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The Legislative Scholar

The Newsletter of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association

Contents

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS

Legislative Studies Section: Past, Present, and Future (and a new newsletter)

by Laurel Harbridge
Northwestern University
and
Gisela Sin
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *The Legislative Scholar*, the new Legislative Studies Section newsletter. We are very happy to take over as editors, and would like to take this opportunity to thank the previous editors - Larry Longley, Bird Loomis, Keith Hamm, and Ronald Peters, among others - at the Carl Albert Center at the University of Oklahoma for their excellent work over the past many years. We hope to maintain their high standards during our own editorial term.

We want to thank the editors of the Comparative Politics Newsletter, Matt Golder and Sona Golder, Associate Professors of Political Science at the Pennsylvania State University, as well as editorial assistant Charles Crabtree, a graduate student at the same university, for inspiring us in the design of the newsletter. They were very generous in providing substantive and technical advice on the newsletter and also the website. We are grateful for their help.

A "New" Newsletter

Following a request from outgoing section chair Brian Crisp in 2015 to develop a new section website and newsletter, we (along with a team of scholars across the legislative studies field) brainstormed various ways to develop a new format for section communication. We aim to build on the strengths of the past newsletter, address comments raised in Crisp's survey of section members, and incorporate ideas from other sections' successes. We have opted to follow a model being used by the Comparative Politics section, providing a bi-annual newsletter that focuses on a central theme with both substantive and methodological articles. We also look forward to incorporating a "new dataset" section and a special topics section that could include short articles about current events. Our goal is to enhance the sense of community in the section among scholars in the U.S. and around the world, while providing members with important information and developments in the field.

We also assembled an editorial board keeping in mind the broad interests of the section. The board is composed of eight members that are leaders in the study of the American Congress, State Legislatures, and Congresses and Parliaments around the world, with renewable terms each year so that new perspectives will join the conversation. The editorial board plays an important role working with the editors in the generation of newsletter themes, as well as in suggesting possible writers.

Symposium: Past, Present, and Future of the Legislative Studies Section

Our inaugural issue focuses on the past, present, and future of the Legislative Studies Section. We think that understanding the origins of the section, as well as how the topics and methods of investigation have changed are important issues both for posterity and for evaluating how our knowledge of legislative institutions has accumulated over time. After conferring with the editorial board, we invited scholars who have been past leaders of the section at various points over its history, or involved in new directions of legislative studies scholarship to provide their reflections on the past, present, and future of the section. We also asked for advice for junior scholars and those starting out as mentors of students in this field.

We are incredibly grateful to the individuals who contributed to the articles. Each of them provides the reflections of a particular scholar, through their own writing or an interview conducted by a graduate student. The first article, by Gerhard Loewenberg and Michelle L. Wiegand, both at the University of Iowa, tell the story of the legislative studies field, as well as of the creation of the section journal. They point to the contributions of leading scholars in the 1960s and early 1970s - Heinz Eulau, Alan Kornberg, and Malcolm Jewell, among others - in the development of the legislative studies field and a journal that would lead to cumulative research. Recently, the journal has left the University of Iowa for the first time and is now housed at Washington University, and both Brian Crisp and Steven Smith reflect on what this change means for the journal and the future of the section.

Second is an interview with Joe Cooper at Johns Hopkins University, conducted by Jillian Evans, a graduate student at the University of Illinois. Professor Cooper was active in the section during the time it was created, and shared with us some of the motivations and the general state of the field during its creation. In the interview with Jillian, Joe makes a clear distinction among the traditional, the behaviorist, and the rational choice approaches to studying Congress, asserting that graduate students should be trained in all of them. He also talks about the questions and approaches that struck him as novel and creative during his career and offers suggestions for young scholars.

Three of our contributors, Linda Fowler at Dartmouth College, Steven Smith, and Brian Crisp, both at Washington University, have been section chairs during different

Figure 1: Annual Section Membership

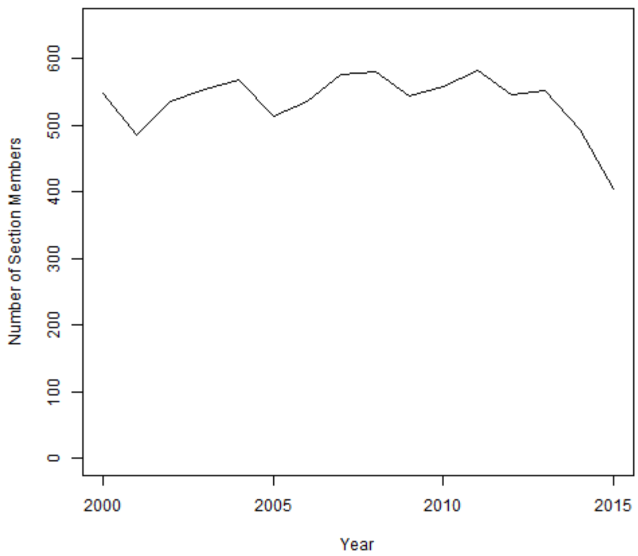
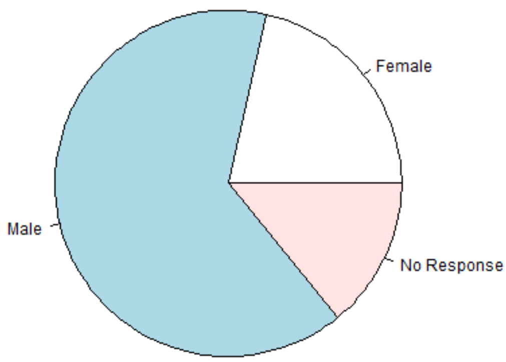


Figure 2: Gender of Current Section Members



periods. Linda presided over the LSS in the period 1989-1991, and recalls the influence of events like the fall of the Berlin Wall in the complexity and diversity of the section. In her piece, she remembers the efforts of the section to expand data gathering around the world in a systematic way, as well as relationships with scholars studying legislatures other than the U.S. Collin Paschall, a graduate student at the University of Illinois, conducted an interview with Steven Smith, who chaired the section between 2005 and 2007. In the interview, Steven points to new approaches during his tenure in the study of party effects, including a careful look at history and a greater focus on state legislatures to study theories that may have been developed around the U.S. Congress. The interview with Brian Crisp was conducted by William Simoneau, a graduate student at Washington University. Brian, who chaired the section from 2013 to 2015, represents the first "purely comparativist" chair of the Legislative Studies Section. In his interview, he emphasizes how the growth of democracy around the world led to a new group of scholars who aimed to integrate their research into broad theoretical debates about legislatures rather than area studies.

We also solicited contributions focused on specific aspects of the study of legislatures - the growth of scholarship on state legislatures (by Lynda Powell at the University of Rochester), the growth of scholarship on comparative legislatures (in an interview with Thomas König, at the University of Mannheim), and the role of data in the study of legislatures (in an interview with E. Scott Adler at the University of Colorado).

Lynda Powell notes that while scholars of state legislatures have often read and learned from scholars of the U.S. Congress, the reverse is not always true. She points to some of the most exciting areas of state legislative research and why legislative scholars more broadly should pay attention to this growing area of research. In the interview with Thomas König, conducted by Moritz Osnabrügge, a researcher at the University of Mannheim, he points to contributions of the comparative legislature scholarship on questions of principle-agent problems, and institutional variation in the status-quo bias of policymaking. Scott Adler tackles the questions of how data sources have changed over time, and how these changes have shifted the research of legislative scholars. Scott, in his interview with Stefani Langehennig, a graduate student at Colorado, suggests that data innovations in the last two decades may have supplanted the application of theoretical models as the calling card of the discipline.

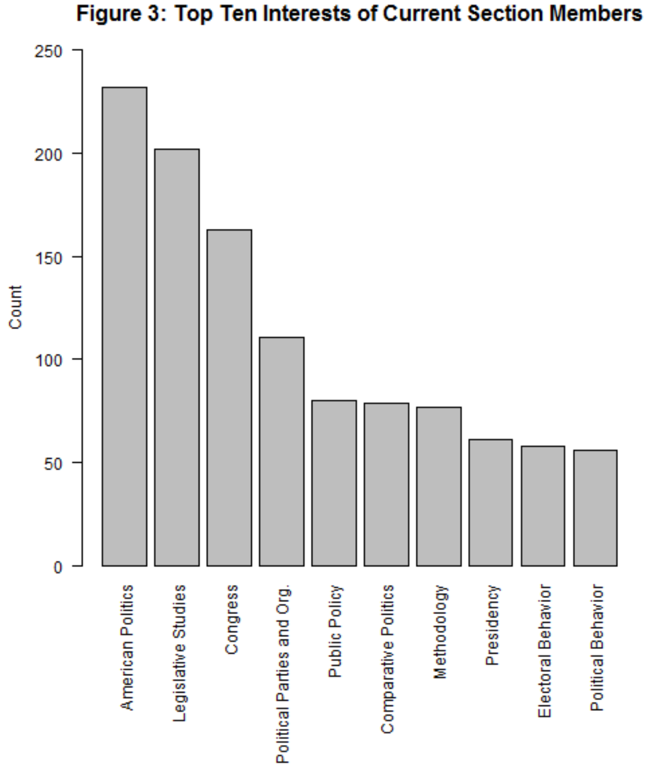
A Tribute to Barbara Sinclair

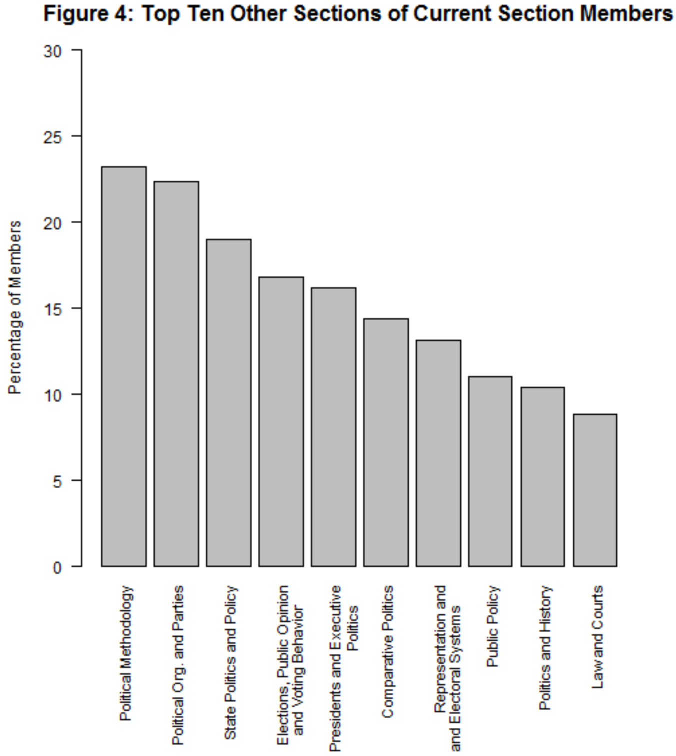
Gregory Koger, Associate Professor at the University of Miami, writes an article in memoriam of his mentor and friend, Barbara Sinclair, who passed away on March 11th 2016. Barbara left a lasting legacy in the study of Congress, and more generally, in political science. This article appeared originally in *The Monkey Cage*.

