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Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

[Click Here for Other Issues](#)

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[Jump to "Book Notes"](#)

- *African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History*
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- *Designing Judicial Review: Interest Groups, Congress, and Communications Policy*
- *Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections*
- *Lessons and Legacies: Farewell Addresses from the Senate*
- *Networks of Champions: Leadership, Access, and Advocacy in the U.S. House of Representatives*
- *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*
- *Presidential-Congressional Relations: Policy and Time Approaches*
- *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton*
- *Vital Statistics on Congress 1997-1998*

[| Back to Top of This Page |](#)

[| Front Page | Research & Teaching | Legislative News | Papers Presented |](#)
[| Journal Articles | Book Notes | Extension of Remarks |](#)

[| From the Chair | From the Editor |](#)

[| Legislative Studies Section Home Page | APSA Home Page |](#)

--	--

--

Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

BOOK REVIEWS FORTHCOMING Check Back Soon!

--

- *African American Women in Congress: Forming and Transforming History*
- *Competing Principals: Committees, Parties, and the Organization of Congress*
- *Designing Judicial Review: Interest Groups, Congress, and Communications Policy*
- *Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections*
- *Lessons and Legacies: Farewell Addresses from the Senate*
- *Networks of Champions: Leadership, Access, and Advocacy in the U.S. House of Representatives*
- *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*
- *Presidential-Congressional Relations: Policy and Time Approaches*
- *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton*
- *Vital Statistics on Congress 1997-1998*

[BACK TO TOP](#)

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |

Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about journal articles dealing with legislatures. Numerous journals were searched in compiling this list. The major sources for this information are *Current Contents*, *ABC POLI SCI*, and *P.A.I.S.*

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"Minority representation in multimember districts," E.R. Gerber, R.B. Morton, and T.A. Rietz, 92 (March 1998): 127-145.

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"Structure, behavior, and voter turnout in the United States," R.J. Timpone, 92 (March 1998): 145-159.

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British Journal of Political Science

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East European Politic and Societies

"The breakup of Czechoslovakia: The impact of party development on the separation of the state," A. Innes, 11 (Autumn 1997): 393-436.

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"Congress power play," editorial, 32 (November 22, 1997): 2979-2980.

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"The 17 May 1997 parliamentary elections in Cameroon," A.R. Mustapha, 16 (December 1997): 563-567.

"The 1996/1997 presidential and national assembly elections in the Gambia," A.S.M. Saine, 16 (December 1997): 554-560.

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"Political representation in the European Parliament," M. Marsh and P. Norris, 32 (October 1997): 153-165.

"Representational roles," R.S. Katz, 32 (October 1997): 211-227.

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"Representation and voter participation," J. Blondel, R. Sinnott and P. Svenson, 32 (October 1997): 243-273.

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"The European Elections Study 1994," H. VanderKolk, H. Schmitt, E. Scholz, and J. Thomassen, 32 (October 1997): 283-293.

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"In search of oppositions: South East Asia in focus," E.L.E. Hedman, (Autumn 1997): 578-598.

"Opposition in the British political system," N. Johnson, (Autumn 1997): 487-511.

"Opposition in Italy," A. Pizzorno, (Autumn 1997): 647-657.

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"Opposition in the Middle East and North Africa," J. Leca, (Autumn 1997): 557-578.

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"The Blair style of government: An historical perspective and an interim audit," P. Hennessy, 33 (Winter 1998): 3-21.

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International Political Science Review

"Paradoxes of institutional development: The new democratic parliaments of Central Europe," D.M. Olson, 18 (October 1997): 401-417.

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"Institutionalizing Chinese legislatures. Trade-offs between autonomy and capacity," K.J. O'Brien and L.M. Luehrmann, 23 (February 1998): 91-109.

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"Military construction policy: A test of competing explanations of universalism in Congress," D. Soherr-Hadwiger, 23 (February 1998): 57-79.

"Party discipline in the Brazilian Constitutional Congress," S. Mainwaring and A.P. Linan, 22 (November 1997): 453-485.

"The role of legislators in the determination of interest group influence," S.H. Ainsworth, 22 (November 1997): 517-535.

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"Why gain in the Senate but midterm loss in the House? Evidence from a natural experiment," B. Grofman, T.L. Brunell, and W. Koetzle, 23 (February 1998): 79-91.

"Women's representation in national legislatures: Developed and developing countries," R.E. Matland, 23 (February 1998): 109-145.

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"Consensus and political competition in the Irish Republic: The 1997 election," B. Girvin, (January 1998): 84-101.

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"Building a representative house in Scotland and the role of women in the developmental process," A. Brown, 31 (March 1998): 17-21.

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"Reforming the house: Three moderately radical proposals," A. Lijphart, 31 (March 1998): 10-14.

"The house GOP's civil war: A political science perspective," W.F. Connelly and J.J. Pitney, 30 (December 1997): 699-703.

"Too much of a good thing: More representative is not necessarily better," J.R. Hibbing and E. Theiss-Morse, 31 (March 1998): 28-32.

Polity

"Connecticut: Party politics as a steady habit," C.D. McKee and P. Petterson, (Supplement 1997): 113-123.

"Continuities of democratic ideology in the 1996 campaign," J. Gerring, 30 (Autumn 1997): 167-187.

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"Polity forum: The 1996 elections in historical perspectives," A.J. Polsky, J. Gerring, and R.A. Harris, 30 (Autumn 1997): 151-153.

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Public Choice

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"Differences in partisan style and ideology between female and male state party committee members," J. Paddock and E. Paddock, 18 (1997): 41-57.

"Support for women's interests in the 103rd Congress: The distinct impact of congressional women," J. Dolan, 18 (1997): 81-95.

[BACK TO TOP](#)

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |

Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

- [Legislatures Come Up With Topnotch Websites](#)
 - [News From the Senate Historical Office](#)
 - [Congressional Papers Roundtable Corresponds with the House Clerk](#)
 - [NEW BOOK: *Vital Statistics on Congress 1997-1998*](#)
 - [New Publications from National Conference of State Legislatures](#)
-

Legislatures Come Up With Topnotch Websites

[BACK TO TOP](#)

By Pat Wunnicke

Lycos, one of the much-used search engines for the World Wide Web, has analyzed, listed and published online the top 5 percent of Web sites in various categories. In the category of "U.S. state and local government" five legislatures have reached the top rank--Florida, New Mexico, Minnesota, Texas and Washington.

Florida's site, "Online Sun-shine," has besides bill tracking, daily calendars and profiles of members, information on the state budget and the results of interim research projects. Lycos is impressed with its links to current laws and lobbyists.

Says Lycos, "The unlikely keyword for New Mexico's legislative site is simplicity. . . .this place has maybe the best icons we've seen at a government site, but constituents will be glad to see how easy it is to find a bill, a senator or a New Mexico law." After each session, the site posts a list of bills that passed and committee reports on important proposals. "An innovatiave state government site."

"Texas Legislature Online" gives an immense amount of material, going back to the 1993 session. You can search full-text bills, generate maps of legislative districts and look at House and Senate calendars. This site offers a lawmakers' glossary to help decipher what's really in a bill. It also includes committee meetings and membership. "A model legislative site if we ever saw one," says Lycos.

The Minnesota Legislature site, packed with resources, offers expansive committee pages that link readers with proposals and existing laws. The site shows where legislators actually sit in each chamber. The Fiscal Analysis Department shows spreadsheets with financial data for major programs since 1995. It "keeps on adding good stuff. . ."

Visitors to the Washington site get an overview of the state's legislative process, a complete collection of daily calendars listing committee meetings and reports on new proposals. Every bill is tracked to its final destination. There's a searchable index of the state's laws, and even a Kids' Page where a giant apple greets youngsters with topics like "How a Bill Becomes a Law."

Lycos, a registered trademark of Carnegie Mellon University, judges Web sites on the basis of

content, design and overall worth. Its top 5 percent government sites, including the legislative information noted above, can be reached at [Lycos](#).

State Legislatures, May 1998, reprinted with permission. ©1998 *State Legislatures*.

Also on the Web: *Roll Call Files*

Check it out--

- Politics Fabulous Fifty: "The consummate list of the 50 most influential politicians who work to elect Congressional candidates. . . this crowd consists of the financiers, the issue-ad architects, and the parties' top strategists."
- Fabulous Fifty Staffers: "The movers and shakers behind the scenes on Capitol Hill."

You'll find these and more at <http://www.rollcall.com/rcfiles>.

News From the Senate Historical Office

[BACK TO TOP](#)

By Karen Paul

[Heather Moore](#), a recent graduate of the University of Maryland HiLS Program, has been appointed Photo Historian in the Senate Historical Office.

The revision of *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories* is in the final stages of production. The chapter on electronic records has been extensively revised.

The Senate currently is developing a Legislative Information System (LIS) that will make current legislative information available to staff. In order to make certain that the Senate's permanent records are preserved, the Historical Office is working closely with the LIS project team and is in consultation with the National Archives to establish the record copy of documents represented in the system and to ensure that information in the system can be preserved and accessed in years to come.

