

**KEITH EDWARD HAMM**  
Department of Political Science  
Rice University  
713-348-3896  
[hamm@rice.edu](mailto:hamm@rice.edu)  
**January 2021**

**Current Positions:** Edwards Professor in American Government, Rice University

### **Educational Background**

Ph.D.- Political Science- University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	1972-1977
M.A.- Political Science- Florida Atlantic University	1971-1972
Graduate Studies- Ocean Engineering- Columbia University	1969-1970
A.B.- Physics- Franklin and Marshall College	1965-1969

### **Fields of Specialization**

American Politics; Campaign Finance, Legislative Process; Political Parties and Interest Groups; Urban Politics; State Politics

### **Teaching Experience**

Rice University	Professor	1994-Present
Rice University	Associate Professor	1988-1994
Texas A&M University	Associate Professor	1983-1988
Texas A&M University	Assistant Professor	1977-1983

**Courses Taught:** Approaches to American Government; Comparative Legislatures; Political Parties and Interest Groups; Money and Politics; The Politics of Influence in the United States; Contemporary Issues in American Politics; Social Scientific Thinking; Urban Politics; State Legislatures; State Politics; Southern Politics; Urban Government and Administration; Intergovernmental Relations; State and Local Government

### **Administrative Experience**

Department Chair, Rice University, 1995-1999  
Department Graduate Coordinator, 2001-2002  
Director, Political Science Graduate Program, 2017-2019

### **Professional Positions**

Co-Editor, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1997-2002  
Editor, APSA *Legislative Studies Section Newsletter*, 1991-1997

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2020

### Publications

“Assessing Group Incentives, Independent Spending, and Campaign Finance Law by Comparing the States,” *Election Law Journal* 16 (3) 374-391. With Charles R. Hunt, Jaclyn J. Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, and Brendan Glavin.

### Foundation or Authority Boards

Chair: Economic Development Committee of the City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority  
Investment officer and Treasurer of the City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority

### Current Research Projects

(1) Book project: Paths, Events and Strategic Choices: The Evolution of American State Constitutions. With Nancy Martorano Miller, Rondlad D. Hedlund and Maria Acora

(2) “Incremental or Transformative?” The Effects of Civil War on Institutional Change,” Presented at Southern Political Association Meeting. With Liana Eustacia Reyes, Maria Aroca, Nancy Martorano Miller, Ronald D. Hedlund.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2019

### Publications

“An Assessment of State Legislative Research.”2019 Part of a Symposium entitled “State Legislatures at 400” in *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 52 (3): 440-444.

“ Broad Discretion: The Right to Vote, Voter Registration and Redistricting in U.S. State Constitutions.” 2019. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*.49 (3):465-489. With Nancy Martorano Miller, Ronald D. Hedlund and Maria Acora.

### Foundation or Authority Boards

Chair: Economic Development Committee of the City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority

### University Service

Director: Political Science Graduate Studies Program

### Current Research Projects

(1) Book project: Paths, Events and Strategic Choices: The Evolution of American State Constitutions. With Nancy Martorano Miller, Rondlad D. Hedlund and Maria Acora

As far as we know, beyond a series of papers we have written, there have been very few systematic attempts to study the content of state constitutions in a comparative, empirical context. The studies that have been conducted mainly focused on generalization and description, not on the explanation for their evolution. In this book and a series of proposed papers, we are analyzing state constitutions in order to describe better and understand how these documents have evolved. We have chosen to focus on the development of constitutions from 1776 to 2015. We are collecting and processing each constitution and all constitutional amendments for all 50 states as well as the U.S. Constitution..

This task would be almost impossible if we did not have the power of machine reading. Using R, a software environment for statistical computing, we transformed the text files of these constitutions into a section-level dataset where each unit is a section within a constitution. A dataset was created for every year since the adoption of the first constitution of the state up until 2015. The datasets include the topic and full text of each section. This data structure allows us to make section level comparisons of a constitution in a given point in time, to that same constitution at a later or previous point in time, as well as to empirically track the evolution of each state's constitutional document(s).

From a theoretical perspective, we are in the process of testing a variety of explanations of policy adoption (e.g. diffusion theory, punctuated equilibrium theory) for constitutional change as well as formulating a series of expected impacts.

The proposed project will take a few years to complete, even under the best of circumstances. We had one piece accepted by *Publius* and are in the process of drafting several papers that will be sent out for review within the next year.

(2) “The Impact of Citizen United” With Jaclyn Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, Brendan Glavin, and Charles Hunt.

