

Index

- Aandahl, Fred G., 159
 accountability, 143
 Achen, Christopher, 5–6
Act of Congress (Kaiser), 372–73
 activist legislators, 19–20
 Adams, John Quincy, 100, 255
 Adler, Scott, 244, 276–77
 adverse partisanship, 74–75
 advertising, 21, 37–39, 116–17, 121–23, 126–27, 130–31, 138–39
 Boehner and, 122
 negative, 124
 partisan communications and, 121–22
 positive, 124
 Age of Jackson, 254
 agenda setting power, 343
 Akin, Todd, 54
 Alaska, 58–59
 Aldrich, John, 26–27, 252–53
 Allen, O. K., 177
 American Battlefield Protection Act
 Amendments, 26
 American Expeditionary Force, 162–63
The American Heritage History of the Congress of the United States (Josephy), 247
 American National Election Studies (ANES), 41–42, 55–56
 American Political Science Association, 2, 138–39
The American Political Science Review, 246–47
 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, 194, 289
 American Taxpayer Relief Act, 25–26
American Voter, 84
America's Congress (Mayhew), 10–11, 260, 371–72
 AmeriCorps, 228–30
 ancient Greece, 336–38
 ANES. *See* American National Election Studies
 annual appropriations, 29–30
 Ansolabehere, Stephen, 8–9, 203–4, 245
 Antebellum period, 251–53
 Anti-Saloon League, 169–70
 anti-socialist conference, 151–52
 APPAM. *See* Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management
 appropriation bills, 251, 260–61, 374–75
 Appropriations Committee, 374
 Arkansas, 58–59
 Arnold, R. Douglas, 2–3, 17–20
 Arthur, Chester, 99–101
 Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM), 273–74
 Authorization for the Use of Military Force, 232
 Aycock, Clarence C. “Taddy,” 182–83
 Bachmann, Michele, 38–39
 Baker, Berta F., 159
Baker v. Carr, 79–81
 balance of powers, 7, 165
 Bardach, Eugene, 274–75, 284–85, 290
 Baucus, Max, 58
 Bayes’ Theorem, 107–8, 110
 Beck, James, 191
 Becker, Gary, 279

- Begich, Mike, 58
 Benson, Ezra Taft, 160–61
 Berger, Victor L., 171
 Berkeley, Shelley, 54
 Berman-Cooper, Samuel, 244–45
 bicameral differences, 235–36
 bicameralism, 120, 232–33
 bifactional politics, 174, 180–82
 Big Government, 281–82
 Bill of Rights, 249, 260–61
 Binder, Sarah, 8–9, 233, 279, 340–41, 345–46, 371–72
 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, 50–52
 bipartisan capacity, 375
 bipartisan coalitions, 120
 Blaine, John, 171–72
 Bloomberg, Michael, 311–12, 317
 Blue Dog Coalition, 47–48
 Boehner, John, 30–31, 59–60, 117–18, 122–24, 317–18, 372
 advertising and, 122
 credit claiming and, 38–39
 Boggs, T. Hale, 178–79, 181–82
 Bolshevik Revolution, 162–63
 border states, 71–72
 Boston Marathon bombings, 121–22
 Bouanchaud, Hewitt, 175–76
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, 322
 boxing analogy, 90–91
 Brady, David, 26, 92, 254–55
 Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, 320–22
 brand name, 24–26, 138–39, 361–62
 brinkmanship, 224–25, 237–38
Brown v. Board of Education, 71, 213
 Bryan, William Jennings, 96–97
 Buchanan, James, 94
 budget
 acts, 251
 projections, 286–87
 Bullock, Charles S., III, 93–94
 Burdick, Quentin N., 160–61
 Burdick, Usher L., 149–52, 159–61
 Bureau of the Budget, 271–72
 Burgum, Leslie R., 160–61
 Burnquist, Joseph A. A., 161–62, 164–65
 Bush, George W., 25–26, 38, 96–100, 232–33
 Byrd, Robert C., 132–33
 Byrne, Robert, 155, 157
 Cain, James P., 157
 Cajuns, 186
 Cameron, Charles, 244, 246–47
 campaign finances, 28, 49–55
 campaign spending, 37–38, 50
 Campbell, William J., 172
 Cannon Revolt, 341
 Carson, Jamie L., 21
 cartel agenda model, 349–50
 cartel theory, procedural, 24–26, 131–32, 138, 361–62
 cartels, 341–42
 Carter, Jimmy, 71–72, 102, 132–33, 256–57
 Castel, Albert, 246–47
 causal stories, 290–92
 CBO. *See* Congressional Budget Office
 CCES. *See* Cooperative Congressional Election Study
 Census Bureau, 204
 centralization, 371–72
 challenger electability, 109
 cheap talk, 138–39
 Chen, Alexander, 244–45
 Choctaws, 174–75, 177
 Choi, Catherine, 244–45
 Christians, 39–40
 civil rights, 227–28
 Civil Rights Acts, 213
 Civil War, 96, 250–53, 255–56, 294–95, 305
 Clarida, Matthew, 244–45
 Clarke, James, 244–45
 Clay, Henry, 10–11
 Cleveland, Grover, 96–97
 Climate Ready Boston, 320–21
 Clinton, Bill, 71–72, 96–97, 227, 230, 286–87
 Clinton, Josh, 7–8, 194–95, 244, 248, 260–61
 Club for Growth, 28
 coalition demographics, 48
 coalition leadership, 20, 29
 coalitional government, 226
 coattails, 84, 91
 Cohen, Jeffrey E., 281
 Cold War, 199–200
 collective intransitivities, 92
 Collins, Susan, 54
 Columbine High School, 306
 Commission of Public Safety, 162–63
 committee assignments, 17–18
 committee power, 17–18
 communication failures, 137–38
 competition, 115–16, 137
 electoral, 238–39
 factional, 107, 185–86
 interest group, 279

