The Organizational Life of the Congressional Parties

Thomas H. Little, *University of Texas, Arlington*
Samuel C. Patterson, *Ohio State University*

The organizational life of the congressional parties is elucidated by using elite interviews with 65 congressional party leaders and staff to elaborate and explicate the organization and leadership, internal linkages, and activities such as information exchange, agenda management, issue coordination, publicity, recruitment, and campaign assistance. It is concluded that the recent emergence of more substantial congressional party organizations contributes to legislative party cohesion by providing a common information base, more opportunity for participation in the development of party positions and strategies, and more interaction that forewarns of intraparty divisiveness.

Congressional parties matter. They give form and shape to much, if not most, of what Congress does. That Congress determines the lion's share of important questions of public policy along party lines is no mere artifact of impersonal environmental realities or surrogate variables. The congressional parties are viable and robust, with a distinct organizational life.

Yet, scholars have found congressional parties enigmatic and illusive. For eras of heightened partisanship, scholars have embraced journalistic characterizations of congressional leaders as "bosses" or "czars," implying a paradox of direct arbitrary rule by party leaders over an atomized rank-and-file. For more quiescent times, partisan cleavages in Congress, such as they are, may be attributed to the inexorable pressures of constituency forces. Whatever their bent, scholars often find congressional parties difficult to capture. "In Congress," one scholar concluded,". . . parties can be important while often appearing irrelevant" (Eldersveld 1982, 370). There is a certain mystery in congressional party life. Sometimes scholars throw up their hands: "It is about as difficult to write about congressional parties without revealing ambivalence as it is to pin a butterfly without first netting it" (Keefe 1988, 227). Even a distinguished congressional scholar found "party . . . uncommonly hard to describe and characterize not unlike the fog—you know it is there but you are uncertain where it came from, where it is headed, or what its purpose is while there" (Jones 1982, 308).

_____

THOMAS H. LITTLE is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas, Arlington.
SAMUEL C. PATTERSON is Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University.

Certainly, congressional party life does not show up too well at a distance. Those who have studied Congress with great depth and intensity readily discern that "much that occurs in the vicinity of Capitol Hill is not visible even to the close observer . . ." (Truman 1959, vi). Much of the organizational and leadership activity of the congressional parties is subterranean. Understanding congressional parties requires "observation-based research"—watching what goes on close to the action, and interviewing the actors (Fenno 1990).

We have sought to penetrate the surface of congressional party politics by conducting focused interviews with some sixty-five congressional party leaders and staffers, conducted over several years. Our objective was to elaborate and explicate the organizational life of the congressional parties by focusing upon their activities, internal linkages, leadership, and exchanges of information. First, we need to say a few words about the nature of congressional parties.

Theory of Congressional Parties

Theorizing about political parties has been confined almost entirely to the national, extra-parliamentary parties, rather than to parties inside the representative assembly (*viz.* Downs 1957; Kamens 1989; Pomper 1992; Ranney 1968; Schlesinger 1984, 1985, 1991; Strom 1990). This theorizing ranges widely, but its core concerns the centrality of office-seeking to party theory. Yet, obviously political parties can have a more intensive part to play within the legislature than without. While legislatures can operate without parties, Schlesinger is right to say that "whereas one can imagine popular elections without political parties, it is less easy to perceive a legislature functioning without party organization" (1991, 172).

Although legislative parties are likely to be responsive to members' re-election because their leaders wish to win or continue party leadership and sustain or capture legislative control, office-seeking or re-election cannot be considered their exclusive incentive. Legislative parties can march to very different drummers. They may serve to distribute office benefits, from the ignoble perquisites of office-holding to the noble responsibility of upholding, or seeking to form, a government. Again, policy influence or control may be the legislative party's most urgent goal—shaping and controlling the agenda, aggregating party members' policy preferences, providing purpose and programs to government, fulfilling ideological commitments.

Within these terms, three types of legislative parties emerge. The first is highly oriented to office benefits, and can be called a *maintaining party*. This legislative party may be office-centered in the crassest way,

manipulating constituency boundaries, the nominating process, campaign funding, and credit-claiming opportunities in order to assure the perpetuation of incumbents in office. A maintaining legislative party may seek to achieve or protect majority control so as to acquire or retain committee chairmanships, house leadership, or patronage posts, but legislative parties are sometimes known tenaciously to nurture minority status, as well. Such a party may appear as a "mediate" structure in the legislative organization, having only a passive, relatively remote and indirect role in decision making. In parliamentary systems, the maintaining party puts into office and supports the government of the day, or its alternative, and it may be called upon to enact the government's program or provide a loyal opposition (Budge & Keman 1990). Cabinet stability in parliamentary regimes often (perhaps a quarter of the time) depends upon sustaining parliamentary coalitions, rather than upon elections (von Beyme 1983, 352-353).

