Depend on Where you Stand? An Analysis of Members' Committee Positions
Poggione, Sarah J.; Reenock, Christopher	Legislative Strategies of Bureaucratic Interaction: Explaining the Adoption of Ex Ante and Ex Post Tactics
Pope, Jeremy C.; Levendusky, Matthew S.	Constituency Ideology: From Measurement to Application
Powell, Lynda; Green, John; Herrnson, Paul; Wilcox, Clyde; Francia, Peter	The Representative Relationship: Contributors' Contacts with their U.S. Senators
Rackaway, Chapman B.; Bannister, Mark C.	Congressional Communication Strategies using Official Word Wide Web Pages
Raven, Thomas J.	Congress in Dynamic Equilibrium: Institutional Development and the House of Representatives 1890-2000

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Raymond, Paul B.	Determinants of City Council Candidates' Campaign Activities
Razaghian, Rose	The Financing of the Civil War: Confederate and Union Efforts
Reifler, Jason	A General Theory of the Effects of Majority-Minority Districts
Reinhard, Michael R.	Ideological Stability and Deliberative Volatility: Evidence from Floor Votes and Policy Debates During the 100th, 104th, and 105th Congresses
Renka, Russell D.; Ponder, Daniel E.	Committee Leadership, Seniority, and Orthodoxy
Rhudy, Robert; Burroughs, Nathan; Dietz, Janna	Ideological Convergence and Political Risk in U.S. House Elections
Ringquist, Evan J.; Aamidor, Joe	Lies, Damned Lies, and Campaign Promises II: Environmental Protection Policy in Congress
Robbins, Suzanne M.; Hojnacki, Marie	Organized Interests and Delay: What Effect do Groups Have on the Implementation of Public Policy
Roberts, Jason M.	The House and Senate Roll Call Records in Comparative Perspective
Roust, Kevin A.	Minority Rights in the House of Representatives
Russell, Brian E.	The Work of Personal Staff in Four State Senates
Schenk, Jennifer	Gender and Descriptive Representation in the 2002 Elections
Schiller, Wendy J.	The Geography of Power: Coalition Formation and Industry Influence in the House and Senate 1880-1930
Seo, Jungkun	Polarized Parties vs. Centrist Faction: The Case of the Senate New Democrat Coalition during the 107th Congress, 2001-2002
Shor, Boris	Taking Context into Account: Federal Spending Across Congressional Districts, 1983-2002
Singer, Daniel L.	Interparty and Intraparty Partisanship in the Postwar US House
Smith, Brian W.; Gershtenson, Joseph; Mangun, William	The Republican Revolution and Dynamics of Environmental Policy Voting
Steen, Jennifer A.; Koppell, Jonathan G. S.	Timing is Everything
Steger, Wayne P.; Hamilton, Katherine L.	Gender and Legislative Activity: Are Women Legislating for Women in 2003?
Sulkin, Tracy; Evans, Jillian	Explaining Scope and Variation in Congressional Campaign Agendas
Swers, Michele L.	Legislative Entrepreneurship and Women's Issues
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Theriault, Sean M.	The Changes in Legislative Procedures and their Impact on Party Polarization
Treier, Shawn	Explaining Policy Change: Conversion and Replacement
Tucker, Harvey J.	Which is the More Deliberative Chamber?

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Ura, Joseph D.	A Congressional Gender Gap?: Gender and Ideology in the US House of Representatives
Victor, Jennifer N.	Does Ambition Matter? The Behavioral Differences of Higher-Office Seekers Versus Congressional Contents
Williams, Gwyneth I.	The Innovation and Diffusion of Joint Custody: The Language and Influence of Attorneys
Winburn, Jonathan	The Fix is In: The Influence of State Legislative Redistricting on Electoral Outcomes
Wiseman, Alan E.; Caldiera, Gregory A.	'Out of Step Out of Office' Revisited: The Electoral Consequences of Legislative Shrinking
Wiseman, Alan E.; Herron, Michael C.	District Demographics and Partisan Gerrymanders: The Effects of Politically Biased Redistricting on Election Outcomes and Legislative Composition
Wrighton, J. Mark; Peterson, Geoffrey D.; Piper, Danielle L.	Bigger is Not Always Better: Understanding Bias in Senate Committees

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Anderson, R. Bruce	Political Party Caucuses in State Legislatures as Mechanisms of Policy Formulation
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Bough, Brian W.	Party Influence and Roll Call Voting: Crowning the King of the Hill
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Gooch, Donald M.	Majority-Minority Districts and Representation: Consequences Reconsidered
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Maslin-Wicks, Kimberly	Polarized Leadership in the U.S. Senate
McKee, Seth	The Changing Face of the Southern House, 1988-2002

