

Steven S. Smith

Office Address

Weidenbaum Center on the
Economy, Government, and Public Policy
170 Seigle Hall
Washington University
St. Louis, MO 63130
smith@wustl.edu

Education

Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1980
B.A., St. Cloud State University, 1975

Professional Awards and Honors

- Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecturer, University of Oklahoma, 2011
- Excellence in Mentoring Awards, Graduate School, Washington University, 2004, 2005
- Chair, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2007
- Outstanding Faculty Mentor Award, Washington University Graduate School, 2004
- Distinguished McKnight University Professor, University of Minnesota, 1998-2001
- Morse-Alumni Award, University of Minnesota, for contributions to undergraduate education
- National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1992, 1996
- National Science Foundation grants, 1978, 1984, 1996, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2002, 2006, 2009
- Dirksen Congressional Research Center grants, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1988
- Congressional Fellowship, American Political Science Association, 1980-81

Academic and Research Positions

- Kate M. Gregg Distinguished Professor of Social Sciences and Professor of Political Science, Washington University, 2001-present
- Director, Weidenbaum on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy, Washington University, 2001-present
- Director, *The American Panel Survey*, 2011-present
- Distinguished McKnight University Professor of Political Science and Law, University of Minnesota, 1998-2001
- Morse-Alumni Distinguished Teaching Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1996-2001

- Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1990-2000
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1987-1990
- Associate Staff, Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution, 1987-present
- Senior Fellow, Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution, 1985-1987
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1985-1986
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1984-1985
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, 1980-1984
- Instructor, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, 1979-80

Selected Professional and Public Service

- Member, Advisory Council, School of Public Affairs, St. Cloud State University, 2016-present
- Chair, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, 2005-2007
- Board of Directors, Dirksen Congressional Center, Pekin, IL, 2005-2007
- Co-Editor, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1999-2003
- Committee Chair, Patrick Fett Award for the Best Paper on the Scientific Study of Congress and the Presidency, Midwest Political Science Association, 2006-2007
- National Science Foundation, Political Science Panel, 1995-1996
- Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1985-87
- Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1987-1989
- Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, 1997-2000
- Editorial Board, *Congress & the Presidency*, 2000-2003
- Executive Committee, Research Committee of Legislative Scholars, International Political Science Association, 2003-present
- Executive Committee, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, 1989-1994
- Legislative Studies Section Program Chair, 1993 Meeting of the American Political Science Association

Current Research and Writing

Pursuing several projects on the institutional development of the U.S. Congress, including a book-length study of party leadership and the emergence of the modern Senate, with G. Gamm and a book-length study of bias in inter-cameral negotiation processes.

Pursuing several projects on the attitudes and behavior of the American public using *The American Panel Survey*, which I directed. Updating *The American Congress* and *The Principles and Practice of American Politics*.

Books

1. *Steering the Senate: The Development of Party Leadership in the U.S. Senate*, with G. Gamm (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)
2. *Politics Over Process: Partisan Conflict and Post-Passage Processes in the U.S. Congress* (University of Michigan Press, 2017), with H.M. Park and R.J. Vander Wielen
3. *The Senate Syndrome: The Evolution of Parliamentary Warfare in the Modern U.S. Senate* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014)
4. *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process* (Brookings, 2009), with M. Springer
5. *Party Influence in Congress* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)
6. *The Principles and Practice of American Politics* (CQ Press, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2015, 2018), with S. Kernell, edited volume
7. *The Politics of Institutional Choice: The Formation of the Russian State Duma* (Princeton University Press, 2001), with T. Remington
8. *Politics or Principle: Filibustering in the United States Senate* (Brookings, 1997), with S. Binder
9. *Managing Uncertainty in the House of Representatives: Adaptation and Innovation in Special Rules* (Brookings, 1988), with S. Bach
10. *Call to Order: Floor Politics in the House and Senate* (Brookings, 1989)
11. *Committees in Congress* (CQ Press, 1984, 1990, 1997), with C.J. Deering
12. *The American Congress Reader* (Cambridge University Press, 2009, 2012)
13. *The American Congress* (Cambridge University Press, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015; Houghton Mifflin, 1995, 1999, 2003)

