

# APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter

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***Concordance: Black Lawmaking in the U.S. Congress from Carter to Obama***, Katherine Tate, 2014, University of Michigan Press, The Politics of Race and Ethnicity Series, ISBN 9780472119059, \$60, cloth, 200 pages.

Professor Katherine Tate explains an interesting political phenomenon with a new theory she calls *concordance*. While Black political leaders were moving away from the more radical policy positions they held during the heyday of the Civil Rights Movement, the Democratic Party moved toward more racially liberal positions that accrued to the benefit of Black citizens. Black politicians may have moderated their views but they also increased their leadership in the Democratic Party, and as a result, the “radical critique” so necessary for progress in the past has shifted to those outside of government (1).

Tate argues in Chapter 1 that our representative system’s institutional restraints, most notably a bicameral legislature and a two-party system dominated by winner-take-all elections, work to suppress Black influence on policymaking as Black politicians’ more liberal, and sometimes unpopular, preferences restricted them to a small numerical minority. Eventually Black policymakers began to compromise with the majority in order to pass legislation in accordance with their views. This process of incorporation liberalized the Democratic Party. A strange dichotomy exists where Black citizens are often disappointed with their lack of economic progress yet are optimistic due to increased Black membership in Congress and the election of the first Black president. However, the new members are increasingly less liberal as they become part of the Democratic Party elite.

Chapter Two examines the difficult relationship between the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and President Carter. Tate describes the president as a fiscal moderate, whose more conservative domestic policies ran counter to the preferences of the CBC although the CBC was successful in agitating for beneficial policies towards Africa and the Caribbean. However, she points out that the Carter era was the last one in which Black leaders could speak with candor on race relations (47). In Chapter 3 she points out that the CBC won several legislative victories during the Reagan-Bush presidencies, such as the extension of

the Voting Rights Act, but Blacks still lost ground due to a conservative backlash against expansive domestic programs that continued into the Clinton Administration. In order to share credit for cutting taxes, the majority of House Democrats voted for tax reform as did the majority of the CBC, but the old guard refused their support (67). The 1992 election saw the first Black female Senator as well as the return of a new type of Democrat in the White House. Bill Clinton, a moderate, was able to promote conservative positions thanks in part to a booming economy that benefitted Blacks. The older members of CBC still opposed many of Clinton's policies but not to the extent they did during Carter's tenure (72).

In Chapter Five, Tate explores a key finding that part of the evolution of the CBC included voting with the Democratic Party in growing margins and, in doing so, became more moderate. In 2001 George W. Bush had more support from the Democratic Party than he did from the CBC, but by 2004 the support from each was in *concordance* (102). Another important finding is that party unity scores increased to nearly 100 during the decade. Chapter Six examines the historic Obama presidency and his legislative successes, most notably the Affordable Care Act. President Obama enacted over 97% of his legislative initiatives in his first year although, as Tate points out, the president is often criticized for not working harder on behalf of Blacks.

Chapter Seven presents the empirical evidence for concordance. Tate's analysis is focused on how liberal or conservative CBC members' roll call votes were on economic policies between 1977 and 2010. Using the Poole-Rosenthal method to determine ideal choices, Tate found that the CBC has become more moderate compared to the House Democratic Caucus and that they tend to vote with the majority of the House on these issues. By regressing P-R scores, Tate found that Black Democrats are more ideologically conservative when the Republicans hold the presidency and the House. On the other hand, Black party leaders are significantly more liberal than the typical Black member under Republican presidents (137).

Finally, Chapter Eight discusses the new CBC which is less liberal than the Progressive Caucus. Younger members are more pragmatic and a radical agenda may be too reminiscent of the 1970s when the CBC was much more liberal. They have found it more beneficial to form broad coalitions in order to gain legislative success. Tate's concern is that the radical spirit of Black politicians has now been quieted. Considering the crisis of Black unemployment and poverty, further incorporation in the Democratic Party leadership may have some unfortunate consequences.

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***Getting Primaried: The Changing Politics of Congressional Primary Challenges***, Robert G. Boatright, 2013, ISBN 9780472118700, \$60, cloth, 272 pages.

The threat and prevalence of primary challenges to congressional incumbents seem to be a common occurrence in contemporary politics. Indeed, news reports of an incumbent "getting primaried" abound in the months leading up to election season. Despite the apparent change in the frequency of legitimate primary challenges, few empirical studies exist that detail the rise, fall, and effects of primary elections involving an established incumbent. Robert Boatright's *Getting Primaried: The Changing Politics of Congressional Primary Challenges* fills this void by examining primary elections from 1970 to the present and by providing a robust set of findings that challenges the conventional wisdom surrounding contemporary primary elections.

The book sets out to analyze three different aspects of primary elections over time: the frequency of primary challenges, the threat posed by primary challenges, and the consequences of primary challenges. In answering these three empirical questions, Boatright notes that not all primary challenges are created

equal. When the media and scholars focus on salient, anecdotal evidence of impactful primary challenges, the empirical reality of primaries is greatly skewed.

In Chapter 2, Boatright demonstrates that the frequency of primary challenges has not been more frequent now than in the past. In fact, the frequency of challenges has waxed and waned over time in predictable ways.

Chapter 3 examines the financing of primary challenges in order to better understand whether or not the threat posed by challenges has changed over time. Boatright's data show the most recent decade of primary competition has been different than previous decades, because ideologically based challengers have been able to raise more money from donors who do not reside in the challenger's home state. In this sense, ideological primary challenges have become far more nationalized in recent years.

Finally, Boatright analyzes the consequences of primary challenges. Contrary to popular news reports, there are few (if any) direct consequences when incumbents are challenged during a primary—the actual effects are far more nuanced. For example, incumbents lose votes during the general election only when facing a non-ideological challenger in the primary. Similarly, there is very little evidence to support the claim that incumbents modify their legislative behavior after facing an ideologically driven primary challenger.

Overall, *Getting Primaried* is a fantastic example how solid theory, good data, and clever analysis can add nuance and context to our understanding of an important political phenomenon. The book also fills a big gap in the political science literature that spans a number of topics in American Politics such as elections, political parties, campaign finance, interest groups, and congressional behavior. While punditry may claim serious primary challenges are a recent occurrence with dire consequences for incumbents, the data offer little compelling evidence to support this claim. Instead, Boatright gives us a comprehensive examination of primaries that demonstrates differences across challengers, parties, and time.

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***Party System Change in Legislatures Worldwide: Moving Outside the Electoral Area***, Carol Mershon and Olga Shvetsova, 2013, ISBN 9780521765831, \$95, cloth, 222 pages.

Mershon and Shvetsova put forth an interesting examination of changes in parliamentary party composition that occur through the deliberate actions of legislators, rather than through electoral mandate. The authors' stated goal in writing this book is to "restore balance in the discipline's thinking about parties and the party system" through a focus on party and party system change that occurs during sitting legislatures (1). As a whole, the authors are successful in demonstrating that "voters dampen any impulse that elected representatives might have to change party affiliation, and ... political institutions define opportunities and inducements for representatives to seize the moment to switch party" (147). The authors provide systematic empirical models that produce quantitative evidence to support their hypotheses. In addition, the authors provide a wealth of testable propositions for further study. For example, they provide some support for the proposition that these elite switches may drive party shifts rather than merely serve as a reaction to voter preferences.

In Part One, the authors provide a clear theoretical grounding for the questions and hypotheses posed. In Part Two, they examine five cases: United States, United Kingdom, Romania, Italy and Russia, with an in-depth examination of Italy and Russia. The authors provide an in-depth analysis of the electoral and social circumstances for the time period examined in each case. Part Three uses a broader empirical model applied to 110 sitting parliaments to analyze party change in sitting legislatures. This final section tests the

hypotheses using a large scale model of individual member party shifts over time. The authors also examine cases where their assumptions may not apply in order to examine more fully the implications of their model.

Mershon and Shvetsova make the case that individual M.P. party shifts occur because the M.P. is strategically seeking a rational goal (power, policy, reelection) and these shifts are timed to produce maximum gain with minimum (electoral) cost. Further, the authors have put forth an interesting model for understanding when these party shifts are most likely to occur and not occur. Mershon and Shvetsova also make a case for the importance of these individual M.P. shifts. The authors contend that while these shifts are based upon individual ambition and strategy, the result can be significant policy change, as it may affect control of the parliament, and in their more nuanced examination, they are able to demonstrate how these changes have produced majority party or majority party coalition change that results in policy change.

