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[Legislative Studies Section Newsletter](#)

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**Volume 33, Number 1, January 2010**

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***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](#).

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# From the Chair

[Sarah Binder](#)

George Washington University

Let me start by thanking you for the opportunity to chair this venerable section. I have big shoes to follow, and I appreciate all the guidance I have received from past chairs and from our secretary-treasurer Tracy Sulkin and Council members. I appreciate as well the efforts of Ron Peters, LaDonna Sullivan, and Robert Kelly in overseeing the *LSS Newsletter* and listserv, and the willingness of so many of you to cheerfully agree to serve on the many LSS committees.

This newsletter contains the list of the LSS award committees and their members for 2010. Please submit all relevant material for the Richard F. Fenno Book Prize, the Alan Rosenthal Book/Article Award, the Carl Albert Best Dissertation Award, the CQ Best Paper Award, and the Jewell-Loewenberg Best LSQ Article Award to the relevant committees by **March 1**. My thanks to the members of these committees and to the LSS Nominations Committee for the hard work they will be doing over the next several months.

In response to discussions at the 2009 LSS meeting about making a greater effort to incorporate comparativists into the life of the section, our program chair Thad Kousser (UCSD) has been joined by a co-program chair, Lanny Martin (Rice), to assemble the section's panels for the 2010 annual APSA meeting in Washington, D.C. I appreciate Lanny's willingness to participate and look forward to the announcement of this year's panels. The LSS executive council continues to solicit ideas for maintaining the membership of the section and encouraging participation by comparative scholars.

I look forward to seeing all of you in Washington, D.C. at the annual meeting of APSA.

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## Book Notes

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- [\*Choosing to Lead: Understanding Congressional Foreign Policy Entrepreneurs \(New Slant: Religion, Politics, Ontology\)\*](#), Ralph G. Carter and James M. Scott
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- [\*Lobbying and Policy Changes: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why\*](#), Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech
- [\*No Middle Ground: How Informal Party Organizations Control Nominations and Polarize Legislatures\*](#), Seth E. Masket
- [\*Redistricting in Comparative Perspective\*](#), edited by Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley
- [\*Treaty Politics and the Rise of Executive Agreements: International Commitments in a System of Shared Powers\*](#), Glen S. Krutz and Jeffrey S. Peake
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- [\*Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation\*](#), Benjamin Bishin

***Americans, Congress, and Democratic Responsiveness: Public Evaluations of Congress and Electoral Consequences***, David R. Jones and Monika L. McDermott, 2009, University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472116942, cloth, \$65.00, 216 pages.

Jones and McDermott assert that the American public and Congress are more capable of forming a responsive democratic system than we have ever thought before. They argue that Americans are capable of making policy based evaluations of Congress and of using those evaluations to make electoral decisions and hold Congress accountable as an institution. In order to support this assertion, the authors have to attack several of our discipline's most deeply held truisms about American government and politics. Jones and McDermott do so with very thorough and systematic research and therefore do an admirable job supporting their argument.

First, Jones and McDermott must provide some evidence that Americans are even capable of making political judgments in terms of policy, because most literature shows that levels of political knowledge are dismally low and people are not capable of evaluating government by policy. They spend chapters 2 and 3 looking for support that Americans care about policy representativeness in Congress and that people then use their policy preferences to evaluate congressional performance. Using a unique experimental design, they show that a person evaluates Congress more favorably if it is pursuing policy action consistent with that person's political ideology. The authors indeed find that people seem to be considering the content of the policy action taken by Congress and react differently to this information based upon one's own ideology. In chapter 4, the authors provide some reliable analysis to show that Americans can make ideological determinations and accurately compare their positions to Congress as a collective institution.

Then, Jones and McDermott must show that Americans are capable of holding Congress accountable for their ideological policy actions through elections. The bulk of the literature seems to argue that Americans are not capable of doing this, as evidenced by the high rate with which incumbents are returned to office while Congress simultaneously suffers from low levels of public approval. Chapter 5 provides substantive evidence that congressional approval does affect voting in House elections. In fact, congressional approval boosts electoral support for majority party candidates, while disapproval boosts electoral support for minority party candidates. Moreover, the authors proceed further with this line of research in chapters 6 and 7 showing that congressional evaluations do not affect just voting but also strategic decisions by quality candidates considering a run for office and retirement decisions made by incumbents. "Greater approval of Congress is good news for majority party incumbents, who will be less likely to face quality challenges and also less likely to feel electoral pressure to retire" (126).

Ultimately, Jones and McDermott close the loop of responsiveness by showing that Congress responds to public evaluation because congressional approval has a significant and positive effect on the number of House seats gained by the majority party and produces ideological movement on the part of incumbents towards the majority party.

The authors conclude, "Americans are interested in and capable of making policy-based judgments of congressional job performance, and those evaluations have real consequences for the future policy performance of Congress" (145). Jones and McDermott are thus able to provide a hopeful portrait of democratic responsiveness between the American public and Congress with this well-written and well-researched book.

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***The Austin/Boston Connection: Five Decades of House Democratic Leadership, 1937-1989***, Anthony Champagne, Douglas B. Harris, James W. Riddlesperger, Jr., Garrison Nelson, 2009, Texas A&M University Press, ISBN 9781603441209, \$27.95, paper, 327 pages.

In *The Great Gatsby*, the predatory Meyer Wolfsheim offers Nick Carraway good offices in forging a "business gonnegtion." Wolfsheim's "gonnegtions" involve giving young protégés a helping hand on the path to lucrative criminal careers. His special talent lay in violating the law rather than making it. Had Carraway been a member of the House of Representatives, and Wolfsheim its Speaker, he would have been wise to take the deal. For in the House, "gonnegtions" matter. That, at least, is a major theme of this interesting book.

The authors parse the regular pattern of House Democratic leadership selection in which one or both of the two principal democratic leaders (speaker/majority leader or minority leader/whip) were held by representatives from Massachusetts and Texas from the onset of the conservative coalition in 1937 to Speaker Jim Wright's resignation in 1989. Readers of this review will be familiar with the "Austin-Boston Axis" concept that has been in currency over the

years. In its more expansive form, this characterization included not only the leadership configuration on the Democratic side, but also the passing of the speakership between Democrat Sam Rayburn of Texas and Republican Joe Martin of Massachusetts between 1941 and 1961.

The authors of *The Austin/Boston Connection* seek to revise this popular understanding and give it more theoretical definition. By focusing exclusively on the House Democratic Caucus and in choosing to call the pattern a “connection” rather than an “axis,” they draw our attention to the underlying variables that help explain the durability of this pattern on the Democratic side. While the bulk of the book is taken up with interesting narratives explaining the selection of the Texans (Rayburn and Wright), quasi-Texans (Hale Boggs, D-La., and Carl Albert, D-Okla.), and Massachusetters (John W. McCormack and Tip O’Neill), the heart of the book lies in its contention that this pattern was not merely coincidental but reflective of underlying political and institutional forces.

The plinth was the coalition of southern conservative and northern liberal democrats that enabled the Democrats to control the House for all but two congresses between 1931 and 1995. During this long period liberals were always in the majority in the Caucus, but the southerners were sufficiently numerous to hold the balance of power. Indeed, they allied with Republicans on some issues as the “Conservative Coalition.” To mitigate tension between these two robust and potentially conflicting factions, it was useful for the Democrats to balance their leadership team with representatives from the North and the South.