Index

387

- inter-party, 8
- competitiveness, 371
- conditional party government, 26–27, 138, 350–51
- Condorcet, Marquis de, 92
- Congress, accomplishments of
 - assembling data on, 245–48
 - conclusion to, 260–65
 - effects of divided government on, 255–60
 - First Congress achievements, 245–46, 248–50, 253–54, 356–57
 - introduction to, 243–45
 - legislative accomplishments, 208–9
 - trends in legislative action and, 248–55
- Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting* (Poole and Rosenthal), 196–97
- Congress and the Politics of Problem Solving* (Adler and Wilkerson), 276–77
- “Congress: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals” (Mayhew), 65–67
- Congress: The Electoral Connection* (Mayhew), 1–2, 6–7, 15–16, 35–36, 65, 117–18, 328
 - conclusion to, 61–62
 - Congress in 1970s and, 18–20
 - Congress today and, 21–23
 - consequences and, 55–61
 - contemporary electoral arena and, 39–55
 - electoral roots of partisanship and, 27–29
 - intellectual origins of, 11–12
 - means and, 37–39
 - motive and, 36–37
 - origin of, 377–81
 - overall assessment and, 29–31
 - party-centric theories and, 24–27
 - rational choice theory and, 16–18
- congressional behavior, 2–3
- Congressional Budget Office (CBO), 267, 270–72, 277–78, 283, 285–88
- congressional enterprises, 277–78
- Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, 377–78
- Congressional Record*, 11–12, 247, 377–78
- Congressional Research Service (CRS), 267, 270–72, 277–78, 292
- Congressmen in Committees* (Fenno), 16–17
- Connecticut Climate Preparedness Plan, 320–21
- consensus, 9–10, 335–38
- ConservAmerica, 311–12
- Conservative Opportunity Society, 116
- constitutional reform, majoritarianism and, 340–46
- contemporary electoral arena, 39–55
- contingency, 304–5
 - conclusions to, 322–23
 - responses to, 312–22
 - Sandy Hook massacre, gun control and, 306–9
 - Superstorm Sandy, global warming and, 309–12
 - terms for, 305–6
- conventional wisdom, 347–54
- Coolidge, Calvin, 100
- Cooper, Joseph, 26
- Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), 41–42
- Copyright Act, 249
- Cornyn, John, 123
- cost-benefit analysis, 284–85, 298
- Cover, Albert D., 4
- Cox, Gary, 18, 24–26, 131–32, 345–46, 349–51
- CQ Almanac*, 246–48
- credit claiming, 21–22, 116–17, 121–24, 126–27, 138–39, 374, 381
 - Boehner and, 38–39
 - partisan communications and, 123–37
- Creoles, 186
- Crime Act of 1994, 249
- Crisp, Charles Frederick, 355–56
- cross-party coalitions, 54
- cross-party cooperation, 59–60
- CRS. *See* Congressional Research Service
- cultural majoritarianism, 333–34
- Cuomo, Andrew, 310–11
- Cyr, Paul N. “Doc,” 176
- Dahl, Robert, 11–12, 379, 381
- Daley, Mark, 244–45
- Dammann, Theodore, 170, 173–74
- Daniels, Stephen, 210–11
- Davidson, James O. “Yim,” 168–69
- Davis, Jimmie, 178–83
- Davis, John E., 160–61
- Davis, Parker, 244–45
- Davis, Tom, 164–65
- DCCC. *See* Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee
- deadlock. *See* legislative deadlock or gridlock
- debt ceiling, 236
- decision-making, 289–91, 335
- defection rates, 41
- delay, 15–16, 23
- DeMeyer, Frank, 92
- democratic accountability, 2–6

- Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), 50
- Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), 50
- Democratic Steering and Outreach Committee, 121–22
- Democratic Study Group (DSG), 378
- Department of State, 249
- Department of Treasury, 249
- Department of War, 249
- Derthick, Martha, 285, 288–89
- descriptive policy analysis, 272–73
- Dewey, Thomas, 96, 379
- dilatory motions, 344–47, 360
- Dion, Douglas, 345–46
- Dirksen, Everett, 379
- distributive politics, 378
- Divided We Govern* (Mayhew), 1, 8, 226–27, 243–44, 249–50, 260
- Dodd, Bill, 180–81, 372–73
- Dodd-Frank Act, 289
- Donnelly, Joe, 54
- Downs, Anthony, 11–12, 16–18, 118, 379–80
- DSCC. *See* Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
- DSG. *See* Democratic Study Group
- DW-NOMINATE, 193, 196–97, 205–7, 210–12, 233
- earmarks, 21–22, 38–39, 289, 374
- Eaton, Charles, 191–92
- economic efficiency, 284–85
- “An Economic Theory of Democracy” (Downs), 11–12, 379
- 18th Amendment, 169–70
- Einstein, Katherine Levine, 9–10
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 97, 100, 183
- electability, 105–7, 109–10
- elections, 143–44
 - general, 28–29
 - midterm, 42–44
 - national, 67
 - nationalization of, 28
 - open-seat, 72
 - presidential, 5–6, 42
- electoral arena, 39–55
 - campaign finances and, 49–55
 - districts and states and, 42–48
 - Republican advantage and, 48–49
 - voters and, 41–42
- Electoral College, 85, 96, 100, 238–39
- electoral competition, 238–39
- electoral incentives, 3, 19–20, 35
- electoral polarization, 203–4
- electoral selection, 68, 95–96
 - as baseline, 106–7
- electoral strength, 101–2
- electoral tides, 109
- elite polarization
 - characterizing patterns of, 202–6
 - defining and measuring of, 193–97
 - electoral polarization and, 203–4
 - income inequality and, 205–6
 - lawmaking and, 206–10
 - party unity voting and, 202–3
- Ellender, Allen, 179–80
- endorsements, 183–84
- entitlement programs, 228–30
- environmental movement, 227–28
- Erikson, Robert, 3–4, 11, 66, 69–71, 378–79
- Ervin, Sam, 381
- Esterling, Kevin, 279
- ethnic divide, 186
- ethnic politics, 187–88
- evangelical Christians, 39–40
- Evans, David H., 164–65
- Everson, Edwin W., 152–54
- evidence, assembling, 277–81
- Ewing, Cortez A. M., 93–94
- Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (Hirschman), 381–82
- exogenous shock, 9–10
- expected incumbent differential, 117–18, 137
- expected party differential, 118–19, 132–39
- factional competition, 107, 185–86
- factional politics, 144
- factionalism, 7–8
- factions, 143–45, 189–90
 - discussion of, 183–89
 - in Louisiana, 174–84
 - in Minnesota, 161–65
 - in North Dakota, 148–61
 - slating and, 145–48
 - in Wisconsin, 165–74
- Fair Deal, 191–92, 216–17
 - elite polarization and, 193–97, 202–10
 - House polarization and, 197–202
 - other assumptions and measures and, 210–16
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 191–92
- fairness, 285–86, 355
- Family Support Act, 282–83
- Farmer-Labor Party, 164–65, 188, 198–99
- Farmers’ Nonpartisan Political League, 148
- Farmers Union, 160