Independent expenditures (IEs) in federal elections have skyrocketed since the Supreme Court's 2010 decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*. We have undertaken a series of studies to evaluate the impact of that decision on IE spending at the state level. At present, we are in the process of integrating three convention papers so that we may submit a manuscript that summarizes our significant findings.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2018

### Publications

“An Assessment of State Legislative Research,” Part of a Symposium entitled “State Legislatures at 400” in *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Forthcoming. (Peer reviewed)

“Broad Discretion: The Right to Vote, Voter Registration and Redistricting in U.S. State Constitutions.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. Accepted with minor revisions requested. Forthcoming. With Nancy Martorano Miller, Ronald D. Hedlund and Maria Acora. ((Peer reviewed).

### Conference Presentations

“Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2016” With Jaclyn Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, Brendan Glavin, and Charles Hunt. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

“Independent Spending in State Elections after Citizens United: Part 2: Ideological and Issue Groups” With Jaclyn Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, Brendan Glavin, and Charles Hunt. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 5-8, 2018.

### Foundation or Authority Boards

Chair: Economic Development Committee of the City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority

Treasurer: National Institute on Money in State Politics

Member: Campaign Finance Institute Academic Advisory Board

### University Service

Member: University Exams and Standards Committee

Director: Political Science Graduate Studies Program

### Current Research Projects

(1) Book project: Paths, Events and Strategic Choices: The Evolution of American State Constitutions. With Nancy Martorano Miller, Ronald D. Hedlund and Maria Acora

As far as we know, beyond a series of papers we have written, there have been very few systematic attempts to study the content of state constitutions in a comparative, empirical context. The studies that have been conducted mainly focused on generalization and description, not on the explanation for their evolution. In this book and a series of proposed papers, we are analyzing state constitutions in order to describe better and understand how these documents have evolved. We have chosen to focus on the development of constitutions from 1776 to 2015. We are collecting and processing each constitution and all constitutional amendments for all 50 states as well as the U.S. Constitution..

This task would be almost impossible if we did not have the power of machine reading. Using R, a software environment for statistical computing, we transformed the text files of these constitutions into a section-level dataset where each unit is a section within a constitution. A dataset was created for every year since the adoption of the first constitution of the state up until 2015. The datasets include the topic and full text of each section. This data structure allows us to make section level comparisons of a constitution in a given point in time, to that same constitution at a later or previous point in time, as well as to empirically track the evolution of each state's constitutional document(s).

From a theoretical perspective, we are in the process of testing a variety of explanations of policy adoption (e.g. diffusion theory, punctuated equilibrium theory) for constitutional change as well as formulating a series of expected impacts.

The proposed project will take a few years to complete, even under the best of circumstances. We had one piece accepted by *Publius* and are in the process of drafting several papers that will be sent out for review within the next year.

(2) "The Impact of Citizen United" With Jaclyn Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, Brendan Glavin, and Charles Hunt.

Independent expenditures (IEs) in federal elections have skyrocketed since the Supreme Court's 2010 decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*. We have undertaken a series of studies to evaluate the impact of that decision on IE spending at the state level. At present, we are in the process of integrating three convention papers so that we may submit a manuscript that summarizes our significant findings.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2014-2017

### **Publications**

“Legislative Politics” in Politics in the American States. 2017. (CQ Press, Edited by Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson and Thad Kouser). Eleventh Edition. Pp. 187- 234. With Nancy Martorano Miller.

“Constrained Behavior: Understanding the Entrenchment of Legislative Procedure in American State Constitutional Law.” Albany Law Review 78 (2015): 1459-1484. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano Miller.

"The Impact of Citizens United in the States: Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2010." 2014. The Forum . With Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn Kettler and Brendan Glavin.

"State Legislatures." 2014. Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government (Oxford Press, . Edited by Donald Haider Markel.) pp. 293-318. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano Miller.

### **Conference Presentations**

“Why Study State Constitutions?” With Nancy Martorano Miller, Maria Arcora, Ronald D. Hedlund . Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017

“Independent Spending in State Elections after Citizens United.” With Jaclyn Kettler, Michael J. Malbin, Brendan Glavin, and Charles Hunt. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017

"Sticky Legacies: Persistence of State Constitutional Provisions." With Nancy Martorano Miller Maria Arcora, Ronald D. Hedlund . Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 1-5, 2016.

"The Evolution of Constitutional Restrictiveness in State Legislatures" With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano Miller. " Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA September 3-5,2015.

“Constrained Behavior: Understanding the Entrenchment of Legislative Procedure in American State Constitutional Law.” With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano Miller. " Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. August 28- August 31, 2014.

“With One Hand Tied Behind Their Back: Constitutional Entrenchment in State Legislatures.” Paper prepared for presentation at the 2014 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association and the 2014 State Politics and Policy Conference.