A second type of legislative party organization is highly programmatic. Its function may be to exhibit, even magnify, ideological cleavage in the political system. It is an *ideological party*. The pure ideological party is more concerned about ideology, issues, the sanctity of its manifesto, and the integrity of its policy program than it is about holding office or winning majorities. Ideological legislative parties tend to absorb the goals and purposes of their members, they tend to be confrontational in relation to other parties, and they are likely to be combative. These can be "fighting parties," though for organizational reasons perhaps less so within the legislature than outside. A tamer version is the "responsible party"—with a well-defined program articulated prior to legislative elections, and with the determination and will to enact its program into law upon capturing a legislative majority.

For a legislative party, office benefits or programmatic concerns may not be paramount. A third type of legislative party focuses upon its organizational life. This *integrative party* is a "community with a particular structure," and characterized primarily by its "anatomy" (to borrow phrases from Duverger 1954, xv; also, see Pannebianco 1988, 54-59; March & Olsen 1989, 131-132). The integrative party may have office benefit and policy program concerns, but its central thrust is organizational. It seeks to be inclusive and participatory, drawing as many as possible of its representative-members into the active community of the legislative party. Its organizational culture is rife with bargaining, consensus-building activity. Its leaders place a high premium upon socio-emotional role playing—"keeping peace in the family" (Sinclair 1983).

The community life of the integrative party fosters the emergence of one or more forums in which organizational matters and policy issues can be discussed, debated, and deliberated. Moreover, the integrative party is

highly service oriented, succouring and obliging its members' needs for information, consolation, political respiration, or pork barrel support. In the maintaining party, the expectation is that members will support the government (or the opposition, or, perhaps, the incumbents); in the ideological party, members are expected to support the party program consistent with party doctrine; in the integrative party, members are expected to participate, to join forums for the discussion of organizational and policy issues, to share services, and to engage in coalition-building.

While congressional parties clearly are concerned about the maintenance of power, and are characterized by ideological differences, they are, above all, integrative parties. These parties are social *networks*—complexities of interpersonal linkages among members who share identity, policy preferences, loyalties, electoral fate, trust, respect, and friendship (e.g., Caldeira & Patterson 1987, 1988). These linkages manifest what Congressman David E. Price (D-NC), in a slightly different connection, referred to as "the web of party" (1984, 51-93). The congressional parties are, however loosely bounded, distinctive *authority structures*, with articulated leadership roles, relevant rules and procedures, and functional party committees.

In the congressional organization, the substantive standing and special committees of the two houses provide the division of policy-making labor, while the party apparatus contributes coordination, agglutination, or integration (see Cooper 1977). Leon Epstein cogently pinpointed this integrative process as follows (1986, 54):

> . . . the congressional party may be perceived as a means for working with and through a decentralized structure rather than as a replacement for that structure. The centripetal force of party may thus be complementary to the centrifugal force of the committee system. Just as Congress decentralizes its great authority to ensure specialized consideration, so it also, at some point in the legislative process, has a mechanism sufficiently integrative to facilitate majority decision-making.

Again, the congressional party organizations manifest themselves as *patterned activities*, exhibited in sequences of meetings of "the leadership," caucuses, campaign and policy committees, committees on committees, task forces, whips, and others. Finally, congressional parties embrace *information flows*, so that resources of knowledge, intelligence, or analysis are exchanged among leaders and with rank-and-file members.

The Organization of the Congressional Parties

Party organization in Congress is, in important ways, government by committee. The committees of the four congressional parties—the House

and Senate Democrats, and the House and Senate Republicans—are creatures of their respective party caucuses (or conferences, as the Republicans call them). These congressional parties organize three major types of party committees: (1) committees to consider policy-related issues, including policy formulation, scheduling, and strategy; (2) committees to work out assignment of members to standing committees of the house, and recommend these assignments to the party caucus; and (3) committees to raise campaign money and provide campaign support, seeking to elect members of their party to the house.