But why Massachusetts and Texas, and not New York and South Carolina? The authors make the perhaps controversial claim that racial politics had much to do with it. On their account, race was the fault line that threatened the Democratic coalition. They needed to mitigate it in their leadership selection. Because Massachusetts and Texas had relatively small black populations, their members could better moderate the issue than members from states where racial divisions were sharper.

The third major variable shaping the Austin-Boston connection arises from the nexus of institutional norms and personal relationships. To avoid intraparty conflict, House Democrats sought where possible to avoid contested leadership elections. They relied on seniority to fill committee slots, and chose to elect only their top leadership. When in the majority, this meant that the third-ranking leadership position, that of whip, was appointed. From the outset, Rayburn and McCormack sought to nurture protégés who would extend the durability and stability of the Austin-Boston connection. O’Neill was a protégé of McCormack. Boggs, Albert, and Wright were protégés of Rayburn. Rayburn influenced McCormack in the selection of Albert as whip and Boggs as chief-deputy whip, and McCormack influenced Albert and Boggs in the choice of O’Neill as whip. Albert later encouraged Jim Wright in his race for the majority leadership. This pattern of mutual succor was the glue that held the connection together.

The Austin-Boston connection is, thus, a reflection of the political dynamic in the Democratic Party that shaped the institutional culture of the House and the Democrats’ choice of leaders. Some readers may find this argument underspecified from the perspective of positive theory, but its strength lies just where positive theory most needs help, in identifying and explaining the interpersonal relationships that give definition to underlying political forces. Its narratives are interesting, informative, and well-written. And, it offers some great pictures. It is well worth the read.

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***Capitol Investments: The Marketability of Political Skills***, Glenn R. Parker, 2008, University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472070374, \$50.00, cloth, 199 pages.

What could possibly induce a rational person to spend millions to land a job that only pays thousands? Glenn R. Parker’s study of the post-elective employment opportunities for former members of Congress offers an alternative to the frequent explanation of what motivates legislators, namely greed and personal gain. In *Capitol Investments* (2008), Parker posits that a politician invests a great deal in his future as a private citizen because he knows he may only stay in office for two years. Like any other investment, his efforts are expected to accrue in value over time and the return on this investment strategy is a virtual guarantee of employment after he leaves elected politics. Unless the politician in question is one of the few who is largely driven by his sense of civic duty, the job is usually that of a highly-paid Washington lobbyist. *Capitol Investments* contributes to our understanding of what motivates legislators by asking us to avoid stereotyping and to focus on the facts – because Congress provides a rarefied training ground unequalled in the private sector, the skills politicians garner, such as bargaining, networking, and law-making expertise make lobbying a natural choice for former legislators.

In 2004, Parker surveyed 229 former members of Congress on an array of issues including the types of jobs held before and after holding office, the different jobs’ salaries, and overall satisfaction with their post-elective



opportunities. The book is organized around the argument that politicians are rational, self-interested individuals who must plan for their future in the event they leave office, high incumbency rates notwithstanding. Chapter 2 describes the assumptions and testable hypotheses (all of which were confirmed by his analysis) of the human capital framework and chapter 3 is devoted to a description of the dependent and explanatory variables and the methodology. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 answer his three fundamental questions respectively – what is the breadth of skills acquired during a tenure in Congress, how mobile will those skills sets actually be, and what is the earnings potential resulting from a congressman's investment in human capital? His concluding chapter leaves us with an important question – how does a legislator's intense focus on his own human capital investment affect democracy and governance?

Considerable attention is given to the way our system creates opportunities for specialized political skills. Due to the exorbitant cost of running for office, many politicians opt to let certain interest groups subsidize their races with campaign contributions, but Parker finds no empirical evidence that legislators attain future employment simply because they worked on their behalves. Legislators tend to support the groups with which they are ideologically aligned anyway but are not rewarded with a job unless they possess valuable skills. Assignments to narrowly-focused committees gives legislators an opportunity for career mobility, but the cost is a lower salary than they would command if they had served on a larger, more prestigious committee and acquired a broader skill set. Those generalized skills also come at a price. Special interest groups are not willing to underwrite campaigns for individuals whose efforts will not be devoted entirely to their benefit. As such, generalists usually have to foot the bill for their own campaigns. They are willing (and able) to do this because personal wealth affords them a degree of independence, and, in combination with valuable political skills, they have the ability to focus their considerable assets on something other than lobbying.

Former members of congress typically have the same negative opinion of lobbying as the general public but, unfortunately, our political system creates many more specialists than generalists, hence, more future lobbyists. The impact of specialization can also be seen in the growth in the size of government. Legislators have an incentive to create new programs that benefit the interests they represent. These programs give legislators more opportunities to show off their skill sets in front of potential future employers. There is some good news, however. Parker suggests that lobbying has a natural life cycle because lobbyists are at their most valuable when they are closest to the action. The longer a former legislator is out of office, the less valuable he is as a lobbyist and he will eventually be forced to choose another career.

Parker makes a concerted effort to avoid using the results of his empirical analysis to defend lobbying as an occupation; instead he characterizes the profession as “an externality of service in Congress, whether we like it or not (15).” We could have fewer legislators indebted to special interests if we had more multi-millionaires in government. If only extremely wealthy Americans could afford to hold public office, interest groups might have less influence on governance, but is that good for democracy?

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***Choosing to Lead: Understanding Congressional Foreign Policy Entrepreneurs (New Slant: Religion, Politics, Ontology)***, Ralph G. Carter and James M. Scott, 2009, Duke University Press, ISBN 978-0822345039, \$23.95, paper, 312 pages.

In *Choosing to Lead*, Carter and Scott offer a refreshingly balanced look at the role of Congress in foreign policy making. The holistic examination includes not only a quantitative exploration of post-WWII *Congressional Quarterly Almanacs*, but also, analyses of congressional writings, administrative memoirs, the public record, and a large number of elite interviews. Through this triangulation of methods, they are able to effectively demonstrate that members of Congress, while they have received little respect in the arena, nonetheless, engage in “systematic and sustained foreign policy making” (205). Utilizing strongly grounded theoretical models, Carter and Scott examine “indirect” and “direct” legislative and non-legislative action of “congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs.” The authors are not deterred by the paucity of information to be found in more readily available resources, such as roll call votes; rather, they delve into richer, but more difficult to mine, information sources, providing an example for a future Congressional scholars. Perhaps even more importantly, Carter and Scott remind scholars that Congress never has been and never will be a monolith, but, rather, is made up of individuals who have different goals, ambitions, and levels of activity and influence in policy making. *Choosing to Lead* is a critical read for any scholar who wishes to understand the trends of collective congressional foreign policy making, as well as the nuances of foreign policy leadership, activity, and policy making of individual members of Congress.

Carter and Scott introduce their work by explaining how the role of members of Congress in foreign policy is overlooked. The authors then explain the methods they will utilize to counteract these misperceptions. In particular, Carter and Scott demonstrate that it is individual policy entrepreneurs that are the leaders in congressional foreign policy making. In chapter 2, Carter and Scott more fully develop and discuss the congressional foreign policy entrepreneur, a member of Congress who is both assertive and proactive in foreign policy making. Chapter 3 is an exposition of the rich quantitative data gleaned from sampling 25 years of the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, which demonstrates that the activity of individual members in foreign policy making is both substantial, even during the beginning of the Cold War, and increasing across three eras: Cold War Consensus, Cold War Dissensus, and Post-Cold War. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss foreign policy entrepreneurs in each of the previous three eras. In each of these chapters, the authors first utilize the quantitative data set as explicated in chapter 3 for a quantitative overview. They then provide insightful historical and content analyses of the activities of individual congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs. By examining closely several congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs in each era, they are able to demonstrate that these members of Congress used four entrepreneurial approaches: direct legislative, indirect legislative, direct non-legislative, and indirect non-legislative. They also effectively demonstrate difference in the eras, as well as the increasingly diverse influence and activity of congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs. The increasing role of House members and the impact of divided government are of particular significance. In chapter 7, they demonstrate that even in the wake of 9/11 and the War on Terror, foreign policy entrepreneurship continued to expand. Finally, chapter 8 provides a synthesis and insight into future studies of congressional foreign policy making.