### **Invited Presentations**

"The Role of Money in the 2016 Primary and General Election." Presented as part of lecture series at Rice University on "2016 Elections." September 29, 2016

**Editorial Boards**

*Legislative Studies Quarterly* (2014-2017)

**Task Forces**

Bi-Partisan Campaign Finance Task Force (2015-2017)

**Foundation or Authority Boards**

Chair- Economic Development Committee of the City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority (2015-2017)

Vice Chair – City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority (2015)

Member- City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority (2014)

Treasurer -National Institute on Money in State Politics (2016-2017)

Member- National Institute on Money in State Politics (2014-2015)

Campaign Finance Institute Academic Advisory Board (2014-2017)

**University Service**

Member: University Graduate Council (2013-2014)

Member: University Exams and Standards Committee (2016-2017)

Member: University Institutional Review Board (2014-2015)

Director- Political Science Graduate Studies Program (2017)

Chair- Department Faculty Evaluation committee (2016-2017))

Member: Department Evaluation Committee (2013-2014)

Member: Department Graduate Committee (2014-2015)

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2010-2013

### **Publications**

"Legislative Politics in the States," in Politics in the American States, Ninth Edition, edited by Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson and Thad Kouser. (CQ Press. 2012). With Gary Moncrief

"Committee Specialization in State Legislatures During the Twentieth Century: Do Legislatures Tap the Talents of Their Members?" State Politics and Policy Quarterly (2011) 11:299-325. With Ronald D. Heldund and Stephanie Shirley Post.

### **Conference Presentations**

"Do Political Parties Pursue Similar Allocation Strategies?: Evidence from Unique Electoral Boundaries in Ontario" Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29- September 1, 2013. With Jaclyn J. Kettler.

"Evaluating the Representativeness of State Legislative Committees: A Preliminary Assessment of the Contribution Connection" Paper prepared for presentation at the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, May 23-25, 2013. With Ronald D. Hedlund, Nancy Martorano Miller, Jaclyn Kettler, and Kevin Coombs.

"The Impact of Citizens United in the States: Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2010" Paper presented at the 2013 Annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association. Hollywood, CA, March 28-30. With Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn Kettler and Brendan Glavin.

"The Impact of *Citizens United* in the States: State Independent Spending, 2006-2010." Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in New Orleans, Louisiana. August 30-September 2, 2012. With Michael J. Malbin, Jaci Kettler and Brendan Glavin.

"Limiting the Evolutionary Path: Explaining Constitutional and Statutory Entrenchment in State Legislatures." Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Seattle, Washington. September 1-4, 2011. With Nancy Martorano Miller and Ronald D. Hedlund.

"Political Party Contribution Strategies in the 2003 Ontario General Election." Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Seattle, Washington. September 1-4, 2011. With Jaci Kettler.

"The Ties that Bind: Measuring Constitutional and Statutory Entrenchment in State Legislatures." Paper prepared for delivery at the 2011 State Politics and Policy Conference, Hanover, New Hampshire, June 3-4, 2011. With Nancy Martorano Miller and Ronald D. Hedlund.

"The Evolving Role of Party Committees in State Legislative Campaigns during the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Preliminary Assessment." Paper prepared for delivery at the 2011 State Politics and Policy Conference, Hanover, New Hampshire, June 3-4, 2011. With Jaci Kettler.



“State Legislative Evolution: Path Dependency, Organization Theory and Bounded Rational Choice.” Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the State Politics and Policy Conference in Springfield, Illinois. June 3-5, 2010. With Nancy Martorano Miller and Ronald D. Hedlund.

### **Research Grants Funded**

“Campaign Finance Laws and the Legislative Agenda in Connecticut.” Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. 2009-2011

“Campaign Finance Laws and Lobbying Strategies in Connecticut.” Funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation. 2009-2011

### **Invited Presentations**

“Academic Research Using NIMSP Data” Presented at annual meeting of the National Institute on Money in State Politics. Flathead Lake, Montana. May 2013.

"State Independent Spending 2006-2010: Preliminary Analysis." Presented at annual meeting of the National Institute on Money in State Politics. Flathead Lake, Montana. May 2012.

"The New Campaign Finance System ." Presented as part of lecture series at Rice University on "2012 Elections." October 9, 2012.

“A Summary of the National Institute on Money in State Politics’ Past Activity and Proposals for Future Work on Independent Expenditures in the States.” Presented at annual meeting of the National Institute on Money in State Politics. Flathead Lake, Montana. June 10-14.2010.

### **Review Panels**

2010- 2012 Fulbright Foundation Peer Review Panel (Political Science)

### **Editorial Boards**

Legislative Studies Quarterly

### **Foundation or Authorities Boards**

Institute on Money in State Politics

Campaign Finance Institute Academic Advisory Board

City of Houston Downtown Redevelopment Authority

### **University Service**

Member: University Graduate Council,

Member: University Institutional Review Board

Member: Department Evaluation Committee

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY 2005-2009

### **Publications:**

“Partisan Stacking on Committees.” Legislative Studies Quarterly. 34 (May 2009): 175-191. With Ronald D. Hedlund, Kevin Coombs, and Nancy Martorano.

