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LEGISLATIVE STUDIES SECTION NEWSLETTER

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From the Chair

[Sarah Binder](#)
George Washington University

Next to my computer at work stands an old black and white photograph of Lee Hamilton (at the time, a member of Congress from Indiana) sitting in the Milan, Indiana, post office talking to one of his elderly constituents. My other favorite photo rests next to it – one of Lee in the Little York Fire Department, at night with a crowd of attentive Hoosiers. Lee of course held dozens of these events across the district – never once worried about his security or the safety of his constituents. The contrast 25 years later to

Rep. Gabrielle Giffords' ill-fated "Congress on your Corner" event last month could not be starker. For all of us, the events of that day were overwhelmingly tragic. For students of Congress and legislatures – well versed in how important *and* how routine legislators perceive these events to be – perhaps even more so.

On that bright note, Congress turns over half of a new leaf this month, ushering in split party control between the chambers and between the branches. Between failed rules reform in the Senate, a filibuster in the British House of Lords, and the rise of minority Westminster governments, there's been plenty of fodder for legislative studies. Honestly, who could ask for more?

Turning to section business, the [Announcements](#) section of the LSS website contains the list of the LSS award committees and their members for 2011. 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.

I continue to look for ways to generate new interest and activity within the section. Following last year's move to make a greater effort to incorporate comparativists into the life of the section, we are again turning to co-program chairs for the coming APSA meetings. For APSA 2011 in Seattle, Erik Engstrom (UC Davis) and Michelle Taylor-Robinson (Texas A&M) will assemble the LSS panels. For APSA 2012 in New Orleans, Greg Koger (U. Miami) and Carol Mershon (UVA) have just signed on to serve as co-program chairs. I am grateful to all four for their willingness to serve the section in this way, and I appreciate the work of the LSS nominations committee (Wendy Schiller, Bruce Oppenheimer, and Jan Box-Steffensmeier) to identify all of these new program chairs. Finally, I am continuing to work with Sean Twombly at APSA to make a more assertive pitch for potential new and lapsed LSS members to bolster our ranks and coffers. I will report back on those efforts in Seattle before I hand over the gavel.

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APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

Volume 34, Number 1, January 2011

Book Notes

- [*Cheese Factories on the Moon: Why Earmarks Are Good for American Democracy*](#) by Scott A. Frisch and Sean Q. Kelly
- [*Cases in Congressional Campaigns: Incumbents Playing Defense*](#) edited by Randall E. Adkins and David A. Dulio,
- [*Congressional Representation in Congress: The View from Capitol Hill*](#) by Kristina C. Miler
- [*James Madison Rules America: The Constitutional Origins of Congressional Partisanship*](#) by William F. Connelly, Jr.
- [*One Nation Under Siege: Congress, Terrorism, and the Fate of American Democracy*](#) by Jocelyn Jones Evans
- [*Parliament and Congress: Representation and Scrutiny in the 21st Century*](#) by Charles Johnson and Sir William McKay
- [*Parties, Polarization, and Democracy in the United States*](#) by Donald C. Baumer and Howard J. Gold
- [*The Speaker of the House: A Study of Leadership*](#) by Matthew N. Green
- [*When Politicians Attack: Party Cohesion in the Media \(Series: Communication Society and Politics\)*](#) by Tim Groeling

Cheese Factories on the Moon: Why Earmarks Are Good for American Democracy, Scott A. Frisch, Sean Q. Kelly, 2010, Paradigm Publishers, ISBN 9781594517307, \$24.95, paper, 224 pages.

The authors of this book recognized that they were embarking on a serious challenge when setting out to make the case for earmarks. Certainly the Senate Republicans' announcement of a self-imposed ban on earmarks less than one week after the 2010 national elections suggests that even the members of Congress are questioning the value of this long-standing practice.

Frisch and Kelly analyze the use of earmarks through different theoretical and philosophical lenses to draw conclusions about why earmarks play a valuable role in American Democracy. The analysis also extends to consideration of the roles of actors such as the executive, the media, and lobbyists in preferential funds allocation. It also considers the relationships of these actors with Congress noting why each has an incentive to villainize the practice of earmarking while simultaneously seeking special consideration for projects of personal interest.

Defined variously as "congressionally directed spending", "spending with a zip code attached", and "pork barrel projects", the authors define an earmark as "... a sum of money that is directed to a specific project by a member of Congress or a group of members and is included in a bill or committee report..." (11). According to Frisch and Kelly, earmarks have been around since the early days of the confederation, as evidenced by a political compromise required for passage of the ninth bill of the first Congress; (The Lighthouses Act) which included a provision for federal funding of a new lighthouse at Cape Henry on Chesapeake Bay in Virginia (9). By 2005, the Office of Management and Budget reported 13,492 earmarks with an estimated cost of \$18,938,657,000 (131).

Earmarks have long been a subject of speculation and discussion. Over time there have been shifts in both the degree of transparency surrounding the utilization of earmarks and the quantity and monetary value of earmarks. The authors maintain that general knowledge of and concern over earmarks has historically been low because they occur during deliberation of authorizing or appropriations legislation and can be contained in committee reports rather than in the legislation or footnotes.

Nearly as long as there have been earmarks, there have also been attempts to reform earmarks. The reform efforts can be driven by a variety of factors, such as executive-legislative power struggles, media coverage of egregious examples such as the Alaska Bridge to Nowhere secured by Sen. Ted Stevens, or high profile members of Congress, such as John McCain during his 2008 presidential bid, speaking out publicly against the practice.

The main thesis of the authors in their defense of earmarks is that earmarks reflect some unique elements of American democracy, specifically that members of Congress: 1) have the constitutional power of the purse, and 2) were anticipated to use these powers to further local interests and/or to effect the political vote trading necessary to assure legislation to serve the public good. The authors suggest that debating the number and value of earmarks detracts from the larger issues that have driven the federal budget out of balance (4). While seemingly supportive of reforms that bring transparency into the process, they nonetheless maintain that there have been unintended consequences that ignore the political realities of the logrolling and vote trading necessary in contentious political environments.

Certainly the book's thesis is historically accurate. More problematical, however, is Frisch's and Kelly's view that earmarks are the great equalizer for those states who don't, or aren't able to, get their fair share from the federal government. Paralleling a David and Goliath-like story line, they consistently maintain that members of Congress know what is best for their jurisdiction and thus have an obligation to slay the privileged position of those states who already "get a lot" through regular appropriations channels. Now more than ever, calls for performance accountability emphasize a competitive funding arena, where evidence of outcomes is the coin of the realm. Supplanting these programmatic processes with the determinations of self-interested representatives, however knowledgeable they may be about the needs of their constituents, raises important issues for public consideration in the earmark debate.

Written for a politically interested public (xiii), the authors employ a conversational narrative style that leverages many case examples as supporting evidence for their conclusions. The cases are representative of a considerable amount of empirical data. The benefit of this approach is that the book contains a wealth of quotes from on and off-the-record political insiders to provide a flavor of the pragmatic context in which earmarks happen. It would be suitable for undergraduate or graduate classrooms as an alternate perspective on earmarks. Even though it flies in the face of conventional wisdom, reading it is timely as the president's bipartisan commission on deficits and debt releases its recommendations to restore fiscal balance over the next decade.

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Cases in Congressional Campaigns: Incumbents Playing Defense, edited by Randall E. Adkins and David A. Dulio, 2010, Routledge, ISBN 9780415873888, \$36.95, paper, 264 pages.

The 2008 electoral climate was very toxic for Republican Party candidates. Democrats, already in the majority, were looking to establish ever larger margins in each chamber and win back the White House. On Election Day, Barack Obama won more votes than any candidate for president in history and Democrats significantly increased their margins in both congressional chambers. While many Republican incumbents were beaten at the polls that day, some survived, despite seemingly facing long odds. This book explores twelve congressional campaigns in an attempt to offer a framework for understanding who won, who lost, and why while posing the question of how each candidate played defense. The editors conclude that there was no specifically successful tactic, but framing the campaign around local issues, having a coherent campaign strategy, and avoiding a changing district generally play a key role in the successful incumbent electoral defense.