While popular perception, fueled by the media, is that the Office of the President contains the only important figures in foreign policy making, Carter and Scott modestly present “a starting point for understanding a body of congressional actions”(204), and clearly show that Congress and its members are critical players in the making of foreign policy, whether the policy is strategic or structural in nature, military or economic in focus.

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***Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics, (Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture Series)***, Morris P. Fiorina with Samuel J. Abrams, 2009, University of Oklahoma Press, ISBN 978-0806140742, \$39.95, paper, 249 pages.

In *Culture War: The Myth of a Polarized America* (2005), Morris P. Fiorina (along with Samuel J. Abrams and Jeremy C. Pope) blasted the “pronouncements of scholars, journalists, and politicians . . . [asserting that America was divided and torn in a culture war as] sheer nonsense” (Fiorina 2005: 5). Fiorina argued that “no battle for the soul of America rages . . . [rather, a] polarized political class makes the citizenry appear polarized” (ibid), while, in fact, the positions of the American citizenry on even “hot-button” issues continue to lie on a bell curve. *Disconnect* provides Fiorina (along with Abrams) the opportunity to address the questions raised by *Culture War* and provide insight into the increasing polarization of the political class, the continued moderation of the citizenry and thus, the resulting deterioration of collective representation. *Disconnect* not only provides evidence that the majority of American people are not represented by the extreme views of the political class, but also points to institutional developments and societal changes that have both reinforced the polarization of the political class and deterred potentially politically interested and informed moderates from participation. This nuanced examination of the distinctions between the American citizenry and the political class indicate there is cause for concern regarding true democratic representation of the majority of the American public. The political class, to include academics, journalists, and practitioners alike, should all be encouraged to read and consider the evidence, normative ramifications, and reforms suggested by Fiorina in this work.

In the first two chapters of *Disconnect*, Fiorina establishes the differences between activists and citizens on policy issues; he then turns to distinctions in issue priority and in the degree of certainty and consistency between the political class and the general population, as well as the repellant manner (to the average citizen) by which political elites express their issue stances. In the third chapter, Fiorina explains how the misconception of a polarized public became prevalent among scholars, journalists, and politicians, arguing statistical mistakes, the tendency to confuse citizens’ vote choices with their issue positions, and the complex party sorting of the past several decades provided the basis for the erroneous conventional wisdom of a polarized America. In the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters, Fiorina addresses the question, “What has changed in America to produce this disconnect?” Fiorina argues that various institutional changes in the political sphere, social changes, party sorting, geographic sorting, and the transformation of associational life have each contributed, and, in turn, reinforced one another to create the gap between those who

represent and the represented. The examination of institutional changes that occurred in the last decades of the twentieth century in electoral processes (more open presidential nomination and the increased use of direct democratic mechanisms for example), a less hierarchical party organization, and more access to increasingly open governing institutions (Congress, the courts, local government) indicate, ironically, that the increasing paths to participation seemed to attract those persons whose political views were most extreme. Other important changes, such as interest group proliferation, increased information availability and communication speed reinforced this polarization. In addition, the development of a political class during this time period and within these institutional structures increased the propensity of those who sought political action to have more polarizing views. Fiorina also points to the decline in material incentives in favor of social policy incentives as well as changes in media culture and practices as additional contributors to this disconnect. *Disconnect* also demonstrates that the social change that has occurred in America since the 1950s, to include, chronologically: black migration, suburbanization, the Sunbelt population explosion, the increased use of advocacy groups, women's role changes, a new wave of immigration, and the "politicization of evangelicalism" (102), as well as party sorting due to the realignment of the South and the increased liberalization of the Democratic party, and the change in the manner in which persons join voluntary associations have contributed to the gap between those who represent and the represented. In the final two chapters of *Disconnect*, Fiorina addresses historical evidence that suggests, at least at the elite level, that polarization is cyclical; he then addresses the normative repercussions of a representative disconnect, and lastly, ruminates on potential reforms that might "reconnect the people and their government" (162).

*Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics*, Morris P. Fiorina's follow-up to *Culture War*, does all that readers would hope. He presents compelling evidence to address the question of why the political class is polarized, why it is different from the American citizenry, and the critical normative issue of the representational disconnect. Scholars, members of the media, and officeholders would all be well served by reading this excellent examination of the political divide between the American citizenry and the political class, and should be concerned about the future of democratic representation.

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***Interest Groups and Lobbying in the United States and Comparative Perspectives: Essays in Ethics, Institutional Pluralism, Regulation, and Management***, edited by Conor Mcgrath and Kevin Moloney, 2009, The Edwin Mellon Press, ISBN 9780773446922, \$129.95, cloth, 401 pages.

***Interest Groups and Lobbying in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia: Essays on Drug Trafficking, Chemical Manufacture, Exchange Rates, and Women's Interests***, edited by Conor Mcgrath and Kevin Moloney, 2009, The Edwin Mellon Press, ISBN 9780773446946, \$129.95, cloth, 409 pages.

***Interest Groups and Lobbying in Europe: Essays on Trade, Environment, Legislation, and Economic Development***, edited by Conor Mcgrath and Kevin Moloney, 2009, The Edwin Mellon Press, ISBN 9780773446939, \$129.95, cloth, 381 pages.

This edited three-volume series addressing lobbying and interest groups compiles an ambitious and impressive array of scholarship. Fifty contributing authors cover government influence in countries ranging from the United States to Macao, analyze the pressure tactics of groups varying from national trade associations in Europe to Colombian drug cartels, and offer a diversity of methodological approaches to research.

The first volume, *Interest Groups and Lobbying in the United States and Comparative Perspectives*, contains work on topics that are perhaps most familiar to scholars of interest groups. In part one, authors addressing interest groups in the United States Congress describe major themes in interest group evolution including trends toward "one stop shops" that provide both public affairs and lobbying services, globalization, and the vertical integration of lobbying offices by major corporate interests (Loomis and Struempf), examine the effects of interest influence on candidates and campaigns (Robbins and Tsvetovat), and explore how representatives utilize interest group information during committee hearings (Esterling). In the American states, Adam Newmark explores the relationship of interest group information to relationship building and influence. Anthony Nownes and Marcus Osborn examine governors as lobbyists. Kati Tusinski Berg wrestles with the ethics of lobbying and interest influence in the American political system. Finally,



and paddling against the current of expanding pipelines flowing from capitol to K Streets, McGrath and Moloney examine legislators with previous lobbying experience.