“Campaign Finance Laws and Candidacy Decisions in State Legislative Elections.” Political Research Quarterly. 61 (September 2008): 458-467. With Robert Hogan.

“Legislative Politics in the States,” in Politics in the American States, Ninth Edition, edited by Virginia Gray and R. Hanson, (CQ Press. 2007). 154-191. With Gary Moncrief.

“Measuring State Legislative Committee Power: Change and Chamber Differences in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century” State Politics and Policy Quarterly. 6 (2006): 88-111. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano

101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies (Ohio State Press. 2005) With Peverill Squire.

### **Research Grants Funded**

“Campaign Finance Laws and the Legislative Agenda in Connecticut.” Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. 2009-2011

“Campaign Finance Laws and Lobbying Strategies in Connecticut.” Funded by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation. 2009-2011

### **Editorial Boards**

Legislative Studies Quarterly

### **Professional Awards**

Fulbright Chair in North American Studies, Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada) January –June 2006

### **Foundation Boards**

Institute on Money in State Politics, 2006-

Campaign Finance Institute Academic Advisory Board, 2005-

### **Professional Conference Presentations and Invited Talks 2006-2009**

“Paths, Events and Strategic Choices: The Evolution of American State Legislatures” Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Toronto, Canada. September 3-6, 2009. With Nancy Martorano Miller and Ronald D. Hedlund.

“Institutionalization: New Concepts and New Methods.” Prepared for presentation at the 21<sup>st</sup> International Political Science Association World Congress (Research Committee of Legislative Specialists), Santiago, Chile, July 12-16, 2009. With Randolph Stevenson, Andrew Spiegelman, Ronald D. Hedlund.

“Did They Ever Return?: The Development of a Committee Property Rights “Norm” for State Legislators During the Twentieth Century.” Paper presented at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Greg Vonnahme.

Invited Presentation: “Comments on Campaign Finance in the States.” Presented at The Future of the Institute on Money in State Politics Strategic Planning Meeting. Flathead Lake, Montana. May 18-21, 2008.

“Appointing Legislative Committees: The Effects of Party, Institution and Committee Jurisdiction.” Paper prepared for delivery at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano.

“Candidate Perception of Campaign Financing in State Legislative Elections: Preliminary Observations.” Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. With Robert Hogan.

“Parallel Jurisdictions, Oversight Capability and Administrative Review: U.S State Legislative Committees and Administrative Agencies.” Paper delivered at the 2007 Research Committee of Legislative Specialists for the International Political Science Association Conference “Legislative Oversight, Influence and Autonomy: Changing the Balance of Power”, SUNY-Albany, August 24-26, 2007. With Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano.

Invited Presentation. “State Contribution Records and Academic Research .” Presented at the Mission 2008: Moving the Institute on Money in State Politics Services and Information out to the Nation. Averill’s Flathead Lake Lodge, Bigfork, Montana. May 30-June 2, 2007.

Invited Presentation. “Did They Ever Return?: The Development of a Committee Property Rights Norm in State Legislatures During the Twentieth Century.” Invited talk at Conference on State Legislative Politics, University of Rochester. April 16-20, 2007. Co-authored with Ronald D. Hedlund.

“The Effects of Campaign Finance Laws on Interest Group Contribution Strategies in State Elections.” Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Austin, TX. February 23-24, 2007. With Robert Hogan and Rhonda Wrzenski.

“Party Balance on U.S. State Legislative Committees: An Examination of Trends in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century-- Continuity or Change?” A paper presented at the 2006 Northeastern Political Science Association meeting. With Ronald D. Hedlund, Kevin Coombs and Nancy Martorano.

“Legislative Committee Jurisdiction and Administrative Oversight: Patterns in the American States.” Paper presented at the 2006 American Political Science Association meeting. With Nancy Martorano and Ronald D. Hedlund.

“Legislative Professionalization and Committee Systems: Institutional Versus Individual-Level Impact.” A research paper prepared for the 20<sup>th</sup> International Political Science Association World Congress (Research Committee of Legislative Specialists), Fukuoka, Japan. July 9-13, 2006. With R. Hedlund.

“The Impact of Legislative Professionalization: A Review of the Literature Focusing on the U.S. States.” A Paper Presented at the “Political Center or Periphery: Legislatures and Parliaments in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” Sponsored by the Taiwanese Political Science Association, July 7 – 8, 2006. With D. Goodman.

