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The Legislative Scholar

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MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS

Tribute to Joseph Cooper

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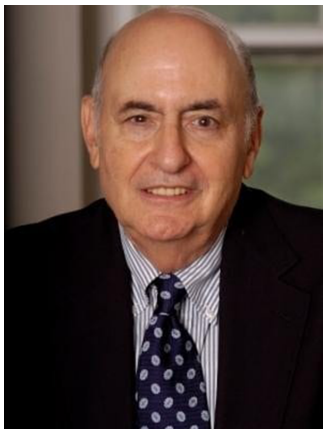


In this issue, I'm joined by guest editor Adam Sheingate, Professor of Political Science, at Johns Hopkins University. The Spring 2023 newsletter is a tribute to an agenda-setting Congressional scholar, Joseph Cooper. Cooper died on August 20, 2022, in Westport, Connecticut. He was 88. Joseph Cooper, professor emeritus and Academy Professor, Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. He earned PhD in 1961 from Harvard University, where he began his career as Assistant Professor. In 1967, he moved to Rice University in Houston Texas, where he held positions as the Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science and Herbert S. Autrey Professor of Social Science, chair of the political science department and the inaugural Dean of Social Sciences. After more than two decades at Rice, in 1991 Cooper moved to Johns Hopkins University as provost, vice president of academic affairs and professor of political science until his retirement in 2012. During this period, he also served as professor of political science until his retirement in 2012, when he was named professor emeritus and Academy Professor.

Cooper is the author or editor of seven books as well as numerous articles and book chapters related to Congressional organization and development. He is perhaps best known for his research on the rise of the standing committee system in Congress, and for his pathbreaking research with David W. Brady on transformations in House leadership. This work showed how the strength of party coalitions in Congress structured leadership styles and public policy outcomes.

During his career, Cooper served as co-editor of the *Sage Yearbook on Electoral Studies* and editorial board member of *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and the *Encyclopedia of American Legislative Systems*. He served as an expert witness, testifying before Congress on multiple occasions. He was likewise very involved in the discipline, holding memberships in the National Capital Area Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association, the Southwestern Political Science Association, and the American Political Science Association.

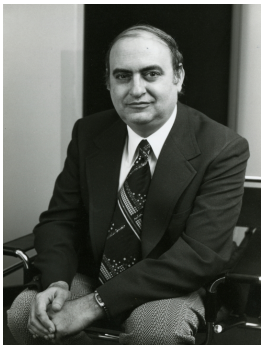
In this newsletter we pay tribute to Joe Cooper, compiling comments and reflections from scholars who he influenced during the course of his long career. We hear from long time colleagues, former students, mentees, editors, and friends. Though each commemorates Cooper's intellectual contributions and puts them in the context of the development of the field of Congress, the range of vantage points in this compellation of essays gives us a well-rounded look at the entirety of a career, beyond the intellectual contributions we glean from reading his work.

For example, former student Douglas B. Harris gives us a look at the creative approach to problem solving and the "explosive insights" Joe offered as a reviewer, editor, and professor. Another former student, Patricia A. Hurley, describes the arc of her relationship with Joe—who was always a tough critic—as it transformed over the years from professor-student and mentor-mentee to dear friends. As the co-editor of Congress Reconsidered, Bruce Oppenheimer provides a glance at the pride Joe took in the craft of writing—meticulously choosing every word and delivering flawless products every time. Wendy J. Schiller's and Adam Sheingate's comments elucidate the impact Joe had as a mentor and teacher—shaping the early careers of graduate students and newly-minted PhDs. Whereas Wendy Schiller reflects on her own experience building on Joe's research program as a young scholar in the discipline, Adam Sheingate recounts the unique experience as an assistant professor co-teaching a graduate seminar alongside Joe, his senior colleague. Finally, John Alford, David Brady, and Robert Stein give us a glimpse at Joe as an administrator and institution builder, helping to transform the social sciences at Rice University.