For comparative legislative scholars, the model is particularly useful as it provides a new way to examine parties and parliamentary behavior. It provides an interesting starting point for inquiry, both for the parliaments that fit the model, and also for those that are outliers. For example, the United States is an outlier in legislator party shift timing due to its short electoral cycle whereas institutional changes have made Brazilian legislators far less likely to switch parties. Mershon and Shvetsova illustrate the role of constraints created by voter preferences. The authors demonstrate that as the electorate and legislators become more connected to party labels, the cost for switching becomes more prohibitive, and legislators are less likely to change parties. There are a number of institutional constraints which appear to impact party switching by M.P.s as well, and further exploration of these differences promises to yield interesting insights into party systems.

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***Reining in the State: Civil Society and Congress in the Vietnam and Watergate Eras***, Katherine A. Scott, 2013, ISBN 9780700618972, \$34.95, cloth 248 pages.

As controversy rages about the massive data collection undertaken by the National Security Agency during the period since September 11, 2001, this book provides an extensive background on the evolution of government surveillance operations in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as a useful reminder that concern for privacy and constitutionally protected rights is hardly new. Only the scale is different today.

Scott provides a readable historical account of the societal and congressional responses to the domestic spying and data collection by the FBI, CIA, and NSA during the Cold War. As information about secret government programs became known (largely through news leaks), adverse public reaction led the Congress to enact major reforms that included the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). These laws aimed to lift the veil of government secrecy and ensure that government agents were not engaged in spying on American citizens without cause and without a judicial warrant.

The targets of all this government snooping were political radicals, antiwar activists, members of the news media, and anybody who J. Edgar Hoover or Richard Nixon did not like. The need for the domestic espionage was grounded in a Cold War fear of subversion. The arguments were the not-so-distant progeny of McCarthyism.

Today exigent circumstances are alleged in the context of the war on terror. Factors that make the war on terror similar to (or in fact different from) the Cold War are rarely assessed. The real common denominator is fear of the unknown (or as Donald Rumsfeld prefers, the unknown unknowns).

But there is one great and obvious difference between the domestic surveillance regime of the Cold War era and that in operation today. In the good old days, the government sought to spy on specific individuals; they just wanted to do it without a warrant. Today, the government wants to collect information on literally everyone, and its agents can undertake the task without leaving their offices. Computers do the work.

Scott's book offers two major contributions. First, she traces the evolution of the surveillance state, revealing the persistent paranoia that drove government operatives and their political overseers to look for communists among or behind every social or dissident movement. These operatives or overseers were not all, or even mostly, dishonorable people. They were public functionaries charged with the responsibility to protect the people of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. They were doing their jobs as they understood them. Chapters on the development of the surveillance bureaucracy, the investigations of the civil disorders of the 1960s, the Army's domestic surveillance programs, and the activities of the CIA reveal a determination to root out radicalism.

One reason why the government (across administrations of both political parties) was able to conceal its activities from the public was the assertion of executive privilege and national security interests. Journalists' efforts to peek behind these curtains were rebuffed at every turn. Finally, however, the wall began to crack as disaffected leakers facilitated exposés that brought the surveillance programs to the attention of the Congress and the American public at large. Public interest groups brought pressure to bear on the Congress to oversee and constrain the intelligence and law-enforcement agencies. The results, traced in two excellent chapters of the book, were the FOIA and the FISA.

And herein lies the second of Scott's major contributions. She shows clearly that the reining in of the surveillance state was only accomplished by a symbiosis of public outrage and congressional reaction. It was not simply the Congress that rebelled against the surveillance state; it was the American people themselves. Civil society played a leading role in the reining in of the state.

Scott's research relies mostly on the public record although she did interview several of the key players in this lengthy drama. The narrative line would unlikely change much, but the book would offer additional texture by additional interviews with key actors.

Going forward, Scott has the opportunity to do just that. Awaiting her attention is a sequel in which will be told the story of how the surveillance state was given a new birth in the aftermath of 9-11 and the enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act. This book will tell the story of Chelsea (nee Bradley) Manning, Julian Assange, and Edward Snowden. It will explain how leakers and internet outlaws exposed to the American people the full scope and extent of the government's data collection programs. It will describe the public reaction and the congressional response. And it will ask and answer the question: can civil society and Congress do it again?

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***Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings in the U.S. Senate: Reconsidering the Charade***, Dion Farganis and Justin Wedeking, 2014, University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472119332, \$60, cloth, 176 pages.

Ever since Robert Bork's 1987 failed confirmation bid, the Supreme Court confirmation process has been consistently characterized as a "vapid and hollow charade." Scholars, pundits, senators, and even



casual Court watchers labor under the assumption that nominees are no longer forthcoming during their testimony and, as a result, confirmation hearings do not work as originally intended.

In *Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings in the U.S. Senate: Revisiting the Charade*, Dion Farganis and Justin Wedeking systematically investigate the validity behind the popularly accepted notion that the Supreme Court confirmation process has become increasingly ineffectual. What they find is quite surprising.

Farganis and Wedeking provide the first large-scale analysis of nominee responsiveness from the time regular Supreme Court confirmation hearings began in 1955 until today. Using a detailed coding scheme, the authors contextually analyze nearly 11,000 questions and answers from every confirmation hearing from John Marshall Harlan II through Elena Kagan. The analysis reveals that, contrary to conventional wisdom, Supreme Court nominees have not become dramatically less forthcoming in recent years. In fact, evidence suggests that nominee responsiveness has not changed much at all since the hearings began more than a half century ago.

The authors proceed by proffering several empirically-based explanations as to what is driving the widespread perception that nominees have become less forthcoming as of late. One such explanation is based on their finding that questions about civil liberties and civil rights issues have the tendency to deflate the levels of nominee candor more than other types of questions. Senate Judiciary Committee members have increasingly posed more of these types of questions to nominees over the years, thus slightly driving down responsiveness. Since exchanges surrounding civil liberties and civil rights issues are the most carefully scrutinized, there is a heightened *sense* that nominees are being more evasive than in past confirmation hearings.

According to Farganis and Wedeking, persistent misperceptions about the modern confirmation process have the potential to deleteriously affect how the hearings are conducted, what kinds of questions are asked, and how the nominees are perceived by elected officials, the press, and the public. Misperceptions also affect public confidence in the confirmation process and, ultimately, how legitimacy is conferred upon the Court. Consequently, proposals to reform the hearings, which are largely predicated on the erroneous assumption that the hearings changed for the worse after the 1980s, are less critical than reforming overall *perceptions* surrounding the hearings.

This book marks a significant advancement in our understanding of Supreme Court confirmation hearings. The findings represent an important challenge to a long-standing American political myth that has potentially problematic implications. In short, Farganis and Wedeking view the Supreme Court confirmation process as neither vapid nor hollow, and are hopeful that their findings can help restore public confidence in the process.

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***The Changing Face of Representation: The Gender of U.S. Senators and Constituent Communications***, Kim L. Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney, 2014, University of Michigan Press, ISBN 9780472119233, \$65.00, cloth, 246 pages.

The number of female representatives in the U.S. Congress is higher than ever before, and as that number increases so does the number of messages from and about our representatives, and the ease with which those messages are disseminated. As these messages become more pervasive and accessible, modern technology provides unprecedented capabilities for compiling and analyzing them. *The Changing*

*Face of Representation* grabs hold of these opportunities unique to our time and presents a cogent story—supported by robust political theory and original research—about how political communication is affected by gender and gender stereotypes.

The book's greatest success is in its breadth. The authors analyze content from thousands of publications from several types of sources to measure three distinct phases of political communication: the senators' presentations of self, the portrayal of the senators by the news media, and the perception constituents have of the senators. Fridkin and Kenney compile impressive data sets coded to capture the content of communication that is both controlled (senators' official websites, press releases, and campaign messages) and uncontrolled (newspaper stories and constituent surveys) by the senators. The authors use a sample of 32 senators, including all 14 sitting female senators, during the year 2006. Each source is given careful attention as a separate chapter, each detailing the theoretical justifications for the use of that source, coding procedures, methods of analysis, findings, and how their observations support their hypotheses and contribute to the larger theoretical framework.

This systematic approach allows the authors to weave a compelling tale. In one of several major arguments, they point to evidence that the news media covers male senators better than female senators in both quantity of coverage and accuracy. Despite this failure, however, female constituents are still better informed about female senators than they are about male senators, and demonstrate stronger feelings of external efficacy when a female is running for a Senate seat or is a sitting senator in their state. Taken together, Fridkin and Kenney conclude, these findings are strong evidence that women are more interested in politics and more satisfied with government responsiveness when female representatives are present, in spite of entrenched gender stereotypes.