An electronic version of *A History of the United States Senate Republican Policy Committee, 1947-1997*, by Donald A. Ritchie, is available on the Web at:

http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate/repub_policy/. *Vice Presidents of the United States, 1789-1993* (596 pages, paperbound), by Sen. Mark O. Hatfield with the Senate Historical Office, is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office for \$50.00 (Order Number 052-071-01227-3).

Congressional Roundtable Newsletter, March 1998, reprinted with permission.

Congressional Papers Roundtable Corresponds with the House Clerk

[BACK TO TOP](#)

Below is the text of a letter from the Congressional Papers Roundtable to House Oversight Committee Chair Bill Thomas. It is followed by the reply of Robin Carle, Clerk of the House, and the response of the Roundtable. Reprinted here with permission from the *Congressional Roundtable Newsletter*, March 1998.

9 Feb. 1998

Dear Rep. Thomas:

I write as the chair of the Congressional Papers Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists to you as a member of the House Oversight Committee. Our Roundtable is composed of those professional archivists from throughout the country who work to preserve and make accessible the papers of U. S. representatives and senators. We learned earlier this week that the Oversight Committee has approved a reorganization of the Clerk's Office that effectively abolished the position of archivist. This is an almost unbelievable, and absolutely short-sighted decision that will have substantial ramifications for the history of the House. The presence on the House staff of a qualified, skilled, and experienced archivist has been critical for two decades in ensuring the preservation of increasingly voluminous and complex records of House Committees, and the papers of its representatives, for future generations of students, scholars, and indeed all citizens.

Every one of the members of our Roundtable has worked with--and the thousands of citizens who come to our repositories to consult the papers of representatives have benefitted from--the activities of the House archivist. The House archivist has been an invaluable advocate for, and facilitator of, preserving the history of the House and its members. Every year the archivist has advised representatives on the short-term storage of their records, preventing destruction of important files for apparent want of space. And every year the archivist works with representatives and repositories to ensure that historically valuable records are preserved and eventually made available to researchers. The archivist is also charged with insuring that the committees and subcommittees of the House preserve the records of their activities and properly transfer them to the Center for Legislative Archives. Once at the Center, House committee records are preserved for the benefit of the House and the entire nation.

We understand that the new Research and Reference department of the House Clerk's Office is intended to assume the duties of the archivist. To do this, the head of that department has been sent to the Modern Archives Institute. There are three fundamental flaws with this plan. First, the Modern Archives Institute is not sufficient to fully educate an archivist to professional standards. In this day and age, a master's-level degree is usually required. Institute graduates may evolve into fine archivists, and do so at the National Archives where they are apprenticed to experienced professionals--but the new "archivist" in the Clerk's office will have no such tutelage. Second, the new "archivist" replaces one (who was, I must add, unceremoniously demoted to a paraprofessional position at reduced salary) with 18 years of experience and national stature in the profession. Third, the Research and Reference department, having been reduced from three professional positions to one professional and one paraprofessional, has no mandate to make archival work a priority. The practical effect will be for the House to have abandoned any responsibility for its own records or the papers of its members.

Frankly this is hardly short of shameful. We urge the Committee to reconsider this decision. The history of the House of Representatives is surely worth the small cost of a professional archivist.

Sincerely,

Mark A. Greene

Feb. 17, 1998

Dear Mr. Greene:

Your letter of February 9, 1998, to Chairman Bill Thomas has been forwarded to me so I might respond to your concerns.

For two hundred years, the Clerk of the House has been responsible, by statute and by Rule, for preserving the records of the House. This is a serious and significant responsibility which, I would suggest, my offices have pursued with more vigor in the last three years than was the case in the last several decades.

The reorganization of several offices within the Offices of the Clerk to create the Legislative Resource Center was one of a number of actions we have taken to provide greater support for the efforts of our Members as well as to broaden the public's access to the House. It would be a mistake to interpret the reorganization within my offices to be a signal of a weakening of commitment to archival and historic preservation functions. As with many things, current technology has dramatically increased access to information. At the same time, it has made archival issues increasingly complex. The personnel organizational structure I requested the Committee accept recognizes the increasingly complex nature of the task. Although I obviously will not discuss individual personnel actions, I do want to correct a misconception you

harbor about the previous personnel structure. No official position of "Archivist" existed in the Office of the Clerk either by title or responsibility. The recently approved reorganization resulted in changes in pay structure and position descriptions. Appropriate and adequate support for existing archival responsibilities was considered and addressed.

Your letter also referenced concerns about the continuing education efforts made available to our management staff. Let me put this training in perspective. This training is intended to broaden our ability to continue to improve our support for Members, professional staff and the public, not to threaten or replace existing staff. Continuing professional education is something I would expect your organization to applaud.

Finally, in closing let me say I hope my letter has clarified for you and your organization the recent organizational actions taken within the Offices of the Clerk. The presentation of, and access to, the rich history of the House and its individual Members is an important, shared priority for us. I look forward to a productive working relationship between your organization and the Office of the Clerk in years to come.

With warm regards,

Robin H. Carle

2 Mar. 1998

Dear Ms. Carle:

Thank you for your letter of 17 February. We appreciate your taking time to respond to our concerns. Our deep and continuing concern stems from the one fact about which you and we agree: that the records of the House, and the papers of its Members, are of immense

importance to the history of our nation. The presence of a professional archivist--first on the staff of the House Historian, then in the Office of the Clerk--has been of inestimable assistance in our work of preserving the papers of Members and ensuring that official records of the House are transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives.

We do not question the commitment of the Clerk to the history of the House. It is not our contention that the purpose of the reorganization was to weaken the archival responsibility of the Clerk's office--only that such weakening will be the result. We agree wholeheartedly that "current technology has dramatically increased access to information "while making "archival issues increasingly complex." What we find difficult to understand is how eliminating the one position in the House that was staffed by a qualified archivist will facilitate your office's grappling with the complex nature of archival issues in the electronic age. Finally, we are not protesting the personnel decisions made regarding a specific individual. It is the reorganization and reclassification of staff positions that trouble us.

That the Clerk's office had assumed--and "pursued with more vigor in the last three years than was the case in the last several decades"--the archival function when the Historian's Office was closed was all the more reason for us to be shocked upon learning of this last reorganization. That reorganization eliminated the position held by a qualified professional archivist; it also eliminated five clerks/technicians--those who shelved boxes and worked with National Archives staff in transferring files back and forth from House committees. There is now no position remaining in the office that will attract or retain an experienced archivist, and the two-week introduction to archives provided for the LRC supervisor is inadequate to provide archival and records management expertise to the House and its members. It is hard for us not to conclude that the reorganization will result--however unintentionally--in "a weakening of . . . archival and

historic preservation functions."

We stand ready to provide advice and assistance to the Clerk in defining and supporting a strong archival function for the House. The records of the House, and thus inescapably the organization of the Clerk's office tasked with preserving the history of the House, are important to all citizens. Therefore, we once again urge you to reconsider the reorganization.

Yours truly,

Mark A. Greene

NEW BOOK

Vital Statistics on Congress 1997-1998 [BACK TO TOP](#)

By Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin.

Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1998.

Hardbound ISBN 1-56802-298-0, \$50.95, 300 pages;

Paperback ISBN 1-56802-299-9, \$36.95, 300 pages.

This ninth edition of *Vital Statistics on Congress* includes new statistical information on the 1996 elections, the 105th Congress, and the first term of the Clinton administration. The strength of this book is that three expert political analysts have pulled the most significant data into a single volume, and their intent is made clear in the preface: "How Congress reacts to public views and moods, and has reacted to it in the past, can teach us a great deal about politics in America. This book is intended for all those who watch Congress for that reason, or who observe it as journalists, political scientists, students, lobbyists, citizens, or even as staff and members of the institution."

New Publications from National Conference of State Legislatures [BACK TO TOP](#)

Health Care Legislation 1996 ; The NCSL Health Care Program; October 1997; ISBN 1-55516-603-2; paper \$25; 198 pages .

State Tax Policy & Senior Citizens; Scott Mackey, Karen Carter; December 1994 ; ISBN 1-55516-523-0; paper \$25; 83 pages.

Adolescent Health Issues: State Actions 1996; Joanne Stroud, Kathy Rollins; April 1997; ISBN 1-55516-600-8; paper \$20; 63 pages.

Building Blocks: A Legislator's Guide to Child Care Policy; Mary L. Culkin, Scott Groginsky, Steve Christian; December 1997; ISBN 1-55516-757-8; paper \$30; 97 pages .

1996 State Legislative Summary: Children, Youth and Family Issues; December 1996 ; ISBN 1-55516-605-9; paper \$25; 124 pages.

Critical Issues in State-Local Fiscal Policy: A Guide to Local Option Taxes; November 1997; ISBN 1-55516-562-1; paper \$15; 33 pages.

Critical Issues in State-Local Fiscal Policy: Sorting Out State and Local Responsibilities; July 1997; ISBN 1-55516-559-1; paper \$15; 16 pages.