Taken together, these remarks reflect the accomplishments of a pathbreaking student of Congress who used his talents and expertise to improve the careers of colleagues around him and the institutions where he worked. In remembering his remarkable life and career, we hope readers who knew Joe Cooper will have occasion to reflect on the ways Joe may have influenced their own trajectories. For readers who did not know Joe personally, we hope you find some inspiration, just as we have, to follow the model of a generous colleague and dedicated scholar.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Comments from: John Alford, David Brady, and Robert Stein



Joseph Cooper, Congressional scholar, teacher, public servant and department chair and university administrator at three nationally recognized universities died August 20, 2022. In this short testimonial we cannot cover all of his achievements so we will concentrate on what we believe to be his most important contribution from which much of his other findings follow. Joe Cooper taught us that context in a legislative body was crucial to understanding how the legislature was organized, what rules it had and what legislative parties could do. He wrote in an era when game theory was taking over the profession and he was one of the few legislative scholars who insisted on the relevance of organization theory. Game theory might answer the question of "why does Congress have committees?" by saying that the benefits of having them outweighed the costs. Joe refused to take such a straightforward answer and argued that to understand Congress (or any legislature) you needed to understand the context in which the parties, rules and leaders operated. He meant by context (and here given word constraints we limit the answer) essentially what the elections have given the leaders to work with. Thus, if the election gave up a solid, coherent majority in a party then the leaders chosen and how they acted and what they achieved would differ from an election that yielded a diverse, ideologically heterogenous majority.

Given this fundamental insight he was able to show how over time parties in the U.S. Congress changed from the tight ideological Republican era of Joe Cannon to the cross partisan era of the Conservative Coalition back toward the present party arrangement. Understanding context in this manner allowed him to show how leadership in Congress differed depending on the context. Joe Cannon's "dictatorial style" was a result of the relative homogeneity of the Republican in the House while Sam Rayburn's "Get along, go along style" was the result of the mix of Northern liberals and Southern Conservatives that Rayburn had to work with.

Understanding context as he did lead him to have a deep understanding of the rules of Congress and why and how they changed over time. The same understanding of context led him to see how the parties control over legislation waxed and waned between strict and very loose. We could go on with more specifics but suffice it to say his knowledge of organization theory and his deep knowledge of much of the internal workings of Congress, especially the House of Representatives led him to many important findings. Put together these findings are a partial answer to the question of how elections, institutions and policy are related at a given time and what drives change in the equilibrium, which is important.

During his tenure as Dean of Social Science at Rice Cooper founded the Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, the forerunner to the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy. Cooper oversaw the expansion of the School of Social Science, doubling the size of its fulltime faculty and expanding academic offerings from five programs to twelve in less than a decade.

Cooper served as the staff director of the Commission on Administrative Review (known as the Obey Commission), which was charged with revising ethics rules, floor scheduling, and administrative operations in the House of Representatives. His work contributed to several reforms in the operations of the U.S. House of Representatives still in operation today.

As provost and vice president of academic affairs at Johns Hopkins Cooper established and led the Committee for the 21^{st} Century, a university-wide faculty effort to identify and address the greatest challenges facing Hopkins and other research universities.

Joseph Cooper made many contributions to the study of legislative behavior. His career as scholar and teacher crossed fields and areas of specialization and provided contributions to real world legislatures. He was a member of the U.S. Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress; a board member of the Dirksen Congressional Center; and a member of the academy advisory council for the Congress Center at Indiana University. His contributions continue to influence the study of congressional parties, House rules, congressional leadership and more importantly, what factors drive change in these areas. Given the state of Congress today more work informed by Joseph Cooper's lifework is necessary.

Comments from: Patricia A. Hurley

With the passing of Joseph Cooper the field of legislatives studies lost one of its most astute analysts of the U.S. Congress. Joe's long and distinguished career included academic appointments at Harvard, Rice, and Johns Hopkins, significant university administrative appointments, and the

position of Staff Director of the U.S. House Commission on Administrative Review from 1976 to 1978. His research on Congress addressed the organizational structure of the institution; the roles of parties, leaders, and committees; congressional oversight; and other related topics. In this brief appreciation I focus primarily on his work on parties and leaders, frequently using his own words.

Joe's research agenda was characterized by a remarkable coherence and consistency. Themes that he initially articulated in *The Origins of the Standing Committees and the Development of the Modern House* (Cooper 1970) are maintained and elaborated in much of his subsequent work. Two themes stand out. The first is one that scholars in all subfields of the discipline should heed: the importance of careful conceptualization and the use of operational definitions appropriate to that conceptualization. Describing the model developed in "The Electoral Basis of Party Voting" (Cooper, Brady, and Hurley 1977, 160) Joe writes "...operationalization of the key variables in terms that are conceptually correct is exceedingly difficult," and laments "the current tendency to make ease of operationalization the definitive criterion in the design of research." These points are reiterated in "Toward a Diachronic Analysis of Congress" (Cooper and Brady1981b, see especially 996). Indeed, well into his emeritus professor years Joe remained focused on refining measures of party unity and division in Congress.