The State of the Section

In addition to the symposium, we wanted to provide some information regarding the demographic composition of the section, as well as the interests of their members. We solicited information from APSA, which we present here. Mike Crespin, Associate Director of the Carl Albert Congressional Research Center and Associate Professor at the University of Oklahoma, had obtained earlier information on LSS members' participation in other sections, which we also share.

Figure 1 shows the annual section membership. Between 2000 and the present, the Legislative Studies Section has





averaged 535 members, with a high point of 583 members in 2011 and a low point with the current roster of 404 members. In fact, with the exception of 2001, section membership has been above 500 in all years between 2000 and 2013. While not a dramatic decline in membership in recent years, 2014 (with 493 members) and the current roster do show lower numbers of members.

Figure 2 shows membership by gender. While we lack historical data for the gender breakdown of the section, the current membership remains heavily skewed - 21.5 percent female and 64.4 percent male, with 14.1 percent of respondents not providing a response to gender.

Among the current membership, American Politics and Legislative Studies top the most common fields of interest, with 232 and 202 members' respectively (Figure 3). Congress falls third with 163 members, followed by Political Parties and Organizations at 111 members. Public Policy, Comparative Politics, and Methodology follow closely behind with between 77 and 80 members indicating these as fields of interest. The Presidency, Electoral Behavior, and Political Behavior round out the top ten fields of interest. Perhaps not surprisingly given the traditional dominance of Congressional research in the legislative studies field, interest in Congress (163) trumps Comparative politics (79) and State politics (43). However, the articles that follow suggest we might see growth in both of these areas over time.

Another way to understand the interests of LSS members is by looking into how many members of LSS belong to other sections within APSA, as shown in Figure 4. The highest correlations are with the Political Methodology and Political Organizations and Parties sections. About 23 percent of LSS members are associated with one or more of these two sections. This is not surprising given that many of the most important methodological advances in the field have been developed with legislative politics in mind, and also because of the renewed importance of parties in the study of legislatures, which Steven Smith describes in his interview. Other important sections that share membership with LSS are State Politics (19 percent), Elections, Public Opinion and Voting (17 percent), and Presidents and Executive Politics (16 percent). Surprisingly, only 14.3 percent of LSS members belong to the Comparative Politics section.

Conclusion

We hope that you enjoy our first issue of *The Legislative Scholar*. We would really appreciate your feedback, so please contact us if you have ideas for possible themes or special topics, or would like to present, explain, and publicize the various uses of a dataset you have put together. You can contact us through our emails (l-harbridge@northwestern.edu, gsin@illinois.edu). We look forward to working with the whole section during the next few years and providing a service of interest to the membership.

Laurel and Gisela

SYMPOSIUM: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF THE LEGISLATIVE STUDIES SECTION

The Relationship Between the Legislative Studies Section and the *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

by Gerhard Loewenberg and Michelle L. Wiegand
University of Iowa

The founding of the *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and the establishment of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association were parallel manifestations of the flourishing of legislative studies in the mid-1970. While congressional studies had long been a recognized speciality, research on state legislatures had developed more slowly, in the province of state and local government, and research on non-American legislatures was embedded in the study of so-called foreign governments. If we were to single out one scholar as the catalyst for the development of a legislative research specialization, it would be Heinz Eulau of Stanford University. His co-authorship of the comparative study of four U.S. state legislatures, *The Legislation System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior* (Wahlke et al., 1962), demonstrated the value of comparative legislative research. In addition, his numerous articles providing inventories of legislative research during the 1960s prompted an awareness of the common interests among legislative scholars. Eulau was the first to suggest that the field would profit from a specialized scholarly journal that would lead to what he called "cumulative research."

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Another prime mover in the expansion of legislative research was Alan Kornberg of Duke University who was an important scholar-entrepreneur in the field. In 1971 he persuaded the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to fund research on the role of legislatures in less-developed countries to assess their influence on the process of democratization. To administer what became a succession of research grants, he proposed the organization of a consortium of three Universities - Duke, Iowa, and Hawaii - each of which had a substantial number of scholars engaged in legislative research. A separate A.I.D. grant, to political scientists at the State University of New York at Albany, funded a program of research on legislative staffs. The study of non-American legislatures therefore expanded substantially even as research on Congress thrived, encouraged by the Congressional Fellowship Program of the American Political Science Association. The faculty members at Albany were also active in the establishment of a Research Committee on Legislative Development in the International Political Science Association. The proliferation of international contacts moved research on legislatures in the direction of cross-national comparative analysis.

These academic developments did not occur in an ivory tower vacuum. They occurred as the number of independent legislatures in the world multiplied rapidly, the result of the end of the colonial era in Africa and Asia and the democratization of political systems in much of the world. Research on legislatures therefore attracted scholars interested in developing countries and area specialists, notably specialists on African, Asian, and Latin American political systems.

While Malcolm E. Jewell of the University of Kentucky spent the 1973-74 academic year at The University of Iowa working on a research project on legislatures in less-developed countries, Jewell and Loewenberg recalled Heinz Eulau's call for the establishment of a specialized journal in the field of legislative research. The Iowa department had half a dozen scholars interested in legislatures - Samuel C. Patterson, Gerhard Loewenberg, G.R. Boynton, C.L. Kim, John Wahlke, Joel Barkan - an intellectual environment very supportive of the journal project. The Department had established the Comparative Legislative Research Center to administer research grants and the Center began publishing research papers written by Iowa faculty. Michael L. Mezey had started issuing a "Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter" at the University of Hawaii listing and abstracting the research papers in the field given at professional conferences or appearing in professional journals. By the end of that academic year, Jewell and Loewenberg had developed a plan to establish a journal to be published by the Research Center directed by Loewenberg at Iowa and edited by Jewell at Kentucky. Mezey agreed to incorporate his Newsletter in the proposed journal as a special section which he edited, entitled "Legislative Research Reports". Michelle L. Wiegand, newly appointed research secretary in the Center at Iowa, was involved in the production of the *Quarterly* from the start. As the Center's research program was displaced by its publication of the journal, she became the journal's Managing Editor.

All of these loosely related developments signifying the vitality of the field of legislative studies led to a meeting among scholars in legislative research at the 1977 convention of the American Political Science Association. The participants in that meeting decided to form a legislative studies section (LSS) whose members would meet annually at the national convention. Six years later, recognizing similar developments in other subfields of the discipline, the Association formally recognized six specialized study sections including LSS. Thus legislative studies provided the template for what the organization of subspecialties in the discipline would look like.

The by-laws adopted by the Legislative Studies Section stated that "the Section regards the *Legislative Studies Quarterly* as the medium of scholarly publication for its members" and "encourages its members to contribute and subscribe to the *Quarterly* as the scholarly journal most focused on the substantive interests of the Section." Eventually the Section developed a Newsletter for its members as a medium of communication among them. In 2001, LSS established the annual Jewell-Loewenberg award that is presented at its annual meeting to the best article published in LSQ during the previous year.

The relationship between LSQ and LSS remained informal for 20 years but in 2004 the publishers of the journal proposed that the Section bundle its membership dues with a subscription to the *Quarterly*. The proposal was to give members a half-price subscription to the journal as a fringe benefit of membership. It reflected the common interest between the Section and the *Quarterly* but it would raise membership dues from $10 to $30 to cover the $20 marginal cost of the additional LSQ subscriptions that would be required. The aim was to increase the subscriber base of the journal and the size of the membership of the Section. The precedent for bundling section membership with a subscription to a specialized journal had been set by the Political Methodology Section and the Section on State and Local Politics. The Section members adopted the proposal at their business meeting during the 2004 APSA convention with the addition of a reduced $10 fee for students. All members received an LSQ subscription beginning in 2005. Starting in 2016, Section members who want only electronic access to LSQ via their LSS membership now pay just $10 for their journal subscription while student members pay $3.

The history of the relationship between LSS and LSQ describes how parallel developments in legislative studies came together both in the establishment of the Legislative Studies Section and the founding of the *Quarterly* in the 1970s. There has been a great deal of overlap between the officers of the Section and the editors of LSQ. Many of the members of the new Section in 1977 were among the earliest subscribers to the *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and contributors to its content. Through the years many of the officers of the Section have been co-editors of the journal or members of its Editorial Board. In 2016 Brian Crisp, who had been a co-editor of the *Quarterly* from 2006 to 2009 and chair of LSS in 2015, became the Executive Editor of the *Quarterly* when it moved to Washington University in St. Louis.

Early in the 1980s the Section had designated LSQ as its official journal. That was a pattern also adopted by other APSA sections as specialized journals proliferated. Beginning with just six specialized sections in 1983, specialization within the profession has led to the existence of 46 sections today. The Legislative Studies Section is listed on the APSA website as number 3, reflecting its historical priority. The 40-year history of LSQ likewise signifies that it was one of the earliest specialized journals in the profession. The scholarly communication which both the journal and the Section facilitated moved legislative studies beyond its separate geographic borders to a focus on the institution in all of its settings. The relationship between LSS and LSQ over four decades has strengthened them both and offers a blueprint for the organization of sub-specialities in the political science profession.

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Approaches Then and Now: An Interview with Joe Cooper

by Jillian Evans
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Question: Around the time that you first started doing research on Congress, what were some of the key scholarly debates in the field?

Prof. Cooper: The key debate was between the behaviorists and those who used the more traditional approach to studying Congress. The behaviorists had recently come into the field and were criticizing the traditional approaches; they argued that we needed an approach that was more scientific and non-normative - as well as more quantitative. They had been convinced by the general trend in philosophy of science at that point in time, which emphasized reductionism, quantification, and non-normative analysis. So, the behaviorists were critical of the past tradition, in which the study of Congress was more institutional, normative, and macro-oriented.

What kinds of methods were typically used in the traditional approach?

The methodologies were not as precise or highly developed. These studies tended to view Congress as a whole, and often in historical terms. Look at the histories of committees done in this period - some of them are pretty good work. But in the traditional approach there was no search for "laws." The behaviorists hoped to find laws, or law-like relationships, but now many of us believe that things are too conditioned for the theory we have to find true laws.

For an example of the traditional approach, you can look at George Galloway's work on Congress, both before and during this period. It's very oriented toward how Congress worked, what the procedures were, how the committees worked, and so on. It's not reductionist in any sense, and it's not trying to devise propositions or general hypotheses based on motivation. However, there was also work that was more empirical than the traditional work on Congress but still not fully in accord with the canons of behaviorism. Consider V.O. Key's treatment of party in Congress in his famous book on parties and pressure groups, for example - it uses descriptive statistics only and makes comparisons that are deeply insightful and analytical (Key, 1942).