Many national dynamics were working against the Republicans: low presidential approval, the economy, and a strong Democratic fundraising advantage. In order to beat back the Democratic tide, Republican incumbents resorted to a variety of defensive strategies. Identifying these strategies is where “Cases in Congressional Campaigns” shines. In many of the case studies, Republican candidates who were able to focus their campaigns on local issues were victorious. Senator Mitch McConnell, who won re-election, reiterated how much he had done, and could still do, for Kentucky as a member of the GOP Senate leadership.

Keeping a campaign focused on the local issues was difficult given the economic circumstances in the fall of 2008. In this manner, campaign strategies played a key role in some of the cases. Lee Terry, the Nebraska Republican, knew he was vulnerable because of the pro-Democratic environment and strong support for Barack Obama in his district (Obama would win Terry’s district). His campaign strategy was to focus on precincts that he narrowly carried in his 2006 election. The authors of this case study find that Democratic-leaning precincts in key district counties were more likely to split their tickets than their Republican-leaning counterparts, concluding that ticket-splitters and roll-off voters played an instrumental role in Terry’s successful re-election. Republican Phil English (PA-3), on the other hand, never settled on a single strategy, moving from an attempt to define his opponent to referring to himself as the candidate of change. On Election Day, English lost by over two percent.

A final variable worth noting is district change. Many of the districts profiled in “Cases in Congressional Campaigns” were undergoing some sort of change, whether political or demographic. In each of these, the Republican candidate was unable to successfully defend the seat. Republicans won four of the six campaigns in which their district was not experiencing these changes. This is one area where additional case studies could have been useful – was the interaction between the macro level factors and change too much for any Republican to overcome? It would be nice to know how successful Republicans tailored their messages and crafted their campaign strategies in such districts.

This question leads to the broader critique of case selection. The editors point out that cases were selected based on competitiveness, high fundraising level, and geographic breadth. It would have been nice to see an even more systematic approach to case selection as the campaign literature has well-specified election outcome models. This provides a perfect opportunity to use a mixed-methods approach that focuses on campaigns where Republicans beat expectations or under-performed. Subsequent analysis could focus on the same overarching question posed in this volume, perhaps allowing the editors to reach a more definitive answer.

Cases in Congressional Campaigns fits nicely within the campaigns and elections literature, providing clarity in the quest to identify what role campaigns play in elections. No matter the election cycle, some incumbents will be endangered. How these candidates play defense can be a significant factor in whether they are re-elected. Elections scholars need to continue to move beyond the macro level data and fundraising figures in order to understand better the ways in which campaigns may influence election outcomes.

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Congressional Representation in Congress: The View from Capitol Hill, Kristina C. Miler, 2010, Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521765404, \$85.00, cloth, 224 pages.

Much of the research on representation in American politics has focused on how legislators perceive their constituents. In her new book *Constituency Representation in Congress: The View from Capitol Hill*, Kristina Miler examines what factors play a role in such perceptions and how these influence legislative behavior. She indicates two primary research questions: (1) what factors affect how legislators perceive their districts? and (2) how do perceptions of their districts shape legislators' behavior on Capitol Hill?

Cognitive psychology literature is utilized to advance Miler's argument. In particular, she uses the information-based approach which examines how social information is obtained and stored and the use of shortcuts in garnering such information. According to Miler's argument, the ability of a legislator to access information from subconstituencies influences legislative action. She indicates four attributes that affect the accessibility of information: frequency of information, familiarity of information, salience of information, and predisposition toward information.

Miler argues that cognitive heuristics are critical in informing legislators of constituent preferences. Information that is the most accessible, and that is generally available from constituents who are active and have more resources, is often most influential in shaping legislative perceptions.

Miler presents a theory of dyadic subconstituency representation, arguing that there are multiple constituencies within a given district. She argues that legislators who examine a single district interest overlook the many relationships that exist between legislator and subgroups. Depending on the issue, the legislator and his staff will consider the preferences of relevant subconstituencies to which the issue pertains.

In order to examine her argument, Miler utilizes information on health and natural resource legislation to determine if it is shaped by how the legislator perceives his district. In particular, she focuses on two health policy proposals and two natural resource policy proposals in the 107th Congress. Her findings suggest that legislators often do not see all relevant subconstituencies in their district but instead see an unrepresentative sample of their constituents who generally are more active in contacting and contributing to their legislator.

As a result, legislators' perceptions of their districts need to be seriously considered because of their ability to shape policy regardless of actual constituency opinion. Miler finds that legislators' perceptions of their constituents affect their daily activity, including actions in committee hearings, markup sessions, and floor debate. If legislators do not perceive a subconstituency in their district, they are unlikely to act on behalf of them. Miler indicates, "Legislators take actions to represent their district, but the district that they see lacks many of the relevant constituents in their district" (155).

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James Madison Rules America: The Constitutional Origins of Congressional Partisanship, William F. Connelly, Jr., 2010, Roman & Littlefield, ISBN 9780742599659, \$64.95, cloth, 350 pages.

For almost two decades now, to mention only the most recent, Americans have been promised from the campaign trail various iterations of a post-partisan political system and political culture. From the "Third Way", to compassionate conservatism's ability to unite us and not divide us, to the ends of "hope" and "change" through the means of "what works," Americans have been consistently disappointed. William Connelly, alas, writes to level our expectations and ground our understanding.

James Madison Rules America: The Constitutional Origins of Congressional Partisanship is a fascinating look at the legislative branch, its perceived failures and frequent criticisms, its recent performance, and the structural and constitutional dimensions influencing each.

Connelly, while not advocating that everything Congress does is virtuous, takes umbrage at allegations Congress is as broken or uncivil as recent works have posited. He believes the partisanship and contentiousness we see so often in our elected legislators and their institutions are fundamentally *not* at odds with the Constitution and the constitutional structure that Mr. Madison (and his peers) did so much to build.

Thus, to ask or advocate that one of our current parties and its individual members behave as the "party of government" or the "party of opposition," as in parliamentary systems, is to be asking not the difficult, but the

impossible. As *the* republican institution in our political system, our parties, by constitutional design, are often both. The questions between whether to behave in a bipartisan or partisan manner, to work towards consensus or confrontation, to see oneself as a truth-seeking committee member or a leadership-abiding party loyalist, are false dichotomies, according to Connelly. He believes our system was designed not to implement efficiently a majority's will, but to strive toward a broad consent to laws, which in our history we have often reached.

James Madison Rules America begins with discussions of recent contemporary partisan strategy and behavior. It then travels back in time with chapters on Woodrow Wilson, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Publius' *Federalist*. It then moves back up through time with sections first on the 1790s and then the contemporary partisan battles of the last three decades.

Connelly challenges those who think our age is the most detrimentally partisan in our history, who think Founders like Madison detested the rise of parties, who think Congress is "broken" and should be fixed by efficiency-enhancing and identity-diluting measures, who believe that the permanent campaign was an alien concept to the Framers of Article I. There may be prudent changes or reforms to contemplate in Congress, in our politics, or in the structure of our system, but overall, Connelly provocatively argues that "the Constitution governs... Compromise and confrontation are both good and constitutionally permissible. Politicians and political analysts are constantly tempted by the twin temptations of 'pluralism' and 'party government' built into our constitutional institutions. The separation of powers limits and empowers both majority and minority parties; hence politics, partisanship, polarization, and the 'permanent campaign' are a permanent, normal, natural, and necessary part of our politics" (271).

