	Legislative Studies Section N	Newsletter	
Disertations	Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008		
	Legislative Studies Section Newsletter is published at the Carl Albert Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, under the authority of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association. The LSS and APSA are non-profit educational associations. The Newsletter is uploaded to this web site twice yearly: in January and in July. Membership in LSS includes a subscription to Legislative Studies Quarterly.		
	Editor:	Ronald M. Peters, Jr.	
	Editor, "Extension of Remarks":	Sean Q. Kelly Niagara University	
	Co-Editor:	Cindy Simon Rosenthal	
	Managing Editor:	LaDonna Sullivan	
	Editorial Assistant:	Laurie McReynolds	
	Web Master:	Robert Kelly, Jr.	

From the Chair

Lawrence C. Dodd University of Florida

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to chair the LSS, providing me a chance to give back to an organization that has given me so much over the past three decades. It is a responsibility that has been made much easier by the great work that Steve Smith, John Wilkerson, the Council, and section committees did over the previous two years, by the willingness of Tracy Sulkin to serve as secretary-treasurer, by the efforts of Ron Peters, LaDonna Sullivan, and Robert Kelly in overseeing the *LSS Newsletter* and listserv, and by the time so many LSS members are devoting to section committees and activities. My heartfelt thanks to all of you.

And now it is time once again for our committees to go to work in guiding the LSS into the future – and for each of you to play a role in these processes.

Nominations are due to our book/article awards and dissertation award committees by March 1. The announcement section of the LSS website has up-to-date information on each of the awards: http://www.apsanet.org/~lss/announce.html. Let me particularly note that nominations have been slow to arrive this year for the Rosenthal Prize for the Best Book/Article by a Junior Scholar that is Relevant to Legislative Practitioners. Do contact the committees with any nominations you wish to submit.

Our nominations committee of <u>Diana Evans</u> (Chair), <u>Frances Lee</u> and <u>Eric Schickler</u> must determine our nominee for program chair by April 1. Feel free to contact them with suggestions.

Over the next month the LSS Council will review the results of our recent poll of members and determine whether there is sufficient interest in the Extension of Remarks to continue its inclusion in the LSS Newsletter. You can see those results at http://www.apsanet.org/~lss/SurveyResults.pdf. Feel free to contact officers or council members with your own recommendations about the EOR.

Finally, let me note that the LSS membership is holding strong at 607.

| Front Page | Book Notes | Dissertations | Journal Articles | Legislative News | Papers Presented | Research & Teaching |

Back to Front Page Back to LSS Page

renelevel notice setting entireffier (1847)

Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008

Book Notes

- <u>101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies</u> by Peverill Squire and Keith E. Hamm
- And I Haven't Had a Bad Day Since: From the Streets of Harlem to the Halls of Congress by Charles B. Rangel with Leon Wynter
- Branded Conservatives: How the Brand Brought the Right From the Fringes to the Center of Politics by Kenneth M. Cosgrove
- Confirmation Wars: Preserving Independent Courts in Angry Times by Benjamin Wittes
- <u>Confrontation and Compromise: Presidential & Congressional Leadership, 2001-2006</u> by Jason D. Mycoff and Joseph A. Pika
- <u>Divided America: The Ferocious Power Struggle in American Politics</u> by Earl Black and Merle Black
- Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U. S. Senate by Gregory J. Wawro, Eric Schickler
- Forty Years a Legislator: Elmer Thomas, edited by Richard Lowitt and Carolyn G. Hanneman
- Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877-1929 by Kimberley S. Johnson
- <u>Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U. S. House</u> by Randall Strahan
- <u>Lines in the Sand: Congressional Redistricting in Texas and the Downfall of Tom Delay</u> by Steve Bickerstaff
- More than Money: Interest Group Action in Congressional Elections by Richard M. Skinner
- Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: A Guide to Good Practice by David Beetham
- Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006 by Michael J.
 Dubin
- Party Influence in Congress by Steven S. Smith
- Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress, edited by David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins
- Personal Roots of Representation by Barry C. Burden
- <u>Representing America: The Citizen and the Professional Legislator in the House of</u> <u>Representatives</u> by Rebekah Herrick and Samuel H Fisher III
- Rules and Restraint: Government Spending and the Design of Institutions by David M. Primo
- <u>The House: The History of the House of Representatives</u> by Robert V. Remini and the Library of Congress
- The Presidential Agenda: Sources of Executive Influence in Congress by Roger T. Larocca
- <u>To Enlarge the Machinery of Government: Congressional Debates and the Growth of the</u>
 <u>American State</u>, 1858-1891 by Williamjames Hull Hoffer
- While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers by William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse

101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies, Peverill Squire and Keith E. Hamm, The Ohio State University Press, 2005, ISBN 0814209386, \$44.95, cloth, 209 pages.

The legislative studies subfield of political science is thriving; however, as Squires and Hamm point out, the field is still lacking in comparative and cross-institutional research. The reasons for a lack of comparative research are unclear, although the authors mention legislative exceptionalism and the common assumption that legislatures, particularly the Congress, are unique institutions. Squires and Hamm argue that comparative and cross-institutional research is important and state legislatures offer numerous opportunities for comparing institutions and testing our current legislative theories. This volume seeks to serve as a "primer" for comparing Congress with state legislatures in terms of their historical evolution, fundamental structures and processes, professionalization, organization, and membership and careers.

The roots of organization and procedures in the U.S. Congress were significantly influenced by colonial and newly forming state legislatures. Despite these common roots, the authors argue that during the nineteenth century, legislatures developed into organizations with a variety of structures, rules, and procedures. One important difference for many state legislatures is that they have significantly limited their ability to change their decision-making procedures or structural components. State legislatures continued to develop into disparate institutions driven primarily by differences in state wealth. States with higher amounts of wealth possessed the capacity and likelihood that their legislatures would develop into more professionalized institutions.

One of the major reasons for undertaking comparative studies is the ability to test theories of legislatures. The current use of legislative theories is primarily Congress-centered in the literature and thus the explanatory power of these theories is limited. The authors argue that broadening the scope and number of legislatures used to test theories increases our ability to produce theories that are comprehensive in explaining behavior.

The real contribution of this book is the exploration of the various evolutionary paths of the development of legislatures and the disparate results of these organizations. Although the book couches itself as a primer for comparative legislative research, it provides more than simple comparisons. Squires and Hamm provide a 'jumping off point' from which researchers can attempt to test and build legislative theories.

Kate Carney Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

And I Haven't Had a Bad Day Since: From the Streets of Harlem to the Halls of Congress, Charles B. Rangel with Leon Wynter, Thomas Dunne Books, 2007, ISBN 9780312372521, \$19.96, cloth, 320 pages.

Charlie Rangel's memoir is as much a political as a personal review of his journey from Lenox Avenue in Harlem to Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. The journey is an incredibly uplifting tale about the American Dream, although for Charles Rangel it entailed the move from being a high school drop out to becoming the fourth most senior member in the United States House of Representatives. From the day he set foot on the steps of the Capitol to replace the famous Adam Clayton Powell in 1971, Charles Rangel has not only witnessed but shaped the policy and history of this nation. His accomplishments are numerous and include the "bloody" Rangel Amendment that helped bring an end to apartheid in South Africa, the Watergate Hearings as a member of House Judiciary Committee, the Haiti Crisis, and Caribbean Basin Initiative, just to name a few.

Yet his personal accomplishments undeniably surpass his political ones. Hence, throughout his book. Charles Rangel repeatedly makes it clear that his political career and his policy proposals are a direct result of his own experiences as he unambiguously pinpoints the single-most important reason for his success: education. One of the strongest advocates of improving our education system and opening up more opportunities for everyone, Rangel is uniquely qualified to make that claim: he personally experienced the power of education. As he puts it, "at age twenty-two I was pushing a hand truck in the gutters of New by age thirty. I had acquired three degrees in six years, and was a York's garment district for a living newly minted lawyer admitted to the New York bar." Yet he also knows that he never would have been given the opportunities he had without government support, which explains his strong opposition to the Republican agenda in the 1990s. And this is where his memoir turns more political. Rangel, while never attacking anyone personally, appears incredibly disappointed by the Republican leadership after the Republican Revolution in 1994. As he puts it, "being in the minority ultimately bred a Gingrich-DeLay-type Republican culture in which seizing power and consolidating control – by any means necessary – is an end to itself." His anecdotes about his tense relationship with the now-retired Congressman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) vividly illustrate his point as Rangel walked into one of Thomas' secret committee meetings about Medicare reform uninvited or as Thomas had Rangel removed from the House library by the sergeant-arms during the debate over the pension bill.

Today, as the current chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, Rangel continues to advocate for his long-held beliefs in social justice and education. Understanding that his rise to the chairmanship was only made possible through seniority, Rangel is a strong advocate of the congressional seniority system. Moreover, he sees the potential for other African-American lawmakers to benefit from it just as he did because they often come from minority-majority districts with limited political competition and hence serve longer. As a Korean War veteran decorated with a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart, Rangel is also not afraid to criticize the situation in Iraq. His steadfast opposition from the beginning combined with his personal experiences certainly add emphasis to his words. Yet Rangel throughout his book as well as his political career always remains cordial and respectful.

Ultimately, Charlie Rangel's memoir goes well beyond the confines of the political world. Rather, it is an encouraging testament to the opportunities that America offers. Rangel makes it clear that he sees himself as one of the most ardent defenders of these opportunities for all Americans. Yet Rangel also has one personal message for all of his readers: "get started early, set goals, have ambitions, stay out of trouble, and stay away from people who will get them in trouble go get an education."

Simon Haeder Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Branded Conservatives: How the Brand Brought the Right From the Fringes to the Center of **Politics,** Kenneth M. Cosgrove, Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2007, ISBN 9780820474656, \$36.95, paper, 376 pages.

Kenneth Cosgrove tells the story of how the Republican Party used the marketing concept of "branding" to build a national majority. The process was slow. It began with the Goldwater campaign in 1964 and culminated in the presidency of George W. Bush. The concept of branding is taken directly from the marketing field. Republican operatives sought to create a Republican brand and to market it to voters. There were two components to this effort. The first was the development of a positive brand identification of the Republican Party. The second was to develop a marketing strategy that relied upon the cooperation of interest groups, think tanks, and grass-roots Republican organizations.

This sustained effort congealed in the persona and presidency of Ronald Reagan. The Reagan brand became the symbol of Republicanism generally. It stood for a set of values with which average Americans could identify: freedom, national security, family values, Christianity, lower taxes, and less government. This brand identification provided the umbrella under which the three legs of the Republican Party – fiscal, national security, and values conservatives – could gather.

The Democratic Party was internally divided and produced no coherent alternative. This enabled the Republican marketers to impose a brand on the Democrats. The Democratic Party became identified in the public mind with elitism, 1960s liberalism, softness on national defense, personal profligacy, big government, "special interests," and higher taxes. Republicans were able to draw upon this "negative" brand identification of the Democrats to rally base Republican voters.

Cosgrove offers as the best single example of branding the GOP "Contract With America" that presaged its victory in the 1994 elections. Newt Gingrich developed an entire vocabulary for service in differentiating Republicans and Democrats, casting the Democrats in a negative light. This vocabulary connected to the policies specified in the Contract and provided the new Republican majority with a governing platform sanctioned by the party brand. When George H.W. Bush deviated from the brand by embracing tax increases in 1990, he lost the 1992 election. George W. Bush wrapped himself in the party brand, did not deviate, associated the Democrats with the negative brand, and won two national elections.

Cosgrove has left some work to be done. Except for his discussion of the Contract With America, he does not devote much attention to the use of branding by congressional Republicans. This could be the subject of a separate yet closely related book. In spite of the Republican efforts to associate President Clinton with the negative brand, he won two national elections. Why was he able to transcend the Republican branding? And why was he unable to build a Democratic brand that might endure? And what happened to the Republican brand in 2006?

This book represents an important contribution to our understanding of how marketing techniques have come to shape our politics over the past few decades. Cosgrove makes it clear that he thinks this has had adverse consequences for the capacity of the government to engage in rational deliberation.

Ron Peters Regents' Professor of Political Science Carl Albert Center University of Oklahoma

Confirmation Wars: Preserving Independent Courts in Angry Times, Benjamin Wittes, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, ISBN 9780742551442, \$22.95, cloth, 168 pages.

Since the (in)famous year of 1937, the American judiciary has faced an acute crisis of identity. Initially the courts seemed to jettison their previous reliance on substantive due process and to defer these types of judgments, at least with respect to Commerce Clause issues, to Congress. However, as a result of World War II and the Civil Rights Movement, the courts soon realized that legislative deference on issues such as race, voting rights, and privacy necessitated a return, so to speak, of judicial inquiry into the substance of legislation affecting minorities, women, and suspect classes. Thus the modern court has operated under what Henry Abraham has called a "double standard": legislative deference in Commerce Clause cases but elevated scrutiny on almost every other piece of legislation that affects race, privacy, and "fundamental rights."

As the development of this double standard began to hit the ground running during the Warren Court (1953-1969), the political importance of judicial appointments became a salient political question. If federal judges were now able to give substantive content to ambiguous Constitutional clauses, such as due process, privileges and immunities, and liberty, over and against state and national legislation that sought to do the same, who should prevail? Increasingly, this question – and this "war" – has played out in the spectacle of the judicial confirmation process.

Benjamin Wittes' contribution to this seeming political juggernaut is two-fold. First, he is able to split the difference between public law scholars who argue that judges have always been "political," and scholars who, while acknowledging a political tendency in judges, nevertheless believe that judging has an independent and important Constitutional role apart from idiosyncratic policy preferences. Wittes does this by arguing that the increased politicization of the confirmation process is significantly shaped by congressional responses to the overall growth of judicial power over the last two-thirds of the twentieth century. Naturally, then, the Senate, independent of partisanship, seeks to rein in increased judicial power through the confirmation process, even if it is relatively unsuccessful. His account is thus one that emphasizes overall *institutional* response to the growth and power of the federal judiciary.

Wittes' second contribution is a lucid and smart suggestion of how to reform the confirmation process. Here Wittes is concerned with reducing the public spectacle of the Senate Judiciary Committee's public and "duplicative" interrogation of individual nominees, which does little to help either the Senate or the public understand or legitimize the process. Instead, he argues for a process that pits the Senate's right to confirm with the president's right to nominate. Because the public, televised confirmation process is more spectacle than democratic process, it should be eliminated, and presidents should simply refuse to let their nominees testify before such hearings. However, without forgetting the legitimate and important role that the Senate plays in the process as a whole, the Senate should work toward influencing the *nominating* process instead of wasting energy on the *confirmation* process. Interrogation of nominees could – and should – continue to be an integral part of the Senate's role, but it could be done with more thoroughness without the circus-like atmosphere of the televised drama that we have come to know. The institutional integrity of the judiciary, as well as the institutional efficiency and success of both the presidency and the Senate, would increase.

Overall, Wittes' arguments and analyses are refreshing, especially his institutional perspective that sees the current confirmation process as the concomitant reaction to the overall institutional growth of the Judiciary over the last fifty years. My only concern with his solution is that the judiciary's power might in fact be so large now that any moderate, practical reforms – like those suggested by Wittes – are unlikely. If the spectacle of hearings is really the result of one institution of American government responding to the increase in another, why should we expect either of them to bend? Nevertheless, Wittes's contribution to the study of the judicial selection process is an important one.

Justin Wert Assistant Professor of Political Science University of Oklahoma

Confrontation and Compromise: Presidential & Congressional Leadership, 2001-2006, Jason D. Mycoff and Joseph A. Pika, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, ISBN 9780742540606, \$26.95, paper, 282 pages.

This book offers a set of six case studies in presidential/congressional leadership. The issues addressed are No Child Left Behind, Intelligence Reform, Campaign Finance Reform, the Department of Homeland Security, Hurricane Katrina, and Social Security.