Index

389

- Federal Aviation Administration, 318–19
 Federal Reserve Bank, 318–19
Federalist 10, 11
 Fenno, Richard, 16–18, 20, 290–92, 336, 374, 382
 Fernandez, Antonio, 186
 Filali, Naji, 244–45
 Fillmore, Millard, 99–100
 financial crisis (2008–2009), 286
 Fiorina, Morris P., 17–18, 238–39, 287
 First Bank of the United States, 249
 fiscal bills, 30–31
 fiscal cliff, 30–31, 236
 fiscal policy, 375–76
 Flood Control Act, 305
 Florida, 145–46
 Foley, Mark, 118–19
 Ford, Gerald, 95–96, 99–100, 380–81
 foreign affairs, 199–200
 Fournet, John B., 177
 Fowler, Anthony, 69
 Fraine, John H., 149–51
 France, 162–63
 Frank, Barney, 372–73
 franking privilege, 90
 Frazier, Lynn J., 148–52, 154–56
 freshmen, 70, 74–75, 77, 92–94
 Frist, Bill, 118–19
 Fuqua, Henry L., 175
- Gallegos, Ralph, 186
 Galloway, George B., 247–48
 Gallup Organization, 308, 314
 Ganfield, William A., 172
 GAO. *See* General Accountability Office
 Garcia, Alexandra, 244–45
 Garfield, James, 98
 Gelman, Andrew, 44–46, 69–71
 Gelman-King index, 44–46, 70–71
 General Accountability Office (GAO), 267, 270, 277–78, 288
 general benefits, 19, 21–22
 general elections, 28–29
 general parliamentary law, 333
 Georgia, 93–94, 145–46
 Gerber, Alan, 294–95
 gerrymanders, 48, 66
 natural, 84
 Gibson, Scott L., 246–47
 Gilligan, Thomas W., 336
 Gingrich, Newt, 10–11, 59–60, 115–16, 118, 277–78, 372, 375–76
- Gisser, Spencer, 244–45
 Glaeser, Edward, 322
 global warming, 309–12
 Goldwater, Barry, 183
 Government Accountability Office, 130–31
 government performance, 8–11
 gradualism, 354–55
 Grant, J. Tobin, 244
 Great Depression, 103, 172–73, 194, 197, 211–12
 Great Society, 227, 230–32, 254
 Green, Matthew N., 131–32, 248
 Gremillion, Jack P. F., 181–82
 Grevemberg, F. C., 182–83
 gridlock. *See* legislative deadlock or gridlock
 Gronna, Asle J., 154
 Gronna, James D., 157
 Groseclose, Tim, 210–14
 Guion, George S., 177
 gun control, 58–59, 306–9, 319
- Hall, Richard L., 18–20, 69
 Hall, Thomas, 148–49, 154–55
 Hamilton, Alexander, 249–50
 Hamilton Tariff, 249
 Hanna, L. B., 150–51
 Hansen, John Mark, 7–8, 18
 Harding, Warren G., 172
 Harrison, Benjamin, 99–100
 Harrison, William H., 96–97
 Hartz, Louis, 380–83
 Harvard University, 247
 Haskins, Ron, 290–92
 Hastert, Dennis, 118–19, 372
 Hastert Rule, 25–26
 Hatton, William H., 167–68
 Haugen, Nils P., 165–66
 Hayes, Danny, 308–9
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 96
 health care spending, 279–80
 Health Security Act, 261–62
 Heitkamp, Heidi, 54–55, 58, 319–20
 Heller, Dean, 54
 herd voting, 29–30
 Hertzberg, Hendrik, 307
 Hetherington, Marc, 193
 highway programs, 230–32
 Hirano, Shigeo, 7–8
 Hirsch, Alex, 194–95, 336
 Hirschman, Charles, 381–82
History of the House of Representatives
 (Galloway and Wise), 247–48