James Madison Rules America is ideal for those wanting to wrestle with first principles, contemporary political practice, and the ideas (and some of the most prominent figures espousing said ideas) that have engaged us, and Congress, throughout our history. Congressional graduate classes with an emphasis in political theory may want to compare Connelly's Madison with the recent other visages seen in the works of scholars like George Thomas and Colleen Sheehan. Fully conversant with the congressional, leadership and American political thought literature, and utilizing both his practical experience years ago as an APSA Congressional Fellow for the future Vice-President from Wyoming, Connelly's work is ideal for those who wish to, for themselves or their students, bridge the worlds of constitutional theory and political practice, American political thought and the real-world congressional consequences of the ideas contained within it. It would be hard to find a more timely or important work.

Matt Field

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One Nation Under Siege: Congress, Terrorism, and the Fate of American Democracy,
Jocelyn Jones Evans, 2010, University Press of Kentucky, ISBN 9780813125886, \$40.00, cloth,
272 pages.

Jocelyn Jones Evans' new book is a unique and admittedly personal account of Congressional change after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. As an APSA Congressional Fellow who was simultaneously carrying out her Hill duties at the same time that she was researching and writing her dissertation, she witnessed first-hand the events of that fateful day from both a scholarly and personal perspective. As indicated in the preface, she found herself to be "both a participant in and observer of politics" on 9/11 and beyond, witnessing and participating in Congress' myriad attempts to respond to the attacks. These changes came not just in the form of new legislation, but also – and as importantly from the book's perspective – in attempts to change Capitol security and revamp public access to congressional buildings. The attacks, though, also precipitated internal changes to legislative staff responsiveness and culture which Evans was able to observe and study firsthand through elite interviews and participant observation. She ultimately concludes, though, that these changes have not been for the best. The simple act of a citizen's "ascent up the Capitol's grand staircase to the seat of American legislative government," she argues, has been jeopardized by Congress' post-9/11 changes, both internally (e.g., staff culture) and externally (security and access restrictions).

Evans begins her book by nicely surveying potential lenses through which to understand post 9/11 changes on Capitol Hill. Not content to pigeonhole her analyses with one myopic methodological perspective, she argues in her introduction that to understand congressional change we must "think holistically about the political culture in which our legislative body operates and ... incorporate this view into [our] own studies of Congress." Thus she seeks to integrate her personal experiences and professional findings within the extant approaches to the study of Congress, including

institutional, new institutional, the classic systems approach of David Easton, organizational approaches that stress the importance of behavioral norms of congressional members and their staffs, and cultural perspectives that seek to characterize congressional change and behavior as a product of the interaction between internal congressional norms and behavior and the larger political culture outside of the beltway. All of these approaches inform her account of congressional change and development after 9/11, but it is particularly the framework of Charles Goodsell that Evans chooses to develop in detail to explain these post-9/11 changes. Through “Expressive”, “Behavioral”, and “Societal” lenses she evaluates the effects of these changes on the character and operation of Congress specifically and American democracy more generally.

The first substantive chapter traces previous physical attacks to Congress from the War of 1812 to the present. Utilizing historical and elite interview data, she suggests that, like real or perceived threats to Congress before, the 9/11 attacks produced similar changes to Capitol security: “While the events of 2001 did pose a major threat to the institution and did result in major security adjustments, they were just that, adjustments.”

Chapters 2 and 3 examine 9/11’s impact on congressional staff, office administration, and other congressional personnel outside of “committee, party, and member offices.” For example, as a result of the subsequent Anthrax scares in the weeks and months after 9/11, staff began to incorporate electronic communications into their daily constituent services communication, and the Capitol Police instituted time-consuming and bulky processes for congressional mail which slowed down and changed the character of constituent mail correspondence. Evans argues that these developments are important for both symbolic and practical reasons, especially when we consider that the day of writing a letter to our congressman may now be gone. And not surprisingly, these post-9/11 changes in congressional staff culture increased stress and workload levels of staffers.

In chapter 4 the author tackles the largest policy response to the 9/11 attacks, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, which subsequently effected existing Congressional committees and spawned new internecine jurisdictional battles. One important result of the creation of the DHS, she argues, is that it is still unclear how much incentive exists for members to serve on DHS related committees on the one hand, and the reality of controlling the sweeping power of these committees on the other. At the very least, these committee and jurisdictional changes serve as both an opportunity and as a potential stumbling block for either party’s leadership in their long-term political calculations.

The last substantive chapter examines all of the themes Evans has developed so far by applying an advocacy coalition framework to the politics surrounding the design and building of the Capitol Visitor Center, which was under construction from 2001 to 2008.

Returning to Goodsell in the book’s final chapter, Evans argues that looking beyond the real and significant institutional changes to the internal functioning of Congress we see a simultaneous change in the symbolic functioning of our representative institutions as the result of the security and policy changes spurred by 9/11. To her credit, her book nicely accounts for these developments.

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Parliament and Congress: Representation and Scrutiny in the 21st Century, Charles Johnson and Sir William McKay, 2010, Oxford University Press, ISBN 9780199273621, \$160.00, 600 pages.

One supposes that in very few courses on American government in general or on the Congress in particular have the instructors not paused to explain to students the essential differences between the Westminster parliamentary and the American presidential systems of government. Parliament, we know, is a very different institution than the Congress. In Parliament, things usually get done; in the Congress, they often do not. Parliament operates according to the principle of party responsibility; Congress operates on the principle of member accountability to constituents. Parliament is effectively governed by the House of Commons; the Congress divides power between the House and the Senate. The Prime Minister is the leader of the parliamentary majority party; the President of the United States is independently elected and acts that way.

So much is generally understood. But what are the actual differences in the way in which Parliament and Congress, as legislative bodies, function? Who better to address this question than McKay, the former Clerk of the

House of Commons, and Johnson, the former Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives? In this compendium the authors build upon and extend previous comparative studies of Parliament and Congress, taking into account the most recent evolution of parliamentary practice in London and Washington. The task is, as they note, endless, since procedures in Parliament and Congress are constantly changing. Still, the foundation put in place in this volume may serve as a plinth upon which future editions may build.

The topical framework of the book is along common sense lines. Sections are devoted to the relations of these legislative bodies to their external environment (e.g. the American states or the European Union), to bicameral relationships, representation, legislative procedure, getting and spending, oversight, the committee structure, legislation, privilege, and ethics. While the book's detailed coverage of these various aspects of legislative practice certainly qualifies it as a standard reference, the authors indicate that they do not aim to write a standard textbook. For all of its depth, there is more omitted than included. Instead, one might take this volume as a roadmap to evolving parliamentary practice.

In this connection it is important to emphasize that the authors have a clear sense of contemporary relevance. This is demonstrated not only in their keen awareness of the constantly evolving character of legislative institutions, making necessary a focus on the most recent and important changes, but also on the way that these changes are driven by broader trends in the political environment. Two examples will illustrate. First, on the American side, there has been much focus in recent years on the lack of bipartisanship in Congress and the increasing polarization of the two parties. Parliament, of course, is an inherently partisan institution. Yet the polarization that appears more prominent in American politics has appeared in British politics as well. This raises a question about the institutional consequences of polarization in the respective political systems. Second, and similarly, both the Parliament and the Congress have witnessed scandals in recent decades relating to misuse of public funds for private purposes. These episodes have spawned greater attention to legislative ethics on both sides of the pond. How have these issues been addressed by Parliament and Congress? The authors engage this question.

With respect to these and many other interesting questions, the authors are attentive to both the similarities and the differences in the British and American experience. This nuanced approach enables the reader to assess parliamentary practice in these very different milieu's with attention to the political forces bearing upon both and the distinctive responses produced by their respective institutional arrangements.

This is not a book that many readers will work their way through from front to back, but it is a book that every student of Parliament or Congress should keep close at hand. Are you interested in the current Democratic contention that the Republicans are abusing the filibuster, or the Republican contention that Senator Reid is abusing his prerogative to "fill the amendment tree?" Read here to learn about these Senate rules in their derivation and current practice.