The book aims primarily at an undergraduate audience as a supplementary text for courses in American politics, the Congress, or the presidency. It develops the notion that complex issues require a matrix of leadership that will include the president and other administration officials, party leaders in Congress, and individual legislators. Less emphasis is given to the role of external leaders, although the 9-11 commission figures prominently in the chapter on intelligence redesign and reform. The case studies rely on governmental and published sources, and the authors appear to have conducted no interviews with participants.

A main purpose of the authors is to demonstrate that policy leadership comes from a variety of sources, and involves not only the top party leaders and the president, but also policy entrepreneurs emerging from within the Congress. The strength of this book lies in its focus on specific legislators who shaped the final legislative packages. Since the case studies cut across policy domains, the authors are positioned to draw some generalizations about the role of leaders in shaping policy. This they undertake in a concluding chapter that first offers a final case study of Social Security reform (which, unlike the other policies addressed in the book, produced no results), and then offers some generalizations about leadership.

I would have preferred that they use the full scope of this chapter to explain the abortive attempt to launch Social Security reform as a counterpoint to the other studies which did produce legislative results. Then, a final chapter could have drawn the lessons about when leaders succeed, which leaders are effective, and why leadership sometimes fails.

These case studies are, nonetheless, potentially quite useful as a supplement to texts that focus on one institution or the other, and might also be considered for use in courses on national policy making. The authors' attempt to explain leadership patterns and strategies that go beyond party leadership is very useful and might serve as the foundation of a research agenda that could produce a valuable scholarly contribution as well as a pedagogical tool.

Ron Peters Regents' Professor of Political Science Carl Albert Center University of Oklahoma

Divided America: The Ferocious Power Struggle in American Politics, Earl Black and Merle Black, Simon & Schuster, 2007, ISBN 9780743262024, \$26.00, cloth, 286 pages.

Divided America examines the nature of political competition in contemporary American politics. It does so by noting two important aspects of the nature of that competition. First, the authors explore the substantial regional component to current political conflict. Second, they consider the high levels of competition over control of the U.S. presidency, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. This book traces the development of these patterns over the last fifty years or so. In most cases, the authors rely on exit polls and the American National Election Studies to create simple, straightforward, and generally effective evidence to support their arguments.

Earl Black and Merle Black have been, of course, among the leaders when it comes to understanding southern politics and its changes over the last couple of generations. Much of what they have done in the South, they now do for the rest of the nation by exploring how the South and the Mountain/Plains regions have become Republican strongholds and how the Northeast and Pacific Coast regions have become Democratic strongholds. They also explore the nature of what they call the divided Midwest. The obvious ideological dimension is found throughout their analysis, but the authors filter much of that understanding through a number of key variables (such as race/ethnicity, and religion, especially evangelicalism) looking at both how preferences and the size of various groups have shifted over time. In the latter part of their analysis, Black and Black explore how the patterns they previously uncovered are reflected in what they call a "power struggle" in the presidency, the House, and the Senate.

The strengths of this work are its comprehensive exploration of key issues in American politics and the accessibility of the analysis. The authors boldly reach across a wide terrain and do not hesitate to state their personal interpretations of both their data and historical events. The limitations of this work, then, should be obvious. It skates across so much territory that the analysis never goes very deep, and the more sophisticated readers will cry out for more critical analysis. The fact that there is not a lot new in their analysis somewhat ameliorates that concern because many of the points have been subject to more critical analysis elsewhere. In the end, many readers are likely to be impressed by their reach and their ability to make complex issues accessible even to less sophisticated readers.

Gary Copeland Professor of Political Science University of Oklahoma

Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U. S. Senate, Gregory J. Wawro and Eric Schickler, Princeton University Press, 2006, ISBN 9780691134062, \$29.95, paper, 328 pages.

Existing research considering the impacts of unlimited debate in the U.S. Senate have found significant evidence to demonstrate the need for legislative entrepreneurs to construct larger legislative coalitions in order to pass legislation in the Senate as compared to other legislative bodies (e.g. Krehbiel 1998). These supermajority requirements in the Senate have largely been attributed to the 60 senator majority requirement that is necessary to invoke cloture and stop attempts to kill bills through legislative debate, commonly known as filibusters. Yet, while the effects of unlimited debate in the Senate during the contemporary era are fairly well established, the impacts of unlimited debate prior to cloture invocation being an option for legislative majorities have never been systematically researched. Furthermore, the reasons behind the decision to create formal rules to limit debate in the Senate have also been understudied in the political science literature to date. In *Fillibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate*, Gregory Wawro and Eric Shickler excellently fill this dearth in the existing literature with a compelling account of lawmaking in the pre-cloture U.S. Senate that draws upon rational choice, historical analysis, and statistical data to produce explanations and findings that are relevant not only to scholars of congressional institutions, but also to those interested in the effects of informal norms and formal rules on individual political behavior in general.

Conventional wisdom would suggest that due to the lack of a formal mechanism to end debate in the precloture Senate, legislative proposals would be very difficult to enact without universal support because any senator
could conceivably filibuster a bill to its death. However, Wawro and Schickler argue that this conventional wisdom fails
to take into account the significant costs in terms of resources in order to obtain and hold debate on the floor, physical
exertion required to actually give lengthy speeches on a bill, and the loss of opportunities to take part in other
legislative activities that pre-cloture senators had to endure in order to carry out a filibuster (30). Furthermore, precloture senators who opposed a bill also had to be careful not to filibuster a particularly intense majority's position on a
bill, as this majority could institute a "rules revolution" that would place limits on debate and remove filibusters as an
option for legislative minorities in the future (37). Finally, due to informal norms of behavior that call for the
maintenance of the institutional integrity of the Senate and that produce the expectation that obstructive actions will be
retaliated against, senators would be reluctant to use the filibuster unless absolutely necessary (43).

Therefore, taking into account these costs, risks, and norms, senators in the pre-cloture era would only filibuster bills when the issue at hand was particularly salient to the minority and when the costs of filibustering a bill decreased, as would occur at the end of a Congress when less speech time was necessary to kill a bill (55). Thus, typically bare majorities were sufficient to pass most legislation in the pre-cloture era since filibusters were relatively uncommon (55). Only after the close relationships amongst senators that facilitated the communication necessary to maintain informal norms of behavior broke down around the turn of the century due to increased chamber size, workload, and turnover, did senators begin to abuse the filibuster, which resulted in the institution of the cloture rule in order to limit debate and abuse of the debate rules in the Senate (182).

Through the use of statistical analyses and historical case studies of bills during the pre-cloture and post-cloture time periods, Wawro and Schickler find convincing support for their theoretical expectations including the findings that, overall, legislative coalitions were typically smaller in the pre-cloture period than during the post-cloture period (chapters 4 and 6), bare majorities were typically able to pass legislation despite obstruction attempts (chapter 5), and one of the most likely groups to filibuster legislation in the pre-cloture period were southern legislators on slavery related bills due to the salience of that issue to these legislators (chapter 7). Furthermore, the authors also present evidence that the increase in the use of filibusters that brought about cloture reform was significantly related to increases in the size and workload of the Senate, both of which could be expected to lead to the breakdown of informal norms that once inhibited filibuster attempts (chapter 8).

Although some may argue that a book about the crafting of legislation in a peculiar institution during a time period that has long since passed may not have much significance for current political science, Wawro and Schickler succeed in producing a piece of political science that is not only relevant to current congressional scholars, but also to any political scholar interested in institutional change and the role of informal norms and formal rules on individual behavior. The authors' work demonstrates the factors that may need to be present for informal norms to work and the factors that may make formal rules necessary in order for a legislative institution, or possibly any political institution, to function. Wawro and Schickler's approach to studying filibusters demonstrates that much can be learned about political life by studying the past, which is a lesson that scholars should consider when conducting research in the future.

Walt Jatkowski Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Forty Years a Legislator: Elmer Thomas, edited by Richard Lowitt and Carolyn G. Hanneman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2007, ISBN 9780806138091, \$24.95, cloth, 178 pages.

Released in the year of the Oklahoma Centennial, Forty Years A Legislator, the memoir of Elmer Thomas, one of Oklahoma's most accomplished and influential politicians, sheds light on the history of the State of Oklahoma as well as the United States Congress in the first half of the twentieth century. Written in 1951 yet only recently released by the University of Oklahoma Press, Thomas's writing should provide insights for both the academic and the casual reader interested in gaining an inside look into a career that witnessed countless events of historic importance. Fittingly, Thomas begins his memoir with the opening of the Oklahoma Territories on a late Sunday afternoon in November 1900 in Oklahoma City. After securing some land in Lawton and getting married. Thomas guickly becomes aware of the pressing water problems of his new home state and sets out to shape the solution. A Bryan Democrat who is driven by the hope "to help, at least in a small way, those who came into being handicapped by poverty and lack of opportunity," Thomas begins his political career in 1907 when he is selected to serve as one of the first Oklahoma State Senators. As such he bears witness to the selection of Oklahoma City as the state capitol, a process riddled with financial and electoral problems which Thomas recounts lively. Yet he quickly moves on to the United States House of Representatives and ultimately the Senate, to which he was elected four times. His entire career is marked by his integrity, passion, and unrelenting fight for farmers, working people, and American Indians. His convictions are particularly reflected in his support for the veterans who moved on the capital in 1932, his filibuster for a "fair" oil price for domestic producers, and his fight for a more plentiful supply of currency during the Great Depression, which he labels "My Paramount Accomplishment." Moreover, Thomas shares with us many other interesting stories such as congressional contributions to the Manhattan Project as one of only four senators privy to the plans; his 30,000-mile 6-day journey to survey the American military in the 1930s; and his visit to the Nuremberg Trials.

Elmer Thomas, in his role as lawyer, businessman, and politician, provides us with a vivid account full of interesting yet often little-known anecdotes about a time with many of the same conflicts that we face today including oil, veteran compensation, water, poverty, and social justice. Yet as he rises through the ranks of Congress, Thomas also comes to realize that "there is no substitute for experience obtained through seniority and long service [because] it is the holders of such top positions who dictate and control the policies of government." The political career of Elmer Thomas certainly provides us with a new perspective of the influence of seniority in shaping policies in this nation.

Simon Haeder Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Governing the American State: Congress and the New Federalism, 1877-1929, Kimberley S. Johnson, Princeton University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780691119748, \$35.00, cloth, 226 pages.

For many scholars of modern federalism in the United States, the focus has centered on the New Deal and the policy leadership exercised by an active and powerful executive branch. Lost in the explosion of New Deal policy activism is an appreciation of the role of Congress in redefining national-state relations in the half century preceding the New Deal; however, Kimberley S. Johnson has ably and convincingly provided a valuable corrective.

Governing the American State analyzes the content of 131 policies and traces their political development during the period from 1877 to 1929. Calling this the "first New Federalism," Johnson argues that the transformation of federalism was a reflection of the organization and partisan dynamics of Congress and not the executive-centered process that has come to dominate accounts of the New Deal and subsequent reform efforts of modern presidents.

Not only is Johnson's thesis and argument intriguing and fresh in its approach, so too are her methods of analysis. The focus of her analysis is on the 131 congressional enactments, which she calls intergovernmental policy instruments (IPIs) and which range in content from regulatory, distributive, and redistributive policy across a variety of policy areas including agriculture, commerce, natural resources, transportation, and social welfare. She argues:

While the judiciary and reigning political beliefs during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era often endorsed a narrow dual federal system, actors and interests looked for ways to subvert these judicial limitations. Thus federalism, in the form of intergovernmental policy, became the means for these subversions (9).

Johnson creates indices to reflect the content of these IPIs in terms of their delegation or constraint of national and state discretion. For example, she notes that Congress, as a means of circumventing the Supreme Court, often included intrastate commerce exemption clauses into intergovernmental regulations, either allowing or preempting state standards or, conversely, imposing or limiting national authority (54-55). Her subsequent multivariate analysis of the politics of enacting IPIs shows that Congress considered a range of discretionary policies that often constituted a "zero-sum game" of trade-offs in state and national authority (78). The politics reflect the dynamics of shifting Republican fortunes in Congress along with party competition and sectionalism. She concludes:

Across time and across policy areas, Congress repeatedly made decisions about how to structure its relationship with the national bureaucracy and the state. Members of Congress cared intensely about this relationship because of the political and institutional risks and incentives that surrounded them (83).

Johnson bolsters her quantitative analysis with three in-depth case studies focusing on the nationalization of regulation of food and drugs production in 1906, the infusion of federal funding for roads and highways from the turn of the century to the New Deal, and the provision of child and maternal health care under the Sheppard-Towner Act on 1921.

Overall, Johnson has provided a valuable analysis and corrective to the American political development accounts of national-state intergovernmental relations. She has also added a convincing case for the role of Congress in structuring the first New Federalism.

Cindy Simon Rosenthal Professor of Political Science Director and Curator Carl Albert Center University of Oklahoma

Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U. S. House, Randall Strahan, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780801886911, \$19.96, paper, 256 pages.

This book appears in an "Interpreting American Politics" series offered by Johns Hopkins Press and edited by Michael Nelson. As Nelson notes in his editor's introduction, congressional leadership scholarship has for many years now tended to downplay the impact of individual party leaders as it has sought for systemic explanations of congressional behavior. Randall Strahan has been among a small number of congressional scholars who have argued that congressional leadership theories have underemphasized the latitude that individual leaders enjoy and the impact they can have on the legislative process.

To explore this important aspect of congressional leadership, Strahan offers a set of three case studies: Henry Clay, Thomas B. Reed, and Newt Gingrich. Strahan arrays and assesses the policy, institutional, and personal goals of these important Speakers, and argues that their impact on public policy and the institutional development of the House of Representatives cannot be explained in terms of their responsiveness to the demands of their party colleagues or even to the broader context in which their Speakerships played out. Each of these Speakers was willing to take risks to achieve major goals, and each left an imprint on the House of Representatives that endured beyond their tenure in office.

Here we observe three leaders, in three widely separated periods in congressional history, each aiming to attain specific objectives and each developing and implementing strategies to succeed. The strength of this book lies in the lively narratives through which Strahan reveals the calculated use of power by three assertive leaders. The Speakers we meet here are, as Nelson observes, the men that the publics of their day also observed. These leaders made a difference, were understood to have done so at the time, and were not the hostage of circumstance or academic theory.

Are the lessons they offer generalizable? Obviously, not all Speakers have had the impact that these three had. Strahan has selected the most compelling cases to demonstrate the leadership potential of the Speakership. Would an analysis of Sam Rayburn or Jim Wright suggest different lessons? How about the lesser lights of the pantheon of Speakers, those whose names are not household words? Sedgwick? Stevenson? Colfax? Gillette? The list of the obscure is far lengthier than that of the notables. But this is perhaps Strahan's point.

Strahan offers a "conditional agency framework" to capture the potential and the limitations of the Speakership. The Speakership offers the potential for a Speaker to lead on policy and/or institutional reform under some conditions. Not all Speakers will choose to avail themselves of the opportunities presented and some Speakers with a disposition to lead will find themselves hostage to circumstances. Leadership theory suggests that a cohesive caucus is prerequisite to assertive leadership, and Strahan's case studies show that this is not systematically the case for these three Speakers. Yet other factors might serve to constrain them.

If contemporary leadership theory inaccurately depreciates the potential of the Speakership, it would be equally as inaccurate to elevate the office above the capacities of those who come to serve in it. The Speakership is, like most positions in private and public life, what Speakers come to make of it. All Speakers should attend that lesson.

Ronald M. Peters Regents' Professor of Political Science Carl Albert Center University of Oklahoma

Lines in the Sand: Congressional Redistricting in Texas and the Downfall of Tom Delay, Steve Bickerstaff, University of Texas Press, 2007, ISBN 9780292714748, \$34.95, cloth, 528 pages.