The contemporary formal party committee structure of the congressional houses is arrayed in Table 1. The Democratic Study Group (DSG) constitutes an important part of the House Democratic party organization, although it is not included in Table 1 because it is not, strictly speaking, an official party organ. Nevertheless, it must be included in any analysis of the House Democrats because fully 90 percent of the Democratic members belong to the DSG, its chairman is part of the leadership by virtue of his status in the whip organization, and the DSG has evolved as the accepted party arm for the provision of policy information (in the absence of a more policy-oriented Steering and Policy Committee). These party committees are creatures of the party caucuses, which themselves are committees of the whole for members of the four congressional parties.

Party Government by Committee

Policy committees have had a checkered history within the congressional parties. Originally, these committees were called "steering" committees. The House Republicans first established such a committee in 1919. This committee was part of the collegial leadership centering around Majority Leader Frank Mondell (R-WY) and created to make day-to-day decisions about party policy and scheduling legislation. Democrats in the House developed a similar policy committee, under the leadership of Speaker Henry T. Rainey (D-IL), when they won a majority in the 1932 election. But these party leadership entities were effective only irregularly for much of their early history (see Bone 1958; Jones 1964, 1970; Ripley 1969).

In 1949, the House Republicans renamed the Steering Committee, calling it the Policy Committee, and enlarged its membership. But it did not come to be what it is today until 1959, when the Committee was reconstituted by Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R-IN), who agreed that the leader no longer should chair the Committee, but that there should be a separate Policy Committee chairman (Jones 1964). In 1965 a subcommittee of the House Republican Policy Committee (called the Subcommittee on

Table 1. Party Committees of the 102nd Congress

Committees	Number of Members	Function
HOUSE DEMOCRATS		
Steering and Policy	33[a]	Discusses and endorses party policy; recommends Democratic committee assignments to caucus; serves as an executive arm of the Democratic caucus.
Campaign	75[b]	Seeks to elect Democrats to the House.
Personnel	1	Oversees Democratic patronage appointments.
HOUSE REPUBLICANS		
Policy	34	Considers policy proposals and seeks consensus among Republicans.
Research	22[c]	Forms task forces to consider policy alternatives; conducts research.
Committee on Committees	21[d]	Makes Republican committee assignments.
Campaign	51[e]	Seeks to elect Republicans to the House.
SENATE DEMOCRATS		
Policy	21[f]	Considers party positions on legislation and assists the party leader in scheduling bills.
Steering	25	Makes Democratic committee assignments.
Campaign	30	Seeks to elect Democrats to the Senate.
SENATE REPUBLICANS		
Policy	22	Considers party policy positions, advises on party strategy.
Committee on Committees	4	Makes Republican committee assignments.
Campaign	11	Seeks to elect Republicans to the Senate.

[a] Includes eleven members appointed by the Speaker, twelve elected by regions, and ten *ex officio* members.

[b] Includes a chairman, a vice chairman, six co-chairmen, four *ex officio* members, fifty elected members, eight Speaker's appointees, and six at-large members.

[c] Executive committee; all Republican representatives are members.

[d] Executive committee; full committee includes one Republican from each state with Republican representation.

[e] Includes a chairman, forty-two elected members, three class representatives, and five *ex officio* members.

[f] Includes a chairman and co-chairman, four vice chairmen, thirteen elected members, and two members *ex officio*.

Special Projects) was spun off as a separate Research Committee. Consisting today of 34 House Republicans and a small staff, the Policy Committee meets regularly and is actively involved in formulating policy positions and circulating policy statements in behalf of the Republican Conference. Coordinating with the Policy Committee, the Research Committee establishes and manages task forces for the study of salient issues and formulates position statements. During the 102nd Congress, seven task forces were at work, concerned with criminal justice, defense, domestic policy, economic policy, the environment, foreign policy, and trade. These task forces were broken down, in turn, into 46 subcommittees, each focusing upon a substantive policy area.

On the House Democratic side, the present Steering and Policy Committee came into being in 1973, and the task of recommending Democratic committee assignments was conferred upon it the next year. As a policy committee, it serves as an executive committee for the Democratic caucus, as a forum for the exchange of information, and as an apparatus for coordinating with standing committee chairmen. Occasionally, the committee has endorsed bills, especially budget bills. Four chairman of important House committees now serve *ex officio* on the Steering and Policy Committee—the chairmen of the Appropriations, Budget, Rules, and Ways and Means Committees. Moreover, among the Speaker's appointees to the committee have been leaders of the party whip organization (in the 102nd Congress, three chief deputy whips and a floor whip were committee members). Because the committee is chaired by the Speaker and he appoints nearly a third of its members, it is an important vehicle for majority party leadership in the House.