Ron Peters
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Parties, Polarization, and Democracy in the United States, Donald C. Baumer and Howard J. Gold, 2010, Paradigm Publishers, ISBN 9781594516689, \$29.95, paper, 242 pages.

Parties, Polarization, and Democracy in the United States is an impressive book, which examines polarization and the evolving role that political parties have played in modern U.S. politics. Throughout, the authors draw upon mounds of quantitative and qualitative data to make several intriguing points about modern political parties and the public at large. First, as compared to parties in the 1960s and 1970s, which did not take distinctive stands on many issues (or did not successfully communicate those stands to the public), contemporary parties clearly represent sharply different values, policies, and constituencies. In other words, the last three decades have ushered in an era in which political parties are highly polarized and quite distinctive from one another in a host of issue areas. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Baumer and Gold find that average Americans, despite being relatively uninformed, are increasingly aware of the many differences that divide parties, and use their party as a political compass when deciding for whom to vote.

After empirically substantiating these points, Baumer and Gold launch into a more general discussion about the normative implications of polarization in a democratic society. Contrary to the many scholars and pundits who have denounced the negative effects of polarization in American politics, the authors argue that the party differences brought on by increased polarization are actually quite healthy for a representative democracy. For instance, in

addition to enhancing party unity and political accountability, polarization has forced parties to differentiate more clearly amongst themselves, which has enabled otherwise disconnected and apathetic voters to make reasonably informed choices. Over time, this has made it easier for average citizens to participate in the political process (because information costs are lower), ultimately resulting in increased electoral turnout.

From there, the authors take an unexpected yet welcomed turn into the world of comparative politics, where they contrast the experience of American parties with the evolution of parties in Australia, Britain, Canada—all of which are thought to have relatively “strong” party systems. In so doing, they present a number of interesting findings. For example, with regard to polarization, they find that contemporary American parties are more polarized and ideologically cohesive than parties in the other three countries. Likewise, whereas US parties have experienced a recent surge in political importance, parties in the other Anglo countries have experienced a steady decline over the last several decades. Both findings call into question the commonly held assumption that American parties are weaker than parties in Europe and elsewhere.

The authors close by looking at the way in which parties and polarization impacted the 2008 presidential election and might influence the 2010 mid-term elections. Unfortunately, the book was published prior to the 2010 elections. It would have been quite interesting to learn Baumer and Gold’s take on the Tea Party movement, which some would say fractured the Republican party and/or reinforced pre-existing ideological divides within society.

This book will appeal to a wide range of scholars, including those who study polarization or public opinion, as well as the evolution and importance of political parties over time.

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The Speaker of the House: A Study of Leadership, Matthew N. Green, 2010, Yale University Press, ISBN 9780300153187, \$30.00, paper, 304 pages.

Congressional scholars have come to emphasize the partisan role of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, even though the office is the only legislative leadership position specifically mandated in the U.S. Constitution and the term itself derives from the strictly non-partisan Westminster-style parliamentary office. To the extent that partisan goals have come to dominate the assessments of political scientists, Matthew N. Green’s book offers a different and broader perspective on legislative leadership as practiced by ten Speakers since 1941. (Most of the analysis focuses on Sam Rayburn through Dennis Hastert with a brief discussion of Nancy Pelosi in the closing chapter.)

Green’s analysis builds from existing theories of the speakership and posits a theory of goal-driven legislative leadership. While acknowledging the contributions of his predecessors (among them, Burns 1978, Cooper and Brady 1981, Krehbiel 1991, Cox and McCubbins 1993, Peters 1997, and Strahan 2007), Green sets out to shift the emphasis from partisan goals to an understanding of the multiple goals which Speakers pursue. To do so, he assembles a data set that focuses on the consequential acts of Speakers to secure legislative results and retain substantial majorities.

While securing re-election – both in one’s district and to the speakership – remains a central goal, Green argues that Speakers can be expected to pursue personal policy preferences and to fulfill specific roles of the office. Role fulfillment takes on three dimensions, asserts Green, who identifies Speakers’ obligations, first, to the president’s party where presidential and congressional party imperatives may diverge, second, to the institution of the presidency irrespective of partisan division, and, finally, to the House as an institution and to its whole membership. Not surprisingly, Green finds that in recent years the Speaker’s role in aiding the institutional presidency and supporting the whole House has waned as partisanship within the House began to rise starting in the 1980s.

Green’s data is interesting for several reasons. First, he looks at floor advocacy – speaking and voting – which historically have not been commonplace activities because of the conflict between a Speaker’s duties as the presiding officer and the expectations of an individual member. In total, he analyzes 418 cases of floor advocacy and codes the cases by policy area. Second, Green analyzes 145 specific instances where Speakers intervened to effect legislative outcomes. He identifies the cases through a systematic “sweep” of political science literature and historical sources, a kind of meta-analysis of previous research. Green treats the cases systematically and verifies the specific actions of speakers using multiple sources. Finally, Green identifies recorded votes cast by Speakers and subjects these votes to a logit regression model to predict the conditions under which speakers are more likely to exert legislative leadership.

A welcome addition to the literature on the speakership, this book is sufficiently accessible to be appropriate in undergraduate congress courses and methodologically sophisticated to challenge graduate students. It combines a deft consideration of the history of the office of the Speaker with a rich discussion of specific instances of legislative leadership. The chapters on Rayburn and McCormack are full of interesting case examples of the exercise of leadership on different policies, and the chapter on Hastert will give scholars cause to reconsider the influence of a Speaker who often operated in the shadow of his controversial majority leader, Tom DeLay. The argument also brings greater depth of understanding to the goals and actions of Speakers beyond the obvious aspects of reelection and retention of majority status.

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When Politicians Attack: Party Cohesion in the Media (Series: Communication Society and Politics), Tim Groeling, 2010, Cambridge University Press, ISBN 9780521842099, \$85.00, cloth, 264 pages.

Tim Groeling's *When Politicians Attack!* postulates an interesting theory of party cohesion and is quite timely given the recent congressional election which resulted in the House of Representatives changing hands. While several media outlets attributed the Democrats' loss to a failure in presidential leadership, Groeling's book suggests that unified government ironically contributes to the loss of party solidarity and puts the president's majority in greater jeopardy than it would face with divided government. It seems logical to assume that when a president holds both houses of Congress, he operates from a position of strength but Groeling's analysis indicates this enviable position actually has a negative effect on "unified collective communication" and his party's positive branding with the voters (2). Competition between the executive and legislative branches for power inevitably leads to friction between competing interests in the party and these disputes are fodder for cable news and sell newspapers. Groeling's theory provides a feasible explanation for the persistence of divided government in the last few decades.

The focus of *When Politicians Attack!* is the media's role in the relationship between the electorate, political parties, legislators, and the president. In Chapter one, Groeling outlines the ascent to power by the Republicans in the House and Senate in 1994 under divided government and their loss of power in 2006 under unified government. Largely responsible for rebranding the Republican product with the *Contract for America*, Newt Gingrich lost his speakership in 1998 due primarily to his inability to control the media's reporting of intra-party conflicts. In 2006, six years after George W. Bush's controversial election, the Republicans lost control of both houses of Congress and a majority of governorships because the party did not maintain a cohesive image for the electorate.

In Chapter two, the author further examines the media's role in the political process and outlines his hypotheses in detail. Groeling theorizes that even "ideologically balanced" news outlets will over report any intra-party dispute or message from the opposition party if given the opportunity. He suggests that political news production is less about partisan bias and more about what makes for a good news story. When politicians do an unsatisfactory job of crafting messages for the media, their parties lose favor with the voters.