Thoroughly grounded in the literature on representation, Fridkin and Kenney address a major gap in the contemporary scholarly dialogue: how do gender and gender stereotypes shape the content of communication flowing from U.S. Senators to their constituents? To answer this question the authors develop the "strategic stereotype theory." They contend that senators strategically emphasize or attempt to revise gender stereotypes based on whether or not the stereotype is perceived to be advantageous toward the goal of reelection. Specifically, the authors find that male and female senators will reinforce gender stereotypes in matters of policy, but will attempt to minimize gender stereotypes when advertising personal characteristics. For example, senators' issue pages on official Senate websites tend to adhere to expected gender roles: men concentrate on business and defense, while women support healthcare and education. However, biographies on these same sites tend to revise expected gender roles: women stress their agentic traits like leadership and experience, while men—who are stereotyped as already possessing these agentic qualities—emphasize communal characteristics like empathy, family, and community contributions.

Fridkin and Kenney's use of gender stereotypes as a lens to examine the content of political communication is both refreshing and explanatory. Throughout the book, the authors point out the inability of gender to explain fully the differences between male and female senators' messages, and adeptly reveal how the evidence supports the strategic stereotype theory. Ultimately, *The Changing Face of Representation* will be of interest to scholars of Congress, descriptive representation, and political communication, and to anyone who hopes to understand, and perhaps improve, American representative democracy.

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***The New Democrats and the Return to Power***, Al From with Alice McKeon, 2013, Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN 9781137278647, \$28, cloth, 288 pages.

“New conditions impose requirements on government and those who conduct government,” said Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Al From points to this quote as the centerpiece of the Third Way, New Democrat model. This memoir of the roots, formation, success and lessons of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) is written in an engaging journalistic style. From, with McKeon, depict the challenges and triumphs as the DLC steered the Democratic Party back to national prominence. This book takes a historical approach to the development of the Democratic Party Platform and its leadership that more thoroughly resounds with middle-class America. One of the key provisions of this movement was a redefining of “patriotism in terms of civic duty” (99).

This text is a useful aid to practitioners as they guide party strategy, whether that strategy be for the Democrats, the Republicans, or parties outside of the United States. From provides lessons in party-building and idea-change, and he demonstrates the necessity for innovation in approaching new problems. One of the key divisions that had to be addressed by the Democrats was how to resolve the dispute between whether the best course of action was to “fervently energize the base” or to “adopt strategies that could maintain support among the party’s poor and minority base and, at the same time, reach out to white working- and middle-class voters” (106). The DLC, under the leadership of From and key elected officials (to include Chuck Robb, Lloyd Bentsen, and Bill Clinton), chose the second course, and expanded the party base to bring the Democrats back to national prominence. The DLC took the 1989 Galston and Kamarck study, “The Politics of Evasion: Democrats and the Presidency,” seriously. Galston and Kamarck concluded that “Democrats have manufactured excuses for their presidential disasters – excuses built on faulty data and false assumptions, excuses designed to avoid the tough questions” (108, citing Galston and Kamarck 1989). This was just one example of then Chairman of the DLC Bill Clinton’s call for “the intellectual resurgence of our party” (112). Any examination of party strategy would be well-advised to administer regular doses, as From puts it, of “reality therapy.”

The election of Bill Clinton and the policies achieved by his administration are clear examples of the success of the New Democrat movement, as are the popular vote counts of five of the last six presidential elections. This was obviously a direct turn-around from the previous six elections, when the Republican Party won the most votes in five of those elections. The movement to the international stage more strongly demonstrated that the message of “opportunity, responsibility, and community,” was one that crossed borders and could make sense in different national contexts. In his final chapter, From offers a nine-point plan for future success for the Democratic Party, as well as few tips for the Republicans. An important lesson from the text is that political parties, elected officials, and governments must continue to be innovative if they are to continue to be relevant and effective.

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***White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making***, Nicholas Carnes, 2013, University of Chicago Press, ISBN 9780226087009, \$50, cloth, 200 pages.

Working-class Americans make up an overwhelming majority of this country’s labor force yet are grossly underrepresented in its political institutions. While scholars have long recognized this representative incongruity, there is a dearth of information about how policymakers’ class backgrounds affect their legislative conduct. Nicholas Carnes’s *White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in*

*Economic Policy Making* provides novel insight into how inequalities in the social class makeup of American political institutions affect policymaking processes in the United States.

Using data from the U.S. Congress, state legislatures, and city councils, *White-Collar Government* explicates how policymakers from different classes make decisions about historically contentious domestic economic policies such as taxation, business regulation, social spending, and labor laws. Carnes examines how legislators from various classes differ in their lawmaking activities and how these individual-level differences influence collective outcomes.

Carnes begins by seeking to determine whether legislators from different classes vote differently on economic issues. He then elucidates the links between class and the kinds of bills lawmakers introduce, how hard they work to see their bills enacted, and how likely they are to see their bills advance through the legislative process. *White-Color Government* compellingly demonstrates that legislators from different classes behave differently in ways that mirror extant social class divisions among the American public. Carnes demonstrates, for example, that legislators from the working class are more likely to propose and vote for more progressive economic policies than legislators from white-collar jobs. This is due to the simple fact that lawmakers from different classes hold different opinions about economic issues.

*White-Collar Government* offers the first empirical evidence that individual-level social class differences can have serious consequences for the economic policymaking process in the U.S. Ultimately, Carnes's findings support his central contention that the underrepresentation of the working class in U.S. legislatures skews economic policymaking toward outcomes that are more in line with the economic interests of the most privileged Americans.

Perhaps most importantly, Carnes's research dispels the prevalent notion that working-class Americans are unqualified to hold public office or are poorly suited for the job. The underrepresentation of the working class in public office is not, according to Carnes, a practical necessity. *White-Collar Government* ends with a promising discussion about two wildly successful candidate recruitment programs. These programs have demonstrated that there are many politically capable working-class citizens. Recruiting and training talented working-class citizens can effectively launch them into lucrative political careers.

*White-Collar Government* is a long-overdue look into America's class-imbalanced political institutions; it is a must-read for anyone interested in economic policymaking processes and the quality of descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation in the U.S. As Carnes states, "[i]f we want government *for* the people, we've got to start working toward a government *by* the people" (148).

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# Journal Articles

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This section is meant to provide LSS members with the basic citation information about recent journal articles dealing with legislatures. The source for this information is Cambridge Scientific Abstracts' database, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, with "congress OR parliament OR legislative" as subject headings. The report is arranged in alphabetical order by journal name.

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Article</b>
Administration & Society 45.7: 837-874	Villalobos, Jose D.	Agency Input as a Policy-Making Tool: Analyzing the Influence of Agency Input on Presidential Policy Success in Congress
Administrative Science Quarterly 58.3: 313-345	Graffin, Scott D.; Bundy, Jonathan; Porac, Joseph F.; Wade, James B.; Quinn, Dennis P.	Falls from Grace and the Hazards of High Status: The 2009 British MP Expense Scandal and Its Impact on Parliamentary Elites
American Journal of Political Science 57.4: 858-874	Kardasheva, Raya	Package Deals in EU Legislative Politics
American Journal of Political Science 58.1: 189-196	Loewen, Peter John; Koop, Royce; Settle, Jaime; Fowler, James H	A Natural Experiment in Proposal Power and Electoral Success
American Journal of Political Science 58.2: 337-351	McGhee, Eric; Masket, Seth; Shor, Boris; Rogers, Steven; McCarty, Nolan	A Primary Cause of Partisanship? Nomination Systems and Legislator Ideology
American Journal of Political Science 58.2: 387-401	Clinton, Joshua D; Lewis, David E; Selin, Jennifer L	Influencing the Bureaucracy: The Irony of Congressional Oversight
American Journal of Political Science 58.2: 479-494	Rogowski, Jon C.	Electoral Choice, Ideological Conflict, and Political Participation
American Political Research 41.5: 735-760	Smith, Steven S.; Park, Hong Min	Americans' Attitudes About the Senate Filibuster
American Political Science Review 107.4: 663-678	Gamm, Gerald; Kousser, Thad	No Strength in Numbers: The Failure of Big-City Bills in American State Legislature, 1880-2000
American Politics Research 42.1: 171-193	Clark, Jennifer Hayes, Williams R Lucas	Parties, Term Limits and Representation in the U.S. States
Australian Journal of Politics and History 60.1: 58-72	Arklay, Tracey M	Leadership Lessons: Minority Governments, Independents and Relations