The Task Force Report: Long-Term Care Reform in the States; Wendy Fox-Grage; July 1997; ISBN 1-55516-752-7; paper \$35; 55 pages.

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |

Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

- [Paxon's Peculiar Parting Positions Players For Post-Gingrich House](#)
- [Congressional Service Is Not a Life Sentence For Members. Get It?](#)
- [From Coup to Coo: GOP's Paxon Dashes Hopes of Rebels](#)

Paxon's Peculiar Parting Positions Players For Post-Gingrich House [BACK TO TOP](#)

By Stuart Rothenberg

August 14, 1997. That's the date on which, after evaluating all of the possible scenarios and factoring in conversations with Republican insiders, I wrote a column in this newspaper predicting that House Speaker **Newt Gingrich** (R-Ga), in spite of his denials, would run for his party's nomination for President in 2000.

Everything that has happened between then and now has only reinforced that conviction. Taking a page out of **Bill Clinton's** book, Gingrich receded from the limelight for a while, re-emerging with a more svelte profile and sounding more statesmanlike and less confrontational.

The recent jousting among GOP leaders and would-be leaders in the House also suggests that something is in the works. The only question is, what?

Gingrich insists that he will run for re-election and for another term as Speaker, but knowledgeable Republican insiders are more insistent than ever that he will also run for the GOP presidential nomination in 2000. That means Gingrich will either resign as Speaker to make his run or try to keep the Speakership but have House Majority Leader **Dick Arme**y (Texas) run the show in Washington while he spends time in Iowa and New Hampshire.

It's not at all clear that a majority of the members of the GOP conference would allow a de facto Arme'y Speakership without a vote, so a Gingrich White House bid could cause another upheaval on Capitol Hill. **Rep. Bob Livingston** (La) has already backed away from potential retirement and indicated that he is planning a run for Speaker.

All of which brings me to **Rep. Bill Paxon**, the Republican Congressman from New York who abruptly decided to end his quest to become part of his party's House leadership and announced on Feb. 24 that he would not seek re-election this year.

Like everyone else, I was stunned by Paxon's announcement. And, like many, I initially accepted his explanation that he wanted to spend more time with his family, and especially with his young daughter, Susan Ruby. Politics is time consuming and often nasty, so I could see why someone would choose to opt out of the grind for the relative serenity (and financial advantages) of the consulting life.

But after reconsidering Paxon's explanation as well as my conversations with Republican insiders close to Arme'y, Paxon, and House GOP Whip **Tom DeLay** (Texas), I can't help but

find Paxon's explanation less than compelling. And after talking with others, I'm convinced I'm not alone.

Mere hours before Paxon started to pass the word about his decision, he was talking with supporters about his planned effort to overthrow Armev as House Majority Leader. Does it make sense that someone like Paxon, who has devoted his life to politics and has been filled with political ambition, would simply abruptly change his path? I think not. This, after all, is the one Republican who has been as consumed as Gingrich with politics, political positioning, and political strategy.

Supporters of Armev argue that Paxon didn't have the backing to oust the Majority Leader, and that that realization jarred him into leaving Congress. But I find it hard to believe that Paxon, at 43, would end his Congressional career just because he couldn't win a leadership fight now. (That assumes, of course, that Armev's supporters are right about the ultimate outcome of a confrontation with the New York Congressman.)

Paxon's comment to his staff that his choice was "to run for Majority Leader--or leave" is simply silly. That wasn't his only choice. He explained his career decision by reflecting on the difficulty of caring for his daughter, particularly when he is on the road, and I think that everyone with young children can identify with him.

But even if Paxon (and his wife) rejected the many child care alternatives open to someone of his position, he could have given up his extensive travel for his party, thereby solving most of his immediate problems.

If Paxon is so concerned about the effect on his family, why wouldn't he leave office immediately rather than at the end of the year? Is he going to get a job after leaving Congress or will he just stay home with his family?

Finally, if Paxon is being totally honest about his decision, then he is awfully naive about parenthood. He is leaving Congress because his daughter has had ear infections? Sorry, Congressman, but ear infections go along with childhood.

And exactly what does it say about the country's child care system if the House child care center isn't doing a good enough job? Sort of makes you worry about your own child care arrangements, doesn't it?

Leaving Congress--and promising never to again run for anything, even dog catcher--is a response that is so extreme as to be unbelievable. Why swear off elective office forever? Paxon's children will grow up, and who knows what the future holds for his wife, ex-Rep. Susan Molinari (R-NY)?

The Congressman's comment that "20 years from now, my daughter won't give a hoot if I was Speaker or Majority Leader or on a highway crew" suggests that this guy doesn't have a clue what is important to teenage girls.

But regardless of the reasons for Paxon's announcement, his exit, combined with a probable Gingrich presidential bid, portends a fight among House Republicans for political leadership that could get nasty. Any battle would take the party's focus away from the democrats and expose their own contradictions, and that wouldn't be good for the GOP.

Roll Call, 5 March 1998, reprinted with permission. © 1998 Roll Call.

By Rep. Bill Paxon

It's been said that those close to power in Washington often lose perspective and become jaded into thinking that gaining and keeping power are all that's important in life.

Stuart Rothenberg's recent column is a case in point ("Paxon's Peculiar Parting Positions Players for Post-Gingrich House," March 5).

Rothenberg has spent so long prognosticating about who is running for Congress, who is serving in Congress, and how important everything is that happens under the Capitol Dome that he has forgotten that there is anything in the world except for Congress.

Make no mistake, after 21 years, I love legislative office and, particularly, the House of Representatives. I'll miss the institution, my colleagues, the issues, and the challenges.

However, service here is about two-year terms, not lifetime sentences. Every 24 months, many Members carefully evaluate the balance between this job and their personal lives. And every two years, many Members make the difficult decision to leave.

For example, last year, my wife, former Rep. Susan Molinari (R-N.Y.), left Congress for the private sector, a more predictable schedule, and more time with our young daughter, Susan Ruby. Some pundits, who had invested greatly in speculating on my wife's political future, couldn't understand.

While they searched for "the real reasons," our friends, family, and folks back home understood perfectly. And she's never been happier.

By the summer of 1996, as a new husband and father and in my final term as chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, I told friends and family that the 105th might be my last Congress.

As a believer in term limits, I also felt that the high point of my Congressional service would always be helping deliver a Republican House as NRCC chairman.

Therefore, confident that my party will remain in control for the foreseeable future, I wanted new challenges that also meshed with family.

Following the well-reported events of last summer, I was encouraged to contemplate another leadership run, a decision which I always based on my staying here no more than a few more terms.

Having done "due diligence" on the leadership options, I concluded two weeks ago that my decision of two years ago to move on from Congress was correct and announced it.

I've never felt more confident about an important decision, particularly after observing the extensive time and travel commitments required to serve in a top leadership post as well as the resulting impact of that on family life.

As to questioning my "never run for office again" pledge, as a well-regarded electoral observer, Rothenberg should know better.

I am a very conservative, rural-upstate legislator in a much more moderate, urban-oriented state. Moreover, the demands of raising \$20 million or more for such a statewide campaign, plus covering a 16 million-person megastate like New York, never crossed my mind.

I'm sorry that Rothenberg, whom I've long respected, failed to give me or my press secretary,

John Czwartacki, the courtesy of a call before running his column.

While he's entitled to his opinion, he's wrong to question my "honesty". Most of all, his sarcastic and unsolicited advice on child rearing is unbecoming.

Rothenberg has never raised a child as an elected official. Susan and I have. And, as children of elected officials, we know all too well what it's like to live under the reflected glare of public life.

We've also watched with pain as scores of friends in Congress have lost their families in this demanding and supercharged atmosphere.

Most folks in congress, the Washington press corps, and the DC political community, as well as those back home, have been incredibly understanding and supportive of my recent decision, as they were last year regarding Susan's. To all of them, my deepest thanks.

I'm sorry that Rothenberg and a few others choose not to "get it." I'm certain that a few years from now, my daughter will.

Roll Call, 9 March 1998, reprinted with permission. ©Roll Call 1998.

From Coup to Coo: GOP's Paxon Dashes Hopes of Rebels

By Jeffrey L. Katz

[Click here to read the article.](#)

Congressional Quarterly, 28 February 1998.

[BACK TO TOP](#)

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |

Volume 21, Number 2 July 1998

This section contains a listing of papers in the area of legislative studies that have been presented at professional conventions in recent months. Entries were taken either from preliminary or official convention programs, and are categorized by topic. The convention at which the paper was presented is noted under each topic as a sub-heading. The following meetings are represented:

- **MPSA** Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago, IL, April 23-25 1998.
- **SWPSA** Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association in Corpus Christi, TX, March 18-21, 1998.
- **WPSA** Papers presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Los Angeles, CA, March 19-21, 1998.
- **CITADEL** Papers presented at the 1998 Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 5-6, 1998.