Chapter three tests Groeling's hypotheses. He finds support for his hypotheses that praise offered by the president's fellow party members is "disproportionately unlikely to be selected by journalists" (81) and that negative messages from the opposition party are the most common type of messages reported in the media. Groeling's hypothesis that a decrease in presidential popularity results in an increase in criticism by members of his own party is confirmed. These results are evidence that the media is much more likely to report intra-party conflict rather than praise from the president's party. Finally, he finds evidence that when the media expect criticism of an issue from the president's party, they are more likely to report on the issue and the president favorably. Chapter four provides the reader with a better understanding of the difficulty the president's party members have in maintaining their majorities under unified government. His analysis of the years from 1980 to 2006 shows that when the Speaker of the House was a member of the opposition party, he received in excess of three times the news coverage than did the president's minority leader.

Chapter five tests hypotheses regarding public opinion. Groeling confirms his predictions that independents will be more influenced by presidential-party criticism and the opposition's praise and least swayed by the converse. For the presidential-party viewer, criticism from the president's own party has the largest impact. For the nonpresidential-

party viewer, support from the nonpresidential-party is most influential and criticism from the president's party has the least effect. Overall, changes in public opinion were strongly related to Groeling's predictions of what constitutes an influential political message to a viewer.

In Chapter six, Groeling reminds the reader that "unified government paradoxically undermines presidential-party unity" (181) and suggests that a congressional majority has a better chance of maintaining control when the Oval Office is occupied by a member of the opposition. However, unified government does not *have* to be unstable. If politicians had more control over the media's ability to filter their messages and the number of partisan news outlets increased, the chances for controlling three important institutions of government would be greater. Groeling was particularly prescient in his closing thoughts as he described the Democrats' probability of control under unified government as unlikely given his theory. The author's concerns were realized in November 2010 when the Democrats lost their majority in the House of Representatives and lost several seats in the Senate.

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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
Acta Politica, vol. 45, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 468-490	Wauters, Bram; Weekers, Karolien; Maddens, Bart	Explaining the number of preferential votes for women in an open-list PR system: An investigation of the 2003 federal elections in Flanders (Belgium)
American Journal of Political Science, vol. 54, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 839-854	Kanthak, Kristin; Krause, George A.	Valuing Diversity in Political Organizations: Gender and Token Minorities in the U.S. House of Representatives
American Politics Research, vol. 38, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 959-985	Engstrom, Erik J.; Vanberg, Georg	Assessing the Allocation of Pork: Evidence From Congressional Earmarks
American Politics Research, vol. 38, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 1015-1051	Ragusa, Jordan Michael	The Lifecycle of Public Policy: An Event History Analysis of Repeals to Landmark Legislative Enactments, 1951-2006
American Politics Research, vol. 38, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 1072-1101	Seo, Jungkun	Vote Switching on Foreign Policy in the U.S. House of Representatives
American Politics Research, vol. 38, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 1102-1129	Hayes, Danny	Trait Voting in U.S. Senate Elections
Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 605-621	Crawford, Mary; Pini, Barbara	Gender Equality in National Politics: The Views of Australian Male Politicians
Australian Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 663-680	Maddison, Sarah	White Parliament, Black Politics: The Dilemmas of Indigenous Parliamentary Representation

Journal	Author	Title of Article
British Journal of Political Science, vol. 40, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 759-779	Ferree, Karen E.	The Social Origins of Electoral Volatility in Africa
British Journal of Political Science, vol. 40, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 805-833	Maoz, Zeev; Somer-Topcu, Zeynep	Political Polarization and Cabinet Stability in Multiparty Systems: A Social Networks Analysis of European Parliaments, 1945-98
Constitutional Political Economy, vol. 21, no.4 (Dec 2010): 336-359	Bose, Feler	Parliament vs. Supreme court: a veto player framework of the Indian constitutional experiment in the area of economic and civil rights
Diplomatic History, vol. 34, no. 5 (Nov 2010): 823-851	Keys, Barbara	Congress, Kissinger, and the Origins of Human Rights Diplomacy
Economics & Politics, vol. 22, no. 3 (Nov 2010): 282-297	DeVault, James M.	CAFTA, Campaign Contributions, and the Role of Special Interests
Economics of Governance, vol. 11, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 373-408	Ergun, Selim Jurgen	From plurality rule to proportional representation
European Journal of International Relations, vol. 16, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 639-662	Walldorf, C. William, Jr.	Argument, institutional process, and human rights sanctions in democratic foreign policy
European Journal of Political Research, vol. 50, no. 1 (Jan 2011): 53-79	Proksch, Sven-Oliver; Slapin, Jonathan B.	Parliamentary questions and oversight in the European Union
European Law Journal, vol. 16, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 760-779	Hahn-Lorber, Marcus	Are There Methods of Reasoning on 'Meta-Legislation'? The Interpretation of Legislative Competence Norms within the Methodology of European Constitutional Law
European Union Politics, vol. 11, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 533-552	Gherghina, Sergiu; Chiru, Mihail	Practice and payment: Determinants of candidate list position in European Parliament elections
European Union Politics, vol. 11, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 553-575	Marshall, David	Who to lobby and when: Institutional determinants of interest group strategies in European Parliament committees
European Union Politics, vol. 11, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 597-613	Hoyland, Bjorn	Procedural and party effects in European Parliament roll-call votes
French Politics, vol. 8, no. 2 (Jul 2010): 145-165	Beauvallet, Willy; Michon, Sebastien	Professionalization and socialization of the members of the European Parliament
Government Information Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 414-422	Relyea, Harold C.	Across the Hill: The congressional research service and providing research for congress-A retrospective on origins
International Journal of Refugee Law, vol. 22, no. 3: 404-439	Kim, Jang Hyun; Barnett, George A.; Kwon, K. Hazel	The Influence of Social Networks on the U.S. Senate Roll-Call Voting
Journal of Common Market Studies, vol. 48, no. 5 (Nov 2010): 1185-1208	Crespy, Amadine; Gajewska, Katarzyna	New Parliament, New Cleavages after the Eastern Enlargement? The Conflict over the Services Directive as an Opposition between the Liberals and the Regulators
Journal of Legislative Studies, vol. 16, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 411-437	Bolleyer, Nicole	Why Legislatures Organise: Inter-Parliamentary Activism in Federal Systems and its Consequences

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Journal of Legislative Studies, vol. 16, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 438-459	Stecker, Christian	Causes of Roll-Call Votes Supply: Evidence from the German Lander
Journal of Legislative Studies, vol. 16, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 476-494	Bowler, Shaun	Private Members' Bills in the UK Parliament: Is There an 'Elective Connection'?
Journal of Legislative Studies, vol. 16, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 495-514	Stark, Alastair	A New Perspective on Constituency Representation: British Parliamentarians and the 'Management' of Crises
Journal of Politics, vol. 72, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 799-811	Cox, Gary W.; Kousser, Thad; McCubbins, Mathew D.	Party Power or Preferences? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from American State Legislatures
Journal of Politics, vol. 72, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 939-956	Ura, Joseph Daniel; Wohlfarth, Patrick C.	"An Appeal to the People": Public Opinion and Congressional Support for the Supreme Court
Journal of Politics, vol. 72, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 976-989	Crespin, Michael H.; Rohde, David W.	Dimensions, Issues, and Bills: Appropriations Voting on the House Floor
Journal of Political Science Education, vol. 6, no. 3 (July 2010): 217-226	Baranowski, Michael; Weir, Kimberly	Power and Politics in the Classroom: The Effect of Student Roles in Simulations
Journal of Theoretical Politics, vol. 22, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 301-332	Slinko, Arkadii; White, Shaun	Proportional Representation and Strategic Voters
Journal of Women, vol. 31, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 243-259	Herrick, Rebekah	The Legislative Effectiveness of Gay and Lesbian Legislators
Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 457-486	Yoshinaka, Antoine, McElroy, Gail; Bowler, Shaun	The Appointment of Rapporteurs in the European Parliament
Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 487-518	Vander Wielen, Ryan J.	The Influence of Conference Committees on Policy Outcomes
Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 519-542	Aksoy, Deniz	'It Takes a Coalition': Coalition Potential and Legislative Decision Making
Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 543-569	Engstrom, Erik J.; Ewell, William	The Impact of Unified Party Government on Campaign Contributions
Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2010): 571-598	Feinstein, Brian D.	The Dynasty Advantage: Family Ties in Congressional Elections
Pacific Review, vol. 23, no. 5 (Dec 2010): 549-578	Croissant, Aurel	Provisions, practices and performances of constitutional review in democratizing East Asia
Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 385-406	Allington, Nigel F.B.; Peele, Gillian	Moats, Duck Houses and Bath Plugs: Members of Parliament, the Expenses Scandal and the Use of Web Sites
Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 486-503	Gauja, Anika	Evaluating the Success and Contribution of a Minor Party: the Case of the Australian Democrats
Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 534-544	Levy, Jessica	Public Bill Committees: An Assessment Scrutiny Sought; Scrutiny Gained
Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 545-557	Riddle, Peter	In Defence of Politicians: In Spite of Themselves