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McKee, Seth C.; Arbour, Brian	Cracking Back: A Case Study of Partisan Gerrymandering in the 2002 Texas State House
Schaal, Pamela M.	The Distributive Patterns of Crime Control Funding: A Comparison of Grant Distribution under the Anti-Drug Act of 1988 and the Violent Crime Control Act of 1994
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Thielemann, Gregory S.; Burgy, Moira; Craren, Sara	The Reelection Learning Curve: An Examination of the Freshman Class of the 2003 Texas House of Representatives
Tylaska, Rachel W.	Representation on the World Wide Web: An Exploration of Congressional Web Sites
Walsh, Pamela	The Impact of Women State Legislators on Women's Health Policies
Wink, Kenneth A.	Congressional Redistricting in a Tri-Ethnic State: The Implications of Congressional Race-Based Redistricting on Texas Counties
Yowell, Robert	Reapportionment Methods and the Implications for the 'One Person, One Vote' Principle

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Author	Title of Paper
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Adler, Scott; Maestas, Cherie; Wilkerson, John	The Internal and External Influences on Legislative Specialization
Bertelli, Anthony; Grose, Christian	Administrative Appointments and Strategic Delegation: An Analysis of Senate Roll Call Votes
Buchler, Justin	Coordination Between Leadership PACs
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Farrar-Myers, Victoria	At the Cross-Roads of Campaign Finance, Representation and the First Amendment
Feeley, Jens	Partisan Policy Dominance in Congress
Huan, Qingzha	European Governing Greens: A Comparative Perspective
Jenkins, Shannon	The Influence of Interest Groups on State Legislative Behavior

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Author	Title of Paper
Jones, Terrance E; Barth, Jay; Kroph, Marth; Parry, Janine	Floating Voters in Competitive U.S. Senate Elections
LaRaja, Raymond; Apollonio, Dorie	Term Limits, Campaign Contributions, and the Distribution of Power in State Legislatures
Lasley, Scott	Window of Opportunity: Candidate Reemergence in the U.S. Senate Elections
Markwart, Ben	Unanimous Consent Agreements and their Effects on Policy Space in the United States Senate
Moffett, Ken	The Effects of Professionalization and Term Limits on the Partisan Composition of State Legislatures
Reich, Gary	Redesigning Electoral Systems: Electoral Reform in the Brazilian National Constituent Assembly
Rocca, Michael	Critics' Corner: Going Negative During Non-Legislative Debate in the House of Representatives
Roscoe, Doug	Party Influence in Congress: Evidence on the Effectiveness of the Whip System
Sala, Brian	An Alternate Ranking of Committee Power in the House of Representatives
Schiller, Wendy	Career Building Senate Representation 1886-1910
Smith, Keith	Seeing with Different Eyes: The Methods of Congressional Oversight
Stone, Walter; Fulton, Sarah A.; Maisel, Sandy	Money, Electoral Prospects and Congressional Election Outcomes
Thies, Michael; Martin, Lanny W.; Druckman, James N.	Influence without Confidence: Upper Chambers and Parliamentary Government Formation
Wirls, Daniel	De Tocqueville's Shadow: Myth and Reality about Deliberation and Debate in the Antebellum Congress
Wright, Gerald	Do Term Limits Limit Representation?

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Congress to Campus Program

The United States Association of Former Members of Congress

The Congress to Campus Program arranges for a pair of former Members of Congress - one Democrat and one Republican - to visit college, university and community college campuses around the country. During a typical two-day visit, the former Members teach classes, meet with faculty, hold community forums, visit with student groups and individual students, do interviews with local media, and participate in other activities designed to suit the sponsoring school. In addition, the Members make a concerted effort to interest students in public service and government career options. The Center for Democracy & Citizenship, in partnership with Stennis Center for Public Service, manages this program for the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress. This is a unique educational resource for the students, community, and faculty to gain a better understanding of Congress, the federal government, and our political system. To obtain additional information about the program, including a downloadable application form, [click here](#).

Democracy Fellowships

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) invites applications to its Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program. Established in 2001 to enable democracy activists, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change, the fellowship program is based at NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies, in Washington, D.C.

The fellowship year begins October 1 and runs through July 31, with major entry dates in October and March. All fellows receive a monthly stipend, health insurance, travel assistance, and research support through the Forum's Democracy Resource Center and Internship Program.

Applications for fellowships in 2005-2006 must be received no later than November 1, 2004. For detailed information on this program, [click here](#) or go to the www.ned.org website and follow the link to "Fellowship Programs."

Dirksen Center 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 \$620,000 to support more than 325 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 2005.

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. Application guidelines and a complete list of Congressional Research Award recipients are posted at http://www.dirksencenter.org/print_grants_CRAs.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.

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.

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.

The Center also has a limited number of funding opportunities to support scholars working at the Centennial Center or other research locations.

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; Sidney Clarke of

Kansas; 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 collections are described on the World Wide Web at <http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/> and in the publication titled *A Guide to the Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives* (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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