Part 2 of the first volume turns toward interest groups in comparative perspective. In this set of essays, authors identify patterns in campaign contributions from big business (Mcmenamin) and examine professionalization as a key variable determining the effectiveness of international human rights organizations attempting to influence the United Nations (Martens). Another set of authors examine the attitudes of lobbyists toward regulation efforts in the U.S., Canada, Germany, and the E.U. (Murphy, Chari and Hogan). Analyzing interest group activity from institutional perspectives, Irina Michalowitz considers how differences in access opportunities in the United States and European Union might shape interest group behavior, and Craig Holman addresses the effects of lobbying reforms in the U.S. and E.U. Grant Jordan and William Maloney discuss the potential anti/democratic effects of group memberships that are disengaged from group activity but for financial support. Finally, Phil Harris provides a theoretical perspective on how modern-day efforts to influence government decision-making might be viewed in the context of Machiavellian political thought.

The second volume, *Interest Groups and Lobbying in Europe*, assesses interest group activity in sections on Western and Eastern Europe. Authors writing on Western Europe cover trends toward lobbying transparency at the E.U. level (Marziali) and the at the macro level of other European institutions (Chabanet). Case studies describe lobbying regulation efforts in the U.K. (McGrath), the efforts of welfare lobbying organizations in Germany to influence the E.U., and the representation of interests in the Netherlands (Poppelaars). Comparative studies address trade association influence in France and Germany (Quittkat) and the activities and alliances of environmental groups in the U.K., France and Germany (Poloni-Staudinger).

Authors focusing on Eastern Europe examine obstacles to interest group development in a Lithuanian case study (Hrebernar, Thomas, McBeth and Morgan), evolving relations between Russian interest groups and their government (Nelson and Kuzes), corporatist and pluralist modes of business interest representation (Duvanova), and case studies of evolving interest group climates in Croatia (Vidacek) and Estonia (Uudelepp).

Authors of essays in the third volume, *Interest Groups and Lobbying in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia*, cover the greatest diversity of subject matter in this series and offer insights into interest group influence in places where the literature is thinnest. With the exception of articles that examine the development of organized interests in Latin America at an international level (Thomas), an analysis of Mercosur chemical industry influence (Schelhase) and a comparison of Civil Society Alliances in Argentina and Chile (Risley), volume three is composed of single-country case studies. In Latin America, these include examinations of drug trafficking influence in Colombia (Micolta), and the influence of a historically strong and united industry lobby in Argentina (Bolten). Case studies of interest group influence in Africa focus on public interest groups in Tanzania (Elliot-Teague), the women's movement in South Africa (Gouws), and business influence in Malawi (Leftwich and Chigaipe). Case studies on Middle Eastern countries assess interest group strategies in Israel (Yishai) and interest mobilization during Iran's Civil Society Debate (Poulson). Asia/Pacific case studies assess corporate political strategies (Chen) and the emergence of business associations (Foster) in China, interest influence in Macao (Chou), business interests in Japan (Hamada), and relationships between interests and political parties in Australia (Warhurst).

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***Lobbying and Policy Changes: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why***, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech, 2009, The University of Chicago Press, ISBN 9780226039459, \$24.00, paper, 360 pages.

In *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*, several predominant political science scholars tackle the study of lobbying from a new perspective. Rather than examine predominant interest groups issues or those issues the media covers, Baumgartner et al. randomly select issues in which to focus their study.

These issues were selected based on whichever issue a lobbyist, chosen on the basis of his or her organizational affiliation, stated he or she had most recently lobbied Congress. By defining issues as such, the authors were able to specify 98 issues to include in their analysis, in which they examined the number of possible different "sides" to an issue, grouping actors on the basis of their preferences. Sides of the issue frequently include those who want to protect a current policy in opposition to those who want to change it, and are found to be heterogeneous in nature.

This study occurred over a four year span, 1999-2002 and thus included both the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush presidencies. Through this time period, Baumgartner et al. determined the eventual outcome of these predominant issues to see which side of the issue is achieving their policy goals. The primary argument the authors make, and which they feel is strongly supported through their data collection, is that generally the current policy in effect will remain.

Baumgartner et al. argue that the current policy, the status quo, is the result of an elaborate policy process in which the outcome is an equilibrium between those actors on different sides of the process. Thus, in order for this equilibrium to change, mobilization has to change on a large scale such that power is shifted to create a new equilibrium.

Further changes to an existing policy will therefore not be incremental, but rather sweeping changes in which the status quo is entirely altered. In fact, the authors find very little support for incrementalism, arguing that partisanship and elections actually counter this theory. Partisan divides and changes in political representation reinforce the idea of punctuating the already existing equilibrium to produce drastic policy changes.

Nonetheless, Baumgartner et al. do observe a fair amount of policy change among their 98 issues. The authors argue that significant policy change is much more likely than modest change, as often the two alternatives government officials choose from are the status quo and a dramatically different policy. While the majority of the time, defenders of the status quo are advantageous, if policy is altered it is likely to be in a significant manner.

Although the authors' argument is contrary to incremental theory, they do argue that issue reframing can emerge incrementally, though it seldom occurs at all. The authors examined whether actors in the policy process were reframing their issues in an attempt to draw attention to their cause. They found that only four of the issues under examination underwent some sort of reframing. Baumgartner et al. argue that policy changes did occur on the issues under examination, but that they were not a result of issue reframing.

The authors also tackle a predominant question in the study of lobbying by examining the effect resources have on outcomes. They find there to be a low correlation between monetary resources and policy outcomes, but argue that their findings need to be considered in a broader context, as other factors come into play, such as the context of the issue.

Baumgartner et al. present an appealing way in which to study the lobbying process. Their findings will be of interest to those interested in punctuated-equilibrium theory.

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***No Middle Ground: How Informal Party Organizations Control Nominations and Polarize Legislatures***, Seth E. Masket, 2009, University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472116898, \$60.00, cloth, 240 pages.

Much ink has been spilt attempting to understand the causes of partisan polarization within legislative institutions. Explanations for the polarization trend run the gamut from electoral explanations, which place emphasis on forces that change the overall makeup of representatives' constituencies like partisan redistricting (Carson et al., "Redistricting and Party Polarization in the U.S. House of Representatives," 2007) and the unconscious self-sorting of individuals into areas where others share their viewpoints (Gimpel and Schuknecht, *Patchwork Nation*, 2004; Oppenheimer and Dodd, *Congress Reconsidered*, 2005), to institutional explanations, which place the blame on rules changes within legislative entities that allow party leaders to more effectively enforce party discipline among their members (Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*, 1991; Cox and McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan*, 1993, and *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*, 2005) to explanations that synthesize elements of both explanations above (Theriault, *Party Polarization in Congress*, 2008). However, while approaches to explaining polarization are well-developed, each lends itself to serious questions. If legislators are simply following overall trends in the belief structures of their constituencies, why do relatively moderate constituencies still elect extremely ideological legislators (4)? Furthermore, if legislators are simply following the lead of their party leaders on issues, why would legislators risk being defeated in a general election by a more moderate candidate to do so (7)?

In *No Middle Ground: How Informal Party Organizations Control Nominations and Polarize Legislatures*, Seth Masket argues that both of these questions can be cleared up by understanding the role that informal party organizations play in the electoral process. An informal party organization (IPO) is a local entity made up of political insiders like "legislative leaders, interest groups, activists, and others" whose goal is to elect like-minded individuals to public office (9). According to Masket, IPO's are "more active, better staffed, and better funded" than they used to be (3).

Thus, IPOs have a better ability to recruit and persuade candidates to listen to them, as members of IPO's can provide candidates with the campaign resources (i.e. money, campaign labor, and endorsements) that are of utmost importance to winning a party's primary (9). Since IPO members are typically ideologically extreme and want to see similar-minded candidates elected to public office, IPO leaders punish candidates or legislators who become more moderate by using their resources to support opposition candidates in a primary (9). Since politicians are typically risk averse and the general electorate is poorly informed and leans toward the incumbent or candidate's party anyway, legislators will typically make decisions that are in line with the views of the IPO, despite the fact that they may win more votes in the general election by disagreeing with the IPO (9). As more districts and localities become controlled by particular IPO's, the result is a more polarized legislature in which legislators do not compromise with each other out of fear of the backlash from IPO's that may occur (9).