Senate party policy committees were created by law in the late 1940s, but their style and activities have, over the years, been shaped to the preferences and expectations of the party leader. The policy committees of the Senate parties are important, but not as central, to party leadership as in the House of Representatives. The Senate Democratic Policy Committee is chaired by the leader. The Republican leader is a member of his party's Policy Committee, but is not its chairman. The Senate Democratic Policy Committee is a service agency, disseminating information about issues and provisions of legislation to Democratic senators and hosting a weekly luncheon meeting for the Democratic caucus, or conference. The Policy Committee is, essentially, a staff operation and the staff is, in effect, the staff of the Democratic Conference. By the same token, the Senate Republican Policy Committee is largely a staff operation, providing information to Republican senators and sponsoring a weekly luncheon meeting, but the Republican Conference has its own separate staff.

Each of the four congressional parties establishes a committee on committees for the purpose of accumulating members' committee assignment preferences, assembling a roster of committee assignments to recommend to the party caucus, and recommending committee chairmanships. House reforms in 1910-11, among other things, transferred the power to appoint standing committee members and their chairmen from the Speaker to the majority party caucus. Thereupon, the Democratic Caucus formed a committee on committees, consisting of the Democratic membership of the House Ways and Means Committee. A new wave of House reforms in the early 1970s included changes in the committee assignment process. Now, House Democrats invest committee assignment in the Steering and Policy Committee. Because a majority of the committee are party leaders or are appointed by the Speaker, who chairs the committee, House majority party committee assignments are largely in the hands of the party leaders, subject to caucus approval.

The House Republican Committee on Committees, created in 1917, is chaired by the party leader. This committee designates Republican members of standing committees and their ranking members (except that the Republican leader directly appoints the minority membership of the Rules Committee), and these recommendations are not subject to approval by the Republican Conference. The Committee's processes are somewhat unusual. In order to provide representation from across the country, each Republican state delegation chooses a Committee member. This makes for quite a large committee, so for operating purposes it chooses an executive committee (presently consisting of 21 members). A system of weighted voting is employed to make committee assignments, reflecting the varying sizes of the state delegations. Recognizing that leaders should carry more influence in committee assignment than rank-and-file members, House Republicans afford the floor leader and whip extra votes. While the approval of the Republican Conference is not required for committee assignments to be finalized, the executive committee's decisions are contingent upon ratification by the full membership of the Committee on Committees.

Committees on committees were the first party committees to be established in the Senate, dating back to the Civil War period. For the Senate Democrats, this committee is called the Steering Committee. Until 1988, it was chaired by the Democratic leader; but, in an effort to widen participation in party decision making, newly elected Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) appointed Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-HA) to serve as chairman. The Senate Republican Committee on Committees and its chairman are designated by the chairman of the Republican Conference. The Democratic committee also nominates standing committee chairmen, subject to a

conference vote if a fifth of its members request it. Ranking Republican standing committee members are chosen by each committee's minority members, subject to conference approval.

Congressional campaign committees can be traced back to the mid-19th century, but they have developed into substantial election enterprises only since the late 1970s. All four congressional parties create campaign committees to help recruit candidates capable of winning congressional seats for their party, to provide technical campaign advice and assistance to candidates, and, above all, to raise and dispense millions of dollars in campaign funds. These committees are well-institutionalized today—in the House, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC); and, in the Senate, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) and the national Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC). Enjoying large and well-organized staffs, these campaign committees have a considerable direct influence upon congressional campaigns in their party, and a substantial role in channeling and allocating campaign money flowing from political action committees (PACs).

The official party committee structure does not exhaust the party organization of the congressional houses. The caucuses and their staffs, the leaders' staffs, semi-official units such as the Democratic Study Group, task forces with specific policy purposes, the whip organizations, and the House Rules Committee all take their part in the organizational life of the four congressional parties.

Networks of Action

The congressional parties as interactive networks integrate diverse, decentralized components of their organizations. As Figure 1 illustrates, the component units of the congressional parties interact with one another in various ways. Within each party, a network of information and coordination links the several party offices and leaders. Of course, each component unit is an interactive network unto itself. Thus, the House Republican whip coordinates activities with the other leaders of units of the House Republican party, but he is responsible primarily for coordinating the activities of the vote-counting tactical whips and the policy-oriented strategic whips.

The intra-party networks are built around six types of interaction: (1) organizational direction; (2) agenda setting activity; (3) provision and exchange of information; (4) campaign and election activity; (5) political coordination; and (6) procedural coordination. These features of intra-party linkages are depicted in Figure 1, where we show the strongest, most prominent connections between party units.