- Hochschild, Jennifer, 9–10
 Holloway, Cas, 320
 Homeland Security Subcommittee, 374–75
 homesteading law, 247–48
 homestyle, 290–92
 Hornbeck, Kevin, 244–45
 House Appropriations Committee, 16–17
 Howell, William, 244
 Huber, Henry A., 170
 Hughes, Brian, 244–45
 Humphrey, Hubert H., 96–97
 Hurricane Sandy Relief Bill, 25–26
 Husting, Paul O., 169–70
 hybrid model, of policy analysis, 271–73
- ideal points, 193–95, 211–13
 ideological moderation, 47–48
 immigration, 186–88, 228–30, 320
 Implementation Analysis, 288
 incentives, 6, 116
 electoral, 3, 19–20, 35
 selective, 18–19
 income inequality, 205–6
 incumbency, 44–46
 incumbency advantage, 4–5, 46, 65–66
 discussion of, 84–85
 literature on, 66–68
 measuring, 71–73
 model for, 68–71
 over time, 79–81
 party, 69
 personal, 69, 74
 presidential, 90–91
 size of, 73–79
 open seat winners and, 74–77
 retirement slump and, 78
 successful challengers and, 77–78
 summary, 79
 in 2012 and beyond, 82–83
 “The Incumbency Advantage in Congressional Elections” (Erikson), 66
 incumbency effects
 conclusion to, 105–7
 intuition and, 92–93
 predicting presidential re-election rates and, 95–98, 100–1
 primaries and, 93–95
 problem of, 90–91
 tests using vote share and, 101–5
 incumbent presidents, 90
Independent (newspaper), 155
 independent campaigns, 50–53
 Independent Voters Association (IVA), 152–55
 Indian Intercourse Act, 249
 Indiana, 54
Information and Legislative Organization (Krehbiel), 333
 information processing, 268
 informational efficiency, 336
 institutional change, drivers of, 129–36
 institutional development, 29, 328–29, 335, 363–64
 institutional leadership, 20
 institutional maintenance, 29
 insurgent outliers, 225, 371
 interest group competition, 279
 interest groups, 267–68, 278–79, 281–82
 inter-party competition, 8
 interpretive model, of policy analysis, 271–73
 intra-factional rivalries, 183–84
 intransitivities, 92
 collective, 92
 intraparty divisions, 8
 Iowa Democratic Party caucus (1984), 92
 Issa, Darrell, 38
 issue networks, 277–78
 IVA. *See* Independent Voters Association
- Jackman, Simon, 194–95
 Jackson, Andrew, 96–97
 Jacksonians, 255
 Jacobson, Gary, 2–5, 11, 71, 378
 Jefferson, Thomas, 249–50, 333
Jefferson’s Manual, 342–43
 Jenkins, Jeffrey A., 21
 Johnsen, Christopher, 17–18
 Johnson, Andrew, 99–100
 Johnson, Loch K., 93–94
 Johnson, Lyndon, 10–11, 95–96, 99–100, 224–25, 227, 271–72, 316–17
 Johnson, Magnus, 165
 Jones, Brandon, 244–45
 Jones, Charles O., 119–20, 267–68
 Jones, Sam H., 178–80, 184–85
 Jones, Walter B., 48
 Josephy, Alvin M., 247
 Judiciary Act, 249, 260–61
- Kaiser, Robert, 372–73
 Katznelson, Ira, 7–8, 199–200, 213–14
 Kelley, Nathan J., 244, 248
 Kellogg, Frank B., 164–65
 Kennedy, John F., 100–1, 254–55
 Kennedy, Ted, 10–11, 290–92

Index

391

- Kennon, Robert F., 178–81, 183
 Key, V. O., 7, 11–12, 144–45, 199, 226, 377, 382–83
 Keystone pipeline, 373–74
 Khoshafa, Omar, 244–45
 Kiewiet, D. Roderick, 18
 King, Gary, 44–46, 69–71
 King, Peter, 25–26
 Kingdon, John W., 16–17
 knowledge acquisition, 268
 Kohler, Walter J., 170, 172–73
 Korea, 199–200
 Kositzky, Carl R., 148–50, 154–55
 Kraabel, Anton T., 149–52
 Kramer, Gerry, 11–12, 379
 Krehbiel, Keith, 9–10, 18, 24, 226–27, 236–37, 254–55, 333, 336
 Ku Klux Klan, 175
 Kvale, O. J., 163–65
 Kyl, Jon, 118–19
 Kyoto Protocol, 320–21
- La Follette, Robert M., 165–73
 La Follette, Robert M., Jr., 173–74
 labor unions, 163–64
 Ladd, Edwin F., 154
 Lamis, Alexander P., 94
 Lane, Bob, 11–12, 379
 Langer, William, 148–49, 154–55, 184
 NPL and, 155–57
 Olson, O., and, 157
 Lanza, Adam, 306–7
 Lapinski, John, 7–8, 207, 244, 248, 260–61
 Largent, Steve, 36
 lawmaking, 206–10
 leadership staff, 129, 135–36
 Leche, Richard W., 179–80
 Lee, Frances E., 6, 8, 69–71, 235, 238–39, 278–79
 legislative accomplishments, 207–9
 legislative agenda, measuring size of, 240–42
 legislative deadlock or gridlock, 223–24
 conclusions to, 237–39
 determinants of, 234
 discussion of, 237–39
 explaining patterns of, 232–37
 landscape of, 226–32
 predicting, 234
 setting scene for, 224–25
 legislative failure, 132–39
 legislative parties, 115–17
 drivers of institutional change and, 129–36
 majority control and, 117–21
 partisan communications and, 121–23
 institutionalization of, 127–29
 volume and content of, 123–27
 zero-sum politics of party control and, 132–36
 legislative productivity, 8–9, 192, 209–10, 256
 Legislative Reorganization Act, 341
 legislative stalemate, 223–24
 legislative success, 132–39
 Lehman Brothers, 232
 Lemke, William, 150–55
 Lenroot, Irvine L., 168–71
 Leslie, Logan, 244–45
 Levitan, Solomon, 170, 173–74
 Levitt, Steven D., 210–14
lex majoris partis, 333
 liberal bias, 270
The Liberal Tradition in America (Hartz), 380–81
 liberal-conservative ideology, 193–94
 Lieberman, Joseph, 60
 Lieberman, Robert, 306
 Lincoln Republican League, 151–52
 Lindbergh, Charles A., 161–65
 Lindblom, Ed, 11–12, 379
 listening sessions, 121–22
 lobbying, 278–79, 281–82
 local party organization, 78
 local power base, 46–47
 Locke, John, 336–37
 Long, Blanche, 180–81
 Long, Earl, 179–82, 184–85
 Long, Gillis W., 181–82
 Long, Huey P., Jr., 174–78
 Loomis, Orland Steen “Spike,” 173–74
 Louisiana, 7–8, 144–46, 174–84, 186
 Louisiana Purchase, 260–61
 low-visibility races, 106–7
 Lugar, Richard, 54
 LuShuang Xu, 245
 Lyons, Charleton H., 183
- Madison, James, 11
 Madison Ring, 168–69
 Maine, 54
 majoritarian tension, 10, 328–29, 335
 implications of, 338–40
 Reed’s Rules and, 346–63
 alternative interpretation of, 354–63
 conventional wisdom and, 347–54
 rules as balancing mechanisms and, 335–38