<b>Journal</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Article</b>
Australian Journal of Public Administration 73.1: 67-78	Adams, Carolyn	Freedom of Information and Parliamentary Departments
British Journal of Political Science 44.1: 29-39	Golder, Sona N.; Thomas, Jacquelyn A	Portfolio Allocation and the Vote of No Confidence
British Politics 8.3: 313-332	Plumb, Alison; Marsh, David	Beyond Party Discipline: UK Parliamentary Voting on Fox Hunting
British Politics 8.4: 388-409	Judge, David	'Word from the Street': When Non-electoral Representative Claims Meet Electoral Representation in the United Kingdom
California Journal of Politics and Policy 5.4: 755-767	Diament, Sean M	The Pragmatic Idealist: An Exposition and Review of Alan Cranston-Senator from California: Making a "Dent in the World" by Judith Robinson, Telegraph Hill Press, 2012
Canadian Journal of Political Science 46.4: 773-797	Godbout, Jean-Francois; Hoyland, Bjorn	The Emergence of Parties in the Canadian House of Commons (1867-1908)
Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne 47.1: 71-92	Montigny, Eric; Morency, Rebecca	Le Depute Quebecois en Circonscription: Evolution, Role et Realites
Chicago Journal of International Law 14.2: 559-624	Meyer, Timothy	From Contract to Legislation: The Logic of Modern International Lawmaking
Colombia Internacional 79: 155-190	Montoya, Ana Maria	'If You Do Not Go to the Senate, You Will Never Be a Judge': Informal Institutions and Selection Criteria for Judges of the Constitutional Court in the Colombian Senate (1992-2009)
Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 51.4: 549-568	Lawlor, Andrea; Crandall, Erin	Committee Performance in the Senate of Canada: Some Sobering Analysis for the Chamber of 'Sober Second Thought'
Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 52.1: 78-108	Farooqui, A; Sridharan E.	Incumbency, Internal Processes and Renomination in Indian Parties
Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 52.1: 109-138	Spary, CaRole	Women Candidates and Party Nomination Trends in India – Evidence from the 2009 General Election
Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 52.2: 232-253	Bulmer, William Elliot	Constrained Majoritarianism: Westminster Constitutionalism in Malta
Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 52.2: 254-270	Hayward, Margaret	The Influence of Party Leaders on Women's Representation in Parliament, 1935-1975: the Case of New Zealand
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The Journal of Legislative Studies 20.2: 236-254	Patrikios, Stratos; Shephard, Mark	Representative and Useful? An Empirical Assessment of the Representative Nature and Impact of the Scottish Youth Parliament
The Journal of Legislative Studies 20.2: 255-261	Pelizzo, Riccardo; Stapenhurst, Rick	Oversight Effectiveness and Political Will: Some Lessons from West Africa
The Political Quarterly 84.3: 395-398	McLean, Iain	Report of the Commission on the Consequences of Devolution for the House of Commons (the McKay Commission)
The Political Quarterly 85.1: 43-49	Pannick QC, Lord	'Respect for Law and Sausages': How Parliamentary Made Section 31 of the Growth and Infrastructure Act 2013 on the Sale of Employment Rights
The Social Science Journal 50.3: 299-305	Fogarty, Brian J.; Jalalzai, Farida; Hankinson, Chad A.	A Duration Analysis of Congressional Widows' Careers
Turkish Studies 14.3: 564-580	Yuvaci, Abdullah	The Voting Behavior of the European Parliament Members on Turkish Accession: A Quantitative Analysis of a Special Status Amendment Vote on Turkey
West European Politics 36.5: 1095-1105	Garzia, Diego	The 2013 Italian Parliamentary Election: Changing Things So Everything Stays the Same
West European Politics 36.6: 1178-1198	Krepel, Amie	Legislative Implications of the Lisbon Treaty: The (Potential) Role of Ideology
West European Politics 36.6: 1239-1255	Warntjen, Andreas	The Elusive Goal of Continuity? Legislative Decision-Making and the Council Presidency Before and After Lisbon

Journal	Author	Title of Article
West European Politics 36.6: 1292-1308	Arnold, Christine; Sapir, Eliyahu V	Issue Congruence across Legislative Terms: Examining the Democratic Party Mandate in the European Parliament
West European Politics 37.1: 1-18	Egeberg, Morten; Gornitzka, Ase; Trondal, Jarle	A Not So Technocratic Executive? Everyday Interaction between the European Parliament and the Commission
West European Politics 37.1: 204-221	Dahlberg, Stefan; Persson, Mikael	Different Surveys, Different Results? A Comparison of Two Surveys on the 2009 European Parliamentary Election
West European Politics 37.2: 309-330	Keman, Hans	Democratic Performance of Parties and Legitimacy in Europe

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## Legislative News

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Link to a recent articles in *Governing* magazine:

["Rural Areas Lose People But Not Power"](#) by Alan Grenblatt

*Rural lawmakers are dwindling in number as people continue to migrate to metropolitan areas. But the battle between urban and rural politics is as big as ever -- and those out in the country may be winning.*

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## Papers Presented

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[MPSA](#) – Papers presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 3–6, 2014, Chicago

[SWPSA](#) – Papers presented at the Southwestern Political Science Association annual meeting, April 16–19, 2014, in San Antonio

[WPSA](#) – Papers presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 17–19, 2014, in Seattle

[WSSA](#) – Papers presented at the Western Social Science Association Annual Meeting, April 2–5, 2014, in Albuquerque

## MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (MPSA)

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Ahler, Douglas; Broockman, David E.	Parliamentary-Style Parties? A Skeptical View of Congressional Party Homogeneity and Polarization
Ahn, Ken KeeHyun	Congressional Influence on the US Defense Policy from 1993-2012
Ahuja, Sunil	The House Under John Boehner
Aldrich, John H.; Ballard, Andrew O.; Lerner, Joshua Yoshio; Rohde, David W.	Does the Gift Keep on Giving?: House Republican Leadership PAC Donations Before and After Majority Status
Aldrich, John H.; Tomsen, Danielle	Party Fit Across State Legislatures and Congress
Alexander, Brian	Limits of Partisanship: Conference Committees, Congressional Behavior, and Legislative Outcomes
Allen, Neal	Successfully Navigating the Politics of Race in the 1950s and 1960s: Future Congressional Leaders and Civil Rights Legislation
Anderson, Richard James	The Distributive Foundations of Bureaucratic Oversight
Ansolabehere, Stephen; Palmer, Maxwell; Schneer, Benjamin	Legislative Productivity and Divided Government, 1789-2013
Avelino, George; Biderman, Ciro; Barone, Leonardo Sangali	Building Local Trenches: Intra-Party Linkages and Electoral Performance in Brazil, 1996-2010
Baer, Emily Caitlin	Lobbying Coalitions and Policy Making: How Interest Group Coalitions Impact Congressional Committee Outcomes
Baker, Travis J.	Presidents and Obstruction in the U.S. House of Representatives
Balf, Noa; Braun, Joseph	Strength in Numbers? Exploring the Effect of Women Parliamentarians on Political Outcomes: Evidence from Israel
Barone, Leonardo Sangali; Alevino, George; Bideman, Ciro	Local Elections and Party Performance: Exploring the Mechanisms of Party Incumbency Advantage
Baughman, John	The News They Used: Representation and Information in the Antebellum U.S. House of Representatives
Bendix, William	Committee Ideology and the Decline of Prefloor Deliberations in Congress
Berry, Christopher Robert; Fowler, Anthony	Cardinals or Clerics? Congressional Committees and the Distribution of Pork
Blumenau, Jack; Lauderdale, Benjamin E.	Never Let a Good Crisis Go to Waste: How Adverse Conditions and Agenda Control Enabled Further European Integration After 2008
Bonfil; Sergio J. Ascencio; Gibilisco, Michael B.	A Behavioral Model of Endogenous Issue Salience
Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M.; Christenson, Dino; Craig, Alison	Cue-Taking in Congress: Interest Group Signals form Dear Colleague Letters
Brady, Michael C.; Neiheisel, Jacob Robert	The Value of a Brand: How Changes in the Party Brand on Issues Influence Member Behavior in Congress