As the old saying goes, everything is bigger in Texas. Steve Bickerstaff's *Lines in the Sand:* Congressional Redistricting in Texas and the Downfall of Tom Delay provides a detailed account of a real whopper, one of the most outlandish stories in the history OF U.S. politics. The tale details the events surrounding an unprecedented partisan power grab through an equally unprecedented mid-decade redistricting. While one man, the former House majority leader, provided the greatest catalyst for the scheme, the parties involved in seeing it through could fill the room—if it were Texas sized, of course. Appropriately enough, much of the story unfolds in the largest of state capitol buildings, which yes, also has a dome that is 15 feet taller that the U.S. Capitol's.

This book provides much more than a mere description of the most recent Texas remap. Bickerstaff skillfully explores the strategies of the state and national parties, and attempts to explain why Republicans eventually prevailed. His exhaustive research draws a picture of Texas redistricting that includes powerful figures and offices far outside the borders of the Lone Star State. While legions of individuals eventually became involved, the plot was both hatched and brought to fruition by a small group of insiders. In addition to an assessment of partisan motivations and effects, Bickerstaff explores the relationship of the remap to racial and ethnic minorities in Texas, finding surprising discord in ways in which the effort was viewed by minority leaders, and perhaps less surprising negative effects on minority representation. And of course, the story is good too. In their efforts to derail the plan, Democrats pursued the most extreme of measures, fleeing the state twice—first to Oklahoma and then to New Mexico. Bickerstaff suggests that it was the national Democratic Party, in an effort to exploit the political chicanery occurring in Texas, that eventually brought Texas Democratic legislators back to the table, and to defeat.

Whether you study redistricting, representation, racial and ethnic politics, political behavior and elections, political parties, or public policy, there is something for everyone in the 2003 Texas remap. Certainly, a treasure trove of data capable of speaking to diverse questions in political science awaits the researcher. For those seeking to use the Texas redistricting as a window to their research questions, Bickerstaff's book provides a solid footing on which to build analysis.

Walt Wilson Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

More than Money: Interest Group Action in Congressional Elections, Richard M. Skinner, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007, ISBN 9780742547209, \$75.00, cloth, 207 pages.

While there is no shortage of scholarly literature on interest group formation, membership maintenance, and political activity, relatively little has been written on the role of interest groups in congressional elections. In his book *More than Money: Interest Group Action in Congressional Elections*, Richard M. Skinner attempts to fill the literature gap and examines interest group activity in congressional elections using a theoretical framework that emphasizes membership incentives, interest group resources, and political and legal contexts. The book's case studies (AARP, AFL-CIO, AMA, ATLA, EMILY'S List, NARAL, NFIB, NRA, NRLC, and Sierra Club) were chosen to create a mixture of groups based on groups' membership size, nature of membership, issue area, and partisanship.

With respect to his first theoretical component (the incentives that groups offer to potential members), Skinner suggests that membership incentives affect the scope of groups' political involvement. Groups based on material incentives attract memberships that are heterogeneous, apathetic, nonideological, and relatively large, and, consequently, they focus their activity on members (163). In contrast, groups based on purposive incentives draw memberships that are homogeneous, motivated, ideological, and relatively small, and, therefore, they focus their activity on nonmembers (163).

In terms of their resources, interest groups can utilize money, membership, and/or expertise in a manner most likely to achieve their objectives. One of the surprising results of this study is that money is not the all-powerful resource. Money is more effective when it is used to capitalize on groups' other advantages (97). Membership is an important resource in winning elections as members can vote, volunteer, and donate money. Purposive groups with small but highly politicized memberships tend to mobilize their members as volunteers and donors rather than voters, whereas non-purposive groups with large but not necessarily highly politicized memberships focus on turning their membership numbers into votes (chapter 7). Expertise comes in four major forms: issue credibility, targeting voters, targeting races, and campaign services. Issue credibility, the ability to speak out on particular issues in a way that sways a significant number of voters, is the most important form of expertise available to "older" groups as a result of years of activity, public visibility, ties to other organizations, and spending money (124).

Finally, groups operate within changing political and legal contexts. Given the increasing partisan polarization in Congress, partisan/ideological groups have stronger incentives to increase their political involvement in elections as well as better opportunities to develop closer ties to one party (chapter 9). Thus, Skinner's work lends support to the proposition that interest groups can be part of broader party networks. In other words, interest groups can be the parties' allies rather than their rivals. Groups also have to adapt to changes in the legal environment. Supreme Court rulings (e.g. Buckley v. Valeo) and congressional statutes (e.g. Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act) can either expand or circumscribe the range of tools available to interest groups for political involvement.

Larisa Yun Graduate Student in Political Science University of Oklahoma

Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: a guide to good practice, David Beetham, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Genéve, 2006, ISBN 9291422975, paper, 215 pages.

Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty First Century is an attempt to catalogue recent developments in parliamentary practices and procedures that have contributed to democracy. The framework for evaluating parliamentary developments is presented at the onset of the book. A two-page outline identifies the key values of democracy and each corresponding institutional practice which attempts to realize that value (10-11). For example, a basic objective of democracy is transparency and the procedural and institutional means for achieving this value are: open public proceedings, notifying the public of the parliamentary agenda, documentation available in relevant languages, laws on access to information (10). Using this framework as a touchstone, the book uses contributions from parliamentarians themselves to document changes in procedure and their relationship to the democratic character of legislatures.

According to *Parliament and Democracy*, a democratic parliament is one which is: representative, transparent, accessible, accountable and effective (7). In the chapter discussing representation, the book discusses changes made in electoral systems designed to improve the way respective parliaments represent their electorate. In examining the five different components of democratic parliaments, the book incorporates examples from all over the world and from many different types of legislatures. It notes that Monaco added a proportional representation element to ensure more diverse representation in their National Council (17), New Zealand issues an open invitation to individuals and organizations to submit legislation via their website (80), and Uganda allows for the mid-term recall of any member of parliament through petition by registered voters (97).

The aim of the book is to illustrate the myriad of creative ways parliaments are responding to modern challenges, whether the changes succeed or fail. It does not make any significant theoretical contributions to the discussion of parliament and democracy, rather it focuses on practical suggestions as the title would suggest. It is an attempt to begin a pursuit of parliamentary best practices because "good practical examples which have been tried and endorsed by parliaments are worth disseminating even if they may not have worked perfectly" (8). This book is intended for parliamentarians, concerned citizens and activists, international organizations involved in the work of legislatures, and academics. It succeeds in its stated aim and provides a useful update on comparative parliamentary practices.

Katie Richie Graduate Student in Political Science University of Oklahoma

Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006, Michael J. Dubin, McFarland and Company, Inc. Publishers, 2007, ISBN 9780786429141, \$45.00, paper, 223 pages.

This book provides a state-by-state breakdown of *all* party affiliations in state legislatures in the U.S. from 1796 to 2006. Moving beyond a statistical source for the partisan makeup of state legislatures, Dubin also supplies a brief overview of each state's political system. The brief overview covers a variety of topics, including: the size and term of each legislature, the state's electoral process, state constitutional constraints, and a variety of other details. In general, this compilation of information and data serves as a convenient source for state-level, legislative scholars.

Curtis Ellis Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Party Influence in Congress, Steven S. Smith, Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780521703871, \$22.99, paper, 254 pages.

I wish I could have taken a graduate seminar on Congress from Steve Smith. In fact, I wish I could take one now. Professor Smith has a true talent for fusing theoretical development from the scholarly literature with the empirical world of Capitol Hill. He also has a penchant for tying together seemingly disparate approaches and findings in the literature. In this excellent book, he showcases both of these gifts as he recasts the major scholarship published regarding political party influence in the Congress over the last two decades.

As stated in introductory chapter 1, Smith's thesis is that "congressional parties seek to advance both the electoral and the policy interests of their members" (5). The book consists of six core chapters. In chapter 2, Smith describes in an interesting manner several recent scenarios on Capitol Hill to provide support for his thesis. In chapter 3, he outlines the different causal pathways of party influence. Chapter 4 takes roll call vote studies and attempts to mold them into a broad theoretical account. In chapter 5, he reviews, critiques, and situates two very prominent party theories: Rohde's conditional party government and Cox and McCubbins' cartel theory. Smith takes on Keith Krehbiel's two-headed monster challenge to the role of parties in the legislature ("Where's the Party?", British Journal of Political Science, 1993; and *Pivotal Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1998) in chapter 6. Smith re-analyzes Krehbiel's evidence and demonstrates "that party effects are readily discernible in Krehbiel's studies" (6). In chapter 7, Smith focuses on indirect party effects and comparisons between the House and Senate. Chapter 8 discusses the path of future research on party influence in Congress.

This book is a theoretical tour de force. Smith steps outside the familiar box of testing for party effects while controlling for ideological preferences. The key problem in controlling for preferences is the roll call data used to measure them, measures which contain latent party effects. Smith goes far beyond the party vs. preferences debate, which indeed is a welcome theoretical development. Two major contributions of the work are bringing the Senate more squarely into the equation and the asymmetric party effects model, which "assumes that there is a systematic difference between the two parties" (183). In this

case, the two parties are the majority and minority parties.

Criticisms of this book are few and far between. Let me first quickly dispose of the "this book is just a literature review" critique. Some scholars will read this book and say that Smith falls short in offering a new theory or empirical test. Such a criticism, in my view, is unfair and unreasonable to lodge at every scholarly work. Smith is quite clear in introducing the reader to the book that it really consists of theoretical essays on party influence. He did not intend to utilize the conventional approach of subjecting a focused research question on a sub-topic of party influence to multiple empirical tests. The same critique was lodged at Frank Baumgartner and Beth Leech's literature review-oriented *Basic Interests: The Role of Interest Groups in Politics and Political Science* (Princeton University Press, 1998). I wish more senior scholars would do what Smith has done here. The book will help to advance the literature in this area of inquiry much more than would another cut on testing for party effects.

The only real criticism I would offer on the book is the fact that, in the haystack of new research examining party effects since Krehbiel (1993), Smith misses several works by younger scholars which attempt to explore party effects in the manner he desires. While I would not quibble much with Smith's review of the big-name authors in this area, he overlooks work such as that by Jonathan Bader (*Taking the Initiative*, Georgetown University Press, 1997) and Chuck Finocchiaro and his various co-authors. My own work (on party leader use of omnibus packages and party influence in the early legislative winnowing process) provides additional instances of research that seemingly carries out some of what Smith seeks in the literature. I speculate that his purpose was more in recasting the theoretical debate in light of work by senior scholars at the frontiers of legislative research.

In conclusion, all scholars and graduate students of American politics, legislative institutions, and political parties should read this book. It brings together an otherwise inchoate literature on parties in the legislature. Smith also offers a framework for the next generation of congressional scholars to test, much like David Mayhew did in 1974, with his classic *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Smith's *Party Influence in Congress* is already on the book list for my doctoral seminar in American politics for the fall semester 2008.

Glen S. Krutz
Associate Director
Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center
Associate Professor of Political Science

Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress, edited by David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, Stanford University Press, 2007, ISBN 0804755914, \$34.95, paper, 505 pages.

I have heard scholars of comparative politics assert on occasion that American politics should not be considered a subfield of political science. Rather, they suggest, it is a big "case study" in the subfield of comparative politics.

If American politics is to be considered a case study, the insight it provides is certainly broad, detailed, and fragmented—both in terms of topics and in historical periods addressed. The same is true of research on Congress, probably our most studied institution. Missing from most individual pieces of research on Congress is any reference to internal and external forces shaping the historical development of the institution. While disparate contributions may be pulled together to make sense of continuing roles, rules, parties, policies, or inter-branch relationships over time, congressional scholars stand to benefit from a more collaborative effort to place the evolution of congress in the context of the internal and external forces that continue to shape and reshape the body after two centuries. To avoid missing the forest for the trees, approaches that take broader historical-institutional or political economy approaches to the study of Congress add some coherence to understandings of the institution. This is the effort of David Brady and Mathew McCubbins in *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2*.

The edited work is presented in three parts. Part I, in sections on the progressive era and postwar period, examines external influences on Congress. Chapters addressing progressive era change focus on the effects of an assortment of electoral reforms on representative behaviors and party dynamics. Chapters focusing on the postwar congress parse the causes of party polarization in the institution, dynamically measure conditional party government, and examine the interrelatedness of district and member ideologies and election patterns.

Part II turns inwardly, but time remains the ever-present theme underlying inquiry. Four sections devoted to nineteenth century change, Progressive era change, Postwar change and Postbellum trends focus on the effects of internal institutional reforms. The interplay and alternation of committee and party power during the nineteenth century is examined as a factor explaining institutional agenda setting, evolving electoral strategies revealed in roll call voting, committee composition, and leadership behavior. The impact of changing Senate cloture rules, of changing candidate characteristics and party configurations on house elections, and partisanship on leadership behavior are examined in studies of the Progressive era Congress. Postwar considerations focus on minority rights in the House in three chapters conceptualized around the motion to recommit and in a fourth chapter on the evolution of partisan collusion in conference committee. Finally, chapters set in the Postbellum Era examine the surprising success of congress in passing bicameral legislation and the mechanisms that facilitated this feat, and electoral linkages in an era of partisanship through a natural experiment that compares the roll call behaviors of departing lame-duck members to their earlier voting behaviors.

Part III briefly examines policy trends in relation to changes in internal and external influences. Chapters measure the passage of significant legislation between Reconstruction and WWII, argue that the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act served the instrumental purpose of revealing to southerners actual levels of support for, and opposition to, slavery policies, and explain that the passage of temporary pieces of bankruptcy legislation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by conservative Congresses reveals a continuation of support for business interests during economic downturns.

The collection of articles in *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress, Volume 2,* places the American Congress in temporal context that should be useful to scholars studying diverse topics related to the institution. Taken together, these articles also may help researchers conceptualize Congress as a historical case. For those concerned about bounded conclusions in time-bound studies, these authors provide assistance in taking the long view.

Walt Wilson Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Personal Roots of Representation, Barry C. Burden, Princeton University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780691134598, \$24.95, paper, 192 pages.

When legislators choose their own views over those of their constituents, should this independence only be understood as "shirking"? Taking a fresh look at why, when, and to what degree legislators follow or diverge from their constituents' views on policy, Barry Burden provides a sound empirical case for how legislators' personal experiences directly shape their policy preferences. In doing so, Burden contributes a significant case for the personal roots of representation.

Burden argues that the principal-agent understanding of elections and the delegate-trustee model of representation are inadequate to describe the relationship between legislators and constituents. Burden believes individual factors in the lives of legislators have significant influence on their policy preferences, while previous literature has assumed that legislators look only outward for policy cues especially on issues which are new or on which party positions have not solidified. In addition to party positions and constituent opinion, Burden suggests three other factors: the representative's values, moral convictions, and principles; her information or prior expertise; and her self-interest.

The methodology underlying the research draws upon multiple sources of data and deploys that data in inventive ways. Burden uses interviews with former legislators to help develop his theory. In the three case studies of tobacco, education, and religious policy, he combines quantitative analysis and indepth analysis of speeches made by representatives about the particular legislation. In each case study, Burden contrasts what he calls reactive behaviors (e.g. roll call voting) and proactive behaviors (e.g. speechmaking and bill sponsorship) to make his case for the influence of personal factors.

The lack of descriptive representation in Congress is a theme that runs throughout all three case studies as Burden tries to explain why legislators fail to represent their constituents' policy interests. The cases involve tobacco regulation (smokers being underrepresented in Congress), vouchers and school choice (MCs disproportionately have children in private schools), and legislation on religious practices and bioethical issues (MCs' personal religious views seemingly trump public opinion on issues like stem cell research.)

Burden concludes that "in the heightened partisan environment of the modern Congress, the strange bedfellows created when members cross the aisle are often only possible because of personal motivation" (137). After all, representatives are human beings who carry their experiences, values, and interests with them to Congress, a fact perhaps too long neglected by political scientists. Burden's evidence is compelling though not always overwhelming, but certainly enough to warrant further investigation and careful consideration by legislative scholars.

Cindy Simon Rosenthal Professor of Political Science Director and Curator Carl Albert Center University of Oklahoma

Representing America: The Citizen and the Professional Legislator in the House of Representatives, Rebekah Herrick and Samuel H Fisher III, Lexington Books, 2007, ISBN 9780739117279, \$50.00, cloth, 120 pages.