- majoritarianism
 background, 331, 333–34, 357–58
 conclusion to, 329–63
 constitutional reform and, 340–46
 composite sketch of, 340–42
 implications of, 346
 puzzles and problems of, 342–46
 cultural, 333–34
 immediate, 331, 334–35
 recapitulation and, 334
 remote, 331–34, 357–58, 364
 simple, 330, 359
 submajoritarianism, 330–31, 342
 supermajoritarianism, 330–31, 335, 351–54, 364
 two dimensions of, 330–34
 as variable, 330–34
 majority control, 117–21
 majority party power, 344
 majority status, 36–37, 61–62
 majority-partyism, 347–49, 351–52, 361–63
 Mallon, George H., 163–64
 Malloy, Dan, 310–11
 Manchin, Joe, 54–55, 224–25, 307–8, 316–17
 Manley, John F., 16–17
 Mann, Michael, 310, 371
 Mann, Thomas, 223–25, 237, 255
 Maopolski, Rich, 244–45
 marginals, 65–66, 79–81
 Marotta, Matthew, 244–45
 Martin, Wade O., Jr., 178, 181–82
 Martinez, Luis, 244–45
 Matsuda, Kyle, 244–45
 Matthews, Donald R., 16–17
 Mayhew, David, 1, 10–11, 65, 223–24, 243–44, 260, 328, 371–72. *See also Congress: The Electoral Connection; specific works*
 balance of powers and, 7
 Binder and, 8–9
 contingency and, 304–5
 expected incumbent differential and, 117–18, 137
 incentives and, 6
 incumbency advantage and, 4, 90–91, 95
 legislative deadlock and, 225
 legislative performance and, 8, 226–27
 McCarthy, Joseph R., 173–74
 McCarty, Nolan, 205
 McCaskill, Claire, 54
 McConnell, Mitch, 118–19
 McCubbins, Mathew, 17–18, 24–26, 131–32, 345–46, 348–51
 McGovern, Francis E., 167–70
 McKeithen, John J., 180–83
 McKenzie, Alexander, 150
 McKinley, William, 97, 100
 media, 128
 exposure, 90
 Medicare, 279–80
 Medicare Modernization Act, 289
 Meier, Ben, 160–61
 Menino, Thomas, 320–21
 message votes, 123
 MFL. *See* Minnesota Federation of Labor
 midterm elections, 42–44
 Miller, Clem, 136
 Mills, Wilbur, 10–11, 283
 Minnesota, 7–8, 144–46, 161–65
 Minnesota Federation of Labor (MFL), 163–64
Minnesota Leader (newspaper), 163
 minority obstructionism, 359
 minority party power, 344
 minority rights, 345
 Mississippi flood (1927), 305
 Missouri, 54
 modernism, 252–53
 Moe, I. J., 157
 Moe, Terry M., 17–18, 289
 Montana, 52–55, 58–59
 Montoya, Joseph Manuel, 186
 Moore, W. Henson III, 183
 Moran, Mark J., 17–18
 Morgan, Lewis, 179–80
 Morgan, William J., 172
 Morlan, Robert L., 152
 Morris, Tom, 169–70
 Morrison, deLesseps S. “Chep,” 178, 180–83
 Morrison, James H., 180
 Moses, John, 157–59
 Mourdock, Richard, 54
 MoveOn.org, 28
 Mucciaroni, Gary, 283, 285
 Mulroy, Quinn Weber, 199–200, 213–14
 Murkowski, Lisa, 60
 Nair, Devi, 244–46
 name recognition, 90–91
 national elections, 67
 National Energy Act, 261
 National Flood Insurance Act, 318–19
 National Industrial Recovery Act, 191

