THE AMERICAN CONGRESS READER

The American Congress Reader provides a supplement to the popular and newly updated American Congress undergraduate textbook. Designed by the authors of the textbook, the Reader compiles the best relevant scholarship on party and committee systems, leadership, voting, and floor activity to broaden and illuminate the key features of the text.

Steven S. Smith is Kate M. Gregg Professor of Social Sciences and Director of the Weidenbaum Center at Washington University in St. Louis. He has authored or coauthored seven books and many articles on congressional politics, including Call to Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate, Party Influence in Congress, and Politics or Principle: Filibustering in the U.S. Senate, and has coauthored several articles and a book on Russian parliamentary politics. He is a former Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and has taught at the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, and George Washington University.

Jason M. Roberts is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His research interests include American politics, the U.S. Congress, elections, and Supreme Court nominations. He has published articles in the American Journal of Political Science, the Journal of Politics, and Congress and the Presidency.

Ryan J. Vander Wielen is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Temple University. He was previously a Fellow in the Political Institutions and Public Choice program at Michigan State University and at the Weidenbaum Center at Washington University in St. Louis. He has recently been published in Political Analysis and Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review.
The American Congress Reader

Edited by
STEVEN S. SMITH
Washington University in St. Louis

JASON M. ROBERTS
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

RYAN J. VANDER WIELEN
Temple University
Contents

PART I. THE AMERICAN CONGRESS: MODERN TRENDS

1 What Is Wrong with the American Political System?  
John Hibbing and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse  

2 A Reassessment of Who’s to Blame: A Positive Case for the Public Evaluation of Congress  
David W. Brady and Sean M. Theriault  

3 Between the Campaigns: Public Approval and Disapproval of Government  
James A. Stimson  

PART II. REPRESENTATION AND LAWMAKING IN CONGRESS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

4 U.S. Constitution, Articles I, II, III, and Amendments  

5 The Federalist, Nos. 10 and 51  
James Madison  

6 U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration  
Richard F. Fenno, Jr.  

7 Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress  
Robert Weissberg  

PART III. CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND POLICY ALIGNMENTS

8 Elbridge Gerry’s Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution – Excerpts  
Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz  

9 Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946–1986  
Gary C. Jacobson  

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
Contents

10 Congress: The Electoral Connection
David R. Mayhew

PART IV. MEMBERS, GOALS, RESOURCES,
AND STRATEGIES

11 Senate Representation and Coalition Building in Distributive Politics
Frances E. Lee

12 Risk-Bearing and Progressive Ambition: The Case of Members
of the United States House of Representatives
David W. Rohde

13 Issue Politics in Congress – Excerpts
Thacy Sulkin

PART V. PARTIES AND LEADERS

14 Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House
from Cannon to Rayburn
Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady

15 Setting the Agenda
Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins

16 Party Influence in Congress
Steven S. Smith

PART VI. THE STANDING COMMITTEES

17 Distributive and Partisan Issues in Agriculture Policy
in the 104th House
Mark S. Hurwitz, Roger J. Moiles, and David W. Rohde

18 Principals, Goals, Dimensionality, and Congressional Committees
Forrest Maltzman and Steven S. Smith

19 Nonlegislative Hearings and Policy Change in Congress
Jeffrey C. Talbert, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner

PART VII. THE RULES OF THE LEGISLATIVE GAME

20 Sample of a Special Rule
21 Sample of a Unanimous Consent Agreement
22 On the Effects of Legislative Rules
Gary W. Cox

23 The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary
Rights in the House, 1789–1990
Sarah A. Binder

24 The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Institutions in Congress: Path
Dependency in House and Senate Institutional Development
Jason M. Roberts and Steven S. Smith
## Contents

### PART VIII. THE FLOOR AND VOTING

25  *Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress – Excerpt*  
Diana Evans  
279

26  *Models of Legislative Voting*  
John W. Kingdon  
292

27  *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*  
Keith Krehbiel  
307

### PART IX. CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT

28  *Presidential Veto Messages*  
319

29  *Presidential Signing Statement*  
322

30  *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*  
Charles Cameron  
324

31  *The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947–1996*  
Sarah A. Binder  
343

32  *The Politics of Shared Power: Congress and the Executive – Excerpt*  
Louis Fisher  
354

33  *Conscience of a Conservative*  
Jeffrey Rosen  
374

### PART X. CONGRESS AND THE COURTS

34  *Senate Voting on Supreme Court Nominees: A Neoinstitutional Model*  
Charles M. Cameron, Albert D. Cover, and Jeffrey A. Segal  
383

35  *From Abe Fortas to Zoë Baird: Why Some Presidential Nominations Fail in the Senate*  
Glen S. Krantz, Richard Fleischer, and Jon R. Bond  
389

### PART XI. CONGRESS, LOBBYISTS, AND INTEREST GROUPS

36  *Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees*  
Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman  
401

37  *“Legislative Lobbying” – Excerpt*  
John Wright  
414

### PART XII. CONGRESS AND BUDGET POLITICS

38  *Appropriations in the Republican Era*  
Diana Evans  
429

39  *Pet Projects’ Veil Is Only Partly Lifted: Lawmakers Find Other Paths to Special-Interest Funding*  
John Solomon and Jeffrey H. Birnbaum  
436
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Introduction to the Spatial Theory of Legislating</td>
<td>Steven S. Smith, Jason M. Roberts, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power</td>
<td>Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>The Return to Equilibrium: Controlling Legislative Agendas</td>
<td>Gerald S. Strom</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>