Masket puts this theory to test using California as a case study due to the clear polarization trends that have taken place in the California State Legislature, which mirror polarization trends nationwide despite the comparatively nonpartisan history of the state (10-11). Using a mixture of methods, Masket effectively traces the picture of how IPO's gained influence over the ideological makeup of the California State Legislature. First, Masket traces how the era of cross-filing (1915-1959), in which candidates were allowed to run in an opposite party's primary without specifying their own party affiliation, led to a more moderate legislature (chapter 2). However, despite the efforts of moderate legislators, progressive activists in the state were able to get a proposition passed to abolish cross-filing, which forced legislators to be more responsive to activists in their party (chapter 2). Furthermore, despite theories that argue the contrary, legislators never sought to create institutions to enforce party loyalty; instead, activists outside the institution inspired most of the changes that led to more party loyalty within the California State Legislature (chapter 3). Using interview data from officeholders, activists, and other members of IPO's, Masket further demonstrates how members of IPO's are always making an effort to influence nominations and bring like-minded candidates to office (chapter 4). Finally, using quantitative data, Masket demonstrates how individuals who are tied to IPO's through endorsements of IPO members or IPO funding are more likely to gain election to public office than their counterparts (chapter 5).

*No Middle Ground* is an interesting volume that provides a way of looking out how legislative institutions have become polarized over time that has yet to be considered. This is no easy feat in a topic area, in which explanations for the phenomenon of polarization are prevalent.

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***Redistricting in Comparative Perspective***, edited by Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, 2008, Oxford University Press, USA, ISBN 9780199227402, \$100.00, cloth, 264 pages.

According to the editors of *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman, redistricting has been a somewhat ignored topic. With some attention given to it in American politics, comparative politics scholars have not given it any attention. As a result, the editors have put together this volume in order to look at case studies of different countries in more detail while also considering alternative redistricting methods and the consequences that result.

The editors break the book up into seven sections, with the first section being the introduction. The six subsequent sections look at the structure of the process, the setting of the rules, the provisions for minority representation, the taking account of electoral rules and systems, and measuring the impact and reforming the process. Their concluding section revolves around multi-country comparisons of delimitation practices. In looking at different case studies within each section of the book, the editors seem to have left no stone unturned as they touch on just about everything there is to know about redistricting.

Defined as the process by which lines on maps get drawn partitioning a territory into a set of discrete electoral constituencies from which one or more representatives are to be elected, redistricting has practical, legal, and philosophical implications (3). John C. Courtney's chapter on district boundary readjustments in Canada serves as a good example for these implications.

In the Canadian case study, there are two principles governing the allocation of Commons' seats. They are the senatorial floor clause, which provides that no province will ever have fewer MPs than it has members of the upper house, and the grandfather clause, which ensures that every province will have the same number of Commons' seats that it had in 1976 or in the 33rd parliament (1984-1988), whichever is fewer. These provisions have benefitted those provinces with static or declining populations while working against those provinces whose populations have grown faster than the national average. Due to the bias of the previously mentioned provisions, ten independent electoral

boundary readjustment commissions were established after the first stage of the decennial redistribution exercise was completed in order to design the districts. This would be not only a practical implication of redistricting, but a legal one as well.

While there is more to the Canadian case study, Canada is not the only interesting example in the book. Michael P. McDonald delves deeply into redistricting in the United States in his chapter, "United States Redistricting: A Comparative Look at the 50 States." McDonald mainly focuses on the states' roles in redistricting. Two questions are posed: What processes have the states adopted, and what is the relationship between the type of process utilized and the possibility of adopting a plan that favors one political party over another? The two main processes that exist include the most commonly used process, where a legislature proposes a plan for approval by a governor, and the second-most commonly used process, which uses a specially appointed commission. Even though most states fit into one of these two categories, some states have such complicated rules that they do not neatly fit into one of the two groupings. This makes for an interesting comparison between the fifty states.

Overall, Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman's *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective* is an excellent in-depth study of various countries' redistricting processes. The collection of papers in this book goes above and beyond explaining the intricacies of redistricting around the world. It allows readers to get a comprehensive glimpse of the differences between various countries' redistricting processes and the implications of those processes. This is a must read for anyone confused about the processes of redistricting or for anyone just wanting to know more about this understudied topic.

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***Treaty Politics and the Rise of Executive Agreements: International Commitments in a System of Shared Powers***, Glen S. Krutz and Jeffrey S. Peake, 2009, the University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472116874, \$75.00, cloth, 264 pages.

This book is motivated by a critical yet understudied development in modern presidential history—the increased reliance on executive agreements rather than Senate-ratified Article II treaties in conducting American foreign policy. As noted by Krutz and Peake, only 912 (5.7%) of the 15,894 international agreements between 1946 and 1999 were processed as Article II treaties (down from 27.5% from 1930-1945). This observation prompts the authors to ask two interrelated questions: first, "why has the United States witnessed the rise in use of the executive agreement mechanism by modern presidents?" and, as a follow up, "when modern presidents decide to take their international agreements to the Senate as Article II treaties, what does the process entail, and what sort of politics are they likely to find?" (9).

In response to the first question, conventional wisdom maintains that the rise of executive agreements can be explained as a strategic move by modern presidents to evade congressional influence in international affairs. In other words, executive agreements, like other unilateral actions, are yet another way for imperial presidents to consolidate their power vis-à-vis the other branches of government. As the authors convincingly argue, this conventional view—which is not backed by systematic empirical support—is intuitively questionable. For example, if executive agreements are simply a power grab, why would members of the Senate stand idly by as modern presidents routinely strip their constitutionally endowed authority? Likewise, if presidents proceed in a truly evasive fashion, with no regard for the Congress, "the vast majority of such agreements would be codified but essentially hollow, because presidents are, in fact, reliant on Congress for legislation to implement international agreements" (11).

With this puzzle in mind, Krutz and Peake invoke Neustadt's notion of "shared power" to explain the Senate's response to executive agreements. They argue that the rise of executive agreements in modern history is the product of an institutional bargain between Congress and the president which was struck in order to deal with the complexity and workload brought on by U.S. leadership in twentieth century international affairs. In other words, Congress is complicit in the rise of executive agreements; as an institution they have neither the expertise nor time to deal with the sheer volume of international agreements that filter through the system each year. Thus, Congress is willing to delegate power to the executive as long as the president remains willing to submit the most important international agreements as Article II treaties per the original process designed in the Constitution.

This argument, though elegant and rather compelling, begs a second question—what happens when presidents recognize the importance of an international agreement and therefore opt for the constitutional ratification process rather than an executive agreement? According to the authors, this is where the struggle for power enters the picture. In these situations, the treaty process is highly political, not "pro forma," because it involves international issues of such high salience. In short, when presidents send major items to the Senate for ratification (like the Comprehensive Nuclear Test



Ban Treaty), costly partisan politics and significant delay often arise. To answer their original question, when modern presidents decide to process international agreements as Article II treaties, the process is likely to entail long and drawn out partisan gridlock that empowers pivotal politicians and leadership in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The final empirical chapter shifts focus from the bargain between the presidency and the Senate—who are traditionally thought to be the major players in US treaty politics—to the role of the House in this sharing of institutional power. In doing so, the authors point to the vast number of powerful committee hearings and legislative oversight related to foreign policy to argue that the often “forgotten” House has become increasingly active in issues related to international agreements. Though the Senate remains constitutionally responsible for advice and consent on international treaties, the House is a central player in the politics of international agreements.