Do you still favor the more traditional approach?

Well, I think we're way past the point of that debate. The behavioral movement basically triumphed over the traditional approach, and then it was succeeded by rational choice, which became the preeminent approach in the field. My problem with both is that if you start with the assumption that we're going to be reductionist and scientific and try to find empirical relationships, this kind of focus means that both of them (especially behaviorism but even rational choice, too) have a great deal of difficulty dealing with the macro aspects. Motivation is very important, but the problem, as I see it, is that Congress has a macro structure, and it shapes individuals' motivations. Members have a set of personal goals, but they have to adapt them to the institution as they find it. So, there is individual motivation and behavior, but it's within an existing context. Thus, the point is to integrate the micro and the macro. You also have to be careful that you understand the complexity of motivation - what motivations are dominant in different situations, how they interact, and how they shape and are shaped by the macro structure.

I've been a defender of the macro-oriented approach forever, but of course I'm not a denier of the importance of micro motivation. I've learned a great deal from the people who have done rational choice, and I respect them mightily. Their advantage over behaviorism is that they actually started with a theoretical framework and believed it had to be built deductively and then tested. The work in behaviorism, especially at the start, assumed that if you did the empirical research, then the theory would pop out at you, but it doesn't. Rational choice gave us a valuable framework, but I think that it overdoes the micro, so to speak. The macro becomes too derivative in it. You need to deal with them both together.

The traditional approach paid a great deal of attention to history, and that dropped out as behaviorism advanced. That was a mistake. But the behaviorists made a permanent contribution to the field. They made the field much more sensitive to data, and testing propositions with data and statistical analysis, and that was missing in the more traditional approach. So, the impact of behaviorism is all over the field, even though it was succeeded by rational choice. Its impact has been pervasive and, on the whole, positive.

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Have you been surprised by any developments in the study of Congress since you started your career?

No, I wasn't surprised, because I never knew exactly what to anticipate! The field changes so much from time to time. Rational choice raised a whole set of theoretical questions I was interested in; I wouldn't say it surprised me, but it challenged me. I was institutionally oriented, and when behaviorism and rational choice came along, I regarded them as challenges to what I believed was important, which was to emphasize the macro structure and incorporate history. If you think Congress is a changing institution, then you have to look at congresses in different periods of time and look at the differences in macro structure and motivation. The field is one in which the problems are so complex. You can't get too rooted in any particular perspective without regard for others, because things change, and the worth of any perspective in the end is how well it explains change. To be sure, we all need to adopt a perspective to organize our work and thinking, but we also need to be aware of its weaknesses and what we can learn from other perspectives.

Thinking back over the course of your career, what types of questions or approaches struck you as particularly novel or creative?

Earlier in my career, I found macro organization theory very helpful in understanding Congress's distinctive characteristics as a non-bureaucratic organization and the importance of contingency. Since then, that field has shifted to pay greater attention to other concerns. The older literature is still insightful with regard to context, decision making, and leadership. So too are parts of the historical institutional literature that deal with institutional change and controversies in the rational choice literature over institutional effects and political incentives. Lastly, recently Randy Strahan (sadly no longer with us) wrote a book, (*Leading Representatives: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics of the U.S. House*, (Strahan, 2007)), on leadership in which contingencies connected to the personal goals and skills of Speakers are emphasized, along with contextual constraints. I think this is a factor that merits more attention. Several decades ago I wrote an article with David Brady about the speakership, ("Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn," (Cooper and Brady, 1981)) that incorporated contingency in the sense that we saw leadership behavior as tied to the level of party unity in the House. But there is also an element of contingency that relates to the difference that leaders *as people* make. We all know that leaders make a difference, but we have shied away from this question because we have not known how to generalize about it. I sympathize with that, but Randy has provided a new approach that promises to be more than ad hoc. I think that approach should go forward. Admittedly, it will not be easy, and it is not the only aspect of contingency that needs to be further explored. Still, as far as the differences that leaders make, Randy's book is both instructive and suggestive, and not averse to a contextual approach.

I wanted to ask about your edited volume, *Congress and the Decline of Public Trust* (Cooper, 1999). How did you become interested in that topic? So much of your previous research was on the internal workings of Congress, such as committees.

In my view, trust (with regard to Congress) speaks to how well the institution performs in terms of solving the problems that people have in daily life. Congress passes laws, but if those laws don't actually relieve dissatisfaction, or if people lose faith in the integrity of the process or feel it's biased, or if performance is plagued by stalemate, then the result is negative feedback. You get unhappiness with the character of the process, and falling levels of trust, and ultimately challenges to the system itself. You see that happening now, but it took several decades for trust in Congress to fall to extremely low levels and to extend to the system as a whole. Performance is inadequate, and people are fed up with how Congress and the system work. It is also true that the public doesn't understand Congress or the Framers' rationale for designing a system in which the balance between consent and action is so demanding. But the press is hopeless on this, and we political scientists haven't done a good job of explaining it to our students, either. All this is a decade later than my edited volume on trust in Congress. At the time I thought that, given declining trust, students of Congress needed to pay far more attention to performance and trust and add it to all the good work we had done on elections and internal decision-making processes. After all, results count, too, and I was not alone in this perception. John Hibbing, among others, was engaged as well.

Do you remember anything about how and why the Legislative Studies Section was created? What were the goals in creating it?

In terms of the time of creation, my understanding of it is that in the early 1970s the study of legislatures was progressing along a lot of fronts. There was a Congress literature, but also a literature on state legislatures, and a literature on legislatures in other countries. I think that the guiding motivation was that the legislature as a field had no home, so to speak, in terms of the periodicals. It had no place. You would see an article on Congress in one journal, and an article on state legislatures in another journal, and article on the British parliament in another - all kind of lost in the mix. And the thinking was if we really want to study legislatures, we need our own journal. We'll cover these three dimensions in a single journal, and there will be some continuity in the study and some reinforcement among these different ways of looking at legislatures, because we'll have a journal that anchors everything. Founding a journal is not easy - you don't do it lightly or without hard work and worries about funding! You need dedicated people who can interact with each other really well and bring it all together. We all owe a great debt of gratitude to Jerry Loewenberg, Heinz Eulau, and Malcolm Jewell.

Generally speaking, in what directions do you envision the field of legislative studies going in the future?

Well, none of us are good at predicting the future, but the story of the past consists of challenges to existing approaches and new frameworks emerging, with the past ones leaving some kind of permanent impact. I do believe that a lot depends on how well current frameworks adapt and improve their explanatory power, and on how pertinent they remain in the face of changes in the realities of politics. Since our country's political system now seems to be more threatened, I suspect that there will be more attention to performance coupled with more skepticism about how much we truly understand. Hence, my guess is there will be more work on the conditions or contingencies that make relationships far less determined than we have thought in the past. I also think there will be even more attention to plebiscitary politics and its effects, since it is so involved in the sudden decline of what we thought were the rules of politics. I believe that more attention will be paid to the normative assessment of change and what we should do about it. That is fine with me, as long as it is done in terms of the standards that guided the Framers in designing our republic and empirical evidence to discipline opinions based on policy desires rather than how to alter our institutions so that they better serve our basic goals of representative and non-arbitrary government. That will be no easy task. However, in my view, expanding majoritarianism and executive power are not paths to follow without great reluctance.

Our field feels so different than it did 50 years ago - and much better overall. We've learned a lot and made a lot of contributions. But the difficulties of tasks ahead, both empirically and normatively, are so much greater than in the past. There is much less stability. Thus, whereas in the past what we did not know was more of a friend than an enemy, the reverse seems true today.

What advice would you give to young scholars? For example, what are some pitfalls they should avoid, or promising avenues they should pursue?

I believe that young scholars in the Congress field need to be well versed in the various tools of quantitative analysis, but I also believe they need to understand the different approaches that exist in the field and the assumptions that underlie them. I do believe that people have to make a commitment to one general approach or another, but they also need to know what key assumptions are implicit in the choices they make (as opposed to other choices), so that they have some understanding of the underlying issues and why they prefer some choices over others. Thus, what everyone needs to acquire is a roadmap to the field that will provide some sense of the primary approaches in the study of American politics and the rationales that underlie them - not just the approach you're inclined to take. This is not the only need. Certainly you need to have a good sense of the leading substantive research in your primary area of study and quantitative tools you can apply. Not to have both is to doom yourself to failure. But I also think that as early in your career as possible you should work on acquiring a roadmap to the field, which can be done in different ways. The best and easiest way is a graduate course or two, if appropriate ones are available. However, though seminars on research design and methodology are useful, they typically are too narrow. The primary issues are epistemological ones that are not explored in such seminars. If such seminars are not available, you just have to find faculty who are not completely in lockstep with their colleagues or find readings relevant to your interests to which you have not been exposed. Remember, we have a lot of smart people in the field who differ or disagree with one another about how we should study institutions or Congress or parties or whatever. You should be aware of this. It trains you to think about issues and gain a sense of what other people (who aren't following the approach you favor) are doing, as well as variations in the general approach you prefer. Understanding your choice in a field that is not yet an advanced science, but rightly aspires to become one as much as possible, will help you to recognize the problems involved and when to borrow some things from the other approaches.

If you had to recommend one or two classic legislative studies that a graduate student or junior scholar should go back and read carefully, what would you suggest?

There are several, really. On the rational choice side, I've always liked Charles Lindblom's *The Intelligence of Democracy* (Lindblom, 1965), because it's pitched at a very high theoretical level and includes an analysis of the public interest from a rational choice point of view. His presentation of rational choice, his answers to critiques of it, and his defense of decentralized decision making are very instructive, whether you favor the rational choice approach or not. My old mentor, Arthur Maass, wrote a book called *The Common Good* (Maass, 1983), which I think is worth a great deal of attention as well. He had a more normative approach and presented a more institutionally oriented point of view very well. He thus did something we don't do as well now in teaching or research, which is to understand and demonstrate the importance of the intricacies of congressional procedure and operation for decision making, and situate them in a normative context. He was my PhD advisor, so I'm prejudiced, but he had a profoundly detailed knowledge of how Congress operates, the differences in character between the authorization and appropriations processes, and the effects of changes in these processes on both the operation of Congress and its relationships with the president and administrative units. I fear that currently, with some notable exceptions (Steve Smith and Barbara Sinclair, for example), we have fallen away from this in our haste to treat explanation in a highly theoretical manner. Arthur's last book is done with exquisite attention to detail. It's now a bit dated, obviously, but you can get a deep sense of how the political and procedural combine to explain how Congress operates. He was the first scholar to speak of what in effect were iron triangles and to highlight the trend toward and importance of annual authorization.

So, I have chosen the Maass and Lindblom books under the pressure of the question. Of course there are others I think very highly of as well, but again I will limit myself reluctantly to two. One is Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins' book, *Setting the Agenda* (Cox and McCubbins, 2005). It asks theoretically important questions and answers them by combining rational choice theory and historical analysis. Another is Dick Fenno's *Home Style* (Fenno, 1978). It is full of insights and lessons about the character of representative government in the United States that are of lasting value.