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 558-569	Fox, Ruth; Korris, Matt	Reform of the Wash-up: Managing the Legislative Tidal Wave at the End of a Parliament
Policy & Politics, vol. 38, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 369-388	Mackay, Fiona	Gendering constitutional change and policy outcomes: substantive representation and domestic violence policy in Scotland
Policy & Politics, vol. 38, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 483-487	Bochel, Hugh; Defty, Andrew; Dunn, Andrew	Scrutinising the secret state: parliamentary oversight of the intelligence and security agencies
Policy & Politics, vol. 38, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 489-490	Kelso, Alexandra	Debate Reply
Political Communication, vol. 27, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 310-325	Aelst, Peter Van; Sehata, Adam; Dalen, Arjen Van	Members of Parliament: Equal Competitors for Media Attention? An Analysis of Personal Contacts Between MPs and Political Journalists in Five European Countries
Political Quarterly, vol. 81, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 298-308	Wright, Tony	What are MPs for
Political Quarterly, vol. 81, no. 3 (Jul 2010): 438-442	Lovenduski, Joni	A Long Way to Go: The Final Report of the Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation
Political Research Quarterly, vol. 63, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 783-795	Dometrius, Nelson C.; Wright, Deil S.	Governors, Legislatures, and State Budgets across Time
Political Research Quarterly, vol. 63, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 850-859	Crespin, Michael H.	Serving Two Masters: Redistricting and Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives
Political Research Quarterly, vol. 63, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 890-907	Rocha, Rene R.; Tolbert, Caroline J.; Bowen, Daniel C.; Clark, Christopher J.	Race and Turnout: Does Descriptive Representation in State Legislatures Increase Minority Voting?
Political Studies, vol. 58, no. 5 (Dec 2010): 866-885	Russell, Meg	A Stronger Second Chamber? Assessing the Impact of House of Lords Reform in 1999 and the Lessons for Bicameralism
Political Studies, vol. 58, no. 5 (Dec 2010): 886-908	Krook, Mona Lena	Women's Representation in Parliament: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis
Political Studies, vol. 58, no. 5 (Dec 2010): 909-929	Annesley, Claire; Gains, Francesca	The Core Executive: Gender, Power and Change
Politics and Policy, vol. 38, no. 6 (Dec 2010): 1113-1134	Lucas, Jennifer	Incumbent Responsiveness to Female Challengers
Presidential Studies Quarterly, vol. 40, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 686-707	Rice, Laurie L.	Statements of Power: Presidential Use of Statements of Administration Policy and Signing Statements in the Legislative Process
Presidential Studies Quarterly, vol. 40, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 708-724	Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew	The Importance of Policy Scope to Presidential Success in Congress
Public Administration Review, vol. 145, no. 3-4 (Dec 2010): 417-433	Adams, James; Brunell, Thomas L.; Grofman, Bernard; Merrill, Samuel	Why candidate divergence should be expected to be just as great (or even better) in competitive seats as in non-competitive ones
Scandinavian Political Studies, vol. 33, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 381-401	Hansen, Martin Ejnar	Committee Assignment Politics in the Danish Folketing

Journal	Author	Title of Article
Social Science Quarterly, vol. 91, no. 4 (Dec 2010): 1043-1062	Wilson, Walter Clark	Descriptive Representation and Latino Interest Bill Sponsorship in Congress
State and Local Government Review, vol. 42, no. 3 (Dec 2010): 235-245	Leckrone, J. Wesley; Gollob, Justin	Telegrams to Washington
West European Politics, vol. 33, no. 6 (Nov 2010): 1261-1277	Nadeau, Richard; Foucalt, Martial; Lewis- beck, Michael S.	Patrimonial Economic Voting: Legislative Elections in France

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● Legislative News

Links to recent articles on the *Governing* magazine website:

“[Big Things Ahead for Nebraska’s Speaker](#)” by Tina Trenkner
Mike Flood, a lawyer and broadcaster, leads the nation's only unicameral Legislature.

“[Dealing with Term-Limited Legislators](#)” by Russell Nichols
States with term-limited legislators are seeking ways to counteract the drawbacks of high turnover.

Links to recent articles in *State Legislatures* magazine:

“[Q & A with Dan Glickman](#)” by Garry Boulard
Dan Glickman has always placed a high value on leaders of sometimes vastly differing opinions coming together to find solutions.

“[Red Tide](#)” by Karen Hansen
A GOP wave washed over state legislatures on Election Day.

Link to a recent article at *Stateline.org*:

“[Conservatives seek to amend U.S. Constitution through state action](#)” by Melissa Maynard

APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

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Papers Presented

APSA – Papers presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Washington, DC, September 2–5, 2010.

NPSA – Papers presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association annual meeting, Boston, MA, November 11–13, 2010.

SPSA – Papers presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, January 5–8, 2011.

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Akirav, Osnat	“Hard times” in One-Minute Speeches
Asmussen, Nicole; Jo, Jinhee	Anchors Away: A New Approach for Estimating Ideal Points Comparable Across Time and Chambers
Bailer, Stefanie; Mattila, Mikko	Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers
Battista, James S.C.; Richman, Jesse T.	Spatial Voting in State Legislative Elections
Binder, Sarah; Spindel, Mark	The Politics of Designing the Federal Reserve
Bond, Robert	A Social Network Approach to Party Cohesion
Breunig, Christian; Workman, Samuel	Navigating the Dimensions of Policy Agendas
Brown, Nathan	Why Do Islamists Run for Parliament and What Do They Make of It When They Get There?
Buchler, Justin	Going Off the Rails On A Crazy Train: Internet Infamy and Congressional Extremism
Butler, Daniel M.; Sempelinski, Joseph	Non-policy Determinants of Legislators’ Procedural Votes: Evidence from Vote Switching between Cloture and the Underlying Motion
Caress, Stanley M.; Kunioka, Todd	The Election of Women to State Legislatures: The Influence of Various Factors