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Brierly, Allen B.	A Formal Model of Legislative Redistricting
Buchler, Justin	Divisions Between Congressional Republicans And The Politics Of Ideologically Extreme Reversion Points
Cain, Sean A.	Political Consultants in U.S. Senate Elections: Mobilizing the Base or Persuading Swing Voters?
Cavari, Amnon; Nyer, Elan	Polarizing on Israel: Support for Israel among Members of Congress
Cioroianu, Iulia	Conflictual Twitter Interactions and Projection Effects in Candidates' Perceptions of Each Other's Position
Clarke, Andrew James	Constructing the Caucus: Sub-Branding and the Institutionalization of Party Fractions
Clarke, Andrew James; Lowande, Kenneth Scott	CHIMPS in Congress: Assessing New Tactics for Modern Budgetary Policy
Craig, Alison	Lone Wolves and Team Players: Policy Collaboration Networks and Legislative Effectiveness in the House of Representatives
Dabros, Matthew S.	Congressional Junketing? Determinants of Congressional International Travel
Dabros, Matthew S.; Kulesza, Christopher	When Experience Doesn't Pay: Term Limits, Campaign Contributions, and Productivity in the American State Legislatures
Davis, Brandon Rudolph	Competition and Majority Minority Districts: Are Majority Minority Districts too Safe?
Dudley, Mark; King, Aaron S.; Orlando, Francis J.	Kicking the Can? Continuing Resolutions and Debt Ceiling Increases
Duffin, Diane L.	Maverick Behavior in the US Senate: What it Means and Why it Matters
Dynes, Adam Michael	Traceability and electoral accountability: Experimental evidence of local policymakers' use of legislative procedure
Dynes, Adam Michael; Reeves, Andrew	Caucus Meetings and Party Coordination in the House
Eaves, Carrie Parker	Measuring Candidate Quality in U.S. Senate Elections
Egar, William	Legislative Obstruction: Public Information and Political Accountability
Engstrom, Erik; Huckfeldt, Robert; Donnelly, Christopher P.; Lane, Christopher	Civil Rights and the Reordering of Senate Partisanship: 1957 to 1965
Enns, Peter; Kelly, Nathan J.; Morgan, Jana; Witko, Christopher M.	Congressional Rhetoric in an Era of Rising Inequality
Ensley, Michael	Candidate Positioning and Mobilization in the U.S. House Elections
Faas, Thorsten; Bowler, Shaun	Losers' Consent in direct Democracy? Stability and Change in Citizens' Attitudes Towards a Referendum in Germany
Faber, Michael J.	Budgeting as High-Stakes Chicken: Political Rationality and Government Shutdowns
Feher, Andrew	Are More Ideologically Extreme Legislators as Effective as Moderates? Evidence from the North Carolina General Assembly, 1996-2011

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Finke, Daniel; Dannwolf, Tanja	Better law making, faster implementation: Parliamentary Scrutiny and Compliance with EU legislation
Fisk, David	Expanding Influence? Parliamentary Second Chambers and the Creation of New Niches of Expertise
Gagnon, Frederick; Cloutier, Christophe	His Life Before the Presidency: Barack Obama's Foreign Policy Role and Influence in the 109 <sup>th</sup> and 110 <sup>th</sup> Congresses
Gamm, Gerald H.; Kousser, Thad	Parties and Pork in the American State Legislatures
Girdwood, Jon Renard; Grynawski, Jeffrey Daniel	The Senate and American Federalism Revisited: State Legislatures' Instructions to Senators before the 17 <sup>th</sup> Amendment as Evidence of Republicanism in the United States
Glleny, Ron D.; Lucas Dewayne L.	Reigning in the Rogue Elephant? Obama, Congress, and Foreign Policy Oversight
Gooch, Donald M.	Party Crashers: Are the Tea Party Insurgents in the 112 <sup>th</sup> Congress Fiscal Hawks or Ideological Extremists?
Green, Matthew N.	Syria, Shutdowns, and Stopping Obamacare: Factional Politics in the U.S. House of Representatives
Gridlife, Stonegarden	Expressive Polarization in Political Discourse
Grimmer, Justin Ryan; Payson, Julia; Westwood, Sean Jeremy	Allocating Credit for Collaboration on Particularistic Spending Is Not Zero Sum
Gunning, Matthew L.	Changing Composition of Georgia Legislatures, 1950-2010
Hager, Lisa	Where do the Gender Differences in Legislative Effectiveness Begin? An Examination of Committee Request Success and Legislative Effort in the 93 <sup>rd</sup> -103 <sup>rd</sup> Congresses
Hall, Andrew B.; Snyder, James M.	How Much of the Incumbency Advantage is Due to Scare-Off?
Hanley, John I.	Findings about Findings: Legislator decisions to issue investigative reports, 1837-1944
Hansen, Eric; Treul, Sarah A.	The Representation of Lesbians, Gays, and Bisexuals in the U.S. House of Representatives
Hansen, Martin Ejnar	Strategic Committee Stacking: Committee Priorities of Minority Governments
Hansen, Martin Ejnar; Fazekas, Zoltan	Electoral and Parliamentary Incentives for Position Taking: Exploring Absence in the United Kingdom House of Commons 2001-2010
Harris, Allison Patterson	Swaying Senators: Interest Group Influence on Judicial Confirmations
Hasecke, Edward; Mycoff, Jason	Making Lemonade: The Value of "Undesirable" Committees in the U.S. House
Heidbreder, Brianne; Grasse, Nathan	The Role of Bill Complexity in Successful Lobbying: Evidence from the State of Wisconsin
Hickey, Patrick T.	Untangling the President's Role in the Legislative Process
Hinchliffe, Kelsey Leigh; Lee Frances E.	Strategic Roots of Polarization: Partisan Competition and Conflict in State Legislators



<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Hitt, Matthew P.; Volden, Craig; Wiseman; Alan E.	A Formal Model of Legislative Effectiveness
Holt, Jacob	A View from the Upper House: Causes of Partisan Composition in the Upper House of State Legislatures
Howeard, Nicholas	The Broader Effects of Senate Obstruction
Hug, Simon; Wuest, Reto	Party Pressure in Roll Call Votes
Iaryczower, Matias; Lopen-Moctezuma, Gabriel; Meirowitz, Adam; Shum, Matthew	The Dynamics of Policy and Electoral Considerations in the US Senate
Ilderton, Nathan	The Effects of Super PACs on Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives
Ilieve, Iliyan	Rhetoric and Contributions on a Committee Level: A Bayesian Dynamic Model
Jacobson, Gary C.	It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in House Elections
Jatkowski, Walt; Nowlin, Matthew	Defining Climate Change in Congress: The Role of Committee Chairs
Joesten, Danielle	Political Contest Matters: Awareness, Proximity, Voting, and the Importance of Campaigns' Emphasis on Issues
Johnson, Tyler	Minority Reporting: Explaining Media Coverage of Opposition Leadership in Congress
Johnston, Travis	On the Record: Selecting Representatives on the Basis of Pork or Policy
Jordan, Soren	Polarization and Lawmaking Over Time: A Detailed Test of Conditional Party Government
Karpowitz, Christopher; King-Meadows, Tyson D.; Monson, Quin; Pope, Jeremy C.	Dynamics of Candidate Race, Party, and Messaging the Voters' Racial Resentment
Kellermann, Michael	Do Oversight Responsibilities Encourage Legislative Specialization? Evidence from the British House of Commons
Kelly, Jason	Disaggregating the Effects of Gerrymandering and Natural Storing when Measuring Partisan Electoral Bias in the U.S. House of Representatives
Kim, Doo-Rae	Executive-Legislative Competition in Agenda-Setting: A Longitudinal Analysis of South Korea
Kintz, Melanie	Women and East Germans in Leadership Positions in the German Bundestag: Representation and Quota Effects
Klepetar, Dillon Thomas	"But My Candidate Almost Won!": Incumbent (Un)Responsiveness to Challenger Campaign Issues in the U.S. House
Koger, Gregory	The Withering Power of the Purse
Kujala, Jordan	Excess Polarization and Primary Elections in the United States House of Representatives
Lee, Helen	When Does Clientelism Foster Congruence between Politicians and Voters?
Lerner, Joshua Yoshio	Advocacy, Ideology and Partisan Interest: Measuring Think Tank Influence in Congress