“Roundtable on Perspectives from the Academic Community.” Presented at The Future of the Institute on Money in State Politics Strategic Planning Meeting. B-Bar Ranch, Emigrant Montana. May 31-June 4, 2006.

“Comparative Analysis of Regulatory Regimes in the Canadian Provinces.” Paper presented at the Conference on Party and Election Finance: Consequences for Democracy, University of Calgary, May 25-26, 2006. With K. Hebda.

Invited Presentation “The Impact of Election Finance Laws in the Canadian Provinces and U.S. States.” Political Science Speaker Series at Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada). March 9, 2006.

“Factors Affecting Interest Group Contributions to Candidates in State Legislative Elections.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting (April 20-23, 2006). With R. Hogan and R. Wrzenski.

**University Service**

Member: University Graduate Council, 2004- 2005, 2007-2011

Member: University Institutional Review Board, 2007-

Member: Dean’s Advisory Committee 2009-2011

Member: Department Graduate Committee, 2008-2011

Chair: Department Personnel Evaluation Committee, 2007

Member: Department Personnel Evaluation Committee, 2006-2007, 2011.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY BEFORE 2005

### PUBLICATIONS

#### **2000-2004**

“Electoral Reforms, Membership Stability, and the Existence of Committee Property Rights in American Legislatures.” British Journal of Political Science, 35 (2004): 169-181. With P. Squire, R.D. Hedlund and G. Moncrief.

“Legislative Lobbying,” in Handbook of Political Literature and Research on Interest Groups, edited by Clive Thomas (Greenwood Press, 2004). 167-175. With Robert Hogan.

“Legislative Politics in the States,” in Politics in the American States, Eight Edition, edited by Virginia Gray and R. Hanson, (CQ Press. August, 2003). 157-193. With Gary Moncrief.

“Structuring Committee Decision Making: Rules and Procedures in U.S. State Houses and Senates.” Journal of Legislative Studies, 7 (Summer 2001): 13-34. With Ronald Hedlund and Nancy Martorano.

A Transforming South: Exploring Patterns of State House Seat Contestation.” The American Review of Politics 21 (2000 Spring): 201-224. With Nancy Martorano and R. Bruce Anderson.

#### **1996-1999**

“Legislative Politics in the States,” pp. 144-190 in Politics in the American States, Seventh Edition, edited by Virginia Gray and R. Hanson, (CQ Press, 1999). With Gary Moncrief.

“The Costs of Representation in State Legislatures: Variations in District-Level Campaign Spending,” pp. 59-79 in Campaign Finance in State Legislative Elections, edited by Joel Thompson and Gary Moncrief (CQ Press, 1998). With Robert Hogan.

“Gender and Campaign Contributions,” pp. 117-138 in Campaign Finance in State Legislative Elections, edited by Joel Thompson and Gary Moncrief (CQ Press, 1998). With Gary Moncrief and Joel Thompson.

“Political Parties as Vehicles for Organizing U.S. State Legislative Committees,” Legislative Studies Quarterly, (August 1996): 383-408. With Ronald D. Hedlund.

“Legislative Politics and the Paradox of Voting; Electoral Reform in Fourth Republic France,” British Journal of Political Science, (April 1996): 165-198. With Eric Browne.

#### **1991-1995**

“Explaining State Aid Allocations: Targeting Within Universalism,” Social Science Quarterly; (September 1994): 524-540; with Robert M. Stein.

“The Impact of Lobbying Laws and Their Enforcement: A Contrasting View,” Social Science Quarterly, (June 1994): 378-381; with A. R. Weber and R. B. Anderson.

"Committees in State Legislatures," pp. 669-700 in The Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System, edited by Joel J. Silbey, et. al.; with Ronald D. Hedlund; (Scribner's, 1994)

"Political Parties in State Legislatures," pp. 947-982 in The Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System, edited by Joel J. Silbey, et. al.; with Ronald D. Hedlund; (Scribner's, 1994)

"Legislative Party Development and the Speaker System," Journal of Politics; (November 1993): 1140-1151, with Robert Harmel.

Representation and Policy Making in the American States," pp. 177-241, in Representation and Policy Formation in Federal Systems: Canada and the United States, edited by David Olson and C. Franks (Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California-Berkeley, 1993); with Norman Luttbeg.

"Interest Group and Party Influence in the Legislative Process," Journal of Politics, (February 1992): 82-100; with C. Wiggins and C. Bell.

"Iowa: Interest Groups and the Politics of Moderation" pp. 76-93, in Interest Groups in the Midwest, edited by C. Thomas and R. Hrebenar, with Charles W. Wiggins (Iowa State Press, 1993).