Papers are organized by topic:

- [LEGISLATIVE RECRUITMENT, CAREERS, TURNOVER AND PUBLIC APPROVAL](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS](#)
- [REDISTRICTING AND REPRESENTATION](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES](#)
- [POLITICAL PARTIES, NON-PARTY CAUCUSES AND INFORMAL GROUPS](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE STRUCTURES AND ORGANIZATION](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS](#)
- [LEGISLATIVE AND PUBLIC POLICY](#)
- [LEGISLATURES AND COURTS](#)
- [INTEREST GROUPS, PACS AND LOBBYING](#)
- [CREATION AND LEGITIMATION OF ASSEMBLIES](#)

LEGISLATIVE RECRUITMENT, CAREERS, TURNOVER AND PUBLIC APPROVAL [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Democracy With Pollsters: Can the Public Control Elected Officials Who Do Not 'Pander' to Public Opinion Polls?" S. K. Carter, U. of Connecticut.

"Destined or Doomed: Seeking Power and Reelection in the U.S. House of Representatives," K. Kanthak, U. of Iowa.

"Divided Lives and Double Binds: Revisiting Considerations of the Personal and Political," C. Simon Rosenthal, U. of Oklahoma.

"Does Changing Chambers Lead to Changing Minds? Political Ambition and Roll Call Behavior, 1947-1997," T. Nokken, U. of Illinois.

"Electoral Incentives Under Proportional Representation: A Statistical Test," F. E. Lehoucq, CIPEC, Indiana U., and D. Wall, Christopher Newport U.

"Explaining Distrust in Government: Separating Out the Bad From the Worse," S. Jenkins, Loyola University, Chicago.

"Gender Bias and Incumbency: The Media Coverage of Christine Todd Whitman's Candidacies, 1993 and 1997." L. L. Fowler and J. Rose, Dartmouth College.

"Insights into Candidate Evaluation and Voter Turnout: The Value of Differentiating Positive and Negative Affect," A. Ankerbrand, Ohio State U.

"Legislative Careers: The Personal and the Political," S. Thomas, Georgetown U.

"Non-Parametric Unfolding of Binary Choice Data," K. T. Poole, Carnegie-Mellon U.

"Nonincumbent U.S. House Candidates and Public Opinion Assessment," R. G. Boatright, U. of Chicago.

"Playing by the House Rules: The Connection Between Chamber Folkways and Leadership Ascendancy," C. Williams, U. of Oklahoma.

"Ranking the Speakers: Congressional Scholars' Perceptions of U.S. House Speakers," D. R. Still, Iowa State U.

"Recruiting Representatives of Marginalized Groups to the Russian Regional Legislatures," D. J. Nowacki, Linfield College.

"Risk Aversion and Members' Decision to Retire: The 102nd House Revisited," G. A. Fugate, U. of Colorado.

"The Impact of State Senators' Race on Voters' External Incumbent Based Efficacy," C. S. Bullock III, U. of Georgia, and M. J. Scicchitano, U. of Florida.

"The 1996 Congressional Gender Gap: A Study of Ballot Box Behavior of Men and Women," T.L. Butterfield, California Institute of Technology.

"The People's Mandate: Public Support for Congressional Term Limits," K. Miler, U. of Michigan.

"The Structure of Issue Conflict in American Public Opinion," W. G. Jacoby, U. of South Carolina.

"Women's Recruitment to the European Parliament," J. B. Brzinski, Emory U.

SWPSA:

"Congressional Approval, System Support, and Political Behavior: The Effect of Minority Party Status in the Electorate," P. J. Ardoin and S. S. Sampson Jr., Southern U.

"Ranking the Speakers: Congressional Scholars' Perceptions of U.S. House Speakers", D. R. Still, Iowa State U.

"Values, Expectations, and Congressional Approval," G. Copeland and J. Jones, U. of Oklahoma.

WPSA:

"Before the Vote: Campaigning, Officeholding, and Political Partisanship of Women in Pre-Suffrage California," D.C. Schuele, UC Berkeley.

"Legislative Candidate Recruitment," P. Squire, U. of Iowa, G. Moncrief, Boise State U., and K. Kurtz, National Conference on State Legislatures.

"Popular Evaluations of Political Institutions and Public Support for the EU," J. Post, American U.

"Trust in Government: An Examination of the Effects of Differences in Media Portrayal of Policy Making in Washington," V. Chanley and D. D'Orto, Florida International U.

"When Does Opportunity Knock? Career Opportunities for Women in Amateur and Professional State Legislatures," M. Petracca and R. VanVechten, UC Irvine.

"Women's Legislative Recruitment in 46 Developing Democracies: A Comparative Contextual Analysis," W. Rule, U. of Nevada-Reno.

CITADEL:

"Party Realignment, Race, and the Career of Dallas Congressman Bruce Alger, 1954-1964," J. M. Phillips, U. of Texas-Austin.

LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"A Comparative Analysis of the Campaign Finances of State House Speakers," W. E. Cassie and J. Thompson, Appalachian State U.

"Agenda Setting and Voter Response in Congressional Elections," P. S. Herrnson, U. of Maryland, and K. Patterson, Brigham Young University.

"All Scandal Politics is Local: The Impact of Ethical Lapses on Congressional Election Advertisements," D. Shea, Lafayette College.

"Business Cycles and Congressional Elections: The Impact of the Economy From 1872 to 1996," P. Lynch, Georgetown U.

"Campaign Contributions: Narrowing the Field," A. L. Cooper, UNC-Charlotte.

"Campaign Spending and Democracy: Public Boon or Public Bane?" J. J. Coleman, U. of Wisconsin.

"Campaign Spending and Voting on State Ballot Initiatives," K. Mulligan, Free Congress Foundation.

"Can Knocking on Doors Win Votes?" S. C. Brooks, U. of Akron.

"Candidate Quality in U.S. House Elections: Candidate Emergence in the 1998 Elections," W.

Stone, U. of Colorado, L. S. Maisel, Colby College, C. Maestas and S. Evans, U. of Colorado.

"Competing Evaluations of Split-Ticket Voting in American National Elections," F. Mattei and J. S. Howes, SUNY at Buffalo.

"Congressional Campaign Issues and Voter Concerns: Do Candidates Address Issues that Matter?" J. Dalager, Georgetown College.

"Congressional Primary Turnout: A Reexamination," M. Ezra, National Science Foundation and Lafayette College.

"Effects of Negative Campaigning on Senate Election Outcomes," R. Lau, G. Pomper and G. Mumoli, Rutgers U.

"Explaining Incumbent Reelection," W. Berry, Florida State U., M. Berkman, Pennsylvania State U., and Stuart Schneiderman, Florida State U. "Framing Candidate Messages During the 1996 Minnesota U.S. Senate Campaign," A. Jasperson, U. of Minnesota.

"Gender Bias and Selection Bias in House Elections," J. Milyo and Samantha Schosberg, Tufts U.

"Have the Marginals Returned?" R. Yowell, U. of Kansas.

"Home Sweet Home: The Role of State Economics in Senate Elections," B. J. Selden, SUNY Stony Brook.

"Midterm Losses in Congressional Elections," D. Morris and E. Uslander, U. of Maryland-College Park.

"National Effects on Individual Senate Elections," S. Lasley and M. Stegmaier, U. of Iowa.

"Newspaper Impacts and Gender: An Analysis of State Legislative Race Coverage in Illinois," G. Miller, U. of Illinois-Chicago.

"Partisan and Individual Electoral Incentives in Gilded Age Congressional Elections," L. Reynolds, Arizona State U.

"Political Parties, Campaigns, and Electoral Success: Does Institutionalization Matter?" B. Trish, Grinnell College.

"Rational Expectations Coordinating Voting in American Presidential and House Elections," W. R. Mebane Jr., Carnegie-Mellon U.

"Strategic Decision Making and Inexperienced Challengers," D. W. Romero, U. of Texas-San Antonio.

"Television News and Newspapers in Congressional Elections: Kentucky 1996," J. Heyrman, Berea College.

"The Changing South: Challenger Quality and Campaign Spending in Southern House Races," M. Streb, Indiana U.

"The Efficacy of Electoral Targeting," E. Heberlig, Ohio State U.

"The Flow of Money: Temporal Patterns of Individual Campaign Contributions in the 1990s,"

J. McAdams, Marquette U.

"The Impact of Minnesota's Contribution Refund Program on State Legislative Races," G. Ramsden, Creighton U., and P. Donnay, Bemidji State U.

"The Missing Link: The Relationship Between Defense Expenditures and Electoral Outcomes," L. Schmidt, U. of Illinois-Chicago.

"The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage," B. Lockerbie, U. of Georgia.

"The Rise of Institutional Loyalty and Democratic Losses in the 1994 House Elections," W. Bianco, Pennsylvania State U., and D. Lipinski, Duke U.

"The Unchanging Role of Campaign Financing in U.S. House Elections," B. E. Herrera, Florida International U.

"Trust in Government and Sources of Campaign Contributions in the 1996 Congressional Elections," S. Fisher, U. of South Alabama.