Articles and Chapters

1. "Recent Senate Party Leaders in Historical Perspective," in Colton C. Campbell, ed., *Leadership in the U.S. Senate* (New York: Routledge, 2019)
2. "Pathways to Trump: Republican Voters in 2016," *Electoral Studies* (first published April 12, 2019), with P. Tucker, M. Torres, and B. Sinclair.
3. "Party Identification in the Age of Obama: Evidence on the Sources of Stability and Systematic Change in Party Identification from a Long-Term Panel Survey," *Political Research Quarterly* (first published online, July 26, 2018)

4. "It's Largely a Rigged System": Voter Confidence and the Winner Effect in 2016," *Political Research Quarterly* (first published online, April 21, 2018), with P. Tucker and B. Sinclair.
5. "Revisiting Bedrock Values: The Stability and Predictive Power of the Society Works Best Index," *American Politics Research* (first published online, October 11, 2017), with M. Torres.
6. "Leadership and Partisanship in the Modern Senate," in Jeffrey A. Jenkins and Craig Volden, eds., *Leadership in American Politics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2017).
7. "The Dynamics of Party Government in Congress," in L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 11th ed. (CQ Press, 2017), pp. 163-188, with G. Gamm.
8. "Partisanship, Sophistication, and Public Attitudes about Majority Rule and Minority Rights in Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41:4 (November 2016): 841-871, DOI: 10.1111/lsq.12140, with H.M. Park.
9. "Resolved, Senate Rule XXII Should be Amended so that Filibusters Can be End by a Majority Vote," in R. Ellis and M. Nelson, eds., *Debating Reform*, 3rd edition (Los Angeles: CQ Press, 2016): 268-276.
10. "The Dimensionality of Congressional Voting Reconsidered," *American Politics Research* 44:5 (September 2016): 794-815, DOI: 10.1177/1532673X15608940, with J. Roberts and S. Haptonstahl.
11. "Partisan Polarization and the Senate Syndrome," in N. Persily, ed., *Solutions to Political Polarization in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 218-229.
12. "Ideological Labels in America," *Political Behavior* (June 2015): 253-278, with C. Claasen and P. Tucker
13. "Americans' Attitudes about the Senate Filibuster," *American Politics Research* 41:5 (September 2013): 735-7760, with H.M. Park.
14. "Majority Party Power and Procedural Motions in the U.S. Senate," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 2 (May 2013): 205-236.
15. "Congress, the Troubled Institution," in S. Kernell and S. Smith, eds., *Principles and Practice of American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings* (CQ Press, 2013): 204-219.
16. "Majority Party Bias in U.S. Congressional Conference Committees," *Congress & the Presidency* 38:3 (September-December 2011): 271-300, with R. Vander Wielen
17. "The Senate Syndrome." In Burdette A. Loomis, ed., *The U.S. Senate: From Deliberation to Dysfunction* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2011): 132-158.
18. "Resolved, Senate Rule XXII Should Be Amended so that Filibusters Can be Ended by Majority Vote," in R. Ellis and M. Nelson, eds., *Debating Reform: Conflicting Perspectives on How to Fix the American Political System* (CQ Press, 2011), pp. 189-196.
19. "Choosing Presidential Candidates," in S. Smith and M. Springer, eds., *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process* (Brookings, 2009), pp. 1-22
20. "Going Nuclear, Senate Style," *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (December 2007): 729-40, with S. Binder and A. Madonna.
21. "The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Institutions in Congress: Path Dependency in House and Senate Institutional Development," in D. Brady and M. McCubbins, eds.,

- Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress*, Volume 2 (Stanford University Press, 2007): 165-181
22. "Law Making and Decree Making in the Russian Federation: Time, Space, and Rules in Russian National Policy Making," *Post-Soviet Affairs* (July 2006), with M. Haspel and T. Remington
 23. "Who Wins? Party Effects in Legislative Voting," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31 (February 2006), pp. 33-69, with E. Lawrence and F. Maltzman
 24. "The Dynamics of Party Government in Congress," in L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 8th ed. (CQ Press, 2005), pp. 181-206, with G. Gamm
 25. "Parties and Leadership in the Senate," in S. Binder and P. Quirk, eds., *The Legislative Branch and American Democracy: Institutions and Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2005)
 26. "Procedural Contexts, Party Strategy, and Conditional Party Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1971-2000," *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (April 2003): 305-17, with J. Roberts
 27. "Judicial Review, the Congressional Process, and the Federalism Cases," *Yale Law Journal* 111:7 (May 2002), pp. 1707-56, with P. Frickey
 28. "Tracking the Filibuster," *American Politics Research* 30 (July 2002), pp. 406-422, with S. Binder and E. Lawrence.
 29. "Positive Theories of Congressional Parties," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (May 2000), Rod Kiewiet, special editor; reprinted in G. Loewenberg, P. Squire, and D. R. Kiewiet, eds., *Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives on Representative Assemblies* (University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 224-46.
 30. "Last Among Equals: The Presiding Officer of the Senate," in B. Loomis, ed., *Esteemed Colleagues: Civility and Deliberation in the United States Senate* (Brookings Institution, 2000), pp. 105-36, with G. Gamm
 31. "The Emergence of Senate Party Leadership," in B. Oppenheimer, ed., *Senate Exceptionalism* (Ohio State University Press, 2002), with G. Gamm
 32. "The Dynamics of Party Government in Congress," in L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th ed. (CQ Press, 2001), pp. 245-268, with G. Gamm
 33. "Policy Leadership and the Development of the Modern Senate," in D. Brady and M. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress* (Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 287-311, with G. Gamm
 34. "Decrees, Laws, and Inter-Branch Relations in the Russian Federation," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14 (1998): 287-322, with T. Remington and M. Haspel
 35. "Political Goals and Procedural Choice in the Senate," *Journal of Politics* (May 1998), with S. Binder
 36. "The Politics and Principle of the Senate Filibuster," *Extensions* (Fall 1997): 15-9.
 37. "Electoral Institutions and Party Cohesion in the Russian Duma," *Journal of Politics* (May 1998), with T. Remington
 38. "Congressional Leadership, Public Opinion, and Health Care Reform," *Political Science Quarterly* 113 (1998): 21-41, with L. Jacobs, E. Lawrence, and R. Shapiro
 39. "Theories of Legislative Institutions and the Organization of the Russian Duma," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 1998), with T. Remington