Driven by the current debate over term limits in the US Congress, Rebekah Herrick and Samuel Fisher examine whether the "professional" legislator, who chooses politics for a long-term career, provides fundamentally different descriptive or substantive representation to his or her constituents than does a "citizen" legislator, who does not intend to pursue a life-long career in politics, but rather plans to only stay for a few terms in office. The push for term limits was at its zenith at the time of the analysis, driven largely in part by disgust with a Congress perceived to be dominated by political and societal elites in service to specialized interests. Their analysis has significant implications for this perception and the push for term limits in the US Congress.

The authors use data from a six-year (1992 – 1998) period of the House of Representatives, examining 271 new members of the House, 28 of whom signed pledges to limit their terms in office. They utilize a variety of methods, from qualitative interviews to logit regression on roll call voting and interest groups contributions to determine whether citizen legislators provide different representation than professional legislators.

Some findings challenge assumptions about citizen legislators. In terms of descriptive representation, the assumption that citizen legislators would be more reflective of the constituent demographics does not hold, as citizen legislators are predominately more elite than both the full American population and the district from which they are elected, a finding they attribute to the considerable amounts of time, money and skill it takes to run for office. They also find little differences in the amount of time spent by citizen and professional legislators staying in contact with constituents in the district. There is also very little difference in the citizen and professional legislators' relationships with interest groups.

In terms of where citizen legislators differ from professional legislators, the authors' findings have consequences for substantive representation. They find that there are significant differences in terms of ideology as citizens are more extreme than professional legislators (although this may be a reflection of the district leanings). More importantly, the citizen legislator is less successful than the professional in seeing their bills and resolutions passed and getting assigned to powerful committees. Citizen legislators are then less effective in securing their policy goals through traditional means. Instead, they must resort to blocking tactics to secure policy goals. The authors give little evidence, though, whether or not these tactics are successful in advancing the policy concerns of the district. Competitive elections make both citizen and professional legislators more responsive to their districts.

In sum, the book's strength is advancing factual knowledge of the (few) differences between the citizen and the professional legislator and linking the findings to ambition theory. The findings suggest that it is not the ambitions of the representative that matter, but rather competitive elections that tend to make the representative provide more substantive representation.

Leslie Bracy Graduate Student in Political Science University of Oklahoma

Rules and Restraint: Government Spending and the Design of Institutions, David M. Primo, The University of Chicago Press, 2007, ISBN 0226682609, \$20.00, paper, 216 pages.

David Primo is motivated by the puzzle of why federal budgetary levels are unaffected by rules designed to restrain spending, and he wonders if rules can ever be effective. To answer this question, he develops a theoretical model of the rule design and enforcement process and tests it under various conditions using a game theory approach to predict the likelihood of rule effectiveness (operationalized as spending restraint). He finds that the impact of a rule depends both on its procedural details and on its enforcement (4).

This book effectively argues " that the conditions required for effective budget rules – an appropriate design and appropriate enforcement mechanism – will rarely be met in practice" (4). The biggest stumbling block to effectiveness, not surprisingly, is the political arena in which these rules must be passed and enforced. While macro level and long-term outcomes are often the impetus for rule-making, they are often sacrificed in the face of the costs in particular policy areas in the short-run. In the substantive chapters of the book, Primo explains the basics of rule design and enforcement by institutions where repeated interactions occur and there is heavy reliance on norms (informal rules) to guide social -welfare interested rather than self-interested behavior (chapter 2). Given the difficulty of this task, suboptimal outcomes and violations of rules can be expected, and do, in fact, occur with regularity. He offers one possible solution in chapter 3, concluding that external enforcement will be most effective if the enforcer is truly independent of the rulemaking body. Thus elected judges who have official rule review power will be more effective at limiting spending than constituents who can levy costs for self-interested behavior only at the ballot box. Chapter 4 presents the question of internal enforcement and concludes with some counterintuitive findings on why we should prefer closed rules to control the agenda setter and resultant spending levels. The following chapter on state reforms concludes with the observation that "rules designed in the modern era, when many interests have a stake in how the rules are constructed, are unlikely to reach the level of effectiveness that rules initiated in an earlier era have achieved (103). The problem, he suggests in chapter 6, is the institutional environment of rulemaking and rule enforcement at the federal v. the state level.

The main body of the text offers a readable explanation and interpretation of his theoretical model and empirical testing. There are also around 20 pages of technical materials for those who want the mathematical proofs. The historical review of attempts at budget reform will be familiar to the readers of this review. However, the discussion of the balanced budget requirements at the state level and analysis of the outcome provides a useful counterpoint to the discussion of what has been attempted and has failed at the federal level. Those seeking a study of legislative activity framed from an economic theory perspective may find this account quite useful for graduate classroom adoption. The presentation of the theoretical model and statistical results will, however, require careful reading from those not familiar with this style of analysis.

There are many questions that arise as a consequence of Primo's argument. He diligently addresses many of these in the last chapter of the book (127-130). The biggest question left unanswered, in this reviewer's mind, is how can his model inform legislative rulemaking from a more practical (perhaps even pragmatic) perspective? Two practical puzzles emerge from his argument: How can we improve rule design? How can we structure enforcement mechanisms that are effective at overcoming self-interest and unintended, but predictable, incentives to set rules aside when they are inconvenient? Primo's analysis cogently argues why rules and restraint are somewhat of an oxymoron at the congressional level, but leaves readers with little insight into how his model of the institution, actors, and processes associated with rulemaking and fiscal control can benefit from the conclusions he has so effectively argued.

Aimee Franklin
Associate Professor and
Director of Programs in Public Administration
Department of Political Science
University of Oklahoma

The House: The History of the House of Representatives, Robert V. Remini and the Library of Congress, Harper Collins, 2006, ISBN 0060884347, \$34.95, cloth, 624 pages.

In 1999, Public Law 106-99 (the History of the House Awareness and Preservation Act) directed the Library of Congress to complete an entire narrative history of the U.S. House of Representatives. For this task, renowned Jacksonian-era historian Robert V. Remini was chosen.

The eventual product, *The House: The History of the House of Representatives*, is a compelling and sweeping narrative account of our most democratic legislative institution. Covering the figures, events, important votes, scandals, and developments from colonial times through 2001, the more-than-500-page *House* nevertheless more than adequately passes through the history of the House of Representatives with speed and skill.

Utilizing primary and secondary documents, as well as personal interviews, especially in the last sections on reform and the "Conservative Revolution," Remini is able to interweave institutional, policy, and interpersonal developments into a grand portrait of the House. Remini also makes adroit use of the appropriate anecdote. For example, in recounting the struggle for post-Civil War civil rights, Remini highlights the powerful clash between African-American representatives and former Confederates and the powerful benefits of equal rights in democratic government. Robert B. Elliott is powerfully depicted challenging former Vice-President of the Confederacy and current post-Civil War Representative Alexander H. Stephens who was trying to impede passage of the eventual Civil Rights Act of 1875. Elliott stated that those who "kept their allegiance true to freedom and the Union" were now there "to meet him in debate" (213). As an unfortunate example of pre-reform chairmanship intransigence, Remini recounts how chairman F. Edward Hébert (LA) told Representatives Pat Schroeder and African-American Ron Dellums "that women and blacks were worth only half of one 'regular' member, so he added only one seat to the committee room" (445).

The House is intended for a more general audience and the prose is occasionally terse, stilted, and awkward. Nevertheless, a more important issue Remini's account raises is if the House ever has, is now, or ever will live up to the high esteem associated with the comments of one foreign reporter, who, after sitting in the Speaker's chair during a tour of the chamber, said, "I have sat at the center of freedom" (503). Given the highs of statesmanship and the lows of gag rules, scandal, and discrimination over the course of the history of the House of Representatives, this is a question well worth remembering.

Matt Field Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

The Presidential Agenda: Sources of Executive Influence in Congress, Rogert T. Larocca, The Ohio State University Press, 2006, ISBN 0814210333, \$58.95, cloth, 344 pages.

The Presidential Agenda: Sources of Executive Influence in Congress is a powerful work that advances the current understanding of presidential influence on the congressional agenda both theoretically and empirically. Larocca explores how the president manages to influence the congressional agenda without any formal power to do so. By merging bounded rationality theories of agenda setting with "going public" perspectives of presidential power, Larocca formally models and empirically tests how the president is able to influence the issue agenda in Congress via public addresses and the process of "legislative clearance." Via the public's retrospective ability to access the outcomes of public policy (and therefore Congress), and the ability of presidential administrations to introduce draft legislation via "legislative clearance", Larocca finds that presidents are able to indirectly influence which issues receive attention within various stages of the legislative process in Congress.

Chapter 1 begins with examples of Presidents Clinton and H.W. Bush successfully moving low priority policy issues to the front of the congressional agenda. The following sections review existing theories of agenda setting and presidential influence, highlighting the immense theoretical hole which Larocca effectively fills. Chapter 1 ends with an outline of the theoretical and empirical progression of the book. In chapter 2, Larocca introduces a "two-dimensional spatial model" explaining the problem of issue level agenda setting in the political arena.

Chapters 3 and 4 represent Larocca's primary theoretical contribution. Chapter 3 develops a formal model of the president's ability to influence the congressional issue agenda by providing policy information to voters, through public addresses, highlighting the "most urgent policy issues facing the country. Chapter 4 develops a formal theory of presidential agenda setting grounded in the president's ability to provide Congress with policy expertise in the form of draft legislation introduced by executive agencies. With these well developed theories in hand, the following chapters empirically investigate the implications of chapters 3 and 4.

In chapter 5, Larocca argues against studying the agenda setting process via bill level analysis. Arguing this practice is inadequate, Larocca discusses the advantages provided by studying the agenda setting process at the issue level. Additionally, chapter 5 delves into the complicated nature of the legislative process, using issue level data to identify hearings, markup, and the floor as the most important agenda stages. Chapters 6 and 7 provide empirical tests of the formal theories presented in chapters 3 and 4, utilizing original data regarding the pre-floor legislative process.

In chapter 6, the author analyzes an original issue level dataset on all issues in the House Energy and Commerce Committee to test the formal models presented in chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 7 expands the empirical tests to the Senate. Here, original data is drawn from all issues referred to the Senate Commerce Committee. Each dataset covers more than 20 years of congressional activity from 1979-2002. The book ends with a final discussion of political implications of presidential agenda power in chapter 8.

The Presidential Agenda is a masterfully complete work leaving few stones unturned. Larocca derives original theories of presidential agenda setting in Congress, which he then tests in both the House and Senate. With exceptional rigor, Larocca masterfully utilizes formal modeling, original data, and advanced quantitative techniques to make a substantive theoretical and empirical advancement in the study of presidential agenda setting in Congress. Overall, Larocca makes a valuable contribution that should be noticed by scholars of Congress, the presidency, and agenda setting alike.

Curtis Ellis Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

To Enlarge the Machinery of Government: Congressional Debates and the Growth of the American State, 1858-1891, Williamjames Hull Hoffer, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780801886554, \$55.00, cloth, 258 pages.

Williamjames Hull Hoffer has taken on what many would consider an undeniably dreary and uninspiring task: to comb *thousands* of pages of daily congressional procedures and proceedings in the *Congressional Globe* and *Congressional Record* from 1858-1891. Fortunately for those who choose to read this work and for those who appreciate members of Congress for their more virtuous capacities (agency, diligence, abnormal intelligence), *To Enlarge the Machinery of Government* will not disappoint.

Hoffer's thesis is that there was a critical shift over time from our "first state" (minimalist "government of states" governmental philosophy) to the "third state" (the administrative state crystallized by the Progressive Era). This subtle change was not linear, was not pronounced in executive decrees or singular and dramatic congressional oration, and cannot be said to begin or end at any particular event in our collective history. Instead, by analyzing these debates, one can detect the paradigm shifts taking place over time as war, Reconstruction, sectional, partisan, and philosophic changes take place within the collective political mentality of the nation.

Hoffer illustrates this thesis by analyzing legislative acts and debates surrounding land grant colleges agriculture, freedmen, civil war refugees, education, law enforcement, civil service, labor, commerce, and the court system. A path that begins in pre-war 1858 ends much differently in 1891 and encompasses the Morrill Acts, Freedmen's Bureau, the Department of Agriculture, The Evarts Act, the Blair bill, the Interstate Commerce Commission and others. In terms of the debates, Hoffer illuminates how frames of rationale and argumentation initially were made in terms of classic republican virtues (a national commitment to education to meet the need of democratic republics for an educated, and thus virtuous, citizenry; a national commitment to agriculture because of the virtues of the yeoman farmer) and yet were the basis for much further and more involved national commitments harkening forward to an administrative state led by experts rather than back to a philosophy of minimalist government. The commitments of the federal government went from "sponsorship" and "supervision" to "standardization".

Hoffer argues this second state era offers valuable insight into how conceptions of American uniqueness

Hofter argues this second state era offers valuable insight into how conceptions of American uniqueness contributed to the shape of the federal government. For example, he writes, "[b]ut the final act of the debate on the Morrill Act, like the debates on the Department of Agriculture, proved that out of the back and forth of debate, pressed on by the needs of a wartime nation, congressmen could think the unthinkable and approve the novel. The act encouraged all states to found agriculture and mechanical arts colleges. From that foundation sixty-eight universities arose, providing the United States with a substantial system of federally aided, state-run higher education facilities that later became the most open and vibrant educational industry in the world" (60-61). As he enticingly points out in his introduction, it is quite a leap from Horace Greeley (In 1870 Greeley wrote that government should consist of "good laws, thoroughly enforced.... Cheap and simple government, low salaries, light taxes.... Impartial justice to every one regardless of caste, or color, secured by an upright judiciary.... Making the state too hot for blacklegs, duelists, harlots, rum-sellers, etc." Above all, he said, "avoid public debt." [vii-viii]) to Felix Frankfurter's "Great State" and the administrative state of the twentieth century. Hoffer writes, "[t]hus, the second state was not a physical entity so much as a state of mind, a way that members of Congress began reconceptualizing the powers and limitations of government and were willing to explore, in the debates on specific measures, how those powers and limitations applied to a series of increasingly complex and novel demands.... Nor was the invention of the second state the conspiratorial plot of a few nationalist centralizers – big government men yearning for expensive, extensive, professional administrative rule.... the second state mentality also came about through a punctuated evolution of ideas, a series of questions whose answers led, bit by bit, to further and often u

As he mentions in his acknowledgments, Hoffer is writing at the intersection of history, political science, and law. This writer would argue such interdisciplinary emphasis is a virtue, not a vice. As such, Hoffer has written a lively and engaging account that brings attention not just to the few events that *maybe* some outside the scholarly world know of from that great expanse of blurriness (Reconstruction through the Cleveland Administrations), but to the consistently important work that Congress undertook those sixty-three intriguing years of growth, change, and development in our political universe: arguing, persuading, debating, and fighting over the policies that shaped, and continue to shape, our collective American lives, and the philosophic, constitutional, and theoretical propositions upon which such policies and such views rested.

His concluding paragraph is possibly too assertive ["In a way it was destined to happen. A legalistic and antibureaucratic political culture could not fathom a different kind of state. Conceptual persistence is a part of human psychology" [203)], and too cryptic ["(t)he politics of post-9/11 America may or may not be new, but the supposed dilemma is perennial. Opinion shapers in Congress and outside of those halls will always pose the issue as a choice between freedom and tyranny. As long as that preconception exists, we will see these debates again, along with the crises that provoke them" (203)]. Still, Hoffer has provided an excellent work that may help explain our important shift in "states" and provide important analysis of American "exceptionalism." Furthermore, for all those who care about said policies and presuppositions, abstracting about them without consulting those who wrestled with them in real time is no longer an option.

Matt Field Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers, William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, Princeton University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780691134628, \$27.95, paper, 360 pages.