"What You See Is . . . Essentially . . . What You Get: House Races in the Contemporary South," S. P. Berard, Southern Arkansas U., and D. Rohde, Michigan State U.

"Why a Campaign Contribution is Not a Bribe," A. Hall, U. of Virginia.

SWPSA:

"Angry Voters: A Study of Negativity and the Media's Role in Split-Ticket Voting," W. T. Horner, U. of Texas.

"Disentangling the Correlation Between Incumbent Behavior and the Individual Vote: A Pooled, Simultaneous Analysis," D. W. Romero and F. Sanders, U. of Texas, San Antonio.

"Electoral Margins and Congressional Behavior," M. Yawn and R. Herrera, Arizona State University.

"Electoral Uncertainty and Democratic Legitimacy," R. Grafstein, U. of Georgia.

"Estimating the Incumbency Advantage: A New Approach to an Old Problem," R. K. Gaddie and L. E. McCollum, U. of Oklahoma.

"Have the Marginals Vanished?" R. Yowell, U. of Kansas.

"Running as Women? An Analysis of Female State Assembly Candidates' Campaign Communication," S. Greco Larson, Dickinson College.

"The 'Angry White Male' and the Southern Gender Gap," J. Woods, U. of Toledo.

"The Gender Gap in the 1996 U.S. Elections," C. Day, U. of New Orleans.

"Voting Differences Among Women in the 1996 Election," T. Wong, U. of Texas.

"Voting Behavior in the 1994 General Election: A Study of Washington County, Texas," M. E. Barnes, Blinn College.

WPSA:

"Have the Marginals Returned?" R. Yowell, UC Los Angeles.

"Partisanship and Candidate Loyalism in Candidate Campaign Organizations," J. Bernstein, UC Berkeley.

"Running Against a Woman: Advertising Strategies in Mixed-Sex Races for the United States Senate and the Impact of those Strategies on Candidate Evaluations," C. K. Chaney, U. of Wyoming.

"Running as Latina: Building a Campaign," S. Garcia, St. Mary's U.-San Antonio.

"Self-Financing Candidates in the 1996 Congressional Elections," J. A. Steen, UC Berkeley.

"Sharing the Load: Political Party and Interest Group Cooperation in Congressional Elections," A. Keleher, UC Santa Barbara.

"Social Context and Aggregate Turnout: Moving Beyond Purely Cultural or Institutional Approaches," E. Bergman and G. Segura, Claremont Graduate U.

"The Issues that Matter: Congressional Campaigns and Voter Response," K. D. Patterson, Brigham Young U, and P. Herrnson, U. of Maryland.

"The Relative and Absolute Decline of Turnout in Mature Democracies," M. Gray, UC Irvine.

"When Less is More: Ballot Rolloff, Voting Patterns, and Ideological Consistency," A. M. Salvanto, UC Irvine.

"Women and the California State Primary Elections, 1912-1970," L. Van Ingen, UC Riverside.

CITADEL:

"The Congressional Campaigns of Al Gore of Tennessee," P. A. Grant, Jr., Pace U.

"What You See Is. . . Essentially. . . What You Get: House Races in the Contemporary South," S. P. Berard, Southern Arkansas U., and D. W. Rohde, Michigan State U.

REDISTRICTING AND REPRESENTATION [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"A Normal Vote Approach to Redistricting Analysis," B. J. Gaines, U. of Illinois, R. J. De Figuereido Jr., UC Berkeley, and W. Tam, U. of Illinois.

"African Americans and their Representative in Congress: Does Race Matter?" K. Tate, UC Irvine.

"Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Effects of Constituent Heterogeneity on Congressional Representation," J. C. Garand, Louisiana State U., and P. J. Ardoin, Southern U.

"Cabinet Type and Representation," C. Beall, UC Santa Barbara.

"Electronic Mail Communications Between Members of Congress and Constituents: The Impact of Political Participation and Roll Call Voting," C. Grose, U. of Rochester.

"Heterogeneous Voting Behavior and Substantive Representation of Minority Interests in the

U.S. Congress," K. Whitby and G. A. Krause, U. of South Carolina.

"How to Predict the Effects of Redistricting-Better," M. Altman, Harvard U.

"Legislator-Constituency Relations: Perspectives for a Five-Nation Study," D. M. Wood, M. Wood, V. Heitshusen, and G. Young, U. of Missouri, Columbia.

"Majority Black Districts: Wastelands or Breeding Grounds? A View From the States," K. L. Haynie and K. D. Clark, Rutgers U.

"Patchwork Districts and Representation: Multi-Racial Gerrymandering and Policy Outcomes in the States," D. Epstein and S. O'Halloran, Stanford U.

"Perceptions as Mandates: The 104th Republican Freshmen Take Hold," T. J. Barnett, U. of Kansas.

"Promises or Progress? Representing Black Interests in Congress," V. N. Sinclair, Ohio State U.

"Redistricting and the Georgia Congressional Delegation: New Constituencies-New Interests," F. Carl Walton and S. Gissendanner, U. of Georgia.

"Representational Performance: A Parsing of American Political History," J. S. Lapinski, Columbia U.

"Revolutionaries and Representation: A Study of Republican Women in the United States Congress," M. S. Leeper and S. McMillen, Wayne State College.

"Shuttle Democracy: Contact Between Legislators and Constituents in the Contemporary US," A. Szarawarski, Harvard U.

"The Error Margin in a Democracy: Mistaken Accountability and Voters' False Judgements About Their Representatives' Behavior," J. Gimpel, U. of Maryland.

"The Puzzle of Women's Legislative Representation in Hungary's Hybrid Electoral System," K. Montgomery and A. Burnette, Illinois Wesleyan U.

SWPSA:

"Revolutionaries and Representation: A Study of Republican Women in the U.S. Congress," M. Leeper and S. McMillen, Wayne State U.

"Who Are the Laws Made For?" J. L. McDowell, Indiana State U.

WPSA:

"Latino Representation and Ethnic Identity in Legislatures," C. Grose, U. of Rochester, and M. Quintanilla, U. of Pennsylvania.

"Mitigating the Constitutional Distance Between Elected Officials and Their Constituents," R. Groper, UC Irvine.

"The Impact of Racial Reapportionment on Party Vote Share in California," S. Bricker, UC Los Angeles.

"The Influence of Institutional and Political Factors on Electoral Responsiveness and Partisan

Bias in Congressional Redistricting," D. Ostdiek, Rice U.

"The Reapportionment Revolution and Bias in U.S. Congressional Elections," J. Katz, California Institute of Technology, and G. Cox, UC San Diego.

CITADEL:

"African Americans and Descriptive Representation in the 50 State Legislatures," K. M. Middlemass, U. of Georgia.

"Is the 65% Rule Needed? An Analysis of the Likelihood of Electing Minority Candidates in Southern State Legislatures," C. Grose, U. of Rochester.

"Legislatures and Racial Redistricting: Are White Democrats the Missing Link?" K. Crayton, Stanford U.

LEGISLATIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"A Modest Proposal: Reconciling Theories of Gridlock," C. Volden, Claremont Graduate University.

"Committee Jurisdiction, Campaign Contributions, and Legislative Voting Behavior," S. B. Gordon, U. of Las Vegas-Reno.

"Cosponsors, Wafflers, and Voters," C. Wolbrecht, U. of Notre Dame.

"Crossing Boundaries of Party and State: Female MEPs, Gender Issues, and European Unity," A. Lowe, Ohio State U.

"Explaining the Vote: Legislative Styles of Constituent Influence," E. Willey, Ohio State U.

"Gender and Legislative Institutions: An Examination of the Legislative Behavior of Female Members of the First Czech Parliament, 1993-1996," S. Rajmaira and S. Q. Kelly, East Carolina U.

"Gender and Participation in U.S. Senate Hearings," L. R. Winsky Mattei, SUNY Buffalo.

"Gender Matters: Female Policymakers' Influence in Industrialized Nations," V. O'Regan, UC Riverside.

"Getting the Message: Policy Mandates and Roll-Call Voting in Congress," L. J. Grossback, A. E. Gangl, and D. A. M. Peterson, U. of Minnesota, and J. A. Stimson, U. of North Carolina.

"Lawmakers and the Law: Legal Orientations Among Russian Legislators," W. M. Reisinger, U. of Iowa.

"Legislative Activity and Effectiveness in the U.S. Senate: Reaping the Rewards of Seniority," L. W. Arnold, Southern Illinois U.

"Manipulating the Message in the U.S. Congress," P. Sellers, Indiana U.

"Mr. Smith and His Staff Goes to Washington: A Study of Participation in the U.S. Senate," B.

J. Selden and M. Nickelsburg, SUNY Stonybrook.

"Racial and Gender Differences in Roll Call Voting: The Cases of Illinois and California," M. A. Barnello and K. A. Bratton, Binghamton U.

"Senatorial Behavior and Constituent Information: Do the Media Bridge the Gap?" W. Schiller, Brown U. and Brookings Institution.

"The Causes and Effects of Members' Negative (and Positive?) Evaluations of the U.S. Congress," D. Lipinski, Duke U.