In summary, the fact that executive agreements have largely supplanted Article II treaties in US diplomacy is a significant development in modern history. In this volume, Krutz and Peake amass an impressive array of evidence, ranging from interviews, to archival research and multivariate statistics, in support of their argument that this development is the result of an institutional compromise between the President and the Congress. This interesting and important finding will appeal to a crosscutting range of scholars. Those studying US foreign policy, Congress, and/or the presidency should carefully consider and expand upon this insightful work.

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***The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South***, Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie, 2009, University of Oklahoma Press, ISBN 9780806140797, \$55.00, cloth, 448 pages.

Evidenced by the 2008 election of the first African-American president in the history of the United States, Barack Obama, there has been marked improvement in minority access to voting rights in the South since the middle of the twentieth century. More than three civil rights acts and two constitutional amendments, the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965 takes primary credit for this improvement. *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South* provides a comprehensive exploration of this landmark legislation's impact and highlights remaining concerns about minority political participation. Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie provide a state by state analysis of the VRA's impact on voting rights in eleven southern states. This volume provides a systemic study of the condition and evolution of minority voting rights in the South.

Defining the South as the eleven states first identified as politically and geographically southern by V.O. Key Jr., Bullock and Gaddie analyze the natural experiment that is the evolution of voting rights in the South since the original enactment of the VRA. Recognizing that it did not impact all southern states equally since 1965, the volume is arranged to address the successive progress in the southern states over time. Part I examines individually each of the original seven states covered under Section 5 of the VRA: Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Part II addresses the two states picked up by Section 5 in the 1975 amendments to the act: Texas and Florida. Part III then addresses the two states not covered by Section 5: Tennessee and Arkansas.

Based on these case studies, the concluding chapters provide a comparative analysis of voting-rights progress across the southern states. Through the analysis of history, context, and rich data, the authors find that states which have been subject to Section 5 preclearance for the greatest periods of time generally rank higher in minority, especially African-American, political access. Meanwhile those states not covered by Section 5 show the weakest improvements. The authors argue that the VRA has been decidedly successful in breaking down unconstitutional barriers to voting rights. Additionally, the improvement in derivative political consequences of the act regarding the political participation, power, and election of minorities leads the authors to a glowing assessment of the act's effectiveness. Yet the authors hedge on whether the VRA is still necessary, citing that current “second generation” barriers to the political arena pale in comparison to the constitutional violations that minorities have overcome. In deciding if the VRA is still necessary, the question remains: would the cessation of federal oversight lead to a regression in the political access of African-Americans and minorities more broadly?

Following this spectacular comparative analysis and assessment, the volume culminates by analyzing the politically transcendent 2008 election of President Barack Obama in light of broader political access in the South. Although the Obama-Biden ticket would have won without its southern electoral votes, the authors illuminate the success of the VRA throughout the 2008 campaign. From Obama's nomination, to the electoral success in the region, the authors demonstrate how improbable the current state of affairs would be, sans the “The ACT.”

Bullock and Gaddie provide the most comprehensive analysis of the VRA's impact in progressing the political power and access of minorities in the South. The volume presents rich information through data and story to analyze



the interaction of institutions, race, and politics in the evolution of voting rights in the South. Political scientists, historians, and those interested in the political evolution of minority voting rights or southern politics will find this magnificent analysis interesting and illuminating.

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***Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation***, Benjamin Bishin, 2009, Temple University Press, ISBN, \$59.50, cloth, 216 pages.

Benjamin Bishin seeks to build a unified theory of representation by exploring the puzzle of how minority interests sometimes hold sway over majority wishes. Framing his analysis in the failings of the demand-input model of representation, Bishin offers a readable and well-documented account aimed at moving past the limitations of existing representation research. The key to unlocking the puzzle is to understand legislators' responsiveness to the intensity of views held by special interests rather than the average citizen. Bishin focuses on "subconstituencies" and their success in shaping candidates' behavior in election campaigns, and, along the way, he provides a unique explanation of how, when, and why special interests dominate American national politics.

Relying on the discipline of social psychology, Bishin tries to bring together a theory that explains legislators' behavior in campaigns and then subsequently in committee and in roll-call votes. Central to Bishin's theory of subconstituency politics is the role of social identity to any given minority group. He defines a subconstituency as any group which shares "a social identity owing to a common experience that leads to shared concerns and preferences" (21). Candidates are able to exploit these group identities because the average American voter lacks information, interest, or intensity on most issues and thus is unlikely to punish candidates for advocating minority positions. Candidates can strategically use scarce campaign resources to mobilize latent and active groups through targeted messages.

Tracing campaign positions and legislative performance, Bishin's analyses include data from a wide range of hot-button policies including the Cuban trade embargo, the extension of hate crimes legislation to protect gays and lesbians, the renewal of the assault weapons ban, abortion politics, and Congress's battle to recognize the Armenian genocide.

Bishin concludes that, even though democratic theory would predict otherwise, "intense minorities can be more valuable than their more numerous but less intense fellow constituents" (157). The antidote to this seemingly undemocratic influence, suggests Bishin, is greater transparency and the elimination of voice votes which allow members to escape accountability to their constituents.

Bishin's book, which is accessible and thorough, should attract readers among the general public, with both undergraduate and graduate students as well as scholars.

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## 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 Cambridge Scientific Abstracts' database, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, using the query: KW= congress OR parliament OR legislative. The report is arranged in alphabetical order by author name.

Author	Title of Dissertation
Benstead, Lindsay J.	Does casework build support for a strong parliament? Legislative representation and public opinion in Morocco and Algeria
Berry, Michael John	Beyond Chadha: The modern legislative veto as macropolitical conflict
Blomstedt, Larry Wayne	Truman, Congress and the struggle for war and peace in Korea
Boozer, Wm S.	Governmentality and U.S. congressional discourse regarding abstinence-only sexuality education
Bowen, Tamara Renee	Dynamic compromise and political institutions
Cairns, James Irvine	From social celebration to politics as usual: Newspaper coverage of the legislative opening in Ontario, 1900- -2007
Claborn, David	Can the states increase religious freedom if they try? Judicial and legislative effects on religious actor success in the state courts
Clark, Thomas S.	The politics of judicial independence: Court-curbing and the separation of powers
Cohen, Mathilde	Giving reasons: Why and how public institutions justify their decisions
Epstein, Daniel Jacob	Tipping the scales for parties: Executive-legislative balance and party system institutionalization at the sub-national level in Russia and Brazil
Gibson, Lynne Marie	Motivations for change in support for social policy bills in the United States Congress; 1972- -2002
Hickey, Jeremiah Peter	Reconstituting representation: The Supreme Court and the rhetorical controversy over state and congressional redistricting
Kassel, Jason S.	Constructing a professional legislature: The physical development of Congress, 1783- -1851
La Pira, Timothy Michael	Is it who says it, or what they say? Information processing lobbying influence in Congress