A second theme running through all Joe's work is recognition of the importance of context. Congress does not exist in a vacuum. To understand how it operates one must consider the broader environment. In his analysis of leadership styles of House speakers (Cooper and Brady 1981a), he concludes "institutional context rather than personal skill is the primary determinant of leadership power in the House" (423). This concern with context is particularly relevant to Joe's work on party strength and party voting in the U.S. House (Cooper, Brady, and Hurley 1977; Brady, Cooper, and Hurley 1979) – work that is frequently and mistakenly interpreted as concluding that party does not matter in the House. The 1977 chapter argued that constituencies matter in terms of the coalitions within them that elect partisans to office, and that

> It is the success that party has in accommodating and aggregating interests and viewpoints that crosscut constituencies, in providing grounds for cohesion among representatives of diverse constituency coalitions, that promotes party voting at the legislative level. The basis of a positive relationship between electoral factors and legislative party voting thus inheres in the relationship between party strength at the electoral level and party strength at the legislative level (156).

The chapter concludes that "party strength at the legislative level has a substantial impact on organizational norms, structures, and behavior [and] though centralization of power in the formal and/or party structures of a legislature can contribute to party voting, the degree of such centralization will itself vary in relation to the potential for party voting that emerges from the electoral process" (160-61).

The implications of this point for party governance in the House are expanded and elaborated in the 1979 article: "centralized power thus rests on the willingness of party members to operate the House on the basis of party...the structural arrangements in the formal and/or party systems that generate and confer such leverage cannot be created or maintained if party members do not possess a high degree of willingness to pursue goals in concert on a permanent or continuing basis" (394-5). A similar argument runs through both 1981 pieces as well as the concluding pages of *The Origins of the Standing Committees* (Cooper 1970, 127-28).

Taken together, these works articulate a view of the importance of external factors (i.e., the electoral context) on the ability of party leaders to concentrate power. Joe's work (with Brady) outlined the basic points of "conditional party government" well before Rohde (1991) labeled it as such. And the electoral context explains the 15 votes it took before Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) was elected Speaker of the House in the 118^{th} Congress. With neither party able to claim a clear majority in the electorate in the current era, the majority party in the House typically has a slim margin that allows little room for intra-party dissent if anything is to be accomplished. Electoral forces also led to the fractured state of the current GOP, which allowed a fringe group of anti-institutional MCs to block McCarthy's election in exchange for significant limitations on the Speaker's power. A fractured party combined with weak leaders consigns the current House majority to an agenda of obstruction, politically-driven investigations, and media grandstanding rather than one of substantive policy goals.

Let me turn attention to Joe Cooper as a person. I first met Joe in 1972 when I was a young and naïve graduate student at Rice University. My memories of his seminars are simultaneously happy, amused (he would go through at least one box of wooden toothpicks each time, systematically breaking each in half), and terrifying (papers returned with copious, not-always-favorable comments, lines and arrows connecting various points). I came to realize the criticism was constructive, and that he was a teacher who would not settle for second-rate work. Because of his teaching I grew as a scholar.

After I received my degree he played an important mentoring role, commenting on my work, inviting me as a coauthor on work on the legislative veto, and offering career advice. I remember especially his insightful commentary, all delivered virtually by the then-magic of email, as I was writing a chapter on the role of party in Congress in the 20^{th}

century. When I took a significant university administrative assignment his mentoring extended to that arena (favorite advice – "you don't have to give people everything they want."). Mentorship deepened into friendship, and a high point of conferences was lunch or coffee with Joe. His annual holiday greetings were a treat, and I was saddened when they stopped in the last few years. I know I am not alone among Joe's students in mourning the loss of a teacher, a mentor, and a friend.

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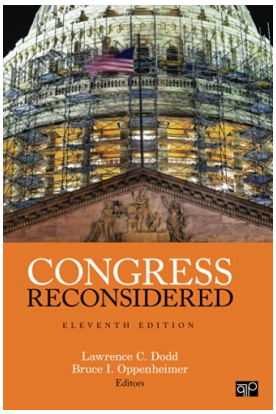
Comments from: Bruce Oppenheimer



With Joe Cooper's passing in 2022, the political science discipline, especially the large family of congressional scholars, lost an exceptionally gifted and dedicated leader, a mentor to many, and a most generous professional colleague. Over a lengthy and productive career, Joe was the foremost pathbreaker in advocating and establishing the importance of studying the historical development of American political institutions (diachronic analysis), long before it was a popular research pursuit or the subfield of American political development existed.