40. "News Media, Candidates and Issues, and Public Opinion in the 1996 Presidential Campaign," *Journalism and Mass Communications Quarterly* (Winter 1997), with D. Fan, D. Domke, D. Shah, and M. Watts
41. "Studying Russia," Extension of Remarks, *APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter*, July 1997, pp. 6-8, with D.R. Kiewiet
42. "Commitment, Coordination, and the Demise of the Post-Communist Parliament in Russia," in D. Weimer, ed., *The Political Economy of Property Rights* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)
43. "Political Goals, Institutional Context, and the Choice of an Electoral System: The Russian Parliamentary Election Law," *American Journal of Political Science* (November 1996), with T. Remington
44. "Party Control of Committees in the Republican Congress," with E. Lawrence, in L.C.Dodd and B.I.Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 6th ed. (CQ Press, 1997)
45. "Parliaments On Line," *Electronic Government International* (October 1996): 28-30
46. "The Collapse of Communism and the Development of Parliamentary Institutions in Russia," *Dare to Know: The Journal of the Moscow School of Political Studies* (Fall 1995): 28-61, with T. Remington
47. "Acquired Procedural Tendencies and Congressional Reform," in R. Davidson and J. Thurber, eds., *Remaking Congress* (CQ Press, 1995), with S. Binder
48. "The Development of Parliamentary Parties in Russia," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (November, 1995), with T. Remington
49. "Principals, Goals, Dimensionality, and Congressional Committees," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (November, 1994), pp. 457-76, with F. Maltzman; also in K. Shepsle and B. Weingast, *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions* (University of Michigan Press, 1995)
50. "Committees: An Overview," in *Encyclopedia of the United States Congress* (Simon and Shuster, 1995)
51. "House of Representatives: An Overview," in *Encyclopedia of the United States Congress* (Simon and Shuster, 1995)
52. "Forces of Change in Senate Party Leadership and Organizations," in L.C.Dodd and B.I.Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 4th ed. (CQ Press, 1994)
53. "Congressional Leaders and Foreign Policy," in Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Congress and the Making of Foreign Policy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1994)
54. "Foreign Policy and the Modern Speakership," in Ronald Peters, ed., *The Evolving Speakership* (CQ Press, 1994), with Mark Watts
55. "The Congressional Committee System," in Joel Silbey, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Legislative Systems* (Scribner's Sons, 1994), pp. 641-667
56. "Transitional Institutions and Parliamentary Alignments in Russia, 1990-1993," in T. Remington, *Parliaments in Transition* (Westview, 1994), with T. Remington, R. Kiewiet, and M. Haspel
57. "Voting Alignments in the Russian Congress of Peoples' Deputies," in L. Longley, ed., *Working Papers on Comparative Legislative Studies* (Research Committee of Legislative Specialists, International Political Science Association, 1993)

58. "Revolution in the House: Why Don't We Do It on the Floor?" in Robert L. Peabody and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *New Perspectives on the House of Representatives*, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992)
59. "The Senate in the Postreform Era," in Roger Davidson, ed., *The Postreform Congress* (St. Martin's Press, 1991)
60. "Informal Leadership in the Senate," in John Kornacki, ed., *Leading Congress* (CQ Press, 1990)
61. "Managing the Senate Floor: Complex Unanimous Complex Agreements Since the 1950s," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (August, 1989), with M. Flathman, reprinted in John Hibbing, ed., *The Changing World of the U.S. Senate* (Berkeley: IGS Press, 1990)
62. "Sequence, Position, Goals, and Committee Power," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (May, 1988), an earlier version appeared as Brookings Discussion Paper No. 12, September, 1987
63. "Taking It to the Floor," in L. C. Dodd and B. I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 4th ed. (CQ Press, 1989)
64. "The Iran Arms Sale and the Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980," PS 20 (Winter 1987), with J.M. McCormick
65. "O'Neill's Legacy for the House," *Brookings Review* (Winter 1987)
66. "The Central Concepts in Fenno's Committee Research," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (February 1986)
67. "New Patterns of Decisionmaking in Congress," in P. Peterson and J. Chubb, eds., *A New Direction in American Politics* (Brookings, 1985)
68. "Subcommittees in Congress," with C.J. Deering, in L.C. Dodd and B.I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 3rd ed. (CQ Press, 1985)
69. "Committee Size in the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (November 1984), with B.A. Ray
70. "The Impact of Congressional Reform: House Democratic Committee Assignments," *Congress and the Presidency* (Fall 1983), with B.A. Ray
71. "Generational Change and Congressional Staff Allocation," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1983), with S. Schiff
72. "Changing Motives for Committee Preferences of New Members of the U.S. House," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1983), with C.J. Deering
73. "The Budget Battles of 1981: The Role of the Majority Party Leadership," in A.P. Sindler, ed., *American Politics and Public Policy* (CQ Press, 1982)
74. "Majority Leadership and the New House Subcommittee System," in F.H. Mackaman, ed., *Understanding Congressional Leadership* (CQ Press, 1981), with C.J. Deering
75. "The Consistency and Ideological Structure of U.S. Senate Voting Alignments," *American Journal of Political Science* (1981)

Books—Consultant on Series for Children

Kids' Guide to Government Series

Jessica Gunderson, *Understanding Your Role in Elections* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, 2018)

Emma Carlson Berne, *Understanding How You Can Help* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, 2018)

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