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Dissertation</b>
Law, Catherine	George Lakoff's theory of worldview: A case study of the Oregon Legislature
Lyle-Gonga, Marsha	The impact of political socialization on women state legislators' decisions to not seek national office
Madonna, Anthony J.	The evolution of frustration: Revisiting the role of inherited institutions in the United States Senate
Mahan, Forest Edward	Cross currents: The interaction of problems, policies, and politics in the evolution of federal legislation concerning higher education
Mulcare, Daniel M.	Bound government: Slavery politics, internal improvements and the limits of national power
Olsen Agraz, Jody Lynn	The National Endowment for the Arts's Decency Standard and freedom of expression: Examining the indecency policy-making system
Olukoju, Sunday Akin	Effective approaches for driving social-equity issues onto the voting agenda of the Canadian House of Commons
Payne, Lee W.	Responsive and responsible parties: Public opinion, polarization, and platform promise keeping
Platt, Matthew Bartholomew	The normalization of black politics: Essays on the evolution of black agenda setting in post-war America
Rubin, Gabriel	Freedom and order: How democratic governments abridge civil liberties after terrorist attacks – and why sometimes they don't
Smith, Randall D.	Capturing the evasive President: Disaggregating Senate-executive interactions in foreign affairs
Vansaghi, Thomas Michael	Leadership style and effectiveness in the Missouri House of Representatives
Villalobos, Jose D.	Presidential-bureaucratic management and policy making success in Congress
Weems, Jonathan Allen	A challenge constantly renewed: Medicare and the struggle for national health insurance

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# APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

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## Journal Articles

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
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 1 (Jan 2009): 55-72	Fair, Ray C.	Presidential and Congressional Vote-Sharing Equations
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 276-291	Cho, Seok-ju	Retrospective Voting and Political Representation
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 292-306	Hirano, Shigeo; Snyder, Jr., James M.	Using Multimember District Elections to Estimate the Sources of the Incumbency Advantage
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 324-342	Gailmard, Sean; Jenkins, Jeffery A.	Agency Problems, the 17 <sup>th</sup> Amendment, and Representation in the Senate
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 343-359	Shepsle, Kenneth A.; Van Houweling, Robert P.; Abrams, Samuel J.; Hanson, Peter C.	The Senate Electoral Cycle and Bicameral Appropriations Politics
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 3 (July 2009): 666-680	McCarty, Nolan; Poole, Keith T.; Rosenthal, Howard	Does Gerrymandering Cause Polarization
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 3 (July 2009): 681-694	Ramirez, Mark D.	The Dynamics of Partisan Conflict on Congressional Approval
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 4 (Oct 2009): 971-989	Clark, Tom S.	The Separation of Powers, Court Curbing, and Judicial Legitimacy
<i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 53, no. 4 (Oct 2009): 990-1005	Ensley, Michael J.; Tofias, Michael W.; De Marchi, Scott	District Complexity as an Advantage in Congressional Elections
<i>American Political Science Review</i> , vol. 103, no. 1 (Feb 2009): 99-112	Keefer, Philip; Khemani, Stuti	When Do Legislators Pass on Pork?: The Role of Political Parties in Determining Legislator Effort
<i>American Politics Research</i> , vol. 37, no. 1 (Jan 2009): 3-29	Wilhelm, Teena	Strange Bedfellows: The Policy Consequences of Legislative-Judicial Relations in the American States
<i>American Politics Research</i> , vol. 37, no. 3 (May 2009): 449-464	Treul, Sarah A.	Ambition and Party Loyalty in the U.S. Senate

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Article</b>
<i>American Politics Research</i> , vol. 37, no. 5 (Sept 2009): 742-766	Victor, Jennifer Nicoll; Ringe, Nils	The Social Utility of Informal Institutions
<i>Andamios: Revista de Investigacion Social</i> , vol. 5, no. 10 (Apr 2009): 253-278	Perez Vega, Moise	The Institutional Weakness of State Legislatures: Limits of Mexican Democratization and of the Transformation of the Executive-Legislative Relations
<i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 44, no. 2 (June 2009): 245-258	Charnock, David	Can the Australian Greens Replace the Australian Democrats as a 'Third Party' in the Senate?
<i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 44, no. 2 (June 2009): 295-307	Crawford, Mary	Gender and the Australian Parliament: Putting the Political Scientist into the Picture
<i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 44, no. 3 (Sept 2009): 521-528	Johnston, Ron; Forrest, James	Electoral Disproportionality and Bias Under the Alternative Vote: Elections to Australia's House of Representatives
<i>Australian Journal of Politics and History</i> , vol. 55, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 64-79	Young, Sally; Hill, Lisa	Uncounted Votes: Informal Voting in the House of Representatives as a Marker of Political Exclusion in Australia
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 39, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 225-242	Bertelli, Anthony M.; Wenger, Jeffrey B.	Demanding Information: Think Tanks and the US Congress
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 39, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 413-448	Hetherington, Marc J.	Review Article: Putting Polarization in Perspective
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 39, no. 3 (Jul 2009): 539-558	Adams, James; Merrill III, Samuel	Policy-Seeking Parties in a Parliamentary Democracy with Proportional Representation: A Valence-Uncertainty Model
<i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , vol. 39, no. 3 (Jul 2009): 587-607	Saeki, Manabu	Gridlock in the Government of the United States: Influence of Divided Government and Veto Players
<i>British Journal of Politics &amp; International Relations</i> , vol. 11, no. 2 (May 2009): 280-297	Davis, Aeron	Evaluating Communication in the British Parliamentary Public Sphere
<i>Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies</i> , vol. 45, no. 3 (Dec 2009): 391-392	Forward, Karina Bontes	Indonesia Update 2009 Democracy in practice: campaigns, parties and parliaments
<i>Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique</i> , vol. 42, no. 2 (June 2009): 443-465	Webber, Gregoire C.N.	The Unfulfilled Potential of the Court and Legislature Dialogue
<i>Canadian Political Science Review</i> , vol. 3, no. 1 (2009): 77-92	Siaroff, Alan	Seat Imbalance in Provincial Elections Since 1900: A Quantitative Explanation
<i>Commonwealth and Comparative Politics</i> , vol. 47, no. 1 (Feb 2009): 100-126	Moniruzzaman, M	Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh: An Evaluation of the Parliament during 1991-2006
<i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , vol. 42, no. 3 (Mar 2009): 327-359	Gerring, John; Thacker, Strom C.; Moreno, Carola	Are Parliamentary Systems Better?
<i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , vol. 42, no. 3 (Mar 2009): 360-391	Hagopian, Frances; Gervasoni, Carlos; Moraes, Juan Andres	From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil
<i>Comparative Strategy</i> , vol. 28, no. 4 (Sep 2009): 303-316	Roehl, Jayson	The United States Senate and the Politics of Ratifying the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
<i>Conflict Management and Peace Science</i> , vol. 26, no. 2 (Apr 2009): 191-208	Prins, Brandon C; Marshall, Bryan W	Senate Influence or Presidential Unilateralism?: An Examination of Treaties and Executive Agreements from Theodore Roosevelt and George W. Bush
<i>Conflict, Security &amp; Development</i> , vol. 9, no. 2 (June 2009): 239-263	Marriot, Andrew	Legal professionals in development: Timor-Leste's legislative experiment : Analysis