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Lewallen, Jonathan	The Role of Committees in a Party-Driven Congress
Lewallen, Jonathan; Theriault, Sean M.; Jones, Bryan D.	Congressional Dysfunction and the Decline of Problem Solving
Lewis, Jeffrey; Herron, Michael C.; Hui, Siu Wai	“Measuring Legislative District Compactness using Court Cases as Precedents”
Lopez, Pamela	Whom Does Government Help and Whom Does Government Punish? Partisanship and the Targeting of Various Constituencies in Federal Legislation, 1946-2012
Lucas, Dewayne L.; Deutchman, Iva E.	Caucus Sponsorship: Blue Dogs and Tea Partiers in the House of Representatives
Lucas, Jennifer Carroll	National News Media Strategies by Members of Congress
Lynch, Michael S.; Madonna, Anthony; Sievert, Joel	Building a Record: Requesting Roll Call Votes under Changing Institutions
Machado, Fabiana Velasques; Berlinski, Samuel	Protest and Policy-Making in Congress: A Survey Experiment
Magleby, Daniel Blyth	Selecting the Speaker
Martin, Gregory John; Peskowitz, Zachary	Partonage vs. Performance in the Market for Political Consultants
Martorano, Nancy; Hamm, Keith E.; Hedlund, Ronald D.	With One Hand Tied Behind Their Backs: Explaining Constitutional and Statutory Entrenchment in State Legislatures
McHugh, Mary	Should I Stay or Should I go? A Look at Senate Retirement Decisions
McNitt, Andrew D.	Republican House Members Response to the Government Shutdown
McQuide, Bryan S.	When Does Asymmetric Information Influence Policymaking? Asymmetric Information, Interest Group Lobbying and Asymmetric Participation in Congressional Hearings
Mendez, Matthew S.; Grose, Christian R.	Revealing Discriminatory Intent by Legislators? Voter Identification Laws and Responsiveness Bias to Latino and Anglo Constituents
Moeller, Megan Michelle	Party Brand, Valence Issues and the Goal of Majority Party Status in the House
Moraguez, Ashley Megan	Breaking Bargains: An Analysis of the Signing Statement in Executive-Legislative Bargaining
Mufti, Mariam	Party-switching in Pakistan: Strategy or Folly?
Musgrave, Paul	The Legislative Frontier: What Can the Congress of the Republic of Texas Tell Us About Legislative Institutions?
O’Neill, Brandon Ivey	Divisive Primaries and Gridlock in the U.S. Senate
Obholzer, Lukas	Transaction Costs and Trans-Institutional Cooperation in Bicameral Legislative Politics: Assessing the Impact of Key Negotiators’ Similarities on Decision-Making Speed
Ostrander, Ian; Madonna, Anthony	Getting the Congress You Pay For: Legislative Staffing and Organizational Capacity

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Owens, Mark	Presidential Veto Threats and Amending Legislation: Legislative Responses to Executive Positions
Park, Hong Min; Fording, Richard C.; Smith, Joseph L.	Political and Policy Consequences of the Tea Party Movement in the U.S. Congress
Park, JuYeon	When to Stack the Deck in Congressional Hearings: A Study on Strategic Decisions Over Public Hearings and Witness Selection
Park, Sang Woon	The Ideological Tendency of Legislators and the Incentives of the Pork Barrel or Policy Orientation: Focusing on the Roll-call Voting Regarding the Economic Democratization in KNA 19 <sup>th</sup>
Powell, Lynda	Measuring the Influence of State Legislative Leaders
Reynolds, Molly	Procedural Exceptions in the U.S. Senate: Majoritarian Policymaking in a Non-Majoritarian Institution
Ringenberg, Thomas A.	House Voting and the Primary Electorate
Ritchie, Melinda	Policy Responsiveness without Lawmaking: Members of Congress Pursuing Policy Goals through the Bureaucracy
Robbins, Suzanne M; Culberson, Tyler	Small Donors in Congressional Elections
Roberts, Darryl Lamont	CAMPAIGNANALYTICA: An Examination of Electronica and Analytics in Political Campaigns
Rogers, Steven	Common Ideal Points for Tennessee State Legislators and Voters
Rogers, Steven	Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll-Calls and Ideological Representation
Rogowski, Hon	Campaign Platforms, Legislative Behavior, and Electoral Accountability
Rogowski, Jon	Blaming the Other Branch: Legislative Gridlock, Public Opinion, and the Presidency
Rugeley, Cynthia R.	Does Representation Matter?
Sanchez, Lisa M.; Hellwege, Julia M.	The Institutional Dynamics of Latinos and State Legislative Committee Membership
Santoro, Lauren	Do Female Members of Congress Behave Differently Than Their Male Colleagues When Considering Women's Issue Bills?: A Look Inside Committee Hearings
Schilling, Emily Ursula	Strategic Interdependence in Legislative Behavior
Schneer, Benjamin	Capitol Gains: Retired Members of Congress and Corporate Boards
Searle, David M.; Guenther, Scott	Friends with Benefits: Explaining the Successful Acquisition of Earmarks in Congress
Sened, Itai; Bianco, William; Kam, Christopher; Smyth, Regina	Evidence In Support of the Uncovered Set as the Solution Concept of choice for The Spatial Theory of Legislative Politics
Shaker, Lee	Representatives At-Large: The Weakening of Geographical Representation in the United States House of Representatives

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Shor, Boris	Congruence and Representation in American State Legislatures
Sierra, Sergio Pablo Diaz	Far Right but Not Conservative: Burkean Ideology in the U.S. Senate
Sirinic, Daniela	Ideological Congruence of Subconstituenices in Established Democracies
Smith, Charles A.; McGann, Anthony; Kenna, Alex	Revenge of the Anti-federalists: Constitutional Implications of Redistricting
Stringer, Amy; Forster, Alicia Diana	The Influence of Primary Elections on the Electability of Female House Candidates
Sulkin, Tracy; Bernhard, William	The Evolution of Legislative Styles
Swift, Clint Spencer	Overcoming Problems of Scale: The Conditional Effects of Constituency Size on Incumbent Vote Margin in U.S. State Legislative Races, 1976-2010
Theriault, Sean M.	Partisan Warriors: The Ugly Side of Party Polarization in Congress
Toll, Benjamin	A Paradox in Polarization? Cross-Pressured Representatives and the Missing Incentive to Moderate
Vakilifathi, Mona	Does Greater Congressional Representation Lead to a Greater Allocation of Federal Funding? An Evaluation of Federal Funding Allocations to U.S. Major Cities
Valelly, Richard	The Strategy of the Citizenship Clause
Velzquez, Rodrigo	Complementing or Replacing Bill Initiatives? The Use of Non-Binding Resolutions: Evidence from the Mexican Congress Aldo Fernando Ponce
Victor, Jennifer	Jane of All Trades, Master of None: The Representational Trade-off of Female Members of Congress
Vonnahme, Greg	Contributions, Partisanship, and the Development of State Statutory Codes
Wallner, James Ian	Caucus Formation in the United States Congress
Walter, Evan	From Textbook to Tea Party: Challenger Quality in the House and Senate, 1954-2010
Wanless, Emily Orchard	Untangling the Incumbency Advantage: At-Large Representatives' Impact on U.S. Senators' Electoral Safety
Warshaw, Christopher; Caughey, Devin	Representation in the American States: 1950-2012
White, Paul; Daniels, Anthony L.	Can money buy you love? Interest Group Congruency in Electoral Politics
Whyman, Michelle	The End of Law in an Age of Omnibus Legislation
Wilk, Eric	Buying Pork: Assessing the Impact of Earmarks on Incumbent Support
Wilkerson, John; Casas, Andreu; Stramp, Nicholas	Alternate Realities: Partisan Messaging During the 2013 Government Shutdown

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Wilkerson, John; Smith, David A.; Stramp, Nicholas	The Inclusiveness of Lawmaking: A Text Reuse Approach to Tracing the Progress of Policy Ideas in Legislation
Wilkins, Arjun Samuel	Is Polarization Hurting the Re-election Prospects of U.S. House Incumbents? The Effect of Roll-Call Voting Records on Election Results, 1900-2010
Williams, Jennifer L.	Of Motives and Measures: Uncovering Representational Goals through Congressional Committee Selection
Wuest, Reto	Roll Call Votes and the Signaling of Party Cohesion

### **SOUTHWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (SWPSA)**

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Bridge, Dave; Resch, Ryan	Avoiding the Issue: How, and When, Congress Passes Divisive Issues to the Supreme Court
Camarillo, Christopher Tyler	He said, She said: Mixed Gender Congressional Races and Negative T.V. Advertisements
Erickson, Karina Ann; McPherson, Heather	Political Realignment in the Texas Legislature
Evans, Jocelyn; Hayden, Jessica	Chamber Differences in Website Design: Examining Website Accessibility in the House and Senate
Jang, Jinhyeok; Lin, Nick	Personal Vote, Centripetal Forces, and Legislative Representation: An Evidence from Taiwan
Jimenez, Miriam	Institutions Matter. The Mexican Assent to Congress
Khan, Haroon	The Passage of the Immigration Reforms: An Analysis of the Senate Vote
Valenzuela, Rosalinda Maria	Los Republicanos: Tejano Political Representation in the State House

### **WESTERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (WPSA)**

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Ahler, Douglas	Center-Biased Perceptions of Congressional Representatives
Burkhalter, Stephanie	Branding in Legislative Parties: A Political Communication Perspective
Casas, Andreu	Congress on Twitter: Partisan Messaging During the 2013 Shutdown
Crespin, Michael; Edwards, Barry	Redistricting and Individual Contributor Behavior, 1990-2010
Frisch, Scott; Kelly, Sean; Buhl, Geoffrey; Poytress, Ethan	Appropriations to the Extreme: Interest Groups and Congress: Power of the Purse