I strongly believe that you have to keep learning if you're going to stay alive in our field. Don't think that your learning is over when you come out of grad school, because it's not!

Finally, are there any stories or other advice you'd like to share? Important lessons or moments in your career that still stand out in your memory?

I think it's important to recognize that if you are not learning as you go along, you are making a mistake. However, if you remain inquisitive and self-critical as you go along, there will be things in your work and that of others, as well as events that haven't really influenced your thinking a lot, that finally will strike you as something that can make an important contribution to your research. That, at any rate, is true of me. I've been wrestling with the problem of how to explain change in Congress as well as how to assess the changing balance of power between Congress and the president for decades. I like to think I have made progress and that the work I am now doing will demonstrate it. Be that as it may, I strongly believe that you have to keep learning if you're going to stay alive in our field. Don't think that your learning is over when you come out of grad school, because it's not! Things are going to change under your feet. And you have to be willing to learn, adapt, and keep moving.

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Remembrance of a Section Chair Past

by Linda L. Fowler
Dartmouth College

The field of legislative studies and the organization of the section were both in flux during my tenure as chair of LSS between 1989-1991. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the most visible marker in the global trend of the 1990s toward democratization, elevated the importance of legislatures almost overnight. Formal theories and statistical methods, which developed to analyze Congress, migrated to comparative politics where scholars adapted them to non-U.S. institutions. The relationship with APSA began to change, as well. Overall, the period marked the beginning of the transition to a more complex and diverse organization.

As democratic movements made gains in Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, scholars found new opportunities to study legislatures. Section members made contact with lawmakers in emerging parliaments. LSS leaders participated in APSA's first delegation to the Japanese Political Science Association's annual meeting in 1990. The section's executive committee even crafted a proposal to NSF and private foundations to fund the collection and archiving of historical materials related to the birth of the new parliaments in Russia and its former satellites. (Regrettably, the project was never funded.)

Graduate students from outside the U.S. added to the cross-fertilization set in motion by political change. They brought interesting questions with them and left with skills that facilitated communication and collaboration with American scholars regarding representation and lawmaking. The young scholars from around the world, whose presence at conferences and panels we now take for granted, were just becoming visible at APSA's annual meeting during this time. As established political scientists today, they have helped to diversify the research agenda regarding legislative institutions.

The relationship between organized sections and APSA headquarters during my tenure as LSS chair was uneasy. Sections began expanding in the 1980s because groups of like-minded scholars believed that their particular research interests did not receive sufficient attention in the annual meeting program or in the major journals. By organizing their own panels and creating their own publications, the founders of the Legislative Studies Section hoped to facilitate collaboration within the subfield and increase the visibility of its members.

The relationship between organized sections and APSA headquarters during my tenure as LSS chair was uneasy.

The effort was so successful that the membership expanded considerably, which unintentionally created tensions with the association in Washington. LSS, which I remember as having a membership somewhere around 550 during my chairmanship, was one of the largest. But other sections were growing, as well, and together they threatened to divert resources and energy away from the national organization. APSA had to find space to accommodate two sets of panels for each section, figure out how to keep track of various types of dues, and develop relationships with a new cadre of leaders who were affiliated with, but not officially part of the Association.

LSS had its own issues; it wanted help from Washington, but did not want to pay for it, the classic collective action problem. Ultimately, APSA gave in to widespread pressures for a more decentralized organization and made sections the building blocks of the association. In the early 1990s, however, the eventual structure that evolved was a work in progress.

Looking back on that period of dramatic political change and organizational evolution, I am happy to see that the LSS has not changed one of its most salient characteristics–collegiality. The founders of the section set a tone of inclusiveness that was remarkable in the academy at the time, embracing methodological pluralism, making room for talented young scholars, and recognizing the contributions of women to the subfield. It is a legacy from which I benefitted enormously and which I hope will continue to enrich the membership and shape the careers of future scholars.

LSS in the New Millennium: An Interview with Steven Smith

by Collin Paschall
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Question: I want to talk about the kinds of studies that were appearing in LSQ while you were section president. Around that time, 2005-2007, what were some of the key scholarly debates in the field?

Prof. Smith: In the 15 years or so prior to my time as section head, our understanding of the role of parties in Congress had been transformed, and this topic continued to be prominent. We had always been interested in the distribution of power in the House and Senate, and we had some theoretical accounts that seemed to offer alternative views of the institution. Further, parties were conspicuously more important than they had been in the previous generation. All this generated a flood of studies that shaped the agenda at the national meeting and affected LSQ in almost every issue. There was one article after another that dealt with party effects, party influence, and party power. While certainly not a majority of studies, party effects were the plurality winner. This generated spinoff projects that have proven to be quite important; for example, work on how parties use the Rules Committee to win on the floor, whip activity, or patterns of cosponsorships.

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Another topic I would point to that became increasingly important during my time was Congressional history. In part based on the interest in party effects, scholars started to look back in history for patterns of party influence in other eras. I also recall there being significant technological changes during the mid 2000s. Keith Poole and his team continued to innovate with NOMINATE, but others were making advances with ideal point estimation and taking advantage of the increased availability of electronic records. Finally, we saw a number of studies on the effect of race and gender on legislative behavior. The election of more blacks, women, and eventually Hispanics to Congress led scholars to start asking how differences in descriptive representation affected the behavior of legislators.

A related question to follow up: along with those substantive topics, what do you recall as the notable types of analyses, methods, or methodological paradigms during your time as section president?

Legislative studies has always had a remarkable diversity of methods, and that continues today. I don't think my era was especially distinctive in that sense. Scholars continued to produce some work in the tradition of scholars like Fenno, Matthews, and Jones, all of whom spent a lot of time on Capitol Hill and did more or less qualitative work. Other scholars continued to do quantitative work, relying on the easy access to roll call data. And in general, spatial theory continued to have a good grip on the subfield. What strikes me about the best literature on Congress is how multimethod it is. Very few of the top scholars confine themselves to a single method. Instead, the dominant approach is to use the right method for the right analysis. There is always some faddism, but I think the top scholars provide a pretty good model.

I'd like to turn our attention to developments in the field since you served as section president. When you look back to the mid 2000s and since then, have you been surprised by the direction of the field? Has it headed in a direction you did not expect or has it lingered in areas you though were already well tilled?

If there is any one huge growth area, it is probably in work on state legislatures. It's not my own field, but as I review the publications in LSQ and think back to the kinds of panels that have met at the APSA meeting, it's apparent that more and more scholars have been exploiting variation in state legislatures. The development of computerized records has allowed for a remarkably wide range of studies. Comparative studies of national legislatures also comes to mind. While American scholars have not done as much of this, there is a huge industry in political science in Europe of studies of legislatures abroad. In terms of a surprise, I would point to the number of people taking Congressional history seriously. I think we are gaining a better understanding of Congress as an institution with closer readings of American history. Where there were once perhaps a dozen people doing this work, it is now a fairly large group, at least in the dozens. I should also mention the growth in field experiments. This is a growth area, but one that presents ethical issues and practical problems for the subfield. We already have trouble persuading legislators that political science is important, and we might expect that skepticism to increase if their contact with political science comes in the form of being manipulated in an experimental context. I think these are powerful research designs, but I'm not always persuaded that the subject matter of the study is so important that the risks of losing access or support are worth it. Lastly on the topics that are well-tilled, I suppose that one area that is a bit worn is the line of studies on party effects - the sort of study pitting cartel theory against conditional party government against something else, for example. On the other hand, those are essentially incomplete theories, and Congress continues to give us more data, so the additional attention might be warranted.

The next questions are about section business. What we're wondering is, at the time you were section head, what was the relationship between the journal and the section, and has this changed over time?

The relationship has definitely changed. The journal was initially justified in the 1970s because all the work being done on legislative politics needed an outlet. Although the journal was technically owned by the University of Iowa for many years, it was spiritually the journal of the field, and it was naturally endorsed by the section as its journal. Now in the early 2000s, there was a discussion of a more formal connection, mainly under my predecessor, Diana Evans. Jerry Loewenberg, who was central to the formation of the section and the journal, was looking for a way to arrange the finances of the journal and the section in a way that would be mutually beneficial, and this led to the formal connection that exists today, where dues for the section are also dues for the journal. Along with this, the journal found its way to my department at Washington University. Brian Crisp will be the new editor, but otherwise the editorial board and editing relationships will be more or less as they have been. Its relationship to the section will be maintained.

I know as part of those editorial arrangements that there are multiple editors at LSQ. Has that always been the case?

Yes, that's right. More or less there's always been an editor for Congressional politics, state legislatures, and comparative legislatures. About 75 or 80 percent of the submissions are Congress-related, and the rest are split between state and comparative. After serving as the senior editor and comparative editor for a time, Jerry Loewenberg created an editorial board who advised him on picking a state legislature editor and a Congress editor. Those editors have always served about a three to five year term. The journal itself has never provided funding for editors directly, unlike other major journals at APSA. One interesting thing is that, even though the journal is published by Sage today, the copy editing is done within the journal itself, and that will continue once the journal moves to Washington University.

I would like to close with a couple of questions about the field generally. What advice would you give to a young scholar in the field today, in terms of pitfalls to avoid, promising areas of research, or other guidance that you think would helpful?

I would say that the institutional development of Congress remains an important subject. I think there's plenty of work to be done there with respect to the development of leadership, the committee system, and other important features of Congress. However, it is a risky area for a brand new scholar because it requires a lot of reading and background work. This might be a field for a scholar looking for a second wave of studies. I also think that that the general area of congressional elections presents a potential wave of scholarship, as the nature of elections changes with developments in campaign finance and technology. Member-constituent relations is related to that, and I think, with developments in survey technology and electronic records, we are going to see Fenno rediscovered over and over again in the next 5 to 10 years. Along with that, I would recommend that young scholars get involved with the APSA Congressional Fellows Program. For many years, many dominant scholars were fellows, and I would suggest that scholars participate in the program. The opportunities in that program - familiarizing yourself with Capitol Hill, generating some good research projects, getting to know the librarians - can help to really shape a career.

I would say that the institutional development of Congress remains an important subject. I think there's plenty of work to be done there with respect to the development of leadership, the committee system, and other important features of Congress. However, it is a risky area for a brand new scholar...

For our last question, we hoped you'd be able to share an anecdote, something you are proud from your time as section president, or something else notable or memorable that would be of interest to the LSS community.

As chair, I originated the idea of the Jewell-Loewenberg Award to honor those two scholars for their work starting LSQ. It's now a section award for the best article in the previous year published in LSQ. This was intended to honor the role of Loewenberg and Jewell in getting the journal started and to create a somewhat stronger incentive for people to think about publishing in LSQ. Legislative politics studies are everywhere, but it is still nice to have a home journal. In part because I think so much of Jerry, but also because I want to make the journal a success, I thought it was a good idea to have that award.