Index

393

- National Journal*, 377–78
 National Labor Relations Board, 23
 National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), 50
 National Rifle Association (NRA), 28, 307–8
 national trends, 58–59
 National Voter Registration Act, 276
 nationalization, of elections, 28
 natural gerrymander, 84
 Naturalization Act, 249
 NBC News, 308
 negative advertising, 124
 negative agenda control, 349–52
 Nelson, Knute, 161–62
 Nelson, Theodore G. “Two-Bit,” 154–55
 Nestos, Ragnvald A., 150–51, 155
 neutral competence, 278–79
 New Deal, 7–8, 115–16, 191–92, 216–17, 254
 elite polarization and
 characterizing patterns of, 202–6
 defining and measuring of, 193–97
 lawmaking and, 206–10
 House polarization and, 197–202
 other assumptions and measures and, 210–16
 New Institutionalism, 329
 New Mexico, 146, 186
 New Orleans Regular Democratic Organization, 174–75
New York Times, 227–28, 240–41
The New Yorker, 307
 Nguyen, Diana, 244–45
 Niemi, Richard, 92, 252–53
 9/11 terrorist attacks, 230–32, 317
 Niskanen, William, 17–18
 Nixon, Richard, 96–98, 102, 115, 271–72
 No Child Left Behind, 23
 Noe, James A., 180–81
 Noll, Roger G., 17–18
 NOMINATE methodology, 7–8, 192–93
Nonpartisan Leader (newspaper), 155
 Nonpartisan League (NPL), 148–55
 labor unions and, 163–64
 Langer and, 155–57
 Townley and, 161
 normal vote, 84
 Norris, George, 10–11
 North Dakota, 7–8, 58–59, 144–45, 148–61,
 183–84, 319–20
 outside spending in, 52–53
 slate correlations in, 146
 Northern states, 71–72
 NPL. *See* Nonpartisan League
 NRA. *See* National Rifle Association
 NRCC. *See* Republican National Congressional Committee
 NRSC. *See* National Republican Senatorial Committee
 Nye, Gerald P., 155–56, 159
 Obama, Barack, 1, 3–4, 22, 49, 54–55, 59,
 67–68, 237–38, 317–18
 advertising and, 122
 blaming of, 122–23
 Bloomberg and, 311–12
 fiscal bills and, 30–31
 gun control and, 58–59
 legislative deadlock and, 224–25
 Paul, Rand., and, 38–39
 Sandy Hook shooting and, 307
 tax increases and, 38
 Obamacare, 22–23, 47–48, 194, 289–90,
 373–74
 objective policy analysis, 273
 Office of Technology Assessment (OTA),
 271–72, 277–78, 278
 Oklahoma, 71
 Olson, Mancur, 16
 Olson, Olbert A., 154, 157
 O’Neill, Thomas (Tip), 133–34
 one-term incumbents, 94
 open-seat elections, 72
 open-seat winners, 74–77
 Order of Camels, 169–70
 Ornstein, Norman, 206–7, 223–25, 237, 255,
 371
 OTA. *See* Office of Technology Assessment
 out-party candidates, 94
 outside spending, 52–54
 Palin, Sarah, 317–18
 Palmer, Maxwell, 8–9, 245–46
 Panic of 1837, 97, 100, 103
 Panic of 1873, 103
 Panic of 1884, 103
 Parker, John M., 174–75
 particularism, 2–3, 15–16, 18–20, 23
Partisan Balance (Mayhew), 371–72
 partisan capacity, 340–41
 partisan communications, 121–23, 133–34
 advertising and, 121–22
 credit claiming and blaming and, 123–37
 institutionalization of, 127–29
 position taking and, 123
 volume and content of, 123–27

- partisan dealignment, 65–67, 84
 partisan identification, 144
 partisan polarization, 26, 60–61
 partisanship, 8–11, 29, 65–66
 adverse, 74–75
 electoral roots of, 27–29
 intensified, 371–76
 party factionalism, 7–8
 party incumbency advantage, 69
 party influences, 39
 party institutional development, 138
 party loyalty, 28–29, 35, 40, 59–60
 party organization, 1
 change in, 6–8
 continuity in, 6–8
 local, 78
 party unity voting, 202–3
 party-centric theories, 24–27
 party-line voting, 41–42, 49, 119–20
 Patashnik, Eric, 9, 19, 276, 294–95
 Patent Act, 249
 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act
 (Obamacare), 22–23, 47–48, 194,
 289–90, 373–74
 Patriot Act, 232
 patronage politics, 184–85
 Patterson, James, 202
 Paul, Rand, 38–39
 Peabody, Robert, 131–33
 Pearl Harbor attacks, 315
 Peck, Justin, 9
 Pelosi, Nancy, 118–19, 122–23
 pension law, 250–51
 Pentagon, 283
 persistent factionalism, 7
 personal incumbency advantage, 69, 74
 personal power, 131–32
 personal vote, 3–5, 35, 46, 68, 84
 Philipp, Emanuel L., 167–68
 Pierce, Franklin, 94
 Piketty, Thomas, 205
Pivotal Politics (Krehbiel), 226–27, 254–55
 plate tectonics theory, 15–16
 Plott, Charles R., 92
 plurality rule, 93
 polarized voting, 4–5
 policy alternatives, 281–83
 policy analysis, 267–70
 argumentative, 273
 conclusions to, 293–96
 descriptive, 272–73
 models of, 271–73
 objective, 273
 selective, 273
 survey of public policy experts, 273–74
 tasks of, 274–75, 292–93
 assembling evidence, 277–81
 confronting trade-offs, 288–89
 constructing alternatives, 281–83
 defining problems, 275–77
 making decisions, 289–91
 projecting outcomes, 286–88
 selecting criteria, 283–86
 telling causal stories, 290–92
 political acceptability, 285–86
 political mobilization, 6
 political representation, 2–6
Polity, 65–66
 Polsby, Nelson, 377
 Poole, Keith T., 192, 196–97, 210–11, 216–17,
 233, 238
 DW-NOMINATE and, 193
 income inequality and, 205
 liberal-conservative ideology and, 193–94
 popular vote, 96, 100
 populism, 150
 position taking, 22, 37–39, 116–17, 121–24,
 126–27, 138–39
 positive advertising, 124
 positive agenda control, 352
 post-war period, 15
 power
 agenda setting, 343
 balance of powers, 7, 165
 committee, 17–18
 local base, 46–47
 majority party, 344
 minority party, 344
 personal, 131–32
 procedural rights, 343
 rights and, 343–44
 separation of powers, 120, 296
The Power of the Purse (Fenno), 16–17
 precedential gradualism, 354–55
A Preface to Democratic Theory (Dahl),
 380–81
 presidential elections, 5–6
 landslide, 42
 presidential incumbency advantage, 90–91
 presidential re-election rates
 additional historical tests and, 99–100
 extending of sample and, 100–1
 first historical test for, 97–98
 sample for, 95–97

Index

395

- second historical test for, 97–98
- press secretaries, 127–28, 130–31
- Preus, Jacob A. O., 161–65
- Price, David, 11
- primaries, 28–29
 - incumbency effects and, 93–95
 - runoff, 93–94, 145
- Princeton University, 378–79
- Prior, David, 58
- private bills, 250–52
- problems, defining, 275–77
- problem-solving, 29. *See also* policy analysis
- procedural cartel theory, 24–26, 131–32, 138, 361–62
- procedural gradualism, 354–55
- procedural rights, 343
- Progressive Era, 21, 281–82
- Progressive Party of Wisconsin, 173–74
- Prohibition, 169–70
- ProQuest, 240–41
- protests, violent, 314–15
- public acts, 251–52
- public opinion, 118–19, 293–94, 297
 - Superstorm Sandy and, 310–11
- public relations, 119, 123–24, 134–35
 - aides, 127–28, 130–31
 - staff changes and, 132–33
 - written output and, 125
- Public Service Commission, 174–75
- publicity, 183–84