"The Difference: Women Policymakers in Texas," T. L. Gilmour, Midland College.

"The Meaning of Ideology and its Role in Predicting Behavior," T. Carsey and R. McGee, U. of Illinois- Chicago.

"The Puzzle of Universalism in the House and Senate," B. J. Gaines and B. Sala, U. of Illinois.

"The Responsiveness of Senate Voting Behavior to Constituency Opinion," B. McCuen, U. of Iowa, and C. Tien, Hunter College, CUNY.

"What do Candidates Maximize (and Why Should We Care)?" J. Milyo, Tufts U.

"Women in Congress: The Difference it Makes," J. E. Strauss, Northwestern U.

"'Killer' Amendments in Congress," J. D. Wilkerson, U. of Washington-Seattle.

SWPSA:

"Motivations of Members in the 1997-1998 Oklahoma Legislature," R. Farmer, U. of Akron.

"The Postreform Speakership and the Media," G. L. Malecha, U. of Portland, and D. J. Reagan, Ball State U.

"Trustee or Delegate? Legislative Behavior and Executive Questioning in the British House of Commons," M. Shephard, U. of Houston.

"Views from the Top: Black Female Leaders Assessing their Leadership Roles," R. Kleff, M. Yancy, and R. Bartell, Virginia Union U.

"Whole-Loafers (purists) and Half-Loafers (incrementalists): Junior Republicans Learn the Hard Way about Governing in Congress," T. J. Barnett, U. of Kansas.

"Women and Politics, Women's Movement, Women and Organizations," R. E. Biles, Sam Houston State U.

WPSA:

"Mending the Cone of Silence: Accounting for Ideology, Intensity, and Subconstituencies of Roll Call Votes," B. Bishin, UC Los Angeles.

"Mitigation Control as Regulation: International Bargaining and Congressional Behavior," M. Rosenblum, UC San Diego.

"The Changing Character of Political Ambition Among Women Office Holders," S. Weir, Western Washington U.

CITADEL:

"A Longitudinal Analysis of Southern Congressional Voting Behavior," D. Green, American U.

"When Legislators Change Sides: The Implications of Party Defections in the South," J. M. Glaser, Tufts U.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Changes in the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings for Appeals Court Judges : The Effects of the Bork Hearings," L. M. Holmes, U. of Georgia.

"Committee Assignments as Side Payments: The Interplay of Leadership and Committee Development in the Era of Good Feeling," C. Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and J. Jenkins, U. of Illinois.

"Committee Organization and Activities in Post-Communist Legislatures," D. M. Olson and W. Crowther, U. of North Carolina-Greensboro.

"Committee Transfers and the Subjective Value of a House Seat," J. L. Bernsetin, Eastern Michigan U.

"Intercommittee Transfers and their Determinants," S. Ahuja, U. of Southwestern Louisiana.

"Tricameralism and Divided Government: A Formal Model of Conference Committee Behavior," R. J. Moiles, Michigan State U.

SWPSA:

"The Evolution of Committee Powers and Restrictions in State Legislatures," K. E. Hamm, Rice U., R. D. Hedlund, Northeastern U., and N. Martorano, Rice U.

WPSA:

"Partisan Committee Assignments in the Post-War Senate," A. Campbell, UC San Diego.

"Simple Versus Complex Conferences: Does Size Matter?" R. Hennig, UC Los Angeles.

POLITICAL PARTIES, NON-PARTY CAUCUSES AND INFORMAL GROUPS

[BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Changing Minds or Just Changing Parties? Assessing the Voting Behavior of Congressional Party Switchers," E. Heberlig and P. Radcliffe, Ohio State U.

"Congressional Parties and Primary Elections," M. M. Berger, Duke U.

"Do Parties Matter?" Barbara Sinclair, UC Los Angeles.

"Dynamics of Congressional Loyalty: Party Defection and Roll Call Behavior, 1947-1997," T.

Nokken, U. of Illinois.

"Explaining Party Aggregation in SMSP Electoral Systems," P. Chhibber, U. of Michigan.

"'Generational Change' and Party Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives," J. A. DeSart, Florida Atlantic U.

"Group Components of Partisanship and Party Coalitions Across the States," R. Jackson, Washington State U.

"Legislative Sponsorship and Cohesion: The Congressional Black Caucus and the Calculus of Bill Introduction," N. Pinney, Western Michigan U., and G. Serra, Bridgewater State College.

"Measuring Conditional Party Government," J. Aldrich, Duke U., and D. Rohde, Michigan State U.

"Parties and the Volume of Law Production, 1947-1994," D. R. Jones, UC Los Angeles.

"Party Apostasy: The Case of Ben Nighthorse Campbell," M. Gruberg, U. of Wisconsin.

"Party Building in an Unstable Era: An Institutional Analysis, 1824-1828," J. Jenkins and B. Sala, U. of Illinois.

"Party Leaders in the U.S. House and Institutional Appointments: New Evidence from the Tenure of Speakers O'Neill and Wright," J. L. Mason, U. of Texas at Austin.

"Party Support in the U.S. House of Representatives: A Case Study of the 104th Congress," S. McClurg, Washington U. in St. Louis.

"Party Switchers v. Loyalists in the U.S. House of Representatives: A Comparison by State Delegations," A. Reeves, U. of North Carolina.

"Party Unity Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives," J. Saunders, George Washington U.

"Political Parties and Strategic Allocation of 'Hard Money,'" G. Glasgow, California Institute of Technology.

"The Freshmen: What Happened to the Republican Revolution?" L. Killian, Washington, D.C.

"The Ideology of the United States: An Alternative Measure of Political Alignment," B. R. Summers, Southern Illinois U.

"The Independent Effect of Party on Roll Call Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives," G. Hager and J. Talbert, U. of Kentucky.

"The Influence of Diminishing Party Identification on Incentives for Congressional Candidates," R. L. Boucher, American U.

"The Influence of the Minority Party in the Legislative Process: The Democrats in the 104th and 105th Congresses," A. D. Howard, U. of Oklahoma.

SWPSA:

"Evangelical Influence and Party Divisions in Southern State Republican Party

Organizations," J. Kuzenski, The Citadel.

"Race, Social Welfare, and Crime: Contextual Influences on Changing Southern Partisanship," C. McCurley, East Carolina U.

"The Texas Legislative Black Caucus and Policy Influence in the 75th Legislature," M. Briscoe, Texas Christian U.

WPSA:

"Abortion and Realignment: Itemizing the Deductions for the Party Coalitions," E. A. Cook, Georgetown U., T. G. Jelen, U. of Nevada-Las Vegas, and C. Wilcox, Georgetown U.

"Black Law-Makers in the Quaker State: An Overview at the Pennsylvania Black Legislative Caucus, 1970-1990," K. M. James, U. of South Carolina, and C. E. Jones, Georgia State University.

"From Disappearance to Dominance: Repositioning the Whigs as Republicans," K. Finegold and E. Swift, Eastern Washington U.

"It's My Party and I'll Stress if I Want To: The Impact of Fiscal Stress on Congressional Party Conflict," N.D. Woods, U. of Kentucky.

"Move Over, Here We Come: Voting Behavior Within the Hispanic Caucus," C. Menifield, Murray State U.

"Partisan Bias in U.S. Congressional Elections: Why the Democrats Have Usually Been More Successful in the House than in the Senate, 1952-1996," T. Brunell, UC Irvine.

"Party Discipline in Germany: An Analysis of Roll Call Votes," R. B. Wornall, UC Los Angeles.

"Political Parties and Strategic Allocation of 'Hard Money,'" G. Glasgow, California Institute of Technology.

"Proportional Representation, Party Cohesiveness, and the Future of the New Zealand Party System," M. Ganley, U. of Auckland.

"The Impact of In-Migration on Party Elites: The Case of South Carolina," L. Moreland, The Citadel.

"The Impact of Social Cleavages and Electoral Rules on the Effective Number of Parties," M. Caul, R. Taagepera, and B. Grofman, UC Irvine.

"The Politics of the Seventeenth Amendment," D. Wirls, UC Santa Cruz, and S. James, UC Los Angeles.

CITADEL:

"It's the Variable, Dummy: Party and Region in Congressional Ideology, 1947-1996," F. B. Feigert, U. of North Texas.

"Party Organization and Floor Conflict: The Linkage of Party Caucuses to Two Dimensions of Legislative Party Voting in Newly Competitive Chambers," R. B. Anderson, Auburn U.

"The Continuing Decline of Southern White Democrats in the House: 1992-1996," K. A. Hill

LEGISLATIVE STRUCTURES AND ORGANIZATION [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Comparative Parliamentary and Party Politics in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," K. Deegan Krause, U. of Notre Dame.

"Congress, Interest Groups, and the Bureaucracy: The Appointment of Members to the National Drinking Water Advisory Council 1995-1997," S.J. Balla and J. R. Wright, George Washington U.

"Divided Parliaments: The Budgetary Effect of Intercameral Partisan Differences in Bicameral Legislatures," W. B. Heller, U. of Nebraska, Lincoln.