The Changing Face of the Legislative Studies Section: An Interview with Brian Crisp

by William Simoneau
Washington University in St. Louis

Question: Do you think that your selection as the first "non-Americanist" LSS Chair signaled a change in the direction of the field?

Prof. Crisp: First, I should say that I had no idea this was the case until someone pointed it out to me at the end of my term. I was a little bit hesitant to take on the responsibility, but I am definitely glad I did it. Knowing that my term signaled something of a departure makes it a little more special.

Did it reflect a change in the direction of the field? Yes and no, I guess. To the extent it did, it is probably a change that began to ramp up more than 20 years ago. The return of democracy to Latin America gave scholars like me to a chance to look at separation of powers systems other than the United States. I think we drew our theoretical motivation from both the existing American and existing comparative literatures. It was important to us that we weren't writing exclusively, or even primarily, for fellow experts on a given country or even region.

Then the spread of democracy across Eastern Europe, and the establishment of so many "hybrid" systems presented another opportunity. A number of scholars had been trying to make the case that some of the stark contrasts drawn in the literature between presidential and parliamentary regimes were overstated. The creation and then the study of so many "in between" examples helped make the case that we're looking at several continuous dimensions, not distinct "types."

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On related note, what do you think of the separation between American (US Congress), (US) state and local, and comparative legislative studies, more generally?

In some ways it is an understandable distinction. It helps create a division of labor that makes many tasks - like being able to claim you remain well read, being able to write what are considered relevant literature reviews, being able to find willing and able manuscript reviewers, etc. - more manageable. In many other ways, it is probably an anachronism. It is certainly the case that the theoretical perspective adopted, the research question being pursued, the methodological approach being taken, etc. is rarely in the domain of just one of the subfields of legislative studies.

I recently read Jerry Loewenberg's account of the motivation he and Mac Jewell had for creating *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and I took from it that one of their goals was to help bridge the sense that there was a meaningful distinction among American, state and local, and comparative research on legislative studies.

Speaking of LSQ, I understand that you are now the journal's Executive Editor. What is that like? What does the post entail?

This is a real honor, and I am very excited. That Jerry Loewenberg approached Washington University in St. Louis (namely, my colleague Steve Smith and me) about becoming only the second home of the journal means a lot to me. Getting to work closely with Jerry and Mickie Wiegand during the transition has been very rewarding. Several years ago, I became the journal's second comparative co-editor after Jerry's impressive tenure in the post. I got a taste of what the journal meant at that point, but the transition to taking over the journal has been very educational. It also reinforced just what great people Jerry and Mickie are. They have poured their hearts and souls into the journal. You cannot interact with them without having some of their passion for maintaining the quality of the journal rub off on you.

What does the position entail? I just assumed it - so, my answers should be seen as tentative. In practical terms, I think my job description will end up being most of the role that Jerry played and some of the role Mickie played. My jobs include continuing to recruit great co-editors (and the ones we have now - Frances Lee, Chris Kam, and Thad Kousser - are terrific), fielding an extremely high-quality editorial review board, maintaining the journal's relationship with the section, managing the journal's relationship with the publisher (Wiley-Blackwell), making sure that accepted work gets published in a timely fashion, and producing a product that all scholars in the field - whether Americanists, comparativists, or state & local types - find not just useful but one of the top outlets for their work and the work they cite most.

So, do you foresee big changes in the relationship between the section and the journal?

I hope not. Serving as chair of the section reinforced my admiration for the scholars working in the field. It was great getting to interact more with scholars whose works I had been citing for years. Even more exciting was getting to learn more about what the next generation of scholars are doing. Now, as Executive Editor of the journal, it is important to me that the journal's relationship with all these scholars remains tight.

We are making some changes in effort to increase the size of the section and to enhance members' ability to access the journal. First and foremost, the section has already approved a new dues structure that will give members a choice of how they subscribe to the journal (electronically or both via hard copy and electronically). In addition, the journal's publisher, Wiley-Blackwell, has agreed to make electronic access free to student members of the section. I proposed these changes in an effort to increase the size of the section while maintaining members' close relationship with the journal. Time will tell.

Okay then, in practical terms, what about big changes at the journal itself?

In terms of the journal's standing within the field, the integrity with which it is run, the quality of the scholarship it helps generate, I'm hoping for no changes at all - certainly no backsliding.

In more practical terms, as I wrote for the journal's February 2016 introduction, another 5-year agreement has been signed with Wiley-Blackwell to publish the journal. Managing editor duties (a subset of Mickie's job description) will be carried out by a staff-person at Wiley's offices in Boston. We have adopted the Scholar One manuscript management system. Given a surplus of excellent manuscripts, we will be publishing some abnormally large issues in 2016. It is important to all of us that accepted manuscripts appear in print in a timely fashion. We have adopted what Wiley-Blackwell refers to as "Early View." After being accepted, as soon as they are copy- and production-edited (typically within 4 to 6 weeks), articles will be made available electronically via the journal's webpage (at Wiley-Blackwell). Wiley-Blackwell is also developing an LSQ app that will be available to subscribers, including members of the Legislative Studies Section. As I noted above, new subscription options will change membership dues choices. Finally, I am casting about for an innovative way to make use of the pages previously dedicated to the Editor's Introduction. I would be more than happy to hear suggestions.

After being accepted, as soon as they are copy- and production-edited (typically within 4 to 6 weeks), articles will be made available electronically via the journal's webpage (at Wiley-Blackwell).

Before we wrap up, let's change the subject a bit. What advice do you have for junior scholars who are just beginning to serve as mentors or advisors for graduate students?

Serving as a mentor to graduate students has been one of the most rewarding aspects of my career. On occasion, it has also been one of the most frustrating! In the end, having shared in my students' successes - and in their disappointments - will be some of things I remember most about my career.

Recognize that your students are going to be diverse in terms of their strengths and their weaknesses. As a mentor, one of your goals should be to help students become well-rounded scholars. This often means encouraging them to work with others in order to acquire skills that you may not be able to help them obtain or to get a perspective on their work that you hadn't thought of.

Your students are also going to vary a lot in terms of work habits (their need for oversight) and in terms of temperament or disposition. As a mentor you have to try to be flexible in an effort to get the most out of each of them. I don't think this is a strong suit for me. It certainly wasn't early in my career. I work harder at this now.

On the other hand, you should make your students aware that you too have your own work habits and your own temperament and disposition. So, they should not expect you to reinvent yourself for each of them. Likewise there might be times during their time in school when they have needs that you are unable or unwilling to meet. Hopefully you will be part of a graduate program that is structured in such a way as to help students build a support base.

Another tension you might encounter is how far afield to allow students to roam in terms of substantive interests. You probably shouldn't force your students to be your clone. On the other hand, when a student approaches you with a dissertation project that is distant from your own areas of expertise, you should either get them to modify the project in such a way that you have something to offer or you should help them find a more suitable advisor.

I try to think of it as an apprenticeship. My students learn by doing. To the extent that it is appropriate, I try to be as transparent as possible with them about what a life in academia is going to entail. Certainly, this entails working with them to develop a research question and to see it through to a publishable product. It also includes exposing them to the demands of teaching and service they can expect to encounter. It also involves helping them understand how departments make decisions about important things like whom to hire and whom to promote.

If you had to recommend one or two classic studies that a graduate student or junior scholar should go back to and read carefully, what would you suggest?

That's a tough one. There are so many. I'm sure as soon as we wrap up here, I'll think of others.

Well, you can never go wrong by re-reading Fenno's *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (Fenno, 1978). Spending years traveling around a country with members of Congress is probably not practical for most of us - especially a junior scholar trying to complete a dissertation or facing a tenure clock. Still, it has always motivated me to think about imaginative ways to capture such an important concept - the way representatives interact with their constituents beyond what they do in the chamber itself.

For me, re-reading Powell's *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions* (Powell, 2000) always generates lots of testable hypotheses that I'm excited to try to track down. More generally, his thinking on the "chain of responsiveness" has always struck me as a very intuitive way to link together several important causal relationships that are at the heart of representation.

What advice would you give to young scholars - what pitfalls should they avoid, what are promising avenues?

That's a tough one. Acquiring the methodological skills that are appropriate for handling the kinds of data structures you might encounter in the course of studying legislatures is really important. The recent focus on research designs that aid in making causal inferences is yielding interesting work.

Still, sometimes it seems to me that one pitfall that students find hard to avoid is thinking about research design, measurement, and/or empirical modeling before thinking about a clear, well-developed theoretical motivation for their work. I often get papers to review that are "technically" very sound, but they have a jumble of loosely related, poorly articulated hypotheses. Lacking any clear, explicit expression of a theoretical motivation, the author is not sensitive to what belongs in one paper and what actually is at best tangentially related.

Brian, thanks so much for your time and for providing some insight into your roles as LSS section head and LSQ Executive Editor.

It was a real pleasure. Talking about legislative studies is always lots of fun.

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The Current "State" of U.S. State Legislative Research

by Lynda Powell
University of Rochester

Thirty-five years ago Malcolm Jewell, writing about the "shortcomings of state legislative research," argued, "that state legislative research should be more theoretical and more comparative, and that we should bridge that gap that still exists between congressional and state legislative research" (Jewell, 1981, 1-2). His goals have been largely realized. Today, research on state legislatures is a vibrant, methodologically sophisticated field of study that is making theoretical contributions more broadly to the study of legislatures. Yet although state politics scholars read and profit from the work of Congress scholars, the converse occurs far less often than it should. In this short essay, I'll briefly discuss current research to show why I think state politics is an exciting area of research and why legislative scholars more generally should pay attention to scholarship on state legislatures. I'll conclude with observations on some of the challenges as well as the opportunities of research in state politics.

The 99 state legislative chambers, or the 101 American legislative chambers if Congress is included, provide what I think of as a "Goldilocks" research setting - the chambers are similar enough to each other in terms of their broad institutional structures, political parties, and political context to be meaningfully comparable to each other, while their considerable variability on many theoretically important institutional and electoral features makes them ideal for developing and testing theories about the legislative process. This makes them "just right" for comparative legislative analysis.

Yet although state politics scholars read and profit from the work of Congress scholars, the converse occurs far less often than it should.

One of the central debates in the legislative literature involves the role of parties - does the majority party's legislative success simply reflect its numeric advantage in the chamber as Krehbiel (1993) has argued, or do the legislative levers of power controlled by the majority party provide it with additional influence over the content and passage of legislation? Many scholars focus on the agenda setting power of the majority party as a source of party advantage. Cox and McCubbins' preferences cartel agenda model posits that the majority party blocks bills that would, if they came to a floor vote, "roll" the majority party (Cox and McCubbins, 2005). That is, the bill passes although it is opposed by most of the majority caucus. Anzia and Jackman (2013) point out that existing "literature has fallen short of directly testing whether the institutions that are presumed to be the basis of majority-party gatekeeping power are, in fact responsible for the low majority roll rates that so many studies have found." They conduct the direct test using the institutional variation in gatekeeping powers among the 99 state legislatures. They identify the specific powers of majority leaders that lead to lower roll rates while controlling for potentially confounding factors, such as the size of the majority party.