- Quaker settlements, 338
- Quirk, Paul J., 283, 285

- Rae, Douglas, 379
- Railroad Commission, 174–75
- Rainach, Willie, 180–81
- rank-and-file members, 118–19, 137–38
- Ransdell, Joseph E., 177
- Ransley, Harry Clay, 191
- Rarick, John R., 183
- Rasmusson, Jordan, 244–46
- rational choice theory, 15–18
- rational model, of policy analysis, 271–73
- Reagan, Ronald, 96–97, 122–23, 134–35, 213
- realignment, 155
 - long-term, 136–37
 - Southern, 27
- recapitulation, 334
- recessions, 103–4
- Reconstruction, 207

- Red Socialists, 162–63
- redistricting, 66–67, 82, 91
- Reed, Thomas Brackett, 347, 355–56
- Reed's Revolution, 341
- Reed's Rules, 10, 329, 346–63
- re-election, 15, 35, 116–17. *See also*
 - presidential re-election rates
 - majority status and, 36–37
 - policy analysis and, 271
 - rates of, 106–7
 - single-minded seeking of, 15–16, 18–20, 31
- Rees, Owen, 244–45
- reform, 184–85
 - constitutional, 340–46
 - general-benefit, 21–22
 - tax breaks and, 19
 - of welfare, 282–83
- regression discontinuity method, 71
- Reid, Harry, 118–19, 133–34
- Reimann, Charles, 244
- remote majoritarianism, 331–34, 357–58, 364
- representative assemblies, 328–29
- Republican National Congressional Committee (NRCC), 50
- Republican Organizing Committee (ROC), 159
- Republican Voluntary Committee (RVC), 172
- residual vote, 73, 75–76, 78–82
- Reston, Laura, 245
- retirement slump, 66–67, 69–70, 73–74, 78–82
 - residual vote and, 73
 - upward bias of, 70–71
- retirements, 36
 - voluntary, 36
- Revolving Gridlock* (Brady and Volden), 254–55
- Reynolds, John W., 170
- Rickey, Andrea, 245
- rights
 - civil, 227–28
 - minority, 345
 - power and, 343–44
- Rivers, Douglas, 91, 194–95
- ROC. *See* Republican Organizing Committee
- Roe v. Wade*, 39–40
- Rogers, Hal, 375
- Rohde, David, 18, 26–27, 350–51
- roll-call votes, 22–24, 199–202, 216–17
- Romer, Thomas, 352
- Romero, Alicia, 186
- Romney, Mitt, 49, 54
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 96–97, 102, 191–92, 199–200, 256

- Roosevelt, Theodore, 95–96, 99–100
 Rosenthal, Howard, 192–93, 196–97, 216–17,
 233, 238, 352
 income inequality and, 205
 liberal-conservative ideology and, 193–94
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 336–37
Rules of the 111th House of Representatives,
 344
 runoff primaries, 93–94, 145
 Russia, 162–63
 RVC. *See* Republican Voluntary Committee
- Saez, Emmanuel, 205
 SAG Correction, 197
 salient issues, 228
 Sandlin, John, 179–80
 Sandy Hook Elementary School massacre,
 121–22, 306, 306–9, 319, 321–22
 Sathre, Peter O., 157
 Sawyer, Jared, 245
 Scandals, 179–80
 Scarborough, Joe, 307–8
 Schattschneider, E. E., 188–89, 381–82
 Schick, Allen, 271, 285
 Schickler, Eric, 345–46, 348
 Schmedeman, Albert G., 170, 172–73
 Schneer, Benjamin, 8–9, 245–46
 Schneiders, Greg, 132–33
 Schnell, Ray, 160–61
 Schuck, Peter, 296
 Schwartz, Thomas, 17–18
 SDP. *See* Social-Democratic Party
 Seaman, Gilbert E., 171
 sectional votes, 201–2
 selection bias, 94
 selection effects, 91–93, 99–100
 selective incentives, 18–19
 selective policy analysis, 273
 Selma, Alabama, 316–17
The Semi-Sovereign People (Schattschneider),
 381–82
 Senate Democratic Media Center, 128
 Senate Democratic Policy and Communications
 Center, 128
 Senate Democratic Policy Committee, 132–33
 separation of powers, 120, 296
 September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. *See* 9/11
 terrorist attacks
 sequestration, 374–75
 servicing of the organized, 15–16, 23
 Shafer, George F., 155
 Shang Wang, 245
 Shapiro, Walter, 382
 shared constituencies, 56–57
 Shepsle, Kenneth A., 17–18
 Sherman, John, 10–11
 Shipstead, Henrik, 161–65
 short-term forces, 84
 Shotts, Kenneth, 336
 Shubik, Martin, 379
 Shulock, Nancy, 272
 significant actions, 10–11
 Silver Purchase Act, 347
 Simpson, Oramel H., 175–76
 Sims, Erica Edwards, 244–45
 Sinclair, Barbara, 131–32
 Sindler, Allan, 177–78, 180–81
 single-goal theory, 20
 single-minded seeking of re-election, 15–16,
 18–20, 31
 Skowronek, Steven, 252–53
 slating, 145–48, 168–69
 slavery, 71, 245–46
 surge, 69–70
 Smith, Steven S., 131–32
 Snowe, Olympia, 54
 Snyder, James, 7–8, 203–4, 210–14
 social issues, 39–40
 Social Security Act, 260–61, 290
 social welfare, 5
 Social-Democratic Party (SDP), 171
 socialism, 152
 soft money, 50–52
 sophomore surge, 66–67, 69–70, 73–75,
 79–81, 90
 adjusted, 76–77
 downward bias of, 70
 open-seat winners and, 75–76
 residual vote and, 73
 Sorauf, Frank, 144–45
 Sorlie, Arthur G., 155
 Southern Manifesto, 213
Southern Politics (Key), 145
 Southern realignment, 27
 Southern states, 71–72
 Spaht, Carlos, 180–81
 Speaker of the House, 357–58
*Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of
 Policy Analysis* (Wildavsky), 272–73
 split-ticket voting, 35–36, 41–42
 staff changes, 132–33
 Stahlbaum, Lynn U., 159
Stalemate (Binder), 227, 232–33, 236–38
 Standing Rules of the House, 342–43, 347–48