Scholars of U.S. foreign policy have accurately depicted the president as the preeminent actor in decisions to use military force due to his ability to act alone in crafting foreign policy and the informational advantages in the international realm he holds over other U.S. governmental actors, most notably the members of the U.S. Congress (7-10). Indeed, in light of the significant advantages that the president holds over other actors in foreign policy, many scholars have exclusively focused on the acts of the president as the sole determinant of the timing and the decision to deploy U.S. military forces in other countries. However, in their book, When Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers, William Howell and Jon Pevehouse present evidence to suggest that while the president is rightfully considered the preeminent actor in decisions to use military force, other domestic actors like members of the U.S. Congress can have a powerful effect on the president's decision to use force, and, therefore, should not be ignored when studying American foreign policy.

Howell and Pevehouse argue that when presidents make the decision to use military force, they must be ever mindful of how the use of force will be received by members of their own country because lack of public support for a use of force can signal to foreign allies and enemies of the United States that it lacks the resolve to stay the course in a particular foreign engagement (27-28). Additionally, presidents must also be cognizant of the risk that other branches of government in the political system will overturn their foreign policy decisions once they have undertaken them. By influencing the tone of media coverage about military deployments and having the power to subsequently overturn. amend, or deny funding to presidential military deployments, members of Congress in many ways have the greatest opportunity for substantial effects on presidential foreign policy decisions (47-49). However, due to the significant costs involved with taking action to affect presidential foreign policy outputs, members of Congress cannot always challenge the president on every single foreign policy decision he makes. Howell and Pevehouse argue that members of Congress decide to challenge the president only when their preferences are not in line with those of the president and when sizable troops are committed to a military mission, which increases the risks of high American casualties, alienation of key allies, disruption of foreign trade, and thus, the danger of the military mission in the eyes of Congress (42).

Using statistical data and case studies on American uses of force, Howell and Pevehouse ultimately find that when sizable percentages of members of Congress are members of the party opposing the president and sizable troops have been deployed. Congress can have a powerful effect on the decision to deploy troops in another country by decreasing the frequency of troops deployed (chapter 3), decreasing the likelihood that force will be used when the opportunity presents itself (chapter 4), and increasing the amount of time between the opportunity to use force presenting itself and the president actually making the decision to deploy troops (chapter 4). Furthermore, using evidence from the lead up and aftermath of President Bush's 2003 decision to use military force in Iraq, Howell and Pevehouse also find that members of Congress had a powerful impact on the tone of the local media coverage of the Iraq War (chapter 5), which in turn had a substantial effect on the public opinion concerning the war (chapter 6).

Howell and Pevehouse's research is an excellent addition to a stream of literature that has left woefully unconsidered the effects of domestic politics in general and the institution of Congress in particular on the international relations process. Their work clearly and effectively exposes the fallacy of American foreign relations scholars in exclusively focusing on presidents as the only actors that can shape American foreign policy and the miscalculations of realist international relations scholars in completely ignoring as irrelevant the domestic factors that may influence decisions to use force in international relations. Their book shows that Congress can, and apparently does, have substantial effects on how the president crafts foreign policy. Future scholars would be well advised to continue to walk down the path paved by this well crafted addition to the American foreign policy literature by considering the effects of other institutions like the judiciary on the foreign policy process.

> Walt Jatkowski Carl Albert Graduate Fellow University of Oklahoma

Return to Book List

Back to Front Page
 Back to LSS Page

renelevel indiae Seething engine 17527

Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008

Dissertations Completed

This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about recently completed dissertations dealing with legislatures. The source for this information is Worldwide Political Science Abstracts database, using the query: KW = congress OR parliament OR legislative. The report is arranged in alphabetical order by author name. Full abstracts can be found in Dissertation Abstracts International, The Humanities and Social Sciences, volume 67, numbers 7-12 (2007).

First Name	Last Name	Title of Dissertation
Nathan Frank	Batto	Meshing Motivations: Individual and Collective Action in the
		Taiwanese Legislature
Scott Matthew	Cody	The Causes and Consequences of Restrictive Rules of
		Debate in State Senates
Kathryn Andrews	DePalo	State Legislative Term Limits and the Law of Unintended
		Consequences: An Examination of Member Behavior, Power
		Structures, and Legislative Organization in Florida
Joseph Richard	Foster	Political Influence and the Commander in Chief: Congress,
		the President, and War Powers
Sylvia	Gaylord	The Devil Is in the Details: Delegation and the Content of
		Legislation in Brazil
Paul J.	Georgia	The Political Economy of Trade Policy in the United States:
		1990 to 2000
Jessica C.	Gerrity	Interest Group Framing in Congress and the Media: The
		Case of the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act Debate
Rogenia	Goza	Motivational Factors that Influence African American Women
		to Serve as Michigan State Legislators
Philip D.	Habel	The Dynamics of Democracy: Politicians, People, and the
		Press
Andrea C.	Hatcher	United States Senate Majority Leadership
Marcus E.	Hendershot	Transition in the Lower Court Appointment Process: A
		Periodic Analysis of Executive-Senate Cooperation and
		Conflict
Nicholas D.	Hill	Essays in Political Economy: Theory and Empirics
Kenneth	Kato	The Creation and Evolution of the American Presidency:
		Congressional Debates on Presidential Tenure
Philip Andrew	Kloha	On the Structure and Composition of Legislative Committees:

First Name	Last Name	Title of Dissertation
		Testing a Theory of Majority Party Reliability
Joelle Julie	Leclaire	The United States Federal Budget Reversals of 1998 and
		2001
Christina Renee	Maimone	Voter Decision-Making from a Comparative Perspective
Ken Wayne	Moffett	Partisan Differences and Managing the Legislative Process
		in the Post-Reform House
William B.	Murphy	Direct Election of United States Senators and the
	. ,	Transformation of American Politics
Sarah	Nicolet	In Search of the European Voter: A Study of the Conditional
		Impact of European Political Preferences on Party Choice in
		Elections to the European Parliament
Cynthia M.	Nolan	Keeping Spies on Course: Searching for Patterns in the
		Oversight of United States Intelligence
Ferit Murat	Ozkaleli	Talking Turkey: The Turkish Parliament in Two Iraq Wars
Jesus S.	Peralta	Legislative Institutionalization in Latin America: Nicaragua
		(1979-2005) and Costa Rica (1871-2005)
Adriana	Prata	Government Domination, Consensus or Chaos? A Study of
		Party Discipline and Agenda Control in National Legislatures
Stephanie Havron	Rollins	Alabama Virtual Library Lobbyists' and State Legislators'
		Perceptions of Effective State Lobbying Strategies
Tracy Hoffmann	Slagter	Legislative Responses to Supranational Courts: The German
		Bundestag and the European Court of Justice
Jinney S.	Smith	The Supreme Court and National Policy-Making: Influence
		Through Anticipatory Compliance by State Legislatures
Mitchel A.	Sollenberger	Advice and Consent: A Study of the Pre-nomination Process
Aaron M.	Stern	Institutional Change in Legislatures: Thailand's House of
		Representatives, 1979-2002
Susan Barrett	Thomas	Legislative Decision Making in the Policy Making Process:
		Public School Consolidation and the 2003 Special Session of
		the 84th Arkansas General Assembly
Steven	Urso	Perceived Effectiveness of Interest Group Influence on State
		Budget Policymaking
Ryan J.	Vander Wielen	United States Congressional Conference Committees and
		Policy Outcomes
Roger F.	Wells	A historical Study of the Evolution and Effects of Federal
		Automotive Safety Legislation in the United States from 1900
DI : 01 "	NA CHE	to 2005
Blair Shaffer	Williams	Essays in Legislative Behavior

Back to Front Page

Back to Front Page Back to LSS Page

renelevel notice seithins erneleffer (1827)

Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008



This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about recent 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 journal name.

Journal	Author	Title of Article
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 17- 33	Marschall, Melissa J.; Ruhil, Anirudh V.S.	Substantive Symbols: The Attitudinal Dimension of Black Political Incorporation in Local Government
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 34- 48	Mondak, Jeffery J.; Carmines, Edward G.; Huckfeldt, Robert; Mitchell, Dona-Gene; Schraufnagel, Scot	Does Familiarity Breed Contempt? The Impact of Information on Mass Attitudes toward Congress
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 49- 62	Philpot, Tasha S.; Walton, Hanes Jr.	One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 92- 107	Carey, John M.	Competing Principals, Political Institutions, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 108-119	Cox, Gary W.; Katz, Jonathan N.	Gerrymandering Roll Calls in Congress, 1879-2000
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 255- 268	Cho, Wendy K. Tam; Gimpel, James G.	Prospecting for (Campaign) Gold
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 3 (July 2007): 433-448	Baily, Michael A.	Comparable Preference Estimates across Time and Institutions for the Court, Congress, and Presidency
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 3 (July 2007): 464-481	Lebo, Matthew J.; Mcglynn, Adam J.; Koger, Gregory	Strategic Party Government: Party Influence in Congress, 1789-2000
American Journal of Political Science 51, no. 3 (July 2007): 482-497	Masket, Seth E.	It Takes an Outsider: Extralegislative Organization and Partisanship in the California Assembly, 1849-2006

Journal	Author	Title of Article
American Journal of Political	Hero, Rodney E.; Preuhs,	Immigration and the Evolving American Welfare
Science 51, no. 3 (July 2007):	Robert R.	State: Examining Policies in the U.S. States
498-517		
American Journal of Sociology	Halliday, Terence C.;	The Recursivity of Law: Global Norm Making and
112, no. 4 (Jan 2007): 1135-1202	Carrythers, Bruce G.	National Lawmaking in the Globalization of Corporate Insolvency Regimes
American Politics Research 35, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 79-102	Moscardelli, Vincent G.; Haspel, Moshe	Campaign Finance Reform as Institutional Choice: Party Difference in the Vote to Ban Soft Money
American Politics Research 35,	Kanthak, Kristin	Crystal Elephants and Committee Chairs: Campaign
no. 3 (May 2007): 389-406	,	Contributions and Leadership Races in the U.S. House of Representatives
American Politics Research 35, no.4 (July 2007): 489-505	Rocca, Michael S.	Nonlegislative Debate in the U.S. House Of Representatives
American Politics Research 35,	Deckman, Melissa	Gender Differences in the Decision to Run for School
no.4 (July 2007): 541-563		Board
British Journal of Political Science 37, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 263-280	Calvo, Ernesto	The Responsive Legislature: Public Opinion and law Making in a Highly Disciplined Legislature
British Journal of Political Science	Koenig, Thomas;	Bicameral Conflict Resolution in the European Union:
37, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 281-312	Lindberg, Bjorn; Lechner,	An Empirical Analysis of Conciliation Committee
	Sandra; Pohlmeier, Winfried	Bargains
British Journal of Political Science	Han, Hahrie; Brady, David	A Delayed Return to Historical Norms: Congressional
37, no. 3 (July 2007): 505-531	W.	Party Polarization after the Second world War
Canadian Journal of Political	Heard, Andrew	Just What Is a Vote of Confidence? The Curious
Science/Revue 40, no. 2 (June		Case of May 10, 2005
2007): 395-416 Canadian Public	Maltais, Daniel; Harvey,	The Shadow Ministers: The Directors of Ministerial
Administration/Administration 50,	Marie-Eve	Cabinets in Quebec
no. 1 (Spring 2007): 53-78	Wane-Eve	Odbinets in Quebec
CATO Journal 27, no. 1 (Winter	Couch, Jim F.; King, Brett	Remuneration vs. Reelection: A Senatorial Balancing
2007): 83-89	A.; Stevenson, Taylor P.	Act
Commonwealth and Comparative	Kaminsky, Jackie; White,	Electoral Systems and Women's Representation in
Politics 45, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 185-	Timothy J	Australia
201		
Comparative European Politics 5,	Pilet, Jean-Benoit	Strategies Under the Surface: The Determinants of
no. 2 (July 2007): 205-225		Redistricting in Belgium
Comparative Political Studies 40, no. 3 (Mar 2007): 333-358	Mardones Z. , Rodrigo	The Congressional Politics of Decentralization, The Case of Chile
Comparative Political Studies 40,	Benedetto, Giacomo; Hix,	The Rejected, the Ejected, and the Dejected:
no. 7 (July 2007): 755-781	Simon	Explaining Government Rebels in the 2001-2005 British House of Commons
Comparative Politics 39, no.3 (Apr	Aleman, Eduardo; Saiegh,	Legislative Preferences, Political Parties, and
2007): 253-272	Sebastian M.	Coalition Unity in Chile
Constitutional Political Economy	Andjiga, Nicolas G.;	On the Evaluation of Power in Parliaments and
18, no. 2 (June 2007): 69-82	Badirou, Daoud; Mbih, Boniface	Government Formation
Contemporary British History 21,	Meredith, Stephen	Factionalism on the Parliamentary Right of the
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 55-86	Translator Maria	British Labour Party in the 1970s: a Reassessment
Democratization 14, no. 4 (Aug 2007): 533-553	Tremblay, Manon	Democracy, Representation and Women: A Comparative Analysis
Democratization 14, no. 4 (Aug 2007): 723-742	Sater, James N	Changing Politics from Below? Women Parliamentarians in Morocco
Economics of Governance 8, no. 4	Fedeli, Silvia; Forte,	Measures of the Amending Power of Government
(Sept 2007): 309-338	Francesco	and Parliament. The Case of Italy 1988-2002
Electoral Studies 26, no. 1 (Mar	Jackson, Robert A.;	US Senate Campaigns, Negative Advertising, and
2007): 180-195	Carsey, Thomas M.	Voter Mobilization in the 1998 Midterm Election

Journal	Author	Title of Article
European Journal of Political Research 46, no.1 (Jan. 2007): 97-120	NAM TAEHYUN	Rough days in democracies: Comparing protests in democracies
Government and Opposition 42, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 215- 241	Lindberg, Staffan I.	Institutionalization of Party Systems? Stability and Fluidity among Legislative Parties in Africa's Democracies
Intelligence and National Security 22, no.1 (Feb 2007): 14-37	Gill, Peter	Evaluating Intelligence Oversight Committees: The UK Intelligence and Security Committee and the 'War on Terror'
International Politics 44, no.1 (Jan. 2007): 37-57	Elden, Stuart	Blair, Neo-Conservatism and The War on Territorial Integrity
International Review of administrative Sciences 73, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 113-131	Johnson, Carole; Talbot, Colin	The UK Parliament and Performance: Challenging or Challenged?
International Review of Administrative Sciences 73, no. 2 (June 2007): 189-203	Sterck, Miekatrien	The Impact of Performance Budgeting on the Role of the Legislature: A Four-Country Study
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 46, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 55-70	Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne; Calfano, Brian Robert	The Religious Dynamics of Decision Making on Gay Rights Issues in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1993-2002
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no.1 (Jan. 2007):132-151	Michalowitz, Irina	What Determines Influence? Assessing Conditions for Decision-Making Influence of Interest Groups in the EU
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 2 (Mar 2007): 313-332	Wehner, Joachim	Budget Reform and Legislative Control in Sweden
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 3 (Apr 2007): 333-345	Coen, David	Empirical and theoretical studies in EU lobbying
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 3 (Apr 2007): 346-365	Broscheid, Andreas; Coen, David	Lobbying activity and for a creation in the EU: empirically exploring the nature of the policy good
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 3 (Apr 2007): 366-383	Mahoney, Christine	Networking vs. allying: the decision of interest groups to join coalitions in the US an the EU
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 3 (Apr 2007): 422-443	Bouwen, Pieter; McCown, Margaret	Lobbying Versus Litigation: Political and Legal Strategies of Interest Representation in the European Union
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 3 (Apr 2007): 444-459	Schnieder, Gerald; Finke, Daniel; Baltz, Konstatin	With a Little Help from the State: Interest Intermediation in the Domestic Pre-negotiations of EU Legislation
Journal of European Public Policy 14, no. 4 (June 2007): 489-506	Duina, Francesco; Raunio, Tapio	The Open Method of Co-ordination and National Parliaments: Further Marginalization or New Opportunities?
Journal of Legislation 33, no. 2 (2007): 205-267	Tucker, James Thomas	The Politics of Persuasion: Passage of the Voting Rights Act Reauthorization Act of 2006
Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 9, no. 1 (Apr 2007): 65-78	Bicakci, Salih	The Palestinian Parliamentary Legislative Elections 25 January 2006
Journal of Women, Politics & Policy 28, no. 3-4 (Aug 2007): 43-70	Scola, Becki	Women of Color in State Legislatures: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Legislative Office Holding
Journal of Women, Politics & Policy 28, no. 3-4 (Aug 2007): 97-119, 29	Orey, Byron D'Andra; Smooth, Wendy; Adams, Kimberly S.; Harris-Clark, Kisha	Race and Gender Matter: Refining Models of Legislative Policy Making in State Legislatures
Journal of Women, Politics & Policy 28, no. 3-4 (Aug 2007): 121-145	Fraga, Luis Ricardo; Lopez, Linda; Martinez- Ebers, Valerie; Ramirez, Ricardo	Gender and Ethnicity: Patterns of Electoral Success and Legislative Advocacy Among Latino State Officials in Four States