Jenkins and Monroe (2015) argue that the measures of agenda setting we use should be broadened. While the existing focus on "roll" rates may be appropriate for the U.S. House, their use "as the measure of agenda control stunts the growth of agenda-setting theories beyond the U.S. House." They propose a typology of measures to capture the full range of positive and negative agenda-setting outcomes and argue that the choice of a measure should depend on the theory being tested. "Agenda power emanates from institutional arrangements and agenda setter incentives, and thus where there is meaningful variance in either of those two components, so too will there be variance in our expectations about the consequences of agenda setting control" (Jenkins and Monroe, 2015, 173). Their analysis of the 99 state legislative chambers (along with the Mexican and Canadian federal legislatures) powerfully supports their argument.

Recent research on both Congress (Gilens, 2013) and state legislatures (Rigby and Wright, 2013), has identified representational inequality that advantages affluent citizens at the expense of the poor. Rigby and Wright trace this bias back to the electoral stage when legislative (and gubernatorial candidates) take campaign positions on social and economic issues. By studying the states, they are able to determine that this distortion is greater in some states than in others. For example, they find greater distortion for Democratic parties on economic issues in states with greater income inequality.

Gilens, Rigby and Wright and others speculate that the representational distortions they identify may be explained by legislators' responsiveness to those who can provide them with resources to win and hold electoral office. Yet decades of Congressional research has failed to find convincing evidence that donors influence legislation. While many of us agree that donors seldom influence roll call votes - the dependent variable in almost all these studies - research has largely ignored the important, but less observable, pathways where money is more likely to shape legislation. Studying votes ignores, for example, the opportunities lawmakers have to kill a bill quietly or to incorporate provisions in a bill to advantage donors. I studied the 99 state legislative chambers, surveying 2982 legislators and collecting data on their donors, constituencies, elections, and legislatures (Powell, 2012). The chambers varied greatly in the influence of money on legislation, and this chamber variation in influence was explicable by a small number of institutional and political variables as hypothesized based on a formal investment model of campaign contributions. Moreover, a critical test of the "access" versus "informational" theories of lobbying showed that the "access" not the "informational" theory explained legislators' reliance on lobbyists as sources of information, thus providing evidence for a mechanism of effect for donor influence.

These two areas of research - the influence of parties in legislatures and inequalities of representation - are merely illustrative of the incredible variety of work being done in state politics. State politics encompasses the full range of research designs used in legislative studies. In addition to the approaches mentioned above, there is path breaking historical research. For example, Gamm and Kousser examine bills from 1881 to 1997 in thirteen legislatures. They find that legislators respond to electoral and institutional incentives in ways that have "important consequences for the balance of public and particularistic goods that the political system as a whole will produce" (Gamm and Kousser, 2010, 151). Squire drew on an incredible wealth of primary sources to delineate the evolution of American legislatures - rules, procedures, standing committees, leadership and professionalization from 1619 to 2009 (2012).

Experimental work has provided evidence on important questions that are difficult or impossible to study in other ways. Butler and Broockman (2011), for example, found that white legislators from both parties were more likely to respond to a request for information on how to register to vote if the email was from a citizen with a putatively white name rather than a black one, while the reverse was true for black legislators. And their results indicate that this differential responsiveness was unlikely to be fully explained by inferences legislators made about the partisanship of the citizen.

New methodological techniques have recently made it possible to measure constituent opinions more accurately in state legislative districts, enabling scholars to study representation comparatively. Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013) use multi-level regression with post-stratification, cleverly combining a number of large citizen surveys to estimate citizen preferences in all state legislative districts. They illustrate the usefulness of their approach by showing the bivariate relationship between constituent ideology and legislator ideology in four state legislatures, finding that within-party representation varies considerably among the states. For example, in Pennsylvania, within each party caucus more conservative constituencies are represented by more conservative legislators, while in Wisconsin there is virtually no relationship within parties between district ideology and member ideology.

Tausanovitch and Warshaw use the estimates of state legislator ideology developed by Shor and McCarty (2011), who extend the ideal point estimates from Congress to develop common space scores for the state legislatures. The Shor and McCarty measures have proven enormously useful and state legislative scholars, such as Battista et al. (2012), are developing alternative ideal point estimation techniques as well, creating a fruitful conversation about how best to create common space scores using comparative bill data. These methodological debates will, as they have in the Congress field, enrich our understanding of our measurement choices, allowing us to identify the best measure to use in different theoretical circumstances.

> We would benefit from more collaborative efforts to create up-to-date data sets that are consistently coded over time for bill votes and other hard to collect data.

It is the incredibly rich array of relatively recently available data on state legislatures that has made it possible to do analysis on all, or virtually all, of the state legislatures (and Congress). Some types of data are generously made available by organizations (e.g. the National Conference of State Legislatures and The National Institute on Money in State Politics) or by individuals (e.g. Shor and McCarty and Tausanovitch and Warshaw's measures or Carl Klarner's updates of election data originally collected by a consortium of scholars (Klarner et al., 2013)).

Yet some data is still truly tedious to collect and clean, e.g. legislative bill data - sponsorship, legislative actions and roll calls. Battista et al. (2012) and others who use state roll call data most often rely on data collected on the state legislatures for 1999-2000, generously made available by Wright (2004) (data collection described by Clark et al. (2009)). We would benefit from more collaborative efforts to create up-to-date data sets that are consistently coded over time for bill votes and other hard to collect data.

While most data is becoming more accessible, other types are becoming more difficult to obtain. In particular legislator survey rates have dropped precipitously. The ease with which state legislators can contacted by email - by academics and nonacademics - has increased the demands on their time and greatly diminished academic access and survey response rates. And deceptive experiments, in particular, can have collective costs on academic access and survey response rates as well-although the research is, I think, sometimes valuable enough to be worth those costs (e.g. Butler and Broockman, 2011). The declining response rates particularly affect comparative studies of legislatures - state upper chambers are, for example, often quite small, so the difficult task of getting a meaningful number of responses in many of them may now be virtually intractable.

The foregoing discussion illustrates a variety of theoretically important research topics and shows the range of research designs and statistical methods currently used in this field. Yet, the articles mentioned are only a small sample of a large universe of outstanding work. The "gap" that Jewell identified between work on state legislatures and Congress has been bridged. While case studies, whether of individual states or Congress, continue to make important contributions to our understanding, scholars of the American legislatures can now also draw on a wealth of data, albeit sometimes still with difficulty, to take advantage of the strengths of comparative analysis to develop and test our theories of legislative institutions.

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The Study of Comparative Legislatures: An Interview with Thomas König

by Moritz Osnabrügge
University of Mannheim

Question: How has comparative politics research grown as part of the legislative studies field?

Prof. König: Comparative politics has become an integral part of legislative studies and recent comparative studies have improved our understanding about legislatures, such as the comparative study by Martin and Vanberg (2011) showing how parliamentary institutions help to overcome principal agent-problems of coalition governments in legislative policy making. We also have developed many comparative insights into the implications of European integration for the national legislatures in the member countries of the EU, which empowers the role of governments at the expense of parliaments. Overall, as compared to the previous focus of legislative politics on U.S. Congress, comparative politics broadens our view and the spectrum of legislative studies in political science.

In which areas/topics do you think the comparative analyses of legislatures have been fruitful and helped the development of the field (and which areas it has not)?

A general topic of fruitful research concerns the comparative analysis of reform-making, which is essential for the performance of many countries and demands the approval of reform initiatives by legislatures. To understand why some countries suffer more from a status quo-bias, while others manage to modernize their economies and societies by such reforms requires more comparative analyses of legislatures. In addition to the current empirical focus of such research, we need more theoretical work about the distributional and informational implications of these legislatures.

In your view, what are some of the key scholarly debates in the field?

There are many debates but perhaps a common theme concerns the principal agent-relationship of the actors involved in legislative decision-making, such as political parties, office-holders, interest groups, the public etc. in an environment that is usually characterized by uncertainty and strategic interaction. Although we acknowledge that these actors are likely to behave strategically, it remains an open question how we translate this knowledge into empirical studies. In particular in legislative studies, there is still this gap between theoretical and empirical rigor, and in spite of the EITM program scholars still specialize in the one or other direction.

Do you think those debates and paradigms have changed in the last 10-20 years?

Paradigms come and go, debates will remain. Certainly, the focus of our debates is changing, and perhaps we currently observe a shift from the spatial to the process dimension in the analysis of legislative decision-making.

While political science was localized and received little credit from other disciplines, our discipline is gaining global recognition in- and outside science.

Have you been surprised by any developments in the field since you started your career in academia?

Yes, I am very surprised about the quality of our young scholars and the global progress we are making in our discipline. While political science was localized and received little credit from other disciplines, our discipline is gaining global recognition in- and outside science. This is also true for legislative analysis, where lawyers begin to acknowledge our quantitative insights, while economists accept our specific insight into legislatures.

Where do you envision the field of legislative studies going in the future?

The digital revolution will impact legislative studies by providing access to databases and documents across the world. For example, we are currently generating data on legislative proposals of several countries that cover all legislative activities over a period of more than 30 years. This will help scholars to test theories and replicate previous findings on more systematic ground.

What advice would you give to young scholars - what pitfalls should they avoid, what are promising avenues? If you had to recommend one or two classic studies that a graduate student or junior scholar should go back to and read carefully, what would you suggest?

My advice is that young scholars should invest in their capabilities and find their way to contribute to the state of art. Instead of recommending a specific study, I would suggest to read a sample of classical studies that cover the fields of our discipline.

What advice do you have for junior scholars who are just beginning to serve as mentors or advisors for graduate students?

Remember your time as a graduate student and try to implement those wishes and demands that you imposed for your advisors.

Funny anecdote?

Once a colleague told me that he is the Californian median voter because every referendum ended up with his preference.

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The Role of Data in the Study of Legislatures: An Interview with E. Scott Adler

by Stefani Langehennig
University of Colorado-Boulder

Question: How has the availability of various data sources (e.g., NOMINATE, Policy Agendas Project, Congressional Bills Project, Bonica's DIME data, etc.) changed the types of questions that scholars ask?