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Goodman, Craig; Parker, David; Grimmer, Justin; Zlotnick, Frances	The Loyal Opposition: How Congressional Minorities Respond to Majority Cartels
Guenther, Scott	Legislative Pruning: Ideological Clarity, Heterogeneous Membership, and the Power of Majority Party Agenda Setting
Hagner, Travis	Implications of Twitter Usage for Members of Congress
Hall, Thad	Committee Activity in a Polarized Congress
Hanley, John	Putting it to Paper: The Politics of Congressional Investigation Reports
Johnston, Travis	On the Record: Selecting Representatives on the Basis of Pork or Policy
Mills, Russell; MacDonald, Jason	Behind "Enemy" Lines?: Congressional Detailees as an Indicator of Congressional Committee Capacity for Oversight
Parrott, Michael	Business Influence Through Constituency Representation
Pringle, Lisa	Latino Influence in the House of Representatives
Rogowski, Jon	Electoral Accountability in the U.S. Congress
Sanchez, Lisa	Congress, Polarization, and the "Latino Effect"
Thames, Frank	Party Systems and Cohesion in Post-Communist Legislatures
Wilkenfeld, Gilad; Joshua, Ryan; Anand, Sokhley; Stefan, Wojcik;	Tracing the Legislative Process: A Network Approach
Wilkerson, John; Smith, David; Stramp, Nicholas	Invisible Lawmaking: A Method for Discovering Hidden Legislative Influence
Workman, Samuel	Information and Problem Search in Congress: What Leads Legislators to Seek Out Policy Analysis?

## **WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (WSSA)**

<b>Author</b>	<b>Title of Paper</b>
Boadi, Frank K.	Ghanaian Parliamentarians Use of Social Media as a Political Communication Tool
Amlani, Sharif	An Odd Couple: Congress and Baseball
Chamberlain, Adam	Candidate Quality and Independent Candidates
Krutz, Glen	Explaining Institutional Demotion: The 1946 Reorganization Act of Congress and the US Senate Indian Affairs Committee

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## Research & Teaching

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- [Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives: The James R. Jones Collection](#)
- [Charting the Congressional Experience: The Papers of Richard Gephardt](#)
- [Congress to Campus Program](#)
- [Congressional Bills Project](#)
- [Congressional Timeline](#)
- [Congressional Whip Count Database](#)
- [Data on Legislative Voting and Representation](#)
- [Dirksen Center: Civil Rights Documentation Project](#)
- [Dirksen Center Invites Applications for Grants](#)
- [Dirksen Center: The Robert H. Michel Collection](#)
- [Election Results Archive](#)
- [European Consortium for Political Research](#)
- [Graduate Student Travel Grant](#)
- [History, Art, and Archives for U.S. House of Representatives](#)
- [\*Interest Groups & Advocacy\*](#)
- [\*International Political Science Review\*](#)
- [Oral History of Chuck Ludlam](#)
- [Political Science Blog: \*Voir Dire\*](#)
- [SSRN Political Science Network](#)
- [Visiting Scholars Program, APSA Centennial Center](#)
- [Visiting Scholars Program, Carl Albert Center](#)
- [Vital Statistics on Congress 2013](#)

## Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives: The James R. Jones Collection

A grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) has allowed Carl Albert Center Archivists to expedite the arrangement and description of the papers of Ambassador and Congressman James R. Jones, constituting 420.15 cubic feet of records. The archives has also prepared an encoded finding aid for the collection, available through its newly launched content management platform, Archon. The papers of James R. Jones offer unique insight into legislative and political matters during a pivotal point in U.S. history. During his seven terms in Congress (1973-1987), Jones served on several committees, including Armed Services, Interior and Insular Affairs, Ways and Means, and the Budget. In his role as chairman of the Committee on the Budget, Jones considered himself a fiscal watchdog. His collection extensively documents the budgetary reforms of the early 1980s, highlighting issues that are still relevant today: control of discretionary spending and entitlement reform. The collection's EAD finding aid and digital content may be viewed at <http://cacarchives.ou.edu>.

## Charting the Congressional Experience: The Papers of Richard Gephardt

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

## Congress to Campus Program

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

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

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

## Congressional Bills Project

A website at <http://www.congressionalbills.org> allows academic researchers, students, and the general public to download information about public and private bills introduced in the U.S. Congress along with information about those bills' sponsors. This public resource provides information about more than 400,000 bills introduced in the U.S. Congress, currently 1947-2008, along with extensive information about each bill's progress and sponsor. It is used by researchers to study legislative institutions and behavior; by policy experts to study issue attention in Congress; and even by citizens studying their family histories (the dataset provides the only digitized records of tens of thousands of private bills introduced between 1947 and 1972). Here's how the Congressional Bills Project is different:

- A database instead of a search tool
- Data not available anywhere else in digital form
- Integrated information, including issue topics
- Limited to public and private bills, titles or descriptions only.

The project was created by John D. Wilkerson of University of Washington and E. Scott Adler of University of Colorado, Boulder.



# Congressional Timeline

## THE DIRKSEN CONGRESSIONAL CENTER

The Congressional Timeline [<http://www.congressionaltimeline.org>], developed and maintained by The Dirksen Congressional Center, arrays more than 550 of the nation's laws on a timeline beginning in 1933 and continuing to the present. A second timeline "band" depicts major political events of the period as a way to provide context for Congress's law-making. Please contact Frank Mackaman with comments and suggestions: [fmackaman@dirksencenter.org](mailto:fmackaman@dirksencenter.org).

## Congressional Whip Count Database

Professor Larry Evans at College of William and Mary has announced the first release of the Congressional Whip Count Database, which provides extensive data about the whip polls conducted by party leaders in the U.S. House prior to major roll call votes on the floor, 1955-86. The data are based on records included in the personal papers of former congressional party leaders. Included in this release are coded data of more than 650 whipped questions and nearly 150,000 individual-level responses by lawmakers. The project has received support from the National Science Foundation (Award SES-0417759), The Carl Albert Center, The Dirksen Congressional Center, and the Roy R. Charles Center of the College of William and Mary. The data, codebooks, and other relevant information can be accessed at <http://wmpeople.wm.edu/site/page/clevan/congressionalwhipcountdatabase>.

## Data on Legislative Voting and Representation

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

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

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

## Dirksen Center: Civil Rights Documentation Project

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

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

Intended to serve the needs of teachers and students, [The Civil Rights Documentation Project](#) demonstrates that Congress is capable of converting big ideas into powerful law, that citizen engagement is essential to that process, and that the public policies produced forty years ago continue to influence our lives.

The project takes the form of an interactive, Web-based presentation with links to digitized historical materials and other Internet-based resources about civil rights legislation created by museums, historical societies, and government agencies.

Please contact Cindy Koeppel by email at [ckoeppel@dirksencenter.org](mailto:ckoeppel@dirksencenter.org) if you have any ideas or comments about this new feature.

## Dirksen Center Congressional Research Grants

[The Dirksen Congressional Center](#) invites applications for grants to fund research on congressional leadership and the U.S. Congress. The competition is open to individuals with a serious interest in studying Congress. Political scientists, historians, biographers, scholars of public administration or American studies, and journalists are among those eligible. The Center encourages graduate students who have successfully defended their dissertation prospectus to apply and awards a significant portion of the funds for dissertation research. Applicants must be U.S. citizens who reside in the United States.

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

**All application materials must be received no later than March 1.** Awards are announced in April. Complete information about what kind of research projects are eligible for consideration, what could a Congressional Research Grant pay for, application procedures, and how recipients are selected may be found at The Center's Web site: [http://www.dirksencenter.org/print\\_grants\\_CRAs.htm](http://www.dirksencenter.org/print_grants_CRAs.htm).

The Center, named for the late Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit research and educational organization devoted to the study of Congress. For more information, contact Frank Mackaman by email at [fmackaman@dirksencenter.org](mailto:fmackaman@dirksencenter.org) or phone 309.347.7113.