"Mid-Session Vacancies in State Legislatures: Why Do Legislators Leave and How Are They Replaced?" pp. 127-146, in State Legislative Careers, edited by G. Moncrief and J. Thompson; (University of Michigan Press, 1992) with David M. Olson.

The Transformation of Texas Interest Group Politics: From Personal to Informational Lobbying," pp. 152-180, in Interest Groups in the South, ed. by R. Hrebenar and C. Thomas (University of Alabama Press, 1992); with C. W. Wiggins.

"The Biennial Budget Cycle," pp. 65-78 in Budgeting in Texas . Aman Khan, ed. (Lunham: University Press of America, 1991); with Charles W. Wiggins.

### **1986-1990**

"Accounting for Change in the Number of Committee Positions," Legislative Studies Quarterly, (May, 1990): 201-226; with R. D. Hedlund.

"A Comparative Analysis of the Targeting Capacity of State and Federal Aid Allocations: 1977, 1982," Social Science Quarterly (September 1987): 447-465; with R. M. Stein.

"The Role of 'Subgovernments' in U.S. State Policy Making: An Exploratory Analysis," Legislative Studies Quarterly (August 1986): 321-351.

"Development of a Party Role in a No-Party Legislature," Western Political Quarterly (March 1986): 79-92; with R. Harmel.

"Federal Aid and the Mobilization of Black Political Influence," Research in Urban Policy (1986): 95-113; with R.M. Stein.

### **1981-1985**

"The 1982 Gubernatorial Transition in Texas," pp. 372-404, in Gubernatorial Transitions: The 1982 Elections, T. L. Beyle, ed., (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985); with C. W. Wiggins and H. R. Balenoff.

"Patterns of Influence Among Legislative Committees, Interest Groups and Executive Agencies," Legislative Studies Quarterly (August 1983): 379-426; reprinted in Handbook of Legislative Research, G. Loewenberg et al., ed., (Harvard University Press, 1985) and reprinted in Public Policy Theories, Models and Concepts: An Anthology, 1994 Prentice Hall.

Annual Versus Biennial Budgeting? Public Policy Resources Laboratory, Texas A&M University, 1984, coauthored with C. W. Wiggins.

"Ethnic and Partisan Minorities in Two Southern State Legislatures," Legislative Studies Quarterly (May 1983): 177-189; with R. Harmel and R. J. Thompson.

"Black Voting Cohesion and Distinctiveness in Three Southern Legislatures," Social Science Quarterly (March 1983): 183-192; with R. Harmel and R. J. Thompson.

"An Analysis of Support for Tax Limitation Referenda," Public Choice (December 1982): 187-194; with R. M. Stein and P. K. Freeman.

"Consistency Between Committee and Floor Voting in U.S. State Legislatures," Legislative Studies Quarterly (November 1982): 473-490.

"Effects of Structural Change in Legislative Committee Systems on Their Performance in U.S. States," Legislative Studies Quarterly (August 1982): 383-399; with G. Moncrief.

"Impacts of Districting Change on Voting Cohesion and Representation," Journal of Politics (May 1981): 544-555; with R. Harmel and R. J. Thompson.

"Factors Influencing the Adoption of New Methods of Legislative Oversight in the U.S. States," Legislative Studies Quarterly (February 1981): 133-150; with R. D. Robertson.

### **1973-1980**

"State Legislative Committee Decisions: Similar Results in Different Settings?" Legislative Studies Quarterly (February 1980): 31-54.

"The Electability of Women Candidates: The Effects of Sex Role Stereotypes," Journal of Politics (May 1979): 513-524; with R. D. Hedlund, P. K. Freeman and R. M. Stein.

"A Reconceptualization of Legislative Accountability," pp. 63-86, in Accountability in Urban Society: Public Agencies Under Fire; edited by S. Greer, R. Hedlund and J. Gibson (Sage Publications, 1978); with R. D. Hedlund.

"Institutional Innovation and Performance Effectiveness in Public Policy Making," pp. 117-132, in Legislative Reform: The Policy Impact, L. N. Rieselbach, ed., (Lexington Books, 1978); with R. D. Hedlund.

"Enacting Public Policy in State Government," in State Government and Politics in the Secondary Curriculum, W.W. Stevens et al., eds., (Sangamon State University Press 1978); with R. D. Hedlund.

"Institutional Development and Legislative Effectiveness: Rules Changes in the Wisconsin Assembly," pp. 173-213, in Comparative Legislative Reforms and Innovations, A. I. Baaklini, ed., (State University of New York Press 1977); with R. D. Hedlund.

"Conflict and Perceived Group Benefits from Legislative Rules Changes," Legislative Studies Quarterly (May 1976): 181-200; with R. D. Hedlund.