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Judicature 90, no. 4 (Jan-Feb 2007): 166-176	Keith, Linda Camp	The United States Supreme Court and Judicial Review of Congress, 1803-2001
Latin American Research Review 42, no.1 (2007): 99-125	Birnir, Johanna Kristen; Van Cott, Donna Lee	Disunity in Diversity: Party System Fragmentation and the Dynamic Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on Latin American Legislature
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 5-31	Druckman, James N. ; Roberts, Andrew	Communist Successor Parties And Coalition Formation In Eastern Europe
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 33-57	Meinke, Scott R.	Slavery, Partisanship, and Procedure in the U.S. House: The Gay Rule, 1836-1845
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 59-77	Young, Gary; Wilkins, Vicky	Vote Switchers and Party Influence In the U.S. House
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 79-105	Brady, David w.; Han, Hahrie; Pope, Jeremy C.	Primary Elections and Candidate Ideology: Out of Step with the Primary Electorate?
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 107-133	Haider-Markel, Donald P.	Representation and Backlash: The Positive and Negative Influence of Descriptive Representation
Legislative Studies Quarterly 32, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 135-156	Goodliffe, Jay	Campaign War Chests and Challenger Quality in Senate Elections
Mediterranean Quarterly 18, no. 1 (Winter 2007):135-154	Lekka, Anastasia	Legislative Positions of the Ottoman/Turkish Governments Regarding Minorities and Their Properties
National Political Science Review 11, (2007): 271-28	Eager, Paige Whaley	The Voice of the Congressional Black Caucus in American Foreign Policy
National Political Science Review 11, (2007): 309-324	Stokes-Brown, Atiya Kai	Deracialization and White Crossover Voting in State Legislative Elections
Parliamentary Affairs 6, no.1 (Jan. 2007): 164-169	Johnson, Catherine; Rosenblatt, Gemma	Do MPs Have the 'Right Stuff'?
Parliamentary Affairs 6, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 187-211	Chiva, Cristina	The Institutionalization of Post- Communist Parliaments: Hungry and Romania in Comparative Perspective
Parliamentary Affairs 6, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 234-252	Young, Sally	Political and Parliamentary Speech in Australia
Parliamentary Affairs 6, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 279-296	Rahat, Gideon	Determinants of Party Cohesion: Evidence from the Case of the Israeli Parliament
Parliamentary Affairs 60, No. 3 (July 2007): 388-408	Doganay, Ulku	The Turkish Parliament on Democracy
Parliamentary Affairs 60, No. 3 (July 2007): 482-491	Fieschi, Catherine	Laws, Sausages and Leadership Transitions
Parliamentary Affairs 60, No. 3 (July 2007): 492-509	Power, Greg	The Politics of Parliamentary Reform: Lessons from the House of Commons (2001-2005)
Parliamentary Affairs 60, no., 3 (July 2007): 510-517	Rosenblatt, Gemma	From One of Us to One of Them: The Socialization of New MPs
Party Politics 13, no.1 (Jan. 2007): 5-28	McElroy, Gail; Benoit, Kenneth	Party Groups And Policy Positions In The European Parliament
Party Politics 13, no. 4 (July 2007): 456-477	Thames, Frank C.	Discipline and Party Institutionalization in Post-Soviet Legislatures
Policy Studies Journal 35, no. 1(Feb 2007): 109-123	Howard, Robert M.	Controlling Forum Choice and Controlling Policy: Congress, Courts and the IRS
Political Analysis 15, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 21-45	Miller, Nicholas R.	In Search of the Uncovered Set
Political Analysis 15, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 85-96	Spirling, Arthur; McLean, Iain	UK OC OK? Interpreting Optimal Classification scores for the U.K. House of Commons
Political Research Quarterly 60, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 31-42	Herronson, Paul S.; Strokes-Brown, Atiya Kai; Hindman, Matthew	Campaign Politics and the Digital Divide: Constituency Characteristics, Strategic Considerations, and Candidate Internet Use In State Legislative Elections

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Goodman, Doug	Determinants of Perceived Gubernatorial Budgetary
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 43-54		Influence among State Executive Budget Analysts
		and Legislative Fiscal Analysts
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Barrett, Andrew W.;	Presidential Success on the Substance of Legislation
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 100-112	Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew	
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Souva Mark; Rohde,	Elite Opinion Differences and Partisanship in
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 113-123	David	Congressional Foreign Policy, 1975- 19996
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Lawrence, Christopher N.	Of Shrinking, Outliers, and Statistical Artifacts: Lame-
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 159-162		Duck Legislators and Support for Impeachment
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Rothenberg, Lawrence S.;	Still Shirking
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 163-164	Sanders, Mitchell	One Mayo Diseas to Make He Durrele
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Bali, Valentina A.; Davis,	One More Piece to Make Us Puzzle
no. 2 (June 2007): 215-229	Belinda C.	A Woman's Work to Never Dane? Fund raising
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Jenkins, Shannon	A Woman's Work Is Never Done? Fund-raising
no. 2 (June 2007): 230-239		Perception and effort among Female State Legislative Candidates
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Schaffner, Brian F.; Streb,	A New Look at the Republican Advantage in
no. 2 (June 2007): 240-249	Matthew J.; Wright,	Nonpartisan Elections
110. 2 (build 2007). 240-243	Gerald C.	Nonpartisan Elections
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Preuhs, Robert R.	Descriptive Representation as a Mechanism to
no. 2 (June 2007): 277-292	r round, responent.	Mitigate Policy Backlash
Political Research Quarterly 60,	Wessert, Carol S.;	The Paradox of Term Limit Support
no. 3 (Sept 2007): 516- 530	Halperin, Karen	The Faladex of Ferm Limit Support
Political Science Quarterly 122,	Jacobson, Gary C.	Referendum: The 2006 Midterm Congressional
no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1-24		Elections
Polity 39, no. 2 (Apr 2007): 155-	Green, Matthew N.	Race, Party and Contested Elections to the U.S.
178	,	House Of Representatives
Presidential Studies Quarterly 37,	Conley, Richards S.; Yon,	The 'Hidden Hand' and White House Roll-Call
no. 2 (June 2007): 291-312	Richard M.	Predictions: Legislative Liaison in the Eisenhower
		White House, 83rd-84th Congresses
Presidential Studies Quarterly 37,	Crockett, David A.	The Contemporary President: Should the Senate
no. 2 (June 2007): 313-330		Take a Floor Vote on a Presidential Judicial
		Nominee?
PS: Political Sciences & Politics	Ferrier, Jasmine	The Patriot Act's Institutional Story: More Evidence of
40, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 93-97		Congressional Ambivalence
PS: Political Sciences & Politics	Murphy, Walter F.; Kelly,	Duane Lockard
40, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 165	Stanley JR	
PS: Political Sciences & Politics	Miller, Mark C.	The View of the Courts from the Hill: Governance As
40, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 179-179	Mand Artanova	Dialogue
PS: Political Sciences & Politics	Ward, Artemus	You Can Leave a Congressional Fellowship, But the
40, no. 1 (Jan 2007): 182-183		Fellowship Never Leaves You: How a Former Fellow
		Found Himself Staffing An Event Long After Leaving Capital Hill
Public Choice 130, no.1-2 (Jan.	Calabrese, Stephen	An Explanation of the Continuing Federal
2007): 23-40	Calabrese, Stephen	Government Mandate of Single-member
2001). 20 40		Congressional Districts
Public Choice 130, no.1-2 (Jan.	Primo, David M.	A Comment on Baron and Ferejohn (1989): The
2007): 129-135	r mio, Baria mi	Open Rule Equilibrium and Coalition Formation
Public Choice 130, no.1-2 (Jan.	Agren, Hanna; Dahlberg,	Do Politicians' Preferences Correspond to Those of
2007): 137-162	Matz; Mork, Eva	the Voters? An Investigation of Political
, ,		Representation
Public Choice 131, no. 1-2 (Apr	Fiorino, Nadia; Ricciuti,	Legislature Size and Government Spending in Italian
2007):117-125	Roberto	Regions: Forecasting the Effects of a Reform
Public Choice 131, no. 1-2 (Apr	Fredriksson, per C;	Legislative Organization and pollution taxation
2007): 217-242	Millimet, Daniel L.	

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Public Choice 131, no. 3-4 (June	Poole, Keith T.	Changing minds? Not in Congress!
2007): 435-451		
Public Choice 132, no. 1-2 (July	Lopez, Edward J.; Jewell,	Strategic Institutional choice: Voters, states, and
2007): 137-157	R. Todd	congressional term limits
Publius 37, no. 3 (Summer 2007):	Zimmerman, Joseph F.	Congressional Preemption during the George W.
432-452		Bush Administration
Regional and Federal studies 17,	Franks, C. E. S.	Members and Constituency Roles in the Canadian
no. 1 (Mar 2007): 23-45		Federal System
Regional and Federal Studies 17, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 71-95	McLeay, Elizabeth; Vowles, Jack	Redefining Constituency Representation: the Roles of New Zealand MPs Under MMP
Regional and Federal Studies 17, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 117-145	Bradbury, Johnathan; Mitchell, James	The Constituency Work of Members of the Scottish Parliament and National Assembly for Wales: Approaches, Relationships and Rules
Social Science Journal 44, no.1	Southwell, Priscilla L.;	Equality of Recruitment: Gender Parity in French
(2007): 83-90	Smith, Courtney P.	National Assembly Elections
Sociological Theory 25, no. 1 (Mar	Jacobs, Ronald N.;	Narrative and Legitimacy: U.S. Congressional
2007): 1-25	Sobieraj, Sarah	Debates about the Nonprofit Sector
State Politics and Policy Quarterly	Clucas, Richard A.	Legislative Professionalism and the Power of State
7, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1-19		House Leaders
State Politics and Policy Quarterly	Masket, Seth E.; Lewis,	A Return to Normalcy? Revisiting the Effects of Term
7, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 20-38	Jeffrey B.	Limits on Competitiveness and Spending in California Assembly Elections
State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 39-53	Cooper, Christopher A.; Nownes, Anthony J.; Johnson, Martin	Interest Groups and Journalists in the states
State Politics and Policy Quarterly	Woon, Johnathan	Direct Democracy and the Selection of
7, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 167-186		Representative Institutions: Voter Support for
		Apportionment Initiatives, 1924-62
State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 187-210	Nalder, Kimberly	The Effect of State Legislative Term Limits on Voter Turnout
State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 211-227	Squire, Peverill	Measuring State Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited
Sterreichische Zeitschrift Fur Poltikwissenschaft 36, no. 2 (2007): 125-138	Lord, Christopher	Democratic Control of the Council of Ministers
The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics 12, no.2 (Spring 2007): 63-79	Sulkin, Tracy; Moriarty, Cortney M.; Hefner, Veronica	Congressional Candidates' Issue Agendas On- and Off- Line
The Journal of Legislative Studies 13, no. 2 (June 2007): 197-209	Baldwin, Nicholas D.J.	The House of Lords – Into the Future?
The Journal of Legislative Studies	Khmelko, Irina S.;	Assessing Committee Roles in a developing
13, no. 2 (June 2007): 210-234	Pigenko, Vladimir A.; Wise, Charles R.	Legislature: The Case of the Ukrainian Parliament
The Journal of Legislative Studies	Jones, Kate	Daring and Discretion: Paying Australian Legislators
13, no. 2 (June 2007): 235-253		and biosionorii i aying / domaini
The Journal of Legislative Studies	Hazell, Robert	Westminster as a Three-in-One Legislature for the
13, no. 2 (June 2007): 254-279		United Kingdom and its Devolved Territories
The Journal of Legislative Studies	Michael, Bryane;	The Role of Incentive Design in Parliamentarian Anti-
13, no. 2 (June 2007): 280-300	Kasemets, Aare	Corruption Programmes
The Journal of North African	Denoeux, Guilian P.;	Rethinking the Moroccan Parliament: The Kingdom's
Studies 12, no. 1 (Mar 2007): 79- 108	Desfosses, Helen R.	Legislative Development Imperative
The Journal of Politics 69, no. 1 (Feb 2007): 193-205	Blais, Andre; Indridason, Indridi H.	Making Candidates Count: The Logic of Electoral Alliances in Two-Round Legislative Elections

Journal	Author	Title of Article
The Journal of Politics 69, no. 2	Clinton, Joshua D.	Lawmaking and Roll Calls
(May 2007): 457-469		
The Journal of Politics 69, no. 2	Karol, David	Does Constituency Size Affect Elected Officials'
(May 2007): 483-494		Trade Policy Preferences?
The Journal of Politics 69, no. 2	Hix, Simon; Marsh,	Punishment or Protest? Understanding European
(May 2007): 495-510	Michael	Parliament Elections
The Political Quarterly 78, no. 2	Bonney, Norman	The 'Settled Will of the Scottish People': What Is
(Apr-June 2007): 301-309		Next for Scotland's Parliaments?
West European Politics 30, no. 3	Montero, Alfred P.	The Limits of Decentralization: Legislative Careers
(May 2007): 573-594		and Territorial Representation in Spain
West European Politics 30, no. 3	Aylott, Nicholas; Bolin,	Towards a Two- Party System? The Swedish
(May 2007): 621-633	Niklas	Parliamentary Election of September 2006
West European Politics of	Manow, Philip	Electoral Rules and Legislative Turnover: Evidence
Germany 30, no. 1 (Jan. 2007):		from Germany's Mixed Electoral System
195-207		

Back to Front Page
 Back to LSS Page

renelevel notine Scelling chirastics (1827)

Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008



Link to a recent article on *Government Executive* magazine website:

"Erasing the Rubber Stamp" by Charles Mahtesian

In the 110th Congress, oversight is about more than oversight.

Recent articles from NCSL's magazine, State Legislatures:

[Editor's Note: Copyright by National Conference of State Legislatures. All rights reserved. These articles are reprinted here with permission. To order copies or to subscribe, contact the marketing department at (303) 364-7700.]

"Seeing Things Differently" by Leslie Reed

Nebraska's new young speaker, Mike Flood, thrives on politics and hard work.

"Experience Counts" by Jonathan Eisenthal

Minnesota's Speaker Margaret Anderson Kelliher has a mile long political resume that includes time as a legislative staffer.

"Master of Consensus" by Tom Stuckey

It is said that Maryland Speaker Mike Busch inundates his caucus with information and persuades them with intellectual brute force.

"Leading by Example" by Adam Klawonn

Arizona Senate President Timothy S. Bee is hands-down one of the most well-liked leaders in the country.

"The Urge to Serve" by Jane Carroll Andrade

You can take the legislator out of the state, but . . . you can't take the desire to serve out of the legislator.

"<u>Small Beginnings, Remarkable Results</u>" by Ron Snell and Richard Moore Here's a look at the 400th anniversary of various things and some really ancient legislatures.

"Make Every Vote Count" by Jon S. Cardin

A national popular vote would make sure no state is disadvantaged and every vote is equal.