## Dirksen Center: The Robert H. Michel Collection

[The Dirksen Congressional Center](#) has created a site devoted to Robert Henry "Bob" Michel, a Republican representing central Illinois's 18th congressional district in the U.S. House of Representatives for 38 years. He served as Minority Whip (1975-1981) and Minority Leader (1981-1995) during an era of Democratic Party House dominance. At this new site you will learn about Michel and his leadership, read quotations, see photos, watch videos, and search the Robert H. Michel Collection, first acquired by The Center in 1989 and supplemented over the years. Among the special features of the site are digital selections from Michel's "Presidential Scrapbooks" in which he kept selected photographs and correspondence from each of the nine presidents with whom he served. Notes Michel kept of congressional leadership meetings in the White House have also been transcribed and posted to the site. Tour The Dirksen Center's new site at: <http://www.robertmichel.name>.

## Election Results Archive

### CENTER ON DEMOCRATIC PERFORMANCE AT BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY

The Center on Democratic Performance at Binghamton University is pleased to announce the launch of the Election Results Archive (ERA), a collection of electronic files containing data on election results from around the world. This unique online database with global coverage provides researchers, policy-makers, scholars, and others interested in elections with information on over 900 elections from around the world. More election data will be added to this Archive as time and resources permit. The archive can be searched by country, region, or year and type of election. Please visit the archive at <http://cdp.binghamton.edu/era/index.html>.

## European Consortium for Political Research

ECPR has a standing group on Parliaments, coordinated by Matti Wiberg, University of Turku ([wiberg@utu.fi](mailto:wiberg@utu.fi)), and Thomas Saalfeld, University of Bamberg ([thomas.saalfeld@uni-bamberg.de](mailto:thomas.saalfeld@uni-bamberg.de)). For a number of years the study of legislatures has concentrated on the US Congress. Parliaments in Europe have not been a subject of investigation to any comparable extent. Nevertheless, the body of knowledge is ever expanding on both the long-standing parliaments in Europe and the new institutions of the European Union and Central and Eastern Europe. The Standing Group's aim is to promote comparative research and theory-building on the institutionalisation, capacity, operation, and performance of legislatures and the dissemination of such research. For more information, please see the web site at: <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/parliaments/index.htm>.

## The Richard A. Baker Graduate Student Travel Grant

**Application Deadline: April 1, 2015**

The Richard A. Baker Graduate Student Travel Grant is awarded annually by the Association of Centers for the Study of Congress (ACSC) to support graduate-level research conducted at [member repositories](#) of ACSC. An award of up to \$1000 may be used to underwrite travel, lodging, copying, and other research expenses incurred from July 1 –

June 1 of the award year. Each application will be evaluated on its merits. Primary consideration will be given to projects involving the substantive study of issues related to the study of Congress. Each proposal should be aimed at a discrete end product such as a book, dissertation, thesis, article, documentary, film, exhibit, Web site or social networking site. Budgets may be approved in whole or in part. Each award recipient is required to acknowledge the award in any resulting published work(s) and donate a copy of the work(s) to ACSC and the sponsoring archival repository. The recipient may also be requested to submit a brief article summarizing their findings and research experience for publication by ACSC. The Baker Award honors ACSC founding member, U. S. Senate Historian Emeritus Richard A. Baker. To apply, visit the ACSC website at <http://www.congresscenters.org/awards>.

## **History, Art, and Archives of the U.S. House of Representatives**

All the material formerly on the Art & History tab of the Clerk's website has been migrated to the new site at <http://history.house.gov>; but there is much new content, too.

Bringing all three principal parts of House heritage—historical lists, oral histories, and biographies; art and artifacts; and records—onto one Web site will make searching for such information far more intuitive and accessible for the Hill community and the general public. Perhaps the most exciting thing about the site is that each section is built to expand over time.

Please share reactions and suggestions with Kenneth Kato, Associate Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, 202-226-1300 or 202-226-6555.

## ***Interest Groups & Advocacy***

Editors [Burdett Loomis](#), [Jan Beyers](#), and [Darren Halpin](#) invite both well-established and younger scholars to submit papers to this new journal published by Palgrave. *Interest Groups & Advocacy* engages broadly with the politics of interests. It records and analyzes how advocacy by groups, movements, and lobbying professionals shapes policy. The journal also addresses important debates about how such interests are mobilized and maintained. The editors seek incisive, well researched, and well-written articles. For more information on submissions, or to subscribe to the journal, please visit the website at <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/iga/index.html>.

## ***International Political Science Review***

### **CALL FOR SPECIAL ISSUES PROPOSALS, 2015**

*International Political Science Review*, the official journal of the International Political Science Association edited by **Mark Kesselman**, *Columbia University, USA*, and **Marian Sawer**, *Australian National University, Australia*, is soliciting Special Issue proposals for 2015. Prospective guest editors of a special issue should submit proposals to [ipsr.journal@gmail.com](mailto:ipsr.journal@gmail.com) by September 30, 2013. Special issues should be devoted to a theme of general interest to the discipline, relevant across different regions and subfields. For more information, please see the call for proposals at [http://www.uk.sagepub.com/repository/binaries/pdf/IPSR-SI\\_Call-for-Proposals.pdf](http://www.uk.sagepub.com/repository/binaries/pdf/IPSR-SI_Call-for-Proposals.pdf).

The IPSR is committed to publishing material that makes a significant contribution to international political science. It seeks to meet the needs of political scientists throughout the world who are interested in studying political phenomena in the contemporary context of increasing international interdependence and global change.

IPSR reflects the aims and intellectual tradition of its parent body, the International Political Science Association: to foster the creation and dissemination of rigorous political inquiry free of subdisciplinary or other orthodoxy. We welcome work by scholars who are focusing on currently controversial themes, shaping innovative concepts of methodologies of political analysis, and striving to reach outside the scope of a single culture.

## **Oral History of Chuck Ludlam**

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

## Political Science Blog: *Voir Dire*

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

## SSRN Political Science Network

The new Political Science Network (PSN) provides a world-wide, online community for research in all areas of political science, following the model of the other subject matter networks within the Social Science Research Network. PSN provides scholars with access to current work in their field and facilitates research and scholarship. PSN is directed by Professors David A. Lake and Mathew D. McCubbins (UC – San Diego). The website address is <http://www.ssrn.com/psn/index.html>.

## Visiting Scholars Program

### APSA CENTENNIAL CENTER

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

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

Eligibility is limited to APSA members. Senior or junior faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students are strongly encouraged to apply. The Center also has a limited number of funding opportunities to support scholars working at the Centennial Center or other research locations. Full details on the Center and the Visiting Scholars Program, including an application form, can be found online at [www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter](http://www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter). Scholars may also call 202-483-2512 or email to [center@apsanet.org](mailto:center@apsanet.org).

## Visiting Scholars Program

### CARL ALBERT CENTER ARCHIVES

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

The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; Richard Arme of Texas; and Neil Gallagher of New Jersey.

Besides the history of Congress, congressional leadership, national and Oklahoma politics, and election campaigns, the collections also document government policy affecting agriculture, Native Americans, energy, foreign affairs, the environment, the economy, and other areas.

Topics that can be studied include the Great Depression, flood control, soil conservation, and tribal affairs. At least one collection provides insight on women in American politics. Most materials date from the 1920s to the 1970s.

The Center's archives are described in detail at <http://www.ou.edu/carlalbertcenter/archives/>.

The Visiting Scholars Program is open to any applicant. Emphasis is given to those pursuing postdoctoral research in history, political science, and other fields. Graduate students involved in research for publication, thesis, or dissertation are encouraged to apply. Interested undergraduates and lay researchers are also invited to apply. The Center evaluates each research proposal based upon its merits, and funding for a variety of topics is expected.

No standardized form is needed for application. Instead, a series of documents should be sent to the Center, including: (1) a description of the research proposal in fewer than 1000 words; (2) a personal vita; (3) an explanation of how the Center's resources will assist the researcher; (4) a budget proposal; and (5) a letter of reference from an established scholar in the discipline attesting to the significance of the research. Applications are accepted at any time.

For more information, please contact: Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Telephone: (405) 325-5835. FAX: (405) 325-6419. Email: [cacarchives@ou.edu](mailto:cacarchives@ou.edu).

## ***Vital Statistics on Congress 2013***

For more than three decades, [Vital Statistics on Congress](#), a joint effort undertaken by Norm Ornstein of the [American Enterprise Institute](#) and Tom Mann of [The Brookings Institute](#), in collaboration with Michael Malbin of the [Campaign Finance Institute](#), has been a go-to reference guide for congressional watchers for impartial data on Congress and its members. The authors have now put the book online, making each chapter available for download at no cost, and encourage you to share your feedback and how you've used this data set. They plan on posting your most interesting findings. Click [here](#) to find out how you can submit your own [Vital Stats analyses](#). And, if you have any questions, commentary, or feedback, you may email the authors at [vitalstatistics@brookings.edu](mailto:vitalstatistics@brookings.edu).