"Dynamics of Parliamentary Systems: Elections, Governments, and Parliaments," D. Baron, Stanford U., and D. Diermeier, Northwestern U.

"Evolution of Floor Management in the U.S. Senate," G. Gamm, U. of Rochester, and S. S. Smith, U. of Minnesota.

"Gender Differences in the Structure and Function of the First Polish and Czech Post-Communist Parliaments: A Preliminary Comparison," R. Siemienska, U. of Warsaw, and M. Simon, East Carolina U.

"Getting to the Top: Factors Influencing the Selection of Women to Positions of Leadership in State Legislatures," T. H. Little, U. of Texas-Austin.

"Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1986: A Test of Partisan and Median Voter Models," E. Schickler, UC Berkeley.

"Leadership and Institutional Development During the Speakership of Henry Clay," R. Strahan, V. Moscardelli, M. Haspel, and R. S. Wike, Emory U.

"Media Leadership in the House of Representatives, 1969-1996: Legislative Strategies of Going Public and Staying Private," D. B. Harris, Colgate U.

"Parliamentary Committees and Changing Deputy Roles in the Czech Parliament, 1993-1996," M. Simon and S. Q. Kelly, East Carolina U.

"Reversing the Institutionalization of the U.S. Congress," R. D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State U., and D. E. Ponder, U. of Colorado-Colorado Springs.

"Rules in the Florida State Legislature," A. Jewett and R. Handberg, U. of Central Florida.

"Structure Over Culture: Comparing LDP Factions in Japan's Upper and Lower Houses," G. Cox, UC San Diego, F. Rosenbluth, Yale U., and Michael Thies, UC Los Angeles.

"The Herding of Cats: Leadership, Uncertainty and Signaling in the U.S. Congress," C. M. Rhodes, Rice U.

"The Silent Revolution: Republican Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives," C. DeGregorio, American U.

"Toward a Theory of Congressional Policy Leadership," D. J. Webber, U. of Missouri-Columbia.

"Wolves in Sheep's Clothing, Part II: Preference Outliers and Interest Group Ratings in Empirical Tests of Distributive, Informational, and Partisan Theories of Legislative Organization," J. W. Bay, Northwestern U.

SWPSA:

"Legislative Fiscal Offices and Workloads," A. Chadha, P. Gentle, and A. Permaloff, Auburn U.

"Party Leadership, Committee Structure, and Decision Making in the Florida Legislature," J. Edwin Benton, U. of South Florida.

WPSA:

"Bipartisan Legislative Delegation, Divided Government and the Median-Seeking Hypothesis: The Case of Washington, 1948-1994," P. L. Gianos, California State U-Fullerton.

"Exercising Control: The Power of State House Speakers," R. A. Clucas, Portland State U.

"Government Performance: Cabinet Type and the Department of Economy," C. Beall, UC Santa Barbara.

"Institutional Bases of Formal Constraints on Bureaucratic Action," R. D. Shaap, UC Los Angeles, and M. Rosenblum, UC San Diego.

"Institutional Change in the House of Representatives, 1867-1986," E. Schickler, UC Berkeley.

"Is State Leadership Capacity Gendered?" M. Whicker and M. Collins, Rutgers U., and B. Cannon, U. of Kentucky.

"Issue Visibility and Exercising Power: A Study of the State Legislature and Administrative Staff," L. W. Frandsen, U. of Utah.

"Partisan Differences in Procedural Choice, 1789-1996," P. D. Singh, UC Los Angeles.

"Staff Allocations, Enterprises, and Organizational Fields," S. E. Johnson, U. of Arizona.

"Structure Over Culture: Comparing LDP Factions in Japan's Upper and Lower Houses," M. Theis, UC Los Angeles, G. Cox, UC San Diego, and F. Rosenbluth, Yale U.

LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"A Theory of Legislative Delegation," C. Campbell, Florida International U.

"Choosing How to Decide: Efficient Policy Making Under Separate Powers," S. O'Halloran, Hoover Institution and Columbia University.

"Congressional Influence, Bureaucratic Autonomy, and the FDA," C. R. Shipan, U. of Michigan.

"Divided Government: The Public Preference for Limited Power," D. Hollern Harvey, U. of Maryland.

"Divided We Govern: A New Quantitative Approach," B. P. Janiskee, Central Connecticut State U., S. Zenter, California State U., San Bernardino.

"Follow the Leader: The Effects of Presidential Support on Representatives' Electoral Fortunes," P. Gronke, Duke U., J. Q.W. Koch, SUNY Geneseo, and J. M. Wilson, Duke U.

"How Cabinet Instability Affects Bureaucratic Performance in Parliamentary Democracy," J. D. Huber, U. of Michigan, and A. Lupia, UC San Diego.

"Rethinking Presidential Veto Threats: Agenda Control, Vetoes, and Overrides in the Policy Process," B. Sala, U. of Illinois-Urbana.

"The Division of Bureaucratic Control: A Model of Executive Appointments and Legislative Oversight," N. McCarty and R. Razaghian, Columbia U.

"The Effect of Divided Government on the Passage of Appropriations Bills in the U.S. Congress, 1947-1996," G. Thorson and Tasina Nitschke, U. of Minnesota, Morris.

"The Link Between Party Polarization and Divided Government," D. Kimball, Ohio State U.

"Veto Power and the American Constitution," G. Tsebelis and J. Lin, UC Los Angeles.

"Yet Another Two Presidencies Paper," R. Fleisher, Fordham U., J. R. Bond and G. S. Krutz, Texas A&M U.

SWPSA:

"Declining Deference to Presidential Nominations," S. L. Spray, U. of the South.

"Intelligence Accountability After the Cold War," D. Ray and M. Korb, U. of Oklahoma.

"Secret Democracy: An Historical Analysis of the Roots of Presidential-Congressional Struggles for Control of Covert Operations," J. J. Carter, Central Methodist College.

"The Perilous Experiment: Examining the Substance of Roll Calls and Presidential Success in Congress, 1953-1996," D. M. Simon, Southern Methodist U.

WPSA:

"Divided Government and the Nationalization of Social Policy," M. Rose-Butler, Portland State U.

"Divided Government and Two-Term Presidents," R. S. Conley, U. of Maryland.

"The Effect of Divided Government on U.S. Trade Policy: Much Ado About Nothing?" D. Karol, UC Los Angeles.

"Uneasy Partners in Diplomacy: Eisenhower, Congress, and Superpower Summitry," D. Brattebo, U.S. Naval Academy.

CITADEL:

"Contemporary Executive/Legislative Relations in Virginia," L. L. Schack, Virginia Commonwealth U.

LEGISLATIVE AND PUBLIC POLICY [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Agenda Setting in State Legislatures," C. Rackaway and J. L. Adams, U. of Missouri.

"Bicameralism Agreement Mechanisms and Welfare Properties," J. R. Rogers, Texas A&M U.

"Competing Gender Ideologies in Congress: The Case of Welfare Reform," G. Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College.

"DOA Bills in the Texas Legislature," H. Tucker, Texas A&M U.

"Examining Civil Rights Roll Call Voting in the Senate, 1957-1991," F. Sanders, U. of Texas-San Antonio.

"If a Tree Falls. . . Policy Making When Nothing Seems to Happen," S. Barclay and T. Birkland, SUNY Albany.

"Incrementalism, Budget Deals, and Congressional Power Structures-What Really Matters to Budget Policy?: Insights from a Behavior Analysis of the U.S. Federal Budget from 1960-1995," M. Berner, LBJ School of Public Affairs.

"Institutional Affect, Welfare Reform, and the 104th Congress," K. Casey, Rutgers U.

"Law Making and Decree Making in the Russian Federation," T. F. Remington, S. Smith, and M. Haspel, Emory U.

"Particularistic Interests in a Constrained Fiscal Environment: A Longitudinal Analysis of Appropriations Bills in the Senate," B. W. Marshall and B. C. Prins, Michigan State U.

"Party vs. Committee-Centered Theories of Legislative Policy Making: Evidence from Defense Contracting," B. Rundquist and T. Carsey, U. of Illinois-Chicago.

"Political Geography, Counter-Coalitions, and Interest Group Influence in U.S. Trade Policy," W. Schiller, Brown U. and the Brookings Institution, and F. McGillivray, Washington U. in St. Louis.

"Public Policy and Legislative Choice," D. J. Brill, U. of Georgia.

"Quiet Influence: The Reputation of Exporters, Consumers, and Others on Postwar Trade Policy," M. Bailey Georgetown U.

"Seniority and Pork: Do Senior Members of Congress Deliver the Goods?" D. Modde, U. of Iowa.

"Shaping the Media's Agenda: The Case of Medicare Reform and the 104th Congress," M. Zis, U. of Minnesota.

"Speaking For Women? Women's Health and Reproductive Rights Policy in the 103rd and 104th Congresses," D. L. Dodson, Rutgers U.

"Strategic Issue Framing in the Congressional Debate Over Gays in the Military in 1993," R. Dion, Wabash College.