"Don't Circumvent the Constitution" by John Samples

Perhaps direct election of the president is a good idea. But trying to work around the Constitution isn't.

Back to Front Page
 Back to LSS Page



Volume 31, Number 2, January 2008



APSA – Papers presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 30-September 2, 2007, Chicago, Illinois

NPSA – Papers presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association annual meeting, November 15-17, 2007, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

SPSA — Papers presented at the Southern Political Science Association annual meeting, January 10-12, 2008, New Orleans, Louisiana

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Khmelko, Irina; Beers, Daniel J.	Committee Strength in Legislative Oversight: The
	Case of the Ukrainian Parliament
Aksoy, Deniz	Policy Bargaining in the EU: Who Wins?
Hamerly, Ivy Orr	A Matter of Timing: National Legislatures and the
	Oversight of the European Union
McElroy, Gail	Career Trajectories, Dissent and the MEP: the
	Institutionalisation of Political Parties in the European
	Parliament
Minta, Michael D.	Pluralism and the Representation of Minority Interests
	in Congress
Cho, Grace	Representing Immigrants: Navigating Through Anti-
	Immigrant Opinion
Tyson, Vanessa	Representing Policy Influence and Marginalization:
	What Members of Congress Say About Garnering and
	Wielding Political Power
Gamble, Katrina L.	Race and Political Deliberation in the U.S. Congress
Sanchez, Jose R.	Puerto Ricans in the House
Evans, Diana; Bickers, Kenneth N.;	Credit Claiming for Pork Barrel Projects in Congress
Stein, Robert M.; Wrinkle, Robert D.	

Finocchiaro, Charles J.	The Dynamics of Casework in Postbellum
, ,	Congressional Politics
Frisch, Scott A.; Kelly, Sean Q.	Pork in the Republican House: The Politics of Military
	Construction Earmarks
Howell, William G.; Burden, Barry C.;	Vying for Benefits: The Distribution of Federal
Berry, Christopher	Discretionary Programs, 1970-2004
Lazarus, Jeff; Reilly, Shauna; Ueda,	Electoral Vulnerability and the Distribution of Pork in
Michiko	the U.S. House of Representatives
Emrey, Jolly A.; Johnson, Susan	Sincere Proposals or Symbolic Policymaking: What
	Motivates Members of Congress to Propose
	Constitutional Amendments?
Lapinski, John	The Centrality of Policy Substance to the Study of
,	American Politics, 1877-1994
Gainsborough, Juliet F.	Scandalous Politics: Child Welfare Policy in the States
Cohen, Jeffrey E.; Fleisher, Richard	Impact of Constituency Opinion on Senator Roll Call
	Voting: The Case of Immigration Policy, 2006
Bishin, Benjamin	Heterogeneity and Representation Reconsidered: Do
-	Subconstituencies Explain the Curious Relationship
	between Heterogeneity and Representation?
Carson, Jamie L.; Bertelli, Anthony	Unobserved Heterogeneity Bias in Congressional
Michael	Elections Research
Esterling, Kevin M.; Neblo, Michael;	Connecting to Congress: Improving Deliberation in the
Lazer, David	Information Age
Lee, Frances E.; Gimpel, James G.	Interdistrict Funding Flows in Elections to the U.S.
	House of Representatives
Pearson, Kathryn; Lawless, Jennifer	Primary Competition and Polarization in the House of
L.	Representatives
Peake, Jeffrey S.; Krutz, Glen S.;	This Forgotten House? Treaties, Executive
Jatkowski, III, Walter	Agreements, and the Role of the U.S. House of
	Representatives
Gamm, Gerald; Kousser, Thad	Deference in State Legislatures
Sulkin, Tracy	Campaign Promises and Legislative Action
Adler, Scott; Wilkerson, John D.	A Governance Theory of Legislative Organization
MacKenzie, Scott A.; Kernell,	Individual Rewards for Collective Responsibility:
Samuel	Supporting Strong Party Government in the U.S.
	House, 1877-1940
Dodd, Lawrence C.; Schraufnagel,	A "Conflict-Theory" of Policy Productivity in Congress:
Scot	Party Polarization, Member Incivility and Landmark
	Legislation, 1873-2004
Kochtcheeva, Lada	Institutional Dynamism versus Bureaucratic
	Reorganization; Explaining Organizational Change
	and Policy Capacity in Russia
Goode, Paul	Topographies of Power: Institutions, Territory, and
	Identity in Putin's Russia
Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz	What Determines Corruption Perceptions? The Dark
	Side of Political Competition in Russia's Regions

Crespin, Michael; Hood, M. V.	Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of
2.25p,	Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical
	Congressional Districts
Ensley, Michael J.	District Complexity and Congressional Incumbency
	Advantage
Rabinowitz, George; Macdonald,	Directional Representation in the United States
Stuart Elaine; Pyeatt, Nicholas L.	Congress
Roberts, Jason M.; Carson, Jamie L.	The Impact of Progressive Era Reforms on U. S.
	House Elections, 1900-1920
Powell, Lynda W.	The Influence of Campaign Contributions on the
	Content and Passage of Legislation: Modeling Effects
	of Campaign Costs, Partisan Strength and Institutional
Dhilling Justin: Lay Joffrey D	Design in State Legislative Chambers
Phillips, Justin; Lax, Jeffrey R.	Public Opinion and Policy Congruence: Gay Rights in the States
Hoffman, Adam H.	Guying Votes: The Impact of Campaign Contribution
Homman, Adam H.	on Part-Time State Legislators
Bowen, Daniel	The Effect of Constituency Size on Public Attitudes
Bewen, Barner	About State Government in the U. S.
Tsebelis, George	Coalition Theory: A Veto Players Approach
Dewan, Torun; Myatt, David P.	The Declining Talent Pool of Government: A Model of
	Government and Ministerial Turnover
Parker, Glenn R.	Learning and Earning in Politics: The Economics of
	the Labor Market for Legislators
Alt, James E.; Lassen, David Dryer;	The Causes and Consequences of Fiscal
Rose, Shanna Suzanne	Transparency
Lowery, David	Laboratories of Democracy: State Influences on
Magney Christopher 7	National Policy Agendas
Mooney, Christopher Z.	Thank You, Paul Jacob: State Legislative Term Limits as a Boon to Legislative Scholarship
Levendusky, Matthew S.	Unifying Micro- and Macro-Perspectives on State
Leveridasky, Mattriew 5.	Partisanship and Ideology
Shipan, Charles R.	When the Smoke Clears: the Diffusion of Successful
Cripan, Crianos ra	Youth Access Antismoking Policies
Aleman, Eduardo; Calvo, Ernesto F.;	Estimating Policy Dimensions and Partisan Positions:
Jones, Mark P.	A Multi-Method Approach
Hansen, Martin Ejnar	Is Important Legislation Important for the Positions of
	Political Parties?
Hix, Simon; Noury, Abdul G.	Government-Opposition or Left-Right? The
	Institutional Determinants of Voting in Seven
Bad Obas W. La Li	Parliaments
Park, Chan W.; Lee, Hyeon-Woo	Public Attitudes toward the National Legislature in
Michler William: Lacuerhara	Democratized Korea
Mishler, William; Loewenberg, Gerhard	Political Support for Legislatures and Regimes in
Godbout, Jean-Francois	Post-Communist Europe The Influence of Electoral Participation on House
Godbout, Jean-Flancois	Legislative Behavior
	Legisialive Deliaviol

Anderson, Sarah	The Green Machine: Environmental Voting and
,	Constituent Interest in the House
Park, David K.; Kaplan, Noah	Income Inequality and Political Representation: A
	Comparison Between the 106 th U. S. House and
	Senate
Gershtenson, Joseph; Plane, Dennis	Assessing Alternative Conceptions of Ideological
L.	Responsiveness and Representation in the U.S.
	Congress
Hartog, Chris Den; Monroe, Nathan	The Role of Amendments in the Shaping of Senate
W.	Legislation
McDonald, Michael D.; McDonald,	Heresthetics at Work: How a Pro-Labor House Came
Zachary D.	to Pass Anti-Labor Legislation
Shankster, Alexandra	An Examination of Committee Power in the U. S.
	Senate
Buchler, Justin	Parties as Preference-Preserving Institutions
Pelizzo, Riccardo; Ang, Bernice	Legislative Reforms in Indonesia
Ang, Bernice	A Code of Conduct for Indonesia
Schneier, Edward	Legislative Oversight in Indonesia
Biddle, Jesse	Legislative Oversight in Eastern and Southern Africa
Jones, Kate; Stapenhurst, Rick	Public Accounts Committees in Australasia
Berry, Michael J.	Beyond Chadha: The Modern Legislative Veto as
	Macropolitical Conflict
Parker, David CW; Flora, Colin	The Politics of Delegation: BRAC and the Closing of
	Military Bases, 1989-2005
Smith, Keith W.	Delegating Oversight: Congressional Committees,
	Executive Agencies, and the GAO
Mycoff, Jason D.	Committee Ambition and Congressional Oversight:
	Does More Turf Mean More Influence Over Agency
	Decision Making?
Yackee, Susan Webb	Conditions, Credentials, and Consequences:
	Assessing Interest Group Influence on Federal
Missesses Alex Educado Valdos	Agency Rulemaking
Wiseman, Alan Edward; Volden,	Legislative Effectiveness in Congress
Craig	Estimating National Common Chass Ideal Daints for
Shor, Boris; Berry, Christopher	Estimating National Common Space Ideal Points for
Stiglitz, Edward; Weingast, Barry R.	State Legislators Agenda Control: Evidence from Ideal Point Standard
Sligiliz, Edward, Weiligast, Daily R. 	Errors
Brady, Michael C.; Rohde, David W.	When good Predictions Go Bad: Vote Context, Win
Diady, Michael C., Noride, David W.	Margins, and Misclassified Votes in the 75th to 108th
	Congresses
Stockute, Raminta	The Source of Women's Issues Legislation: The Case
Otookato, Kariinta	of Russian Duma
Fulton, Sarah	Women, Quality and Bias in State Legislatures
Kintz, Melanie	Women as Parliamentarians – A Study of Women in
	the German Bundestag
Pimlott, Jamie Pamelia	Female Candidates and the Parties: Finding Common
	Ground?
	

Lee, Daniel J.	Going Once, Going Twice, Sold: The Committee
,	Assignment Process as an All-Pay Auction
Kam, Christopher J.; Bianco, William T.; Smyth, Regina A.; Sened, Itai	Parliaments, Cabinets and Uncovered Sets
Epstein, David L.; Ting, Michael M.; O'Halloran, Sharyn	Legislative Preferences over Agendas
Beckmann, Matthew N.	The Softer Side of Presidential Power
Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew	The President's Speeches and Legislative Success
Hoff, Samuel B.	Biting the Bullet: LBJ and the Veto Power
King, James D.	Voting in U.S. Senate Midterm Elections: Does Focusing on the President Matter?
Dougherty, Keith L., Heckelman, Jac C.	Delegate Voting at the Constitutional Convention Revisited: New Inferences on Sixteen Roll Call Votes
Martin, John Levi; Alez, Adam	Political Action and Party Formation in the United States Constitutional Convention
McLean, Iain S.	Adam Smith at the Constitutional Convention
McGuire, Robert A.	North-South Alignments during the Drafting of the U.S. Constitution: The Costs of Compromise
Pope, Jeremy Clayne; Treier, Shawn	Why the Great Compromise? Ideology at the Constitutional Convention
Benoit, Kenneth R.	Estimating Party Policy Positions with Uncertainty Based on Manifesto Codings
Chiou, Fang-Yi	Jointly Estimating Party Pressure, Party Effects, and Ideological Preferences
Hirsch, Alexander Victor	Voting Error and Econometric Testing of Complete Information Theories of Lawmaking
Hirano, Shigeo; Snyder, Jr. James M.; Hansen, John Mark; Ansolabehere, Stephen D.	The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Primaries
Hammon, Thomas H.; Monroe, Nathan W.	Historical Evidence on the Origins of the House Committee System, 1789-1828
Koger, Gregory	Going to the Mattresses: Filibustering in Congress, 1901-2004
Pearson, Kathryn; Schickler, Eric	Discharge Petitions: Circumventing Congressional Norms from 1929-1974
Primo, David M.	The Effect of Local Initiatives on Government Spending
Daley, Brendan; Snowberg, Erik	A Multi-Dimensional Signaling Model of Campaign Finance
Kalandrakis, Tasos; Duggan, John	A Dynamic Model of Legislative Bargaining
Colaresi, Michael Penn; Monroe, Burt L.; Quinn, Kevin M.	Legislative Rhetoric and Heresthetics
Gershon, Sarah Allen	Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Communication: How Female Latino and African American Representatives Present Themselves
Lowry, Robert C.	Mobilizing Money: Contributions by Individuals to Political Action Committees

Mand Janathan	Learning aver Deposted Floations, DACs and
Wand, Jonathan	Learning over Repeated Elections: PACs and
	Campaign Contribution Decisions
Dominguez, Casey Byrne	The Democratic Party Coalition: A Social Network
	Analysis of Leadership PACs, Party Committees and
	Interest Groups
Bressler, Michael	Congressional Dissent During Times of War: How
	Congress Uses the Media to Influence Foreign Policy
Joyce, Adam	Congress and Foreign Policy: A Creative Opposition
	to the Imperial President?
Brady, Henry E.; Drutman, Lee;	How Business Lobbying is Affected by the Policy
Verba, Sidney; Schlozman, Kay	Environment and Industry Characteristics
Lehman	,
Kasniunas, Nina Therese	Impact of Interest Group Testimony on Lawmaking in
,	Congress
Polsky, Andrew J.	The Presidency at War: Military Stalemate and the
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Politics of Strategy Change
Aldrich, John H.; Brinegar, Adam;	The Political Consequences of Economic
Kramer, Claire; Merolla, Jennifer L.	Globalization: Public Opinion and Senate Roll Call
, , ,	Voting on Trade and Social Welfare Liberalization
Broz, J. Lawrence	Congressional Voting on Funding the International
	Financial Institutions
Fordham, Benjamin O.	Economic Interests and Congressional Voting on
, c. o.	Security Issues
Milner, Helen; Tingley, Dustin	Whither the Internationalist Coalition in American
Halliday	Foreign Policy? The Domestic Politics of International
	Trade and Foreign Aid Policy, 1980-2006
Bertelli, Anthony Michael; Grose,	The Lengthened Shadow of Another Institution?
Christian R.	Measuring the Ideological Preferences of the U.S.
O'motion i C	Cabinet, Senate and President
Papavero, Licia	Competing for Women: Female Legislative
i apavero, Liola	Recruitment in Italy and Spain (1976-2006)
	Neorullinent in Italy and Spain (1970-2000)

Northeastern Political Science Association (NPSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Stock, Dayna	Show Me The Women: Term Limits and Representation in
	Missouri
Jones, Sandra Faith	House Leaders As Party Agents
Gollob, Justin	Explaining Extra-District Representation: Legislator Areal
	Orientations in Three State Legislatures
Spiker, Kevin; O'Rouke, Seth	Life After the Presidency: The Congressional Careers of
	John Quincy Adams and Andrew Johnson
Bailey, Michael A.; Fullmer,	Midterm Loss in the States, 1978-2006
Elliott B.	
Deutchman, Iva; Lucas,	Factions in the House of Representatives
DeWayne L.	
Stonecash, Jeffery M.	Reconsidering the Retirement Slump

Francia, Peter	The Union Difference: Assessing Organized Labor's Political Efforts in the 2006 Election
Brogan, Michael	The 2006 Mid-Term Elections and the Economic Vote: An assessment of electoral competitiveness and economic accountability within House elections
Roof, Tracy	Organized Labor and the 110th Congress
Nelson, Garrison; Harris,	Middlemen No More: Emergent Patterns in Congressional
Douglas B.	Leadership Selection
Green, Matthew N.	The 2006 Race for Democratic Majority Leader: Money,
	Policy, and Personal Loyalty
Becker, Lawrence; Moscardelli,	Congressional Leadership on the Front Lines: Committees
Vincent	in the 110th Congress