Carroll, Susan J.; Sanbonmatsu, Kira	Can More Women Run? Reevaluating Women's Election to the State Legislatures
Carson, Jamie L.; Madonna, Anthony	Understanding the Electoral and Institutional Basis for Amendment Voting in the U.S. Congress
Crisp, Brian F.	Legislative Voting in Latin America
Dancey, Logan	Congressional Responsiveness to Public Disaffection with the Legislative Process
Daum, Courtenay W.; Saunders, Kyle L.	Disparate Impact? The Effect of Term Limits on Democratic and Republican Female State Representatives
Dickinson, Matthew J.	The Legislative Presidency or the Administrative Presidency?: Choosing the Optimal Bargaining Strategy
Ensley, Michael J.; Tofias, Michael	Citizen Knowledge, Ideological Rigidity, and Legislator Responsiveness
Erikson, Robert S.	Explaining Midterm Loss: The Tandem Effects of Withdrawn Coattails and Ideological Balancing
Esterling, Kevin M.; Lazer, David; Neblo, Michael	Explaining the Diffusion of Web-Based Communication Technology among Congressional Offices: A Natural Experiment using State Delegations
Evans, Diana; Bickers, Kenneth N.; Stein, Robert M.; Wrinkle, Robert D.	Earmarks, Credit Claiming, and Campaign Contributions: District v. Outside Interests
Fortunato, David	Legislative Review and Party Differentiation in Coalition Governments
Frederick, Brian P.	Gender and Roll Call Voting Behavior in Congress: A Cross-Chamber Analysis
Fukumoto Kentaro; Matsuo, Akitaka	Legislative Activities in the Shadow of Elections: A Natural Experiment
Gaylord, Sylvia	Party Discipline and Delegation: Does More Discipline Translate into Less Delegation?
Gimpel, James G.; Thorpe, Rebecca U.; Lee, Frances E.	The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus: The Geography of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009
Greene, Zachary David	Motivating the Government's Agenda: An Analysis of Party Policy Change and Government Policy in France, 1978-2007
Grindle, Stonegarden	Just A Resolution: Presidential Influence On House Rules Committee Resolutions
Han, JeongHun	Legislators' Voting Behavior with Two Principals and Party Cohesion
Harbridge, Laurel	The Elasticity of Partisanship in Congress: An Analysis of Legislative Bipartisanship
Highton, Ben	Simulating the Effect of Strategic Retirement on Incumbency Advantage in House Elections
Hix, Simon; Noury Abdul G.	Scaling the Commons: Using MPs' Left-Right Self-Placement and Voting Divisions to Map the British Parliament, 1992-2005
Jenkins, Jeffery A.; Monroe, Nathan W.	Legislative Agenda Power in a Fragmented Partisan Era
Jenkins, Shannon	Bill Winnowing in U.S. State Legislatures
Jensen, Christian B.; Proksch, Sven-Oliver; Slapin, Jonathan B.	Domestic Politics and Legislative Oversight in the European Parliament
Junge, Dirk; Finke, Daniel	Locating Bill Positions in the 6th European Parliament: Towards a Comprehensive Statistical Analysis of Legislative Decision Making
Kailitz, Steffen	Like Day and Night? Party Unity in Legislative Voting in Parliamentarianism and Presidentialism
Kalandrakis, Tasos	Recovering Policy Alternatives Using Attributes, Data, and Non-Parametric Preference Restrictions

Kanthak, Kristin L.; Krause, George A.	Women's Caucuses as a Source of Coordination for Non-Taken Minorities: Logic, Evidence, and Lessons from Legislative Institutions in the American States
Karol, David	Differential Closeness to Elite Opinion as a Source of House-Senate Policy Disagreement
Kedar, Orit; Folke, Olle	Coalition Formation and Portfolio Allocation as Two Simultaneous Processes
King, Gary; Grimmer, Justin	You Lie! The History of Partisan Taunting in Congress
Koger, Gregory	Why 60? Cloture Reform in the Senate, 1975-86
König, Thomas	Bring on the Parliament: Exploring the Link Between European Parliamentary Participation and Public Policy Support
Konisky, David; Ueda, Michiko	Uncontested Elections and Legislator Performance in the U.S. House of Representatives
Langohr, Vickie; Jamal, Amaney	Personal Status Laws and the Western Women's Rights Regime: The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Yemen's Islah in Comparative Perspective
Lazarus, Jeffrey	Do Electoral Concerns Influence Congress Members' Participation in the Legislative Process
Leiras, Marcelo C.; Calvo, Ernesto F.	Sectors, Provinces and Democratic Representation: the Territorial Dimension of Legislative Activity in the Argentine Congress
MacKenzie, Scott A.	From Political Pathways to Senate Folkways: Careerism in the U.S. Senate, 1848-1944
Magleby, Daniel; Harbridge, Laurel	Balancing Act: The Strategic Selection of House-Senate Conferees in the United States Congress
Marshall, Bryan W.	When the President Says No: Veto Bargaining and Rhetoric
Masket, Seth E.; McGhee, Eric	Do Closed Primaries Lead to Ideologically Extreme Politicians? Evidence from the State Legislatures
Masoud, Tarek E.; Monroe, Burt L.; Maves, Jessica	How Do Parliaments Change Islamist Parties (and Vice Versa)?
Mershon, Carol A.; Shvetsova, Olga V.	Hunting the Core: Change in Parliamentary Parties and Policy
Montgomery, Jacob M.; Aldrich, John H.; Sparks, David B.	A Simulation Study of Roll-Call Scaling Procedures
Mooney, Christopher Z.	Modeling Legislative Leadership Power Dynamically: Principals, Agents, Tools, and Influence
Nokken, Timothy P.; Baughman, John R.	The Electoral Connection and Participation on House Roll Call Votes, 1820-1920
Pearson, Kathryn	Gendered Partisanship in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1993-2009
Pereira, Carlos; Araujo, Luis; Raile, Eric D.	Posts, Pork, and Policies: Modeling Exchange in Multiparty Presidential Regimes
Powell, Lynda W.	What Money Buys: The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures
Rigby, Elizabeth; Wright, Gerald C.	Rich Districts, Poor Districts: Does Legislative Behavior Differ?
Rothenberg, Lawrence S.; Chiou, Fang-Yi	Presidential Unilateralism: Taking Significance Seriously
Saiegh, Sabastian M.; Iaryczower, Matias, Katz, Gabriel	Floor Power, Gate-Keeping and the Spatial Voting Model in Congress
Scully, Roger; Hix, Simon; Farrell, David M.	National or European Parliamentarians? Evidence from a New Survey of the Members of the European Parliament
Shor, Boris; Tomkowiak, Mateusz	Assessing Party Strength with New Data from External Surveys and Party Switchers

Sprague, Laurel; Sarbaugh-Thompson, Marjorie; Elder, Charles D.; Thompson, Lyke	The Social and Political Forces Shaping Legislator-Constituent Relations: Expanding an Empirical Theory of Representation
Sulkin, Tracy; Bernhard, William T.	Reciprocity and Reputation-Building in the U.S. House
Sullivan, Terry	Duty and Discretion in White House Operations: Comparisons between Presidential Activity in the First 100 Days and Afterward
Taylor, Andrew J.	When Congress Asserts Itself: Explaining Legislative Challenges to Executive Power
Taylor-Robinson, Michelle M.; Nesbit, Bethany	He Wins, She Wins, Who Wins? Does Gender or Background Determine Cabinet Ministers' Success in Passing Legislation in 4 Latin American Countries?
Thames, Frank C.; Rybalko, Mikhail	Gender and Legislative Behavior in Post-Communist Ukraine
Theriault, Sean M.	Gingrich Senators: How and Why They Have Fundamentally Changed the Senate
Van Hecke, Steven; Dierckx, Didier	Comparing USA and EU Legislatures: Party Cohesion in the House of Representatives and the European Parliament
Wand, Jonathan; Peskowitz, Zachary Fox	Who Wins and Who Loses in Congress? The Strategic Calculus of Parties and Moderates
Yadav, Stacey Philbrick	Protection, Patronage and Paralysis: Mapping Hizballah's Tactical Shifts in Parliament
Zucchini, Francesco; Curini, Luigi	Assessing the Impact of Electoral Rules and Government Alternation on Party Cohesion: The Case of Italy, 1988-2008