Public Attitudes Toward Energy and Its Conservation: A Statewide Survey of Public Opinion. A Report Prepared for Wisconsin Office of State Planning and Energy, published by the University of Wisconsin -- Milwaukee, 1977; with R. D. Hedlund and R. M. Stein.

"Empirical Tests of Attribute, Social Field, and Status Field Theories on International Relations Data," International Studies Quarterly (December 1973): 405-443; with J. Vincent et al.

### **Professional Awards 1996-2202**

Best Paper Award, presented by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for paper delivered at the 2001 APSA meeting, 2002. Paper entitled "A 'Tools of the Trade' Look at Comparing Congress with State Legislatures." With Peverill Squire.

Best Paper Award, presented by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for paper delivered at the 1995 APSA meeting, 1996. Paper entitled "The Development of Committee Specialization in State Legislatures." With Ronald D. Hedlund.

### **Research Grants Funded**

"The Impact of Election Finance Laws: Preliminary Results from the Canadian Provinces." January 2004-February 2005. Funding Agency: Canadian Studies Grant Program. International Academic Relations Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs Canada.

"Testing the Effects of Campaign Finance Laws on State Legislative Elections" (Co-PI: Robert Hogan, Louisiana State University). July 2002-June 2004. Funding Agency: Political Science Program, National Science Foundation.

"The Evolution of Specialization and Its Effects on Performance: Model Testing for American State Legislative Committees in the Twentieth Century."(Co-PI: Ronald D. Hedlund, Northeastern Univ.). September 1995-August 2000. Funding Agency: Political Science Program, National Science Foundation.

"A Proposal to Collect, Analyze and Disseminate State Legislative Campaign Finance Data" (Project in conjunction with Joel Thompson, Gary Moncrief, David Breaux and Anthony Geirzynski.). April 15, 1994-October 14, 1998. Funding Agency: Political Science Program, National Science Foundation.

### **Editorial Boards**

Journal of Politics, 1997- 2000; Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2002- , 1983-1989; State Politics and Policy Quarterly, 1999-2003; State and Local Government Review, 1995-1997; American Politics Quarterly, 1981-1987.

### **Professional Paper Presentations 1997-2005**

"Campaign Finance Laws and Candidacy Decisions in State Legislative Elections." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, Washington, D.C. (September 2005). With R. Hogan.

"The Evolution of Election Finance Laws in the U.S. States and Canadian Provinces: Convergent or Divergent Patterns? Paper to be presented at the Sub-State/Sub-National Legislatures: Representation, Policy-making, and Governance Conference sponsored by the IPSA Research Committee of Legislative Specialists. (Quebec City, Quebec. October 2004). With R. Hogan.

"The Evolution of Committee Specialization in U.S. State Legislatures: The Impact of Professionalization." Paper to be presented at the "Sub-State/Sub-National Legislatures: Representation, Policy-making, and Governance Conference sponsored by the IPSA Research Committee of Legislative Specialists. (Quebec City, Quebec. October 2004.) With R.D. Hedlund.



“Contrasts in Contesting: How Campaign Election Laws Affect Candidacy Decisions in State Legislative Elections.” Paper presented at the 2004 Western Political Science Association meeting. With R. Hogan.

“State Campaign Finance Laws: First Order Effects?” Paper presented at the 2003 American Political Science Association meeting. With Robert Hogan. Modified paper presented at the 2004 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association meeting in Vancouver, Canada.

“Comparative Legislative Research: An Observer’s Perspective.” Conference on the Comparative Study of Deputy “Hill Style” in Latin American Legislatures. (February 2001). Texas A&M University.

“A ‘Tools of the Trade’ Look at Comparing Congress with State Legislatures.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting. (August-September 2001). With Peverill Squire.

“The Effects of Campaign Laws on State Legislative Elections.” Paper represented at the State Politics and Policy Conference at Texas A&M University (March 2001). With Robert E. Hogan.

"Accounting for Restructuring of State Legislative Committee Systems: The Impact of Executive Branch Reorganizations," American Political Science Association meeting, Washington, D.C. (September, 2000). With Ronald D. Hedlund and Laura L. Delgado.

"The Theoretical and Empirical Limits of House-Centric Models of Legislative Behavior," American Political Science Association meeting, Washington, D.C., (September, 2000). With Peverill Squire, Ronald D. Hedlund and Gary Moncrief.

"Examining Committee Structures, Procedures, and Powers in U.S. State Legislatures," Midwest Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, IL (April, 2000). With N. Martorano and R. D. Hedlund.

“The Evolution of Committee Structure, Powers and Procedures in Twentieth Century State Legislatures,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, GA (September 1999), with Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano.

“State Legislative Seat Contestation in the South: Is an Open Seat All It Takes?” Southern Political Science Association Meeting, Savannah, GA (November 1999), with Nancy Martorano and R. Burce Anderson.