Southern Political Science Association (SPSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Key, Ellen M.; Coggins,	Fail to the Chief: The Effect of Failed Presidential Primary
Elizabeth; McMeekin, Cynthia	Bids on Congressional Re-Election Campaigns
Sempolinski, Joseph Michael	Marginality: A Wider Examination of the Relationship of
	Prior Congressional Electoral Margins to Electoral
	Success
Baker, Harriet Marie; Cockran,	The Effects of Local Casualties on the 2006 Midterm
Kathryn McNabb	Elections
Simon, Dennis M.; Palmer,	Women and Elections for the U.S. House of
Barbara	Representatives: Comparing the Midterm Elections of 1994 and 2006
Ainsworth, Scott; Harward, Brian M.	Delegation and Discretion in Anticipation of Coalition Drift
Ragan, Robi; Robinson, Gregory	The Complex Adaptive Congress
Peters, Jr., Ronald M.; Gaddie,	The Hastert Rules: Majority Rule in the U.S. House of
Ronald Keith; Field, Matthew O.;	Representatives
Gravely, Benjamin	
Patty, John; Penn, Elizabeth	Amendments, Covering, and Agenda Control
Maggie	
Ragan, Robi	A Constitutional Politics Theory of the Size of Government
Ragusa, Jordan Micahel	Contextual and Institutional Explanations of Macro-Level
	Policy Change: 1947-2004
Schraufnagel, Scot; Flint,	Testing Old Theories Using a New Measure of Legislative
Nathan	Gridlock: 1921-2004
Platt, Matthew Bartholomew;	Legislative Problem-Solving: Explaining Bill Sponsorship in
Sinclair-Chapman, Valeria	the Post-War America
Sullivan, Jas M.; Winburn,	Racial Identity and Legislative Cohesion
Jonathan	
Bigelow, Nathan; Trantham,	The Causes and Consequences of Legislative Polarization
Austin	in State Legislatures

Goodman, David A.	An Examination of U.S. State Appropriations: A First Step to an Improved Understanding of Legislative Oversight of
	Executive Agencies
Volden, Craig; Wiseman, Alan E.	Legislative Effectiveness in Congress
Krutz, Glen; Ellis, William Curtis	Seniority's Place in the Contemporary Senate
Evans, C. Lawrence; Lane,	The House Whip Process and the Textbook Congress
Jessica A.; Schultheis, Brent J.	,
Battista, Jim	Predicting Interest Over-representation in State Legislative Committees
Wrzenski, Rhonda L.; Kettler, Jaclyn	Candidate Profiles: Are Women, Minorities and Southern Officeholding Candidates less "Ideal"?
Trautman, Linda	Impact of Race upon Legislators' Policy Preferences and Bill Sponsorship Patterns: The Case of Ohio
Bratton, Kate; Rouse, Stella M.	Group Identity and Legislative Interaction: The Effects of Race, Gender, and Ethnicity on Legislative Cosponsorship
Reeves, Andrew	The Rise of Party Government in the House of Commons, 1841-1901
Madonna, Tony	The Senate's Presiding Officer and Parliamentarian
Rugeley, Cynthia R.	Dancing with the Ones who Brung You: An analysis of representation in state legislatures
Voss, Stephen D.; Fine, Jeffrey A.; Mac Avery, James	Representation When Nobody Is Looking: Constituency Mobilization and Descriptive Representation as Influences on Congressional Voting
Lawless, Jennifer L.; Pearson, Kathryn	Primary Competition and Polarization in the House of Representatives
Evans, Sean F.; Swain, John; Reed, Brian C.	Strategic Retirement in the Republican House of Representatives, 1995-2006
Ilderton, Nathan	Throwing in the Towel: Retirements from the U.S. House of Representatives in a Partisan Era
Grose, Christian R.; Murphy, Chad; Yoshinaka, Antoine	Maverick Congressional Representation: Legislator Uncertainty and Ideological Inconsistency in the U.S. House
Ryan, Josh	The Effect of Partisan Redistricting on Polarization in the House
Shaffer, William R.	The Impact of Electoral System Reform on Parliamentary Behavior
Garand, James C.; Lemieux, Susan Quinn	Income Inequality, Party Polarization, and Roll-Call Voting in the U.S. Senate
Evans, C. Lawrence; Grandy, Claire E.; Litten, Joshua A.	Partisan Lobbying and Leadership Success in the U.S. House
Clark, Jennifer Hayes	What Determines Policy Success? Preferences, Institutions, and Legislative Strategy
Casellas, Jason	The Determinants of the Election of Latinas to U.S. State Legislatures
Reingold, Beth; Bratton, Kate; Haynie, Kerry	Race, Ethnicity, Gender and the Political Geography of Descriptive Representation in American State Legislatures

Stokes-Brown, Atiya Kai	Black and Female Like Me: The Impact of Candidate Race and Gender in Congressional Elections
Sibor Mariaga Appa	Is Time on Their Side? Understanding the Relationship
Siber, Marissa Anne	,
Dadhalan Maradilla	Between Presidents and the House of Representatives
Barthelemy, Meredith	Poker Faces in Politics: Bluffing between Members of
	Congress and the President
Clark, Allison	Unified Government and Presidential Persuasion
Goelzhauser, Greg; Barrilleaux,	Policy Demand and the Choice between Symbolism and
Charles	Substance: Evidence From State Eminent Domain
	Reforms Post-Kelo
Evans, Jocelyn Jones; Achen,	Gateway to American History or Fort Capitol? Examining
Angela	the Policy Evolution and Project Management of the U.S.
	Capitol Visitors Center
Braidwood, Travis Alexander	A Lost Cause or Determining the Course
Miller, Susan M.; Overby, L.	Party or Petition: Dynamics and Determinants of
Marvin	Discharge Behavior in the Modern House
Stonecash, Jeffrey Morgan	Realignment and the Future of Party Coherence and
,	Polarization

Back to Front Page

Back to Front Page Back to LSS Page



Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008

Research & Teaching

- Charting the Congressional Experience: The Papers of Richard Gephardt
- Civil Rights Documentation Project
- Congress to Campus Program
- Congressional Bills Project
- Data on Legislative Voting and Representation
- <u>Dirksen Center Invites Applications for Grants</u>
- Election Results Archive
- European Consortium for Political Research
- International Political Science Review
- Parliamentary Representation in the Internet Age
- Political Science Blog: Voir Dire
- SSRN Announces New Political Science Network
- State Politics and Policy Quarterly Archive
- The Thicket at State Legislatures
- Visiting Scholars Program, APSA Centennial Center
- Visiting Scholars Program, Carl Albert Center

Charting the Congressional Experience: The Papers of Richard Gephardt

The inaugural Gephardt Fellow, Daniel E. Ponder, had the privilege of perusing the letters, records, press clippings, and other minutiae of Richard Gephardt's congressional career. The collection is housed at the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. Click here to read Ponder's description of the Gephardt collection.

Civil Rights Documentation Project

THE DIRKSEN CONGRESSIONAL CENTER

The landmark civil rights legislation of the mid-1960s has attracted considerable scholarly attention, deservedly so. Much of the analysis of this legislation has centered on the social and cultural conditions that gave birth to such laws as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

As valuable as the emphasis on the civil rights movement has been, an equally vital chapter has been neglected – the story of the legislative process itself. The Dirksen Congressional Center has posted a new feature on "CongressLink" that provides a fuller accounting of law-making based on the unique archival resources housed at The Center, including the collection of then-Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (R-IL), widely credited with securing the passage of the bills.

Intended to serve the needs of teachers and students, <u>The Civil Rights Documentation</u> <u>Project</u> demonstrates that Congress is capable of converting big ideas into powerful law, that citizen engagement is essential to that process, and that the public policies produced forty years ago continue to influence our lives.

The project takes the form of an interactive, Web-based presentation with links to digitized historical materials and other Internet-based resources about civil rights legislation created by museums, historical societies, and government agencies.

Please contact Cindy Koeppel by email at ckoeppel@dirksencenter.org if you have any ideas or comments about this new feature.

Congress to Campus Program

THE UNITED STATES ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

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

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

To access full report on Congress to Campus, click here.

Congressional Bills Project

A new website at http://www.congressionalbills.org allows academic researchers, students, and the general public to download information about public and private bills introduced in the U.S. Congress along with information about those bills' sponsors.

Each record is a bill. The download tool allows you to select a large number of related variables to include in your download request. Obviously, limited requests will download more quickly.

- The bill's title and progress (from government resources)
- The bill's subject (using the topic codes of the Policy Agendas Project)
- Member biographical, committee, and leadership positions (much of this comes from Elaine K. Swift, Robert G. Brookshire, David T. Canon, Evelyn C. Fink, John R. Hibbing, Brian D. Humes, Michael J. Malbin and Kenneth C. Martis, <u>Database of Congressional</u> <u>Historical Statistics</u>; as well as more recent data available through Charles Stewart's website
- Member DW-Nominate Scores (from Poole and Rosenthal of course)
 The website is a work in progress by John D. Wilkerson and Scott Adler at University of Washington, Seattle.

Data on Legislative Voting and Representation

Professor John Carey has established a website at Dartmouth that includes various resources from his field research and data collection in an organized data archive. Of particular significance is the data from a project on legislative voting and representation. That project includes:

- Transcripts from interviews with 61 legislators and party leaders from 8 countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Peru, and Venezuela) from 2000-2001). The interviews followed a stable protocol for the most part, regarding how decisions are reached within parties and carried out (or not) in the legislative environment, and how legislators interact with party leaders, the executive, and the citizens they represent. The interviews frequently cover other topics as well, however, according to the subject's train of thought. The transcripts are available in both English and Spanish.
- Recorded vote data from 21 legislative chambers in 19 countries (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Israel, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russia, United States, Uruguay). In addition to the data and codebook, also available on the site are some files with STATA code to produce the measures of party voting unity employed in the research.

Visitors are invited to use any of the data, qualitative or quantitative, that is available on the site. The address of the website is http://www.dartmouth.edu/~jcarey/dataarchive.html. Professor Carey's email address, in case of questions, suggestions, or problems related to the data, is john.carey@dartmouth.edu.

Dirksen Center Congressional Research Grants

<u>The Dirksen Congressional Center</u> invites applications for grants to fund research on congressional leadership and the U.S. Congress.

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

The awards program does not fund undergraduate or pre-Ph.D. study. Organizations are not eligible. Research teams of two or more individuals are eligible.

There is no standard application form. Applicants are responsible for showing the relationship between their work and the awards program guidelines. Applications are accepted at any time. Incomplete applications will NOT be forwarded to the screening committee for consideration.

All application materials must be received no later than February 1. Awards are announced in March. Complete information about eligibility and application procedures may be found at The Center's Web site: http://www.dirksencenter.org/print_grants_CRAs.htm.

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.

For more information about the Congressional Research Awards, contact Frank Mackaman by email at mackaman@dirksencenter.org or phone 309.347.7113

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 the web site at: http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/parliaments/index.htm

International Political Science Review

The International Political Science Review, the official journal of the International Political Science Association edited by Kay Lawson and James Meadowcroft, would be pleased to receive quality submissions likely to be of interest to its international readership from the members of Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association.

The IPSR is committed to publishing material that makes a significant contribution to international political science. It seeks to meet the needs of political scientists throughout the world who are interested in studying political phenomena in the contemporary context of increasing international interdependence and global change.

IPSR reflects the aims and intellectual tradition of its parent body, the International Political Science Association: to foster the creation and dissemination of rigorous political inquiry free of subdisciplinary or other orthodoxy. We welcome work by scholars who are focusing on currently controversial themes, shaping innovative concepts of methodologies of political analysis, and striving to reach outside the scope of a single culture.

Authors interested in submitting their work should consult either a recent copy of the journal or http://ipsr.sagepub.com and follow submission guidelines, sending electronic copies to both klawson@sfsu.edu and jmeadowc@connect.carleton.ca.

Preliminary queries are welcome.

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.

Political Science Blog: Voir Dire

University of George faculty members Jeff Yates and Andy Whitford have established a new blog that focuses on law, courts, politics, and policy. They also address topics concerning academia generally and have very occasional discussion of pop culture and other topics of lighter fare. The blog address is http://lawandcourts.wordpress.com/.

SSRN Announces New Political Science Network

The new Political Science Network (PSN) will provide a world-wide, online community for research in all areas of political science, following the model of the other subject matter networks within the Social Science Research Network. PSN provides scholars with access to current work in their field and facilitates research and scholarship. PSN is directed by Professors David A. Lake and Mathew D. McCubbins (UC – San Diego). The website address is http://www.ssrn.com/psn/index.html.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly Archive

NEW ON-LINE, FULL-TEXT ARCHIVE

Every article in every issue of SPPQ is now on-line in pdf format, accessible free of charge to SPPQ subscribers and those whose university libraries subscribe. Furthermore, non-subscribers may purchase a time-limited "research pass" for a reasonable price.

To access this archive, go to: http://sppq.press.uiuc.edu/sppqindex.html and follow the links on the tables of contents to the articles. When you find an article you wish to view, click on the "view pdf" button at the bottom of its page. If your library subscribes to SPPQ, you will be sent straight to the article in pdf format. If your library does not subscribe (or if you are connecting from off campus), do one of the following:

- 1. If you are an individual SPPQ subscriber, set up a personal access account. Simply register with SPPQ by using your personal subscription ID number, as shown on your journal mailing label (note: save your mailing envelope to get your subscriber number). Alternatively, you can contact the SPPQ access helpdesk at sppq@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu and request your subscriber number.
- 2. If you are an institutional SPPQ subscriber, you should have already received access to full on-line content automatically. Your on-campus computers can access the archive automatically through the use of institutional IP numbers and, therefore, your students and faculty do not need to login personally. If your institution subscribes to the paper journal but you find that you cannot access the full-text on-line version from your campus, please ask your librarian to fill out the Online IP Registration Form at http://sppq.press.uiuc.edu/ip_submit.html, which will add their institutional IP numbers to the SPPQ control system.

If you have any questions or difficulties accessing the *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Archive, please contact the University of Illinois Press SPPQ help desk at: sppg@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu.

The Thicket at NCSL

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES

The National Conference of State Legislatures has established a new blog, <u>The Thicket at State Legislatures</u>, about the legislative institution and federalism. By and for legislative junkies, the blog includes these categories: American Democracy, Budgets, Congress, Courts and Legislatures, Elections, Ethics, Executives and Legislatures, Federalism, Initiative and Referendum, Leadership, Legislation, Legislative Culture, Legislative Staff, Legislators, Media, NCSL, Redistricting, and Term Limits.

Visiting Scholars Program

SPACE AVAILABLE IN APSA CENTENNIAL CENTER FOR SUMMER AND FALL '07

The Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs can be an invaluable resource to political and social scientists. Housed in the APSA headquarters near Dupont Circle, the Center provides a great base of operations for scholars researching in Washington, DC. It offers Visiting Scholars furnished work space, telephone, fax, computers, Internet access, conference space, a reference library, and access to George Washington University's Gelman Library.

Visiting Scholar stays range from a few days to 12 months. Space is limited to APSA members and available to faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students from the U.S. and abroad. Scholars are expected to cover their own expenses and a modest facilities fee for the use of the Center. There are also a **limited number of funding opportunities available** to support Visiting Scholars. Prospective visiting scholars may apply at any time. Positions are awarded on a space-available basis.

Full details on the Center and the Visiting Scholars Program, including an application form, can be found online at www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter. Scholars may also contact Brian Daniels at APSA: 202-483-2512; bdaniels@apsanet.org

Visiting Scholars Program

CARL ALBERT CENTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Applications are accepted at any time.

For more information, please contact: Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Telephone: (405) 325-5835. FAX: (405) 325-6419. Email: cacarchives@ou.edu

Back to Front Page Back to LSS Page