<b>Journal</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Article</b>
<i>Congress &amp; the Presidency</i> , vol. 36, no. 1 (Jan-Apr 2009): 27-57	DiSalvo, Daniel	Party Factions in Congress
<i>Congress &amp; the Presidency</i> , vol. 36, no. 1 (Jan-Apr 2009): 58-79	Lucas, DeWayne; Deutchman, Iva Ellen	Five Factions, Two Parties: Caucus Membership in the House of Representatives, 1994-2002
<i>Crime, Law and Social Change</i> , vol. 52, no. 4 (Oct 2009): 365-383	Tsai, Jung-hsiang	Political structure, legislative process, and corruption: comparing Taiwan and South Korea
<i>Criminal Justice Policy Review</i> , vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2009): 115-135	Marion, Nancy E; Oliver, Willard M	Congress, Crime, and Budgetary Responsiveness: A Study in Symbolic Politics
<i>Dados</i> , vol. 52, no. 1 (2009): 201-221	Miguel, Luis Felipe; Feitosa, Fernanda	Gender and Congressional Discourse: Women and Men in the Brazilian House of Representatives
<i>Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory</i> , no. 18 (May 2009): 69-86	Borch, Christian; Lind, Uffe	The Mobile Parliament: Taking Regional Matters of Concern Seriously
<i>Electoral Studies</i> , vol. 28, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 33-40	Burden, Barry C.	Candidate-driven ticket splitting in the 2000 Japanese elections
<i>Electoral Studies</i> , vol. 28, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 62-69	Brunell, Thomas L.; Grofman, Bernard	Testing sincere versus strategic split-ticket voting at the aggregate level: Evidence from split house-president outcomes, 1900-2004
<i>Electoral Studies</i> , vol. 28, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 123-128	Butler, Daniel Mark	A regression discontinuity design analysis of the incumbency advantage and tenure in the U.S. House
<i>Electoral Studies</i> , vol. 28, no. 2 (Jun 2009): 190-203	Schmidt, Gregory D.	The election of women in list PR systems: Testing the conventional wisdom
<i>European Journal of Political Research</i> , vol. 48, no. 6 (Oct 2009): 804-839	Brauninger, Thomas; Debus, Marc	Legislative agenda-setting in parliamentary democracies
<i>European Union Politics</i> , vol. 10, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 7-34	Varela, Diego	Just a Lobbyist?: The European Parliament and the Consultation
<i>European Union Politics</i> , vol. 10, no. 1 (Mar 2009): 143-152	Hoyland, Bjorn; Sircar, Indraneel; Hix, Simon	An Automated Database of the European Parliament
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## **Brookings Institution Report: "Assessing the 110th Congress, Anticipating the 111th"**

Sarah A. Binder, Thomas E. Mann, Norman J. Ornstein, and Molly Reynolds have extended their previous analysis to include the full, two-year 110th Congress. They conclude by looking ahead to the 111th Congress and what it will take to overcome the shortcomings of the 110th, deliver on President-elect Barack Obama's promises regarding policy and process, and restore the responsibilities and comparative advantages of the first branch of government. [Click here to read the full report.](#)

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### **Call for Papers** AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH Deadline: May 15, 2010

#### ***Interest Group Politics***

*American Politics Research* announces a call-for-papers for a special issue to be published early in 2011, on interest group politics in the United States.

Suitable topics might include studies of interest group influence on the bureaucracy, the presidency, the U.S. Congress, the courts, the political parties, and the policy process more generally.

Research on interest group giving to campaigns, studies of interest group strength and organization, and papers on interest group networks would be welcome. Other possible topics include studies of interest group activity at the state and local level; interest group framing of issues; the nature of lobbying activity; group formation; the analytic and political utility of interest group scores; and group access to decision makers.

Studies of specific groups, or large subsets of the interest group community are invited, including *social movement groups*, as well as traditional economic groups and PACs.

The deadline for submission of papers is May 15, 2010, although articles will be accepted and reviewed before then on a rolling basis. All papers should be approximately 20-25 pages in length, double-spaced, including a 150 word abstract. Papers should conform with the *APR* Guidelines as outlined in the submission instructions for the journal at <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/apr/>. Questions, as well as electronic submissions should be directed to Jim Gimpel, Editor at [apr@gvpt.umd.edu](mailto:apr@gvpt.umd.edu).

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### **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.](#)

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## **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, [The Civil Rights Documentation Project](#) 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 Koepfel by email at [ckoepfel@dirksencenter.org](mailto:ckoepfel@dirksencenter.org) if you have any ideas or comments about this new feature.

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## **Congress and History Conference**

Videos of all sessions of the 8th Annual Congress and History Conference, which was held at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, May 20-21, 2009, are now accessible on the Miller Center's website at <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/conference/detail/4661>.

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## **Congress to Campus Program**

### **THE UNITED STATES ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**

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

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

## Congressional Bills Project

A 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, [Database of Congressional Historical Statistics](#); 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.

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## 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](mailto:john.carey@dartmouth.edu).

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## Dirksen Center Congressional Research Grants

[The Dirksen Congressional Center](#) 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

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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](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 [fmackaman@dirksencenter.org](mailto:fmackaman@dirksencenter.org) or phone 309.347.7113

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## **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>.

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## **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***

*International Political Science Review*, the official journal of the International Political Science Association edited by [Kay Lawson](#) and [Yvonne Galligan](#), 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](mailto:klawson@sfsu.edu) and [y.galligan@Queens-Belfast.AC.UK](mailto:y.galligan@Queens-Belfast.AC.UK).

Preliminary queries are welcome.

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## **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/>.

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## **SSRN Political Science Network**

The new Political Science Network (PSN) provides 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>.

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## ***State Politics and Policy Quarterly 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

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[sppq@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu](mailto: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](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: [sppq@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu](mailto:sppq@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu).

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## **The Thicket at NCSL**

### **NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES**

The National Conference of State Legislatures has established a new blog, [The Thicket at State Legislatures](#), 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.

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## **Visiting Scholars Program**

### **APSA CENTENNIAL CENTER**

The Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs can be an invaluable resource to political and social scientists. The Center has space for hosting 10 scholars for extended periods of time, ranging from weeks to months. Space for shorter "drop-in" stays is also available. Scholars are expected to pursue their own research and teaching projects and contribute to the intellectual life of the residential community by sharing their work with Center colleagues in occasional informal seminars.

Located within the Association's headquarters building near Dupont Circle, with easy access to the Washington Metro system, the Center offers visiting scholars furnished work space, telephone, fax, personal computers, Internet connection, conference space, a reference library, and library access at the George Washington University. Scholars are responsible for securing their own housing, but the Center will make every effort to assist scholars in locating suitable accommodations.

Eligibility is limited to APSA members. Senior or junior faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students are strongly encouraged to apply.

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

Full details on the Center and the Visiting Scholars Program, including an application form, can be found online at [www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter](http://www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter). Scholars may also call 202-483-2512 or email to [center@apsanet.org](mailto:center@apsanet.org).

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## Visiting Scholars Program

### CARL ALBERT CENTER

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

The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; Sidney Clarke of Kansas; Richard Arme of Texas; 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 at <http://www.ou.edu/carlalbertcenter/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](mailto:cacarchives@ou.edu)

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# Extension of Remarks



Legislative Studies Section

American Political Science Association

January 2010

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Valerie Heitshusen, Congressional Research Service

## [Whither the Role of Conference Committees, or Is It Wither?](#)

Walter J. Oleszek, *Senior Specialist in American National Government,*  
*Congressional Research Service*

## [The Budget Reconciliation Process: A Majoritarian Tool in the Senate, With Limitations](#)

Bill Heniff Jr., *Analyst on Congress and the Legislative Process,*  
*Congressional Research Service*

## [Filling the Amendment Tree in the Senate](#)

Elizabeth Rybicki, *Analyst on Congress and the Legislative Process,*  
*Congressional Research Service*

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