Index

397

- Steen, John, 151–52, 155
 Stewart, Charles, III, 203–4
 Stimson, James A., 16–17
 stress tests, 318–19
 Strutz, Alvin G., 159
 Subcommittee Bill of Rights, 341
 submajoritarianism, 330–31, 342
 Sumner, Charles, 10–11
 Sundquist, James, 226
 Supercommittee, 230–32
 supermajoritarianism, 330–31, 335, 351–52, 364
 background, 352–54
 Superstorm Sandy, 31, 309–12, 317, 321–22
 swing-ratio, 67
 symbolic acts, 259–60
 symbolism, 2–3, 15–16, 22–23
- Taft, William Howard, 96–98
 talking points, 38
 Tariff Act of 1789, 249
 TARP. *See* Troubled Asset Relief Program
 tax breaks, 19
 tax code, 228–30
 tax increases, 38
 Taylor, Andrew, 281–82
 Tea Party, 28–30, 38–39, 238
 Temporary Debt Limit Extension Act, 25–26
 temporary legislation, 276–77
 Tennessee, 145–46
 Tester, Jon, 54–55
 13th Amendment, 260–61
 Thompson, James, 170–71
 Thoresen, T. H. H., 156–57
 threshold of assent, 330–31
 timeliness, 9–10
 Titunik, Rocio, 69–71
 Tittlemore, J. N., 171
 Toland, Kent, 245
 Townley, Arthur C., 148, 150–54, 157, 161
 trade-offs, confronting, 288–89
 transitivity, 92–93
 Treen, David C., 182–83
 trial-and-error learning, 276–77
 triggering events, 306
 Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), 289, 318–19
 Trujillo, Miguel, 186
 Truman, Harry S., 7–8, 95–98, 192, 200, 243–44, 379
 Tugwell, A. P. “Pat,” 178, 181–82
 Twain, Mark, 283–96
 24-hour news cycle, 130–31
 Tyler, John, 99–100
- unanimity, 330–31
 unified government, 258–59
 United Nations, 317
 unmeasurable uncertainty, 306
 urban-rural divide, 186
 U.S. Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, 320–21
- Van Buren, Martin, 97, 100, 102
 vice-presidents, 95–96, 99–100
 Vietnam War, 378–79
 Violence against Women Reauthorization Act, 26
 violent protests, 314–15
 Virginia, 52–53
 Volden, Craig, 254–55
 Volstead, Andrew J., 163
 voluntary retirements, 36
 vote share, 101–5
 vote-a-ramas, 22–23
 voters, 41–42
 voting, 29, 143–44, 235
 elite polarization and, 193
 en masse, 119–20
 herd, 29–30
 lagged, 70–71
 message votes, 123
 normal vote, 84
 party unity, 202–3
 party-line, 41–42, 49, 119–20
 personal, 3–5, 35, 46, 68, 84
 polarized, 4–5
 popular vote, 96, 100
 residual, 73, 75–76, 78–82
 roll-call, 22–24, 199–202, 216–17
 sectional, 201–2
 split-ticket, 35–36, 41–42
 swing-ratio and, 67
 Voting Rights Act (1965), 39–40, 316–17
- Wadsworth, James, Jr., 191–92
 wage-labor bill, 202
 Wagner, Robert, 10–11
 Wall Street bailouts, 232
Wall Street Journal, 308
 Warner, Wallace E., 160–61
 Washington, Chanel, 245
The Washington Monthly, 382
Washington Post, 377–78

- Watergate, 381
 Wawro, Gregory J., 20
 Weaver, Kent, 282–83, 288
 Wefald, Knud, 165
 Weingast, Barry R., 17–18
 Weisberg, Herbert F., 92
 Weiss, Carol H., 275–76
 Welch, Cheryl, 244–45
 welfare reform, 282–83
 Welford, Walter, 157–58
 Whiteman, David, 280
 Whitten, James, 212–13
 Wikipedia, 247–48
 Wilcox, Roy P., 170–72
 Wildavsky, Aaron, 272–73, 277
 Wilkerson, John D., 276–77
 Wilson, Riley J., 175–76
 Wilson, Scott A., 289
 Wilson, Woodrow, 100–1, 170
 Wisconsin, 7–8, 144–46, 165–74, 184
 Wisconsin Loyalty Legion, 170–71
 Wise, Sidney, 247–48
- W-NOMINATE, 211–13, 233
 Wobblies, 162–63
 Wolfinger, Raymond, 276
 women's movement, 227–28
 Wood, Fred B., 152–55
 Wood, Howard R., 152
 Working People's Nonpartisan Political League,
 163–65
 World War I, 170, 252–53
 World War II, 197, 199–200, 207, 226,
 255–56, 258
 contingent events and, 305
 temporary legislation and, 276–77
- The Yeas and the Nays: Key Congressional
 Decisions, 1774–1945* (Castel and
 Gibson), 246–48
 Young, Milton R., 159
- Zaller, John, 90–91, 107, 109
 zero-sum politics, of party control, 132–36
 Zimmerman, Fred, 170