Prof. Adler: The transformation in data over last three decades has been astounding. The use of data such as roll call votes, Poole and Rosenthal's NOMINATE scores, David Rohde's elections data, and the Policy Agendas data, etc. has been very transformative for the discipline. The one that turned the corner for me personally, as well as a good number of congressional scholars, was Charles Stewart and Garrison Nelson's committee assignments dataset. Stewart made the data available to me while I was in graduate school, which allowed John Lapinski and me to write our paper (Adler and Lapinski, 1997). These data on committee composition along with the information I was collecting on district characteristics at the time provided a jump-start for my academic career. Around that time, many scholars were interested in congressional committees, and I was merely piggy-backing off of the innovations of Keith Krehbiel's seminal work *Information and Legislative Organization* (Krehbiel, 1991). Tim Groseclose was formulating an alternative specification for measuring committee composition, as were Londregan and Snyder, and Gary Cox and Matthew McCubbins responded by incorporating party dynamics. Since then, data sources have just exploded. We have started using more sophisticated ways to extract and aggregate information into useable data that allow us to test questions we have not had the ability to test before. The discipline is more imaginative about what we can potentially learn from records of congressional activity, expert observations, election returns, etc. We are also seeing a similar trend in other subfields, of particular relevance is the study of comparative legislatures. Having said all of that, the evolution in data collection and innovation of information is just simply part of the progression of normal science.

What are the pros/cons of letting the availability of data sources drive research questions?

I'm not quite convinced that data sources are driving the questions we seek to answer. First, for scholars generating the data, they are doing it to answer questions that did not seem answerable previously, or at least answerable in a way that was satisfactory or widely recognized as valid. That is why people were generating these new data. Take ideology, for instance. We had ADA scores long before NOMINATE. However, NOMINATE allowed us to generate ideology scores with far more versatility. The point is that Poole and Rosenthal had a vision for this, and utilized their impressive set of skills and know-how to create an indicator of lawmaker policy preferences that now provides a key to understanding a wide array of questions. And, beyond, their ideas have had application to preference scores for a number of other policy makers. Similarly, Ken Bickers and Robert Stein's data on geographic distribution of federal funds have opened up all manner of questions on how representation in legislative institutions translates into tangible benefits for constituents. Part of what is going on after the creation of datasets is that we are given a new opportunity to answer questions that existed but were not sufficiently or feasibly answerable given the previously existing data. With new sources of data - or easier accessibility to existing data (such as Poole and Rosenthal's roll call voting data) - we are able to address questions that were already there, but with far better information than we previously imagined. In doing this, we can come up with a more thorough understanding of committees, policy development, the behavior of lawmakers, and the process of representation in ways that were just not possible prior to having these kinds of datasets.

Rather, the field of legislative studies and American political institutions broadly are now using the techniques and innovations of other disciplines such as computer science, psychology, economics, and others in order to come up with different data that we never thought could have been possible a generation ago.

Fortunately we have scholars in our field that are extraordinarily imaginative, with loads of skills, and are not satisfied to simply rest with the limitations of existing datasets. They are willing to invest their time, resources, and intellectual capacity into the significant commitment of collecting and engineering better data. We have ambitious scholars who are constantly pushing the envelope for understanding lawmaking and legislatures. As a result, a wide array of questions that have existed for a long time can be answered in completely new ways. So, again, the problem is not that the data are driving the questions, although this has certainly happened. Rather, the field of legislative studies and American political institutions broadly are now using the techniques and innovations of other disciplines such as computer science, psychology, economics, and others in order to come up with different data that we never thought could have been possible a generation ago. We have all benefitted from it. One might even say that the data innovations of the last two decades in the field of legislative studies has supplanted what used to be our calling card as a discipline - the novel application of rigorous theoretical models to the study of decision making institutions.

What advice do you have for junior scholars who are just beginning to serve as mentors or advisers for graduate students?

There are multiple ways to make your career. You have to play to your strengths. For some, it is going to be theorizing and elaborating on concepts so that we are able to think about institutions from a new angle, emphasizing different aspects of the institutions or different actors. For others, their strength will be data and new empirical tests. Through collection of unique data, junior scholars might be able to cut a new path. They can take existing questions and theories and conceive of a new way to operationalize hypotheses.

Most importantly, you always need an interesting question - without that it's over before you begin. But anyone can ask the interesting question. What can you bring to that question? That's what we as a discipline are often looking for. Sometimes it is new data. To some degree young scholars can make their name by being able to do that. For some scholars, groundbreaking data is a way to stand out in a pile of your peers. Acquiring citations because colleagues and students are using your dataset can be very valuable. (People have gotten tenure on less!) If scholars are collecting new, innovative data they are putting those data to work testing questions and formulating theories that benefit the entire field.

Any other thoughts on the role of data in the study of legislatures?

An area that is rapidly catching up on the data front in terms of studying legislatures is state politics. As I see it, there are two primary reasons for this. First, up until recently those who were potentially interested in studying state legislatures had a limited amount of data they could tap. It simply did not exist to the extent it does today. More importantly, however, there was an untapped opportunity to answer multiple questions about representation, legislative organization and performance, and legislator behavior that you cannot sufficiently answer with an N of 1 legislature, such as Congress. With Congress you have fairly severe limitations with respect to variation in critical factors. Institution-wide "time" becomes the only dynamic element of the data. By comparing across state legislatures, we can answer all types of questions that are not answerable just by looking at our national legislature. There has been an enormous explosion of work on this and it will continue. The field of state legislative studies has gotten remarkably better as a result. I would not shy away from telling a young scholar that this might be the way to go if they are interested in researching legislative politics.

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IN MEMORIAM

A Tribute to Barbara Sinclair

by Gregory Koger
University of Miami

This article appeared originally as a post for The Monkey Cage.

In March we lost a great political scientist when Barbara Sinclair passed away. She was a renowned Congressional scholar who contributed as both a researcher and a public intellectual. Over the course of a renowned career, she explained the inner workings of Congressional party leaders, the evolution of the Senate, and the ability of Congress to enact major legislation.

Rochester

Barbara Sinclair was an early entrant in the University of Rochester's innovative new Ph.D. program. She studied with renowned political economist William H. Riker and Congressional scholar Richard Fenno. As Nathaniel Beck notes, she was interested in the study of Congress from early on: "Many of us were more Riker and she was more Fenno, though everyone at Rochester then combined both." Richard Fenno remembers that, "Barbara was special ... as a challenging student and, later, as a helpful friend." She graduated in 1970 and took a job at the University of California-Riverside, where she would work for the next 25 years.

Early Work

Like any assistant professor, Barbara Sinclair worked to develop well-organized classes while converting her dissertation into published research. Her teaching led to the development of a classroom-friendly book on the women's movement while her dissertation led to several articles and a book analyzing patterns of party support in Congressional voting. This work contributed to a relatively new body of empirical research on Congress and established her as a respected scholar.

Into the Halls of Congress

Her career took a profound turn, however, soon after this first book. She accepted a Congressional Fellowship from the American Political Science Association which paid for her to work on Capitol Hill for a year so she could observe the inner workings of Congress while working in a legislator's office. She obtained a prize placement in the office of Jim Wright, who hailed from her native Texas and was then the Majority Leader of the House. Using her own experiences and interviews with Congressional staff and members, she provided an inside account of the majority party of the U.S. House just as it was becoming a dominant organization in the legislative branch. In doing so, she applied the elite interviewing methods used so effectively by her mentor, Richard Fenno. This research led to the publication of *Majority Leadership in the U.S. House* (Sinclair, 1983), which paved the way for dozens of scholars doing research on Congressional parties and agenda-setting.

In 1989, Barbara Sinclair published another seminal work, *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate* (Sinclair, 1990). This book updated Donald Matthews's 1960 study, *U.S. Senators and Their World* (Matthews, 1960). In it, she uses a combination of interviews and statistics to explain how the tightly-knit, socially constrained Senate of the 1950s became the freewheeling, individualistic Senate of the 1980s. Fittingly, this book won the APSA award for the best book on legislative politics, which was named in honor of Richard Fenno. Soon afterwards, she was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

When Jim Wright became Speaker he asked Barbara Sinclair to return, so she was present for the extraordinary 100th Congress (1987-88) when Wright led his party in passing a set of bills that demonstrated the priorities of the Democratic Party. She combined this experience with ever-more interviews and a new dataset of major Congressional legislation to write an updated account of House parties, *Legislators, Leaders, and Lawmaking* (Sinclair, 1998).

By the 1990s, the study of Congress had become a "hot" topic in political science, with scholars applying ever-more-sophisticated theoretical models and statistical methods to explain legislative behavior. Barbara Sinclair, both in her research and her personal efforts, helped to bridge the gap between scholars and practitioners. As a well-established scholar, she was a frequent media commentator, wrote numerous book chapters and short essays, and testified before Congress on its rules and practice. She continued to be a very active scholar while returning again and again to Capitol Hill to keep a finger on the pulse of the first branch by interviewing members and staff.

Barbara Sinclair, both in her research and her personal efforts, helped to bridge the gap between scholars and practitioners.

Barbara Sinclair applied her talents to writing a book about how Congress had changed immensely since the first textbooks on the institution were written. *Unorthodox Lawmaking* educated both scholars and students on the ever-evolving political and legislative environment of Congress (Sinclair, 2011). As Bruce Oppenheimer explains,

> I have used the book since the first edition was published. To say it's first rate would be an understatement. Not only does Barbara provide an understanding of the intricacies of rules and procedures as they work in the contemporary Congress, but through her case studies she also demonstrates the policy impact that they have had in a range of critical areas. Finally, Barbara takes time to discuss the normative implications of unorthodox lawmaking.

UCLA and Retirement

In 1996, Barbara Sinclair moved to UCLA to accept an endowed chair. This is where I met her in the Spring of 1997 when I visited to decide if I wanted to attend the Ph.D. program in political science. I had applied to study international relations, but after meeting Barbara I began to think more seriously about studying Congress. That summer, she came to Capitol Hill and we met as scholar and staffer. In the fall, I arrived in Los Angeles to begin years of training and the first of many meetings as Ph.D. student and advisor.

As a mentor, Barbara was extraordinarily generous with her time, support, and patience. As a teaching assistant for her Congress class, I observed her knack for making legislative politics interesting with a combination of data, war stories, pictures, and policy. Every student had to write a paper tracing the path of a bill in Congress, and in doing so learned how Congress deals with important issues in the modern age.

Before retiring in 2007, she published *Party Wars* (Sinclair, 2006), which traced and explained the emergence of the hyperpartisan Congress of today. In truth, though, she only retired from teaching while maintaining an active travel and research life for many years.

Legacy

In 2000, I received a Dirksen grant to go to Congress and spend a week interviewing legislators to understand why they cosponsor each other's bills. Naturally, I asked Barbara for advice, and we talked about the fine points of getting interviews and taking notes. Then we turned to the critical question of questions: what should I ask to get real answers? "I always start with, 'what are you working on?"' she said. "That is what their minds are focused on and it gets people talking about their jobs in ways that you cannot expect."

Throughout her career, "what are you working on?" was a question she was always ready to answer. From her early days at Riverside to (literally) the last weeks of her life, she was a model of tireless energy because she found joy in her work.

Clearly, though, she also had an answer to the question, "What are you working for?" Throughout her career she worked to promote the systematic study of the U.S. Congress. But, like many such scholars, she cared passionately about the Congress itself: celebrating its purpose, lamenting its deficiencies, and encouraging its progress.