Northeastern Political Science Association (NPSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Beachler, Donald W.	Localization and Nationalization: House Democrats in the 2010 Elections
Blessing, Laura	Where Did the Liberal Republicans in Congress Go?
Cobetto, Joseph	Talking about Inclusion: Partisanship & Congressional Language about Immigration Policy
DeLeo, Rob A.; Hedlund, Ronald D.	The Impact of Situational Factors on Committee Request and Assignment Behavior: Does Context Matter?
Ewell, William Henry	Positive Presidential Influence on Congressional Appropriations Decisions
Green, Matthew	Can the Minority Party in Congress Shape Public Opinion?
Gulati, Girish Jeff; Brown, Lara Michelle	Understanding the Congressional Vote: The Effects of Scandals and Media Coverage on Incumbents, 2002-2010
Hackey, Robert B.	Legislative Simulations of the Policy Process: Learning from Experience
Klinghard, Daniel; Wallace, Kevin	Executive Power Surge: Congressional Delegation of Authority and Tariff Politics in the Late Nineteenth Century
Mack, William R.	Border Politics in the House – The Influence of the Congressional Border Caucus on Member Votes
Marchant-Shapiro	The Devil's in the Details: Predicting District Level Outcomes in Midterm Elections
Nelson, Garrison	Ideology vs. Party in the Senate's Supreme Court Configuration Process: A Two-Century Journey, 1795-2010

Scala, Dante J.	Last-Minute Bets: How National Congressional Campaign Committees Respond to Possible Wave Elections
Shastri, Anand	The Relationship Between the Religiosity of Voters & Partisanship in the U.S. Senate
Stanton, Louise	Does the National Guard Still Belong to the States? Recent Congressional Efforts on Reform.
Tauber, Steven	More Bark than Bite: The Diminished Role of Party and Ideology in State Legislators' Votes on Animal Protection
Wallner, James Ian	Cooking the Books: Deficit Spending the Politics of the Congressional Budget Process Since 1974

Southern Political Science Association (SPSA)

Author	Title of Paper
Allen, Brooke	Girl Talk: Female Senators' Floor Speeches During the Supreme Court Confirmations
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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.](#)

Charting the Congressional Experience: The Papers of Richard Gephardt

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

Civil Rights Documentation Project THE DIRKSEN CONGRESSIONAL CENTER

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

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

Intended to serve the needs of teachers and students, [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 Koeppel by email at ckoeppel@dirksencenter.org if you have any ideas or comments about this new feature.

Congress to Campus Program THE UNITED STATES ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

The [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.

Congressional Timeline 1.0

THE DIRKSEN CONGRESSIONAL CENTER

The Dirksen Congressional Center has introduced the Congressional Timeline 1.0 at <http://www.congressionaltimeline.org/>:

- Major laws – more than 200 examples – passed by Congress from 1933 to the present;
- The partisan composition of each Congress, along with the presidential administration and the congressional leaders;
- The session dates of each Congress;
- Measures of legislative productivity, such as the number of bills introduced and passed;
- Information about women and African-Americans serving in Congress;
- Examples of documents and audiovisual materials related to legislation;
- The ability to add information to the timeline by using the "wiki" feature.

Here's how the timeline works:

1. Go to the CTL index page at <http://www.congressionaltimeline.org/>.
2. Select the 88th Congress from the drop-down menu on the right.
3. Click the "expand" button under 1963 to see general information about the 88th.
4. To experience the multimedia potential for the site, click the "collapse" button for 1963 and the "expand" button for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 at July 2, 1964.
5. Check out the rotating cube! You will see additional content -- documents, photos, even a video of the presidential signing ceremony.
6. To contribute to the timeline, use the wiki component -- Just click on "wiki" on the rotating cube.

Information will be added to the Congressional Timeline continuously. Look for updates by becoming a Facebook fan (click the LIKE button) at <http://www.facebook.com/pages/The-Dirksen-Congressional-Center/144144304380>. Subscribe to the e-newsletter at <http://www.webcommunicator.org/index.htm>. Please contact Frank Mackaman at fmackaman@dirksencenter.org if you have questions.

Data on Legislative Voting and Representation

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

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

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

Dirksen Center Congressional Research Grants

[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 studies, and journalists are among those eligible. The Center encourages graduate students who have successfully defended their dissertation prospectus to apply and awards a significant portion of the funds for dissertation research.

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

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

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

The Center, named for the late Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit research and educational organization devoted to the study of Congress and its leaders.

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

Election Results Archive

CENTER ON DEMOCRATIC PERFORMANCE AT BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY

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

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

More election data will be added to this Archive as time and resources permit. The archive can be searched by country, region, or year and type of election. Please visit the archive at <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era/index.html>.

European Consortium for Political Research

ECPR has a new standing group on Parliaments, coordinated by Shane Martin, University of California, San Diego) and Matti Wiberg (University of Turku). For a number of years the study of legislatures has concentrated on the US Congress. Parliaments in Europe have not been a subject of investigation to any comparable extent. Nevertheless, the body of knowledge is ever expanding on both the long-standing parliaments in Europe and the new institutions of the European Union and Central and Eastern Europe.

The Standing Group's aim is to promote comparative research and theory-building on the institutionalisation, capacity, operation, and performance of legislatures and the dissemination of such research. For more information, and to register for membership (which is free) please see the web site at: <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/parliaments/index.htm>.

Fellowship at Vanderbilt University

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Vanderbilt University's Department of Political Science seeks applicants for up to two (2) Fellowships to support research on political institutions, opinion or behavior. Applications are welcome from scholars who have received their doctoral degrees within the three years prior to the start of the fellowship, or who will complete their degrees by August 1, 2011. The fellowships involve a year of supported research at Vanderbilt University starting September 1, 2011. There is no teaching requirement associated with the fellowship, but teaching can be arranged if desired by the successful candidate. There may be some research associated with the mission of Center as part of the fellowship, but no more than a few hours per week. Successful candidates will be given a competitive salary, health care benefits, office space, computing resources, and a research account.

Candidates should submit a vita and a cover letter describing why spending a year at Vanderbilt would prove useful for research. The letter should also describe what the candidate hopes to accomplish during the year(s) in residence. A graduate school transcript, a writing sample, and letters of reference are also required. Applicants should send all materials to: Fellowship Search, c/o Jennifer Anderson, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2301 Vanderbilt Place, VU Station B Box 351817 Station B, Nashville, TN 37235-1817. Vanderbilt is an AA/EEO employer. Applications from minorities and women are particularly encouraged. Applications will be considered on a rolling basis, but priority will be given to those received before February 15, 2011.

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 and y.galligan@Queens-Belfast.AC.UK.

Preliminary queries are welcome.

Oral History of Chuck Ludlam

Chuck Ludlam's career as a Capitol Hill staffer, which spanned a 40-year period (1965–2005), has been documented by the Senate Historical Office in a series of oral history interviews. Ludlam provided extensive notes for many of the individuals and issues discussed in his interviews and provides background on Senators Jim Abourezk, Phillip Hart, Robert Byrd, Jim Allen, Dale Bumpers, and Joseph Lieberman; Congressmen Burt Talcott, Glen Lipscomb, and Gillis Long; and Senate Parliamentarian Murray Zweben. The oral history also provides insights into the lifestyle, skills, and tactics of a senior Capitol Hill staffer who fought in the political trenches. The oral history is available online at http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/oral_history/Ludlam_chuck.htm.

Political Science Blog: *Voir Dire*

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

SSRN 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>.

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 sppq@merlyn.press.uiuc.edu and request your subscriber number.

2. If you are an institutional SPPQ subscriber, you should have already received access to full on-line content automatically. Your on-campus computers can access the archive automatically through the use of institutional IP numbers and, therefore, your students and faculty do not need to login personally. If your institution subscribes to the paper journal but you find that you cannot access the full-text on-line version from your campus, please ask your librarian to fill out the Online IP Registration Form at http://sppq.press.uiuc.edu/ip_submit.html, which will add their institutional IP numbers to the SPPQ control system.

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

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.

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. Scholars may also call 202-483-2512 or email to center@apsanet.org.

Visiting Scholars Program

CARL ALBERT CENTER

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

The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; Sidney Clarke of Kansas; Richard Armev 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

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