“The Impact of State Campaign Finance Systems on the Pool of Legislative Candidates,” Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting, San Antonio, TX (April 1999), with Leah Barnett.

“Do Specialists Control the Committee Agenda? Evidence from State Legislative Committees Throughout the Twentieth Century,” Western Political Science Association Meeting, Seattle, WA (March 1999), with Ronald D. Hedlund, Eileen M. Dougherty and Laura L. Delgado.

“Determining Legislative Outcomes: The Effects of Committee Specialization on Legislative Committee Performance,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA (September 1998), with Ronald D. Hedlund, Nancy Martorano, and Chris Adolph.

“The Evolution of Committee Structure, Powers and Procedures in State Legislatures,” Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting, Corpus Christi, TX (March 1998) with Ronald D. Hedlund and Nancy Martorano.

“Committee Specialization in State Legislatures During the Twentieth Century: Do Legislators Tap the Talents of Their Members?,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.(August/September 1997) with Ronald D. Hedlund and Stephanie Shirley Post.

### **Panel Chair or Discussant 1996-2006**

“Public Finance, Small Donors and Political Parties: The States as Laboratories for Campaign Finance Research.” 2006 American Political Science Association meeting.

“The State of Campaign Finance Reform.” 2004 Midwest Political Science Association meeting.

“Campaign Finance Issues.” 2003 Southwestern Social Science Association meeting.

“The State of Subnational Politics.” 2003 Southwestern Social Science Association meeting.

“Cross-National Study of Legislatures.” 2002 American Political Science Association meeting.

“Legislative Committee Assignments.” 2002 American Political Science Association meeting.

“Thinking Outside the Box.” 2002 Southwest Social Association meeting.

“Power and Influence in State Legislatures.”2001 Midwest Political Science Association meeting.

“State Legislative Activity and Careers.” 2000 Midwest Political Science Association meeting.

“The Asian Experience with Parliamentary Committees,” International Conference on The Changing Role of Parliamentary Committees, Budapest, Hungary, June 1996.

“The Changing Roles of Political Parties Inside and Outside Parliament,” International Conference on The New Democratic Parliaments: The First Years,” Ljubljana, Slovenia, June, 1996.

“Internationalism and Parliamentary Democracy in Russia, Hungary, and Slovenia,” International Conference on The New Democratic Parliaments: The First Years,” Ljubljana, Slovenia, June 1996.

### **Additional Professional Activity**

Vice-President and Program Chair: 1986 Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting

Section Chair: State Politics Section -- 1996 Southern Political Science Association Meeting; Policy and Administration Section--1992 Southern Political Science Association Meeting; Legislatures Section -- 1990 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting; Political Institutions Section --1985 Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting; Legislative Studies Section--1984 American Political Science Association Meeting

Council Member-at-Large: Legislative Studies Section Organization, 1984-85, 1997-1999

Chair: 1992 V. O. Key Book Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association

Member: Member, 2009 APSA Legislative Studies Section Committee on Loewenberg-Jewell Best Paper Prize; Member, 2004 APSA Legislative Studies Section Committee on Loewenberg-Jewell Best Paper Prize; 2000 Editorial Policies Committee of the Southwestern Political Science Association; 1992 Site Policy Committee of the Southwestern Social Science Association; 1988- Southwestern Political

Science Association Executive Council; 1988- CQ Press Prize Committee, American Political Science Association , 1985- CQ Press Prize Committee, American Political Science Association; 1985- Membership Committee of the Southern Political Science Association; 1982- ICPSR Acquisition Advisory Committee on Comparative State Politics.

### **Other Professional Service**

Reviewer: National Science Foundation- various years. Journals: American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Quarterly, American Review of Politics, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Policy Studies Journal, Political Research Quarterly, Rural Sociology, Social Science Journal, Social Science Quarterly, and State and Local Government Review. Presses: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Brooks/Cole Press, CQ Press, Dorsey Press, Harper Collins Publishing Company, Kentucky University Press, Ohio State Press, Penn State Press, Random House, University of Wisconsin Press, and West Publishing Company.

### **University Service: Rice University**

Chair: University Graduate Council Subcommittee on Fundraising, 1993-1994  
Chair: University Graduate Council Subcommittee on Finance and Funding, 1992-1993  
Chair: University Graduate Council Subcommittee on Admissions and Recruitment, 1992-1993  
Director: Graduate Admissions, Department of Political Science, 1990-1994  
Director: Graduate Program, 2001-2002  
Member: University Graduate Council, 1990-1996, 2001- 2005, 2007  
Member: Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, 1988-1997 and 2001- 2003 ; also numerous faculty search committees