Having been trained in the late 1950s at Harvard in a more traditional setting, Joe faced a discipline at the start of the behavioral revolution that was becoming increasingly hostile to historical research. In that environment, however, Joe persisted in his belief that we could not fully understand why Congress worked the way it did organizationally and why the members behaved the way they did if we did not grasp its historical development. Initially, his research was based on extensive archival materials as he wrote important pieces on the use of the previous question in the Senate, the development of the committee system in the House of Representatives, and the legislative veto, among other topics. The discipline may not have immediately rewarded his research, but Joe's efforts did not wane. His early work on the legislative veto was written when few even knew that such a vehicle existed although later it would be of great substantive importance. And his 1970 monograph on the origins, development, and influence of the committee system on the modern House became a seminal work. It is a treasure in the libraries of congressional scholars fortunate enough to have a copy.

Increasingly, the discipline learned that there existed troves of historical data. Although difficult to collect, it could be employed to study the historical development of Congress in a manner consistent with contemporary social science methodologies. With this development, Joe's research came to the forefront. In 1981, he and David Brady published two seminal articles in the *American Political Science Review*. The first, "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn," established a new approach for comparing the influence and effectiveness of House Speakers over time while controlling for contextual differences. The second, "Toward a Diachronic Analysis of Congress," analyzed the existing literature for its contribution to the understanding of Congress historically and more importantly argued for the creative use of data to further the significance of institutional development and change. These articles stimulated an upsurge in political scientists engaged in the historical study of Congress and fostered the belief that Congress changed in response to a wide range of alterations occurring in the broader political and social context. It led to the Congress and history becoming a disciplinary subfield and attracted scholars from diverse methodological approaches, including archival based, data based, and formal theory. By the mid-1990s the growth in the historical study of Congress among political scientists led a Vanderbilt colleague from the History department to confess that political scientist, not historians were doing the best historical research on Congress. Joe continued to engage in diachronic analysis of Congress. He found new approaches to measuring the differences in partisanship, bipartisanship, and cross-partisanship over long historical eras. He studied the changing rates and incentives for voluntary retirements. And perhaps most importantly, Joe uncovered new arguments on the decline of congressional influence versus presidential influence over public policy that viewed continuous change

rather than simply divisions into discrete eras.

Larry Dodd and I were prime beneficiaries of Joe's generosity. He willingly contributed an essay on the application of organization theory for the study of Congress to what would be the first edition of Congress Reconsidered when we were in our early years in the profession. We came to rely on him for an original article for every succeeding volume through the 11^{th} edition. During that time we were impressed not just with the quality and originality of Joe's articles, but we also came to appreciate what a perfectionist he was in terms of content, word choice, and style. Joe cared as much about his writing as he did about the substance of his work. We warned a series of first-rate copyeditors at CQ that challenging Joe was a losing battle.

When in 1977 I had an offer to join the department at the University of Houston, I ask Joe, who was then chair at Rice, for his advice. He gave me a thoughtful, balanced, and overall positive evaluation. It made my decision much easier. What he did not tell me is how cooperative the relationship was between the Rice and UH political science departments. In large part, it was because Joe set the tone. The departments co-hosted conferences and other events. Watching Joe at work, I learned many lessons about being a professional academic and the responsibilities that it entailed. Thankfully, he passed his example onto colleagues and the many grad student whom he trained. We are the lucky ones. Hopefully, we've been able to pass some of Joe's wisdom onto subsequent generations.

Comments from: Wendy J. Schiller

Professor Joseph "Joe" Cooper made a lasting imprint on me, from the way he delivered his assessment of an idea, to his spirited defense of his own views, to his impeccable wardrobe, everyone knew when Joe Cooper was in the room. And Cooper's influence on my career began long before we actually met in person. I was in graduate school at the University of Rochester working with Larry Bartels, Dick Fenno, and Lynda Powell, thinking about writing my dissertation on bill sponsorship in the U.S. Senate from the perspective of how it helped Senators forge their reputations and legislative careers. At that time, more than 30 years ago, there were few scholars who had published on this topic. There was of course the classic book, *The Legislative Struggle: A Study in Social Combat*, by Bertram M. Gross (1953), but nothing more recently stood out except for one *Legislative Studies Quarterly* article from 1989 by Joe Cooper and Cheryl D, Young called "Bill Introduction in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Institutional Change." Their article laid out the evolution of the procedure to sponsor a bill in the House of Representatives, and more importantly for me, provided a framework for arguing the merits of studying sponsorship as a foundation for the legislative program that Congress produced, as well as serving as a core component of individual legislative reputations.

JOSEPH COOPER
CHERYL D. YOUNG
Rice University

Bill Introduction In the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Institutional Change

Fast forward more than a decade, and in 2002 Joe had produced a new article on bill sponsorship in the U.S. Senate with Elizabeth Rybicki, entitled "Analyzing Institutional Change: Bill Introduction in the Early Senate" which was published in Bruce Oppenheimer's edited volume *U.S. Senate Exceptionalism*. I had already published an article from my dissertation on modern bill sponsorship, as well as my first book *Partners and Rivals* on how Senators from the same state forged their careers in the modern era. Cooper and Rybicki's work inspired me to take a new look at how this legislative instrument was used by Senators in a time when they were indirectly elected by state legislators, not directly by voters. It was when I was presenting this work at a Midwest Political Science Conference Meeting that I met Charles Stewart III who suggested we join together to study the entirety of the indirect election process in the late 19^{th} century.

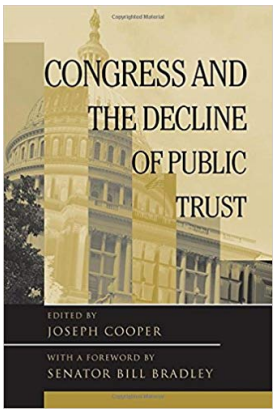
Not only did that sequence of events frame my post-tenure research agenda, I was brought into the Congress and History conference community where I could spend time talking to Joe Cooper. Throughout our long journey of data collection, analysis, and writing, he was always very encouraging about the project, albeit with his typical standard of high expectations. It is hard to put into words just how important it was that he believed the project had merit, or how much I personally owe to him for pointing the way. Subsequently we published our book *Electing the Senate: Indirect Elections before the Seventeenth Amendment* and Cooper's continued support helped us cross the finish line.

Now, as a senior colleague in the discipline, I have a deeper appreciation for Joe Cooper's high standards, straightforward critique, and the way he set an example for supporting work you believe in. I hope in a small way to carry on that tradition in honor of his legacy to the discipline.

Comments from: Douglas B. Harris

Joseph Cooper—professor, revered and valued mentor to his many students, and accomplished university adminis-

trator—had a deep impact on the historical-analytical study of the U.S. Congress and its place in the broader political system. Throughout his career, Cooper was a "scholar's scholar" to whom even the greatest congressional experts turned for sage counsel.



Cooper glimpsed early (often first) several aspects of congressional politics and American political historical understanding that would become foundational in contemporary congressional scholarship. Cooper's several works on congressional committees were among the first of modern congressional studies to deal with the changing roles, performance, and functions of committees across historical eras; Joe's work in this area continues to be the starting point for anyone studying congressional committees historically and the reigning benchmark standard for work in that area for over a half century now. Well before there was an American political development subfield in political science, Joe Cooper was studying institutions and organizations systematically across eras—he would say, "diachronically"—and with a keen understanding of what the changes revealed could tell us about the nature of institutional operations, the causal factors at work behind (and emanating from) institutional changes, and the functioning of representative and deliberative democracy in the American political system generally.

Notably, Cooper's seminal work with David Brady did the same for our understandings of the changing nature of congressional party leaders' "strength and style" across eras. The central debates that define our understandings of party leadership in Congress emanate, originally, from their insights as published in the *APSR* (Cooper and Brady 1981). In a mere 15-page article, Cooper and Brady set the course of scholarship on congressional parties and leaders for, at least, the next forty years. "Cooper and Brady 1981" is not only cited by nearly all contemporary party leadership studies, but it is generally cited within the first ten pages of most of these works as an animating set of questions. That is to say that Cooper and Brady's work was a—in some cases, the—common foundation for countless other supremely influential works.

If scholars of committees and parties in Congress will readily recognize Cooper's influence, so too would scholars of inter-branch relations, trust in the political system, and the legislative process. With his signature contributions on subjects ranging from the legislative veto and administrative clearance to multiple referral's impact in the House as well as bill introduction behavior or the varying types of vote coalitions that appear in congressional roll calls—each of which alone might have made for an admirable scholarly career—Cooper demonstrated repeatedly just how discrete aspects of separation of powers interactions or legislative life can be elucidated not just for their own sake but also for what they reveal about representation, governance, and policymaking. In all, the scope of Cooper's contributions is extraordinary and his applications of organizational theory and historical-institutional understandings to the development of the U.S. Congress were second to none in their precision, their foresight, and their analytic value.

No mere critic or distant analyst, Joe Cooper recognized that what we could come to know about the political system could be put to good use. He lent his organizational and institutional insights to administrative purpose when he was Department Chair and Dean (and, for a time, Acting Provost) at Rice University from the 1960s through the 1980s and, again, while Provost at Johns Hopkins in the 1990s. It should also be remembered that Cooper was the Staff Director of the U.S. House Commission on Administrative Review (the Obey Commission) in the 1970s where he led a staff of talented political scientists and research analysts looking not only to offer up reform proposals to improve operations and ethics in the U.S. House of Representatives but also to establish a "benchmark" for future analysts of how the House actually operated in the 1970s. Cooper's book, The House at Work (co-edited with G. Calvin Mackenzie), translated some of that work into scholarly examinations of congressional organization, modernization, and management. In that collection, Cooper (1981) offered this daunting conclusion and call for continued reform: "though the maladies of the House as an institution are serious and chronic, they are far from terminal now. There is a clear and present danger that its power and position in the system will continue to erode" (p. 351).

Here and throughout his work, it is to Joe's credit that, for all of his intensive expertise and detailed knowledge, he never lost sight of Congress's place in the broader political system. Well-versed in questions of representation and deliberation since his days as an undergraduate and graduate student at Harvard (where he studied with, among others, both V.O. Key, Jr. and Arthur Maass), Cooper never let go of those broader systemic concerns. His later works grappled with the complex interactions of the electoral, legislative, and administrative subsystems as they evolved since the 19th century. Equally broad systemic considerations occupied his attentions when he addressed the "puzzle" of declining trust in American political institutions and elites. In Congress and the Decline of Public Trust, Cooper's (1999) concluding essay came with the reminder that human beings can and sometimes must change their political circumstances; he wrote, "If we prize our political system, it behooves us to understand it and guard it, lest we lose what the Framers so wisely regarded as its great blessings" (165).

Remarkably, all that has been said barely scratches the surface of Joseph Cooper's contributions to the field. As a commenter on work in progress, a reviewer, an editor, and, yes, a professor, he was a consummate educator in every-

day interaction. Generous and leading, Joe's approach was to invite you into a world populated by his vast knowledge and keen insights. What would begin as an "Of course," an "I'm sure you know," or a "Perhaps you've considered this already," would be followed by explosive insights—a deep cut historical fact that challenged your claims; a trenchant comment on the state of the discipline as a means of explaining why most are apt to miss fundamental truths; or, a precise articulation of a historical-institutional pattern that was at once easily missed and obviously correct. He was ever and always meticulous and critically incisive, but also generous, supportive, and kind throughout.

Not only was Cooper's knowledge vast but the creative problem-solving parts of his mind were active and imaginative in constructing frameworks and deploying concepts that made all that he knew more manageable and intelligible to others. For his students and the many colleagues for whom he read and re-read multiple drafts, Joe was a source of great intellectual inspiration and energy. Getting Cooper's initial comments was rarely an immediate joy as he saw things, including an argument's flaws, so clearly. To be sure, Joe's assent to a scholarly argument was hard won as he was testing your premise against a vaster array of knowledge—his own kaleidoscopic understanding of American politics and history—than you were likely to find in any other interlocutor. But Joe had an infectious way of making his students and professional colleagues want to know—or at least want to try to know—things with the facility with which he comprehended and communicated them. If his insights were bold and his understandings of Congress unsurpassed, he was nevertheless humble and unassuming about all he had to offer.

Our collective understandings of Congress (and thus of American politics) have suffered a critical blow with the loss of Joseph Cooper. This is another way of saying that we know so much more thanks to his life and work. Massively talented, learned, and with unsurpassed knowledge of congressional organization and history, Joe Cooper is and will continue to be missed as a colleague, an analyst, and a teacher. He was the rarest gem of a mind. I fear we will not see his like again.

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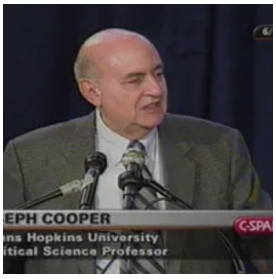
Comments from: Adam Sheingate

When I arrived at Johns Hopkins University as an assistant professor in 2000, Joe Cooper had only returned to full time teaching and research duties a few years earlier. In a sense, we were both finding our place in the Political Science department at the same time even though we were at very different stages of our careers. To be honest, Joe didn't quite know what to make of me. I was not a mainstream Americanist: my first book was on comparative agricultural policy and Joe was rightly circumspect about my characterization of American political development (APD) as a distinct field of study. As Joe not-so-gently pointed out to me, he had been writing on the temporal dynamics of institutions for decades. Joe's work with David Brady in "Toward a Diachronic Analysis of Congress" is perhaps less well known as their seminal "Institutional Context and Leadership Style" (both were published in the *APSR* in 1981), but the article was an early and influential theoretical statement on what became the historical turn in research on Congress and, more broadly, American political development.



Despite the major gaps in my knowledge of the field (or, perhaps, because of them), Joe suggested we co-teach a graduate seminar together. We called it "The Historical Development of American Political Institutions," a field seminar for students taking comprehensive exams in American politics but with a decidedly historical bent. This is how we described the course on our first syllabus in 2005.

> This seminar explores the historical development of American political institutions. We will pay particular attention to development and change in American political parties and interest groups, Congress, and the Presidency. Such an exploration, we hope, will illuminate both the dynamics of institutional change in American politics as well as key features of the contemporary political system. We are also interested in the ongoing tension between institutional structure and the individual pursuit of political ends. As such, we hope to uncover the ways in which changes in rules, organizations, or other structural features of institutions have both shaped and responded to political agency. Finally, on a more practical level, this course is intended to provide an introduction to

> several literatures that could be included in a major or minor field exam in American politics.

Looking back on this description now, it captures Joe's body of work and his approach to the study of Congress. By taking in the broad sweep of institutional history, Joe discerned secular trends in political development, recurrent patterns of organizational change, and episodic periods of innovation that had lasting consequences for Congress as an institution.

Although I was listed as co-instructor, the reality was that I was a student in the seminar too. There were times, I confess, as Joe described the history of bill introduction that I thought to myself, "is it possible to know too much about the nineteenth century?" Nevertheless, as I settled into my role as pupil, I realized what a special opportunity this was and sought to learn as much as I could.

Among the many insights I gained from co-teaching with him, two lessons stand out that sit at the core of Joe's work on Congress. First, Joe frequently emphasized the importance of increasing workload in understanding the institutional evolution of Congress and especially the House. Here, I think Joe's scholarly coming-of-age during key advances in organizational sociology strongly influenced his views. Joe sought to understand how the structure and organization of Congress adapted in response to the increasing workload of the institution as the scope and complexity of the legislative agenda grew over time. Second, Joe underscored the role of doctrine (more prosaically, the influence of ideas) on the trajectory of Congress and, in particular, its relation to the presidency. For Joe, understanding institutional development in a separated powers system required one to take careful note of changing ideas about the role of an elected legislature in a democratic system, especially in relation to a presidency drawing on popular, and increasingly plebiscitary, appeals to the public.

Both of these threads, workload and doctrine, are clearly evident in Joe's contribution to Congress Reconsidered, edited by Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer. First appearing in the 8th edition under the title "From Congressional to Presidential Preeminence: Power and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century America and Today," the essay was always the last reading on our syllabus, a sweeping conclusion to our semester-long journey together. It remains one of my favorite works written by Joe. A former PhD student who I spoke to recently recalled that reading that chapter was like unlocking the deep structures of American politics.

Joe and I taught our last seminar together in 2012, the year he retired. Since 2015, I have been co-teaching the course with my colleague Danny Schlozman. Admittedly, we spend less time on the nineteenth century, but the intellectual spirit of the course remains the same. It is another lasting legacy of Joe's lifetime of scholarship.

After his retirement, Joe and I saw each other sporadically. I distinctly remember our last coffee together. I was beginning my second term as department chair and Joe offered sage counsel as I grappled with the possibilities (and pitfalls) of leadership. There is much talk of mentoring in the academy these days, but there is no rule or recipe for creating such a thing. Like other facets of institutional life, a mentor is an admixture of structural position and individual agency—something Joe understood deeply and practiced wisely.

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Professor Alford's published work is mostly in the area of elections and voting behavior with an emphasis on the American Congress, although he has also published in areas as odd as coal mine safety, pro-natalist policy in Eastern Europe, and the genetics of political ideology. His current research focuses on the biology of political behavior, including brainscience and genetics, and the role of evolution in shaping human political behavior. Recent articles have appeared in *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *American Journal of Political Science*.

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David Brady held the Bowen H. and Janice Arthur McCoy Professor of Political Science in the Stanford Graduate School of Business and the Morris Doyle Professor of Public Policy. He is currently the Davies Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. He has published eight books and over 100 papers in academic journals and books. He also has published essays in the American Interest, Commentary, Policy Review, and numerous pieces in RealClearPolitics and the Wall Street Journal. His study on the Electoral Basis of Gridlock is forthcoming. Brady has been on continual appointment at Stanford since 1986. While at Stanford, he has served as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in the GSB and as Vice Provost for Distance Learning at Stanford. He has twice been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and has been a Visiting Professor at Harvard University, Sciences Po in Paris, LUISS University in Rome and a distinguished lecturer at the American Academy in Berlin. Brady was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1987. Over his teaching career he won the Dinkelspiel Award for service to undergraduates, the Richard Lyman Prize for service to alumni, the Bob Davies Award and the Jaedicke Silver Cup from the GSB, and the first Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Award given at Stanford. He also won the George Brown teaching award at Rice University.

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Douglas B. Harris earned his Ph.D. in political science from Johns Hopkins University and is professor of political science at Loyola University Maryland. He has previously taught at Colgate University, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Texas at Dallas. His co-authored books include *The Austin-Boston Connection: Fifty Years of House Democratic Leadership* (Texas A&M University Press, 2009) and *Choosing the Leader: Leadership Elections in the House of Representatives* (Yale University Press, 2019). His most recent book, *At War with Government: How Conservatives Weaponized Distrust from Goldwater to Trump* (Columbia University Press, 2021), was co-authored with Amy Fried at the University of Maine.

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Patricia A. Hurley is Professor Emerita of Political Science and former Department Head and Associate Dean of Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Rice University under the direction of Joseph Cooper. She served as President of both the Southwestern Political Science Association and the Southwestern Social Science Association, and was recognized by the latter organization with a Distinguished Service Award. Her research on the linkages between public opinion, campaigns, and elections and institutional response and legislative representation in the American political system has appeared in*AJPS, JOP, LSQ,* and a number of other journals and edited volumes. She is co-author, with Kim Quaile Hill and Soren Jordan, of *Representation in Congress: A Unified Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). Recent work on male versus female scholarly productivity in the discipline, with Kim Quaile Hill, has appeared in *PS: Political Science and Politics*.

Bruce I. Oppenheimer

Oppenheimer's research primarily focuses on Congress and American political institutions. His primary current interest examines how process changes have affected the ability of Congress to develop energy policy over the past half century. He is co-editor (with Lawrence Dodd) of *Congress Reconsidered*, the 9th edition of which was published by CQ Press in 2009. Oppenheimer's book, *Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation*, co-authored with Frances Lee, won the D.B. Hardeman Prize for the best book on Congress. In addition, he has recently worked on projects examining why African-American House members rarely run for the U.S. Senate (with Gbemende Johnson and Jennifer Selin) and analyzing the effect of Iraq War deaths on congressional elections (with Christian Grose). He has been both an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow and a Brookings Institution Fellow and Guest Scholar.

Robert Stein

Robert M. Stein, Ph.D., Lena Gohlman Fox Professor of Political Science at Rice University and Fellow in Urban Politics at the Baker Institute. He is the former Dean of the School of Social Sciences (1996-2006). Professor Stein is an expert on urban politics, public policy, voting behavior, emergency preparedness and severe weather mitigation. His current research, funded by the Arnold Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts and the National Science Foundation focuses on voting behavior, election administration and emergency preparedness. Since 2000, Stein has collaborated with an interdisciplinary group of researchers in computer science and civil engineering to study how individuals prepare for and respond to severe weather emergencies. This research has led to the design and implementation of warning systems to advise residents about their immediate risk from severe weather. He and his colleagues are currently collaborating with the City of Houston to install sensor devices to collect real time data on neighborhood street flooding. In 2006 and 2012, Stein served on the research staff of the Commission on Federal Election Reform and the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. He continues to study and assist local governments in the administration of elections. He is the author of "Urban Alternatives: Private and Public Markets in the Provision of Local Services" for which he received a special award from the Urban Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association in 1991. Stein is co-author of "Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy," published in 1995. During his years at Rice, Stein has received numerous awards, including the George R. Brown Award for Superior Teaching in 1998 and 1987.

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Wendy J. Schiller is Royce Family Professor of Teaching Excellence in Political Science, International & Public Affairs, and Director of the Taubman Center for American Politics and Policy, Brown University. She obtained her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Rochester. Among books she has authored or co-authored are *Electing the Senate: Indirect Democracy before the Seventeenth Amendment* (Princeton University Press), *Gateways to Democracy: An Introduction to American Government* (Cengage), The Contemporary Congress (Rowman & Littlefield) and *Partners and Rivals: Representation in U.S. Senate Delegations* (Princeton University Press). Her forthcoming book, with Kaitlin N. Sidorsky, is entitled *Inequality Across State Lines: How Policymakers Have Failed Domestic Violence Victims in the United States* (Cambridge University Press 2023). She has also published articles in the *American Journal of Political Science, The Forum, Journal of Politics, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, Legislative Studies Quarterly, State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, and *Studies in American Political Development.*