"The Communications Decency Act: Symbolic Politics and Congressional Policymaking," K. Dalianis and M. J. Zarkin, U. of Florida.

"The Media and the 103rd Congress: When to Cover Policy Making in Congress," M. Watts, Florida International U.

"The Two-Senators Thesis: Foreign Policy Senators vs. Domestic Policy Senators and the Impact of a Resurgent Congress on U.S. Foreign Policy," J. Patten, Buena Vista U.

"Where Were Congresswomen When Welfare Was Reformed?" N. Norton, UC San Diego.

"Why Differences Matter: The Impact of Hispanics and Asians in Congress," D. Levy, SUNY Brockport, and C. Tien, Hunter College, CUNY.

SWPSA:

"Delegate, Trustee, or Just Plain Confused: State-Level Legislative Attitudes Toward Regulating Genetic Screening Technology," P. R. Imperato, U. of North Dakota.

"Gender Perceptions' Impact on Foreign Policy Decisionmaking," R. P. Scott, U. of Missouri, Kansas City.

"House and Senate: Differences in Explanations for Support for Voting Rights Legislation," A. Johnson Benifield, U. of Alabama-Birmingham.

"Legislative Response to the 'Colonia' Problem of South Texas," J. R. Hinojosa, U. of Texas, Pan American.

"The Effect of Gender in the Legislative Bodies From the Feminist Standpoint Theory," L. Chiang, U. of Southern California.

WPSA:

"Change and Continuity in Congressional Foreign Policy," R. P. Rose, UC Davis.

"Ecofeminist Theory and Reality: A Roll Call Analysis of Environmental Votes in the U.S. House of Representatives," W. M. Salka, Colorado State U.

"Electoral Competition and the Distribution of Public Opinion: Senate Voting on NAFTA and the Environment," G. J. Gulati, U. of Virginia.

"Linking Political Orientations of National Legislatures to Socio-Economic Policy," M. L. Whicker and H. Isaacs, Rutgers U.

"Political Stability in American, British, and German National Health," C. B. Jensen, UC Los Angeles.

"Reworking the Architecture: Measuring the Effect of Issue Salience on Congressional Issue Change," B. D. Jones and V. F. Hunt, U. of Washington.

"Rupture, Leakage, and Reconstruction: The Naturalization of Gender in Breast Implant Legislation," A. Bloom and K. I. Roberts, U. of Washington.

"Strategic Issue Framing in the Congressional Debate Over Gays in the Military in 1993," R. Dion, Wabash College.

"Transmitting Factor Preferences: Tariff Votes in the U.S. Senate," A. Rozzi, UC Los Angeles.

CITADEL:

"Paper on Voting Patterns in the South Carolina Legislature on Confederate Flag-Related Issues," J. A. Clark, U. of Georgia.

LEGISLATURES AND COURTS [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"A Comparative Analysis of State Legislative Response to Hawaii's Judicial Acceptance of Same-Sex Marriage," M. Dupuis, Western Illinois U.

"An Empirical Test of Congressional Control of Judicial Review," J. Smith, U. of Texas-Austin.

"State Legislative and Judicial Innovation and Reinvention: Advance Directions for Health Policy," D. Smith, Cornell College.

INTEREST GROUPS, PACS AND LOBBYING [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Christian Right Influence and Congressional Voting," D. Weber, American U.

"Corporate and Labor PAC Contributions in House Elections: Measuring the Effects of Majority Party Status," T. J. Rudolph, U. of Minnesota.

"Corporate Political Activity, Managerial Interests, and Anti-Takeover Legislation in the 99th Congress (1985-86)," D. Eckel, Marymount U.

"Entrepreneurial Interest Groups: A Prospect Theory Explanation for the Distribution of Industry Group Funds to Members of Congress," C. R. Shapiro, Dartmouth College.

"Interest Group Access and Influence in a State Legislature," J. Comer, U. of Nebraska.

"Legislators as Agents of Lobbyists," R. Hall, U. of Michigan.

"Lobbying and the Legislative Process in the European Union," C. Crombez, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven.

"Tests of Vote-Buying Theories in Coalition Formation in Legislatures," A. Wiseman, Stanford U.

"The Effect of the AFL-CIO's 'Vote Education' Campaigns on the 1996 House Elections," G. Jacobson, U. C. San Diego.

"Warring Factions: Senators, Interest Groups, and the Politics of Appointing Federal Executives," L. M. Cohen, U. of Oklahoma.

SWPSA:

"American State Lobbyists: Group Context," J. J. Carroll, U. of Mass-Dartmouth, and M. S. Hyde, Providence College.

"The Dimensionality of Corporate Political Involvement," D. Schuler, Rice U.

"The Logic of Collective PACs," J. W. Endersby, U. of Missouri-Columbia.

"The Influence of the NRA in the 1994 House Elections: Evidence from the Individual Level." C. Kenney, Louisiana State U.

WPSA:

"China, Christians, and Cross-Pressures: The Vote on Most Favored Nation Trade Status in the 105th House," D. Hogberg, U. of Iowa.

"Interest Groups and Political Parties: The British Experience," W. A. Maloney, U. of Aberdeen.

"Lobbying and Information Provision by Special Interest Groups," M. Bennedsen, Harvard U., and S. Feldmann, U. Chicago.

"Social Movements and Institutions: A Seventeenth-Century Case," D. Kimball, UC Los Angeles.

"Still the Indispensable Patron? Union Power and the Foundations of Democratic Pluralism," D. Sousa, U. of Puget Sound.

"The Dealignment of Pluralism," J. Whitten, U. of Southern California.

"The People's Chamber: Petition Activity and Citizen Influence on Legislation in the House of Representatives, 1789-1850," L. Kowalsky, U. of Missouri-St. Louis.

"The Political Party-Interest Group Connection: The American Experience," R. Hrebenar, University of Utah, and C. Thomas, U. of Alaska-Southeast.

CITADEL:

"Payback or Continuity? G.O.P. Support of the Religious Right in the New Republican House of Representatives," M. C. Smith, U. of Georgia.

CREATION AND LEGITIMATION OF ASSEMBLIES [BACK TO TOP](#)

MPSA:

"Becoming Europeans? European Parliamentarians as an Elite Constituency of Support for Integration," R. M. Scully, Brunel U.

"Bicameralism," G. Tsebelis, UC Los Angeles.

"Democratizing Legislatures: An Analysis of Support for Decentralizing Reform in the Venezuelan Congress," M. R. Kulisheck, U. of Pittsburgh.

"Legislative-Party Cohesiveness in Post-Transition Chile," J. Carey, Washington University in St. Louis.

"Rationalizing Parliament," J. D. Huber, U. of Michigan.

"Socialists Building Capitalism: Party Discipline and Hungary's Stabilization Program," D. Morlang, Duke U.

"The Paradoxical State: Congress, the Military, and Statebuilding in Antebellum America," J. S. Lapinski and I. Katznelson, Columbia U.

SWPSA:

"Central American Legislative Development," A. Chavarria, Southwest Texas State U.

"Women and Democratization in Egypt: 1918-1981," L. K. Landolt, U. of Arizona.

[BACK TO TOP](#)

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |

Burdett A. Loomis, Editor
University of Kansas
July 1998

Editor's note:

This edition of "Extension of Remarks" follows up on the [previous edition](#), which focused on "sick legislatures" and the impact of professionalism. In this edition, Alan Rosenthal takes a crack at establishing the criteria for "the good legislature." This ambitious subject was discussed at a Washington meeting, hosted graciously by Karl Kurtz, Bill Pound, and Carl Tubbesing from the National Conference of State Legislatures. The Rosenthal essay presented here is a substantially modified version of the one presented at that meeting, and the Jewell, Krehbiel, and Evans & Oleszek essays all respond, in various ways, to the initial paper and the discussions that took place in Washington.

One further note: Virginia Gray and Wyman Spano, both of the University of Minnesota, responded to the reprint of [Charles Mahtesian's article](#) in the January 1998 "Extensions of Remarks." Their comments--as well as the original article--can be found in the [LSS Newsletter Readers & Writers Forum](#).

Contents of this issue:

The Good Legislature: Getting Beyond "I Know It When I See It"

Alan Rosenthal, Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University

Political Dimensions of a "Good Legislature"

Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky

The Good Legislature from a Positivist Perspective

Keith Krehbiel, Stanford University

Committee Jurisdictions and the Good Legislature

C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary

Walter J. Oleszek, Congressional Research Service

Contributions to "Extension of Remarks" are encouraged. The total length of such contributions should be four pages, text typed, single spaced, with references following the style of *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. Works may be edited for content or for length. Please send proposed contributions to Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2157.

| [Front Page](#) | [Section News](#) | [Research & Teaching](#) | [Legislative News](#) |
| [Papers Presented](#) | [Journal Articles](#) | [Book Notes](#) | [Extension of Remarks](#) |

| [From the Chair](#) | [From the Editor](#) |

| [Legislative Studies Section Home Page](#) | [APSA Home Page](#) |