She also worked to promote gender equality. As her contemporary Larry Dodd noted, "she pushed forward the boundaries of women as scholars and teachers within political science and was a pioneer during the 1970s, in particular, in fostering the systematic study of the role of women in American Politics." Lynn Vavreck explained,

> Barbara first became special to me as a fellow Ph.D. student of Dick Fenno's at the University of Rochester...At UCLA, I watched Barbara...as she listened actively in department seminars, asked productive but not pedantic questions, and always tied politics to political science. She was elegant - and smart - and she showed me and many other women in the academy how to be confident, how to be heard, and how to take a seat at the table and do the job.

UCLA colleague Kathleen Bawn noted that,

> Her lesson to me was to demonstrate the value of being an oddball - a qualitative scholar making an important impact in a field dominated by formal models and statistical evidence; a polite and moderate presence in a profession with bravado to spare. Her calm, clear-headed self-confidence makes her a lasting model to all of us who knew her.

Political science has lost a leader and inherited a legacy to uphold.

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Editors

Gisela Sin

Gisela Sin is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. A Fulbright scholar who received her PhD in political science from the University of Michigan, she studies political institutions, emphasizing the strategic elements of separation of powers. She is the author of *Separation of Powers and Legislative Organization: the President, the Senate, and Political Parties in the Making of House Rules*, published by Cambridge University Press and winner of the Alan Rosenthal Prize from the Legislative Studies Section. She is co-author of a book on Argentinean institutions, *Congreso, Presidencia, y Justicia en Argentina*. She has published numerous articles on American and Comparative politics and is currently examining the strategic use of vetoes in the US States and Latin America. She is the co-chair of the Legislative Studies Group at the Latin America Political Science Association.

Laurel Harbridge

Laurel Harbridge is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, and a Faculty Fellow with the Institute for Policy Research, both at Northwestern University. Her research focuses on partisan conflict and the lack of bipartisan agreement in American politics. Her 2015 book *Is Bipartisanship Dead? Policy Agreement and Agenda-Setting in the House of Representatives* explores how congressional parties prioritize partisan conflict over bipartisan agreement, and how this approach to legislating affects the responsiveness of members to their constituents and policy formation. She earned her PhD at Stanford University in 2009 and her work has been published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *American Politics Research*, among others. This research has been supported by the National Science Foundation Time Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences (TESS) and the Dirksen Congressional Center.

Contributors

E. Scott Adler

E. Scott Adler is Professor of Political Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. He is the author of *Why Congressional Reforms Fail: Reelection and the House Committee System* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), which was awarded the Alan Rosenthal Prize from the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association, and *Congress and the Politics of Problem Solving* (Cambridge University Press, 2012, co-authored with John Wilkerson). He is also co-editor of *The Macropolitics of Congress* (Princeton University Press, 2006). He has published articles in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, among others. Adler is PI on the Congressional District Data Set, and co-PI of the Congressional Bills Project which has compiled and coded data on all bills introduced in Congress since World War II. In 2006-07, Adler was Visiting Professor at the Center for the Study of American Politics and Department of Political Science, Yale University. He received a BA from the University of Michigan in 1988 and a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1996.

Joseph Cooper

Joseph Cooper is an Academy Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University (retired). He is the author of *The Origins of the Standing Committees in the House of Representatives* (1970), Congress and its Committees (1988), and *The Previous Question: Its Status as a Precedent for Cloture* (1962) as well several edited works, including *The House at Work* (1981), and *Congress and the Decline of Public Trust* (1999). His work has appeared in articles in the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, the *Political Science Quarterly*, the *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *Congress and the Presidency*. He has served as Provost at Johns Hopkins, Dean of Social Sciences at Rice University, and staff director of the U.S. House Commission on Administrative Review (Obey Commission). His research now focuses on the balance of power between the President and Congress from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. His latest publication is a chapter on the "Modern Congress" in the 10th edition of L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered* (December, 2012).

Brian Crisp

Brian F. Crisp received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Michigan and is currently a faculty member in the Department of Political Science at Washington University in St. Louis. His work on electoral systems, legislative politics, interbranch relations, and policy choices has been published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, and elsewhere. His book *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups* was published by Stanford University Press.

Jillian Evans

Jillian Evans is a fourth-year PhD student in political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She specializes in American politics and institutions. Her research focuses on state politics, political parties, and the rules and laws governing legislative primary elections. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science at the University of Minnesota-Morris.

Linda Fowler

Linda L. Fowler is Professor of Government and Frank J. Reagan Chair in Policy Studies at Dartmouth College, Emerita, where she continues to teach and conduct research. After stepping down from her position as director of the Nelson Rockefeller Center for the Social Sciences, Fowler received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 2005 to study congressional oversight of defense and foreign policy by the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees. The resulting book, *Watchdogs on the Hill: The Decline of Congressional Oversight of U. S. Foreign Relations*, was published by Princeton University Press in 2015. Fowler's previous books include: *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress* (Yale 1989) and *Candidates, Congress and the American Democracy* (Michigan, 1993). She has published numerous articles and book chapters on American politics and is currently examining the transformation of the House Rules Committee. She has held a variety of positions in the Legislative Studies Section and served as Secretary of APSA in 2014-15.

Gregory Koger

Gregory Koger is an associate professor of political science at the University of Miami. Koger specializes in legislative politics and political parties. After earning his B.A. at Willamette University, Koger worked as a legislative assistant in the U.S. House for over two years, where he served as a liaison to the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Koger earned his Ph.D. from UCLA in 2002.

Gregory Koger is the author of *Filibustering: A Political History of Obstruction in the House and Senate*, published in 2010 by the University of Chicago Press. *Filibustering* was awarded the 2011 Fenno Prize for the best book on legislative studies. Koger's research on filibustering and the Senate has led to interviews with the *Washington Post*, *Fresh Air with Terry Gross*, and testimony before the Senate Rules Committee. Koger has also published research articles on parties, lobbying, and Congress in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Political Research*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, and the *Journal of Theoretical Politics*.

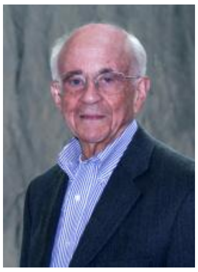
Thomas König

Thomas König is Professor of Political Science and director of the interdisciplinary center on "The Political Economy of Reforms". He also directs the EITM Europe summer institute. His research focuses on international and legislative politics from a comparative perspective. He is a specialist in game theory and quantitative methods. Publications include major journals such as *Political Analysis*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journals of Theoretical Politics*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *World Politics*, etc. Books include *Reforming the European Union: Realizing the Impossible* (with Daniel Finke, Sven-Oliver Proksch und George Tsebelis), 2012, Princeton: Princeton University Press and *The European Union Decides* (with Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen), 2006, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stefani Langehennig

Stefani Langehennig is a PhD student at the University of Colorado Boulder studying American politics and political methodology. Her research focuses on institutions, policy making, and congressional organization. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in Government at the University of Texas at Austin and her Masters of Science in Political Science at the University of Nebraska Omaha.

Gerhard Loewenberg



Gerhard Loewenberg is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at The University of Iowa and co-founder with Malcom E. Jewell of the *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Parliament in the German Political System*, *Comparing Legislatures* (with Samuel C. Patterson), and, most recently, *On Legislatures: the Puzzle of Representation*. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a recipient of the American Political Science Association's Frank J. Goodnow Award for Distinguished Service.

Moritz Osnabrügge

Moritz Osnabrügge is a researcher at the Collaborative Research Center "Political Economy of Reforms" and the University of Mannheim. His research interests center on political economy, comparative politics and the application of quantitative methods. Osnabrügge has authored and co-authored articles published in *Political Analysis*, *European Union Politics* and *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*. Moritz Osnabrügge holds a B.A. in Political Science and Economics (University of Mannheim), an M.Sc. in Political Science and Political Economy (London School of Economics and Political Science) and a Ph.D. in Political Science (University of Mannheim). His Ph.D. thesis is titled "Five Essays on the Political Economy of Reforms in Europe".

Collin Paschall

Collin Paschall is a third-year PhD student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He serves as the editorial assistant for *The Legislative Scholar*. His research is focused on issues of political representation and legislative behavior. He earned his B.A. at the University of Nebraska and his J.D. at The George Washington University Law School.

Lynda Powell

Lynda Powell is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Rochester. Her current research focuses on representation and polarization in the American Legislatures: the 50 state legislatures and Congress. She is studying the effects of institutional features (such as committees and leadership), donors and electoral constituencies on representation, polarization and lawmaking. Her most recent book, *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures: The Effects of Institutions and Politics* (University of Michigan Press) won the Fenno Prize, the best book award of the Legislative Studies Section of APSA, and was the inaugural winner of the Gray Prize, the best book award of the State Politics and Policy Section of APSA. Her other publications include three co-authored books: *The Financiers of Congressional Elections* (Columbia University Press); *Term Limits in the State Legislatures* (University of Michigan Press); *Serious Money: Fundraising and Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns* (Cambridge University Press); and a variety of articles in journals including the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

William Simoneau

William Simoneau is a PhD student at Washington University in St. Louis. He has earned his Master's degree in Political Science from Brooklyn College-City University of New York. He has recently presented work on *Modeling Elections in Ireland* at The Political Economy of Social Choices Conference in Oaxaca, Mexico, and *The Effect of Electoral Systems on the Influence of Nationalist Parties in Western Europe* at the Florida Political Science Association Conference in St. Augustine, Florida. His work on Modeling Elections in Ireland is a forthcoming chapter in *The Political Economy of Social Choices*. William's primary research interests are electoral systems, party behavior, and party finance.

Steven S. Smith

Steven S. Smith is the Kate M. Gregg Distinguished Professor of Social Sciences, Professor of Political Science, and the Director of the Murray Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy at Washington University. He is the Director of the American Panel Survey (TAPS), former editor of *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and former chair of the Legislative Studies Section of the APSA. He is the author of *The Senate Syndrome*, *Parties in Congress*, *The American Congress*, and several other books on American and congressional politics.

Michelle L. Wiegand

Michelle L. Wiegand is Managing Editor of the *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and Administrative Director of the Comparative Legislative Research Center at The University of Iowa. She was the recipient of the Iowa Board of Regents Staff Excellence Award and has served on the University's Staff Council. She holds a B.A. in economics and an M.B.A. from The University of Iowa.

Announcements

Call for Papers for *III Encuentro GEL-ALACIP*: The Standing Group on Legislative Studies (GEL) of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP) will host its third biennial conference in Santiago from November 17-18. This is a small, focused and extremely useful conference for all those interesting in studying legislatures. The deadline to submit proposals is March 29, 2016. Please direct any questions to info@fel-alacip.org or visit www.gel-alacip.org.

If you have other announcements that you would like to include in future issues, please contact the editors, Laurel Harbridge (l-harbridge@northwestern.edu) and Gisela Sin (gsin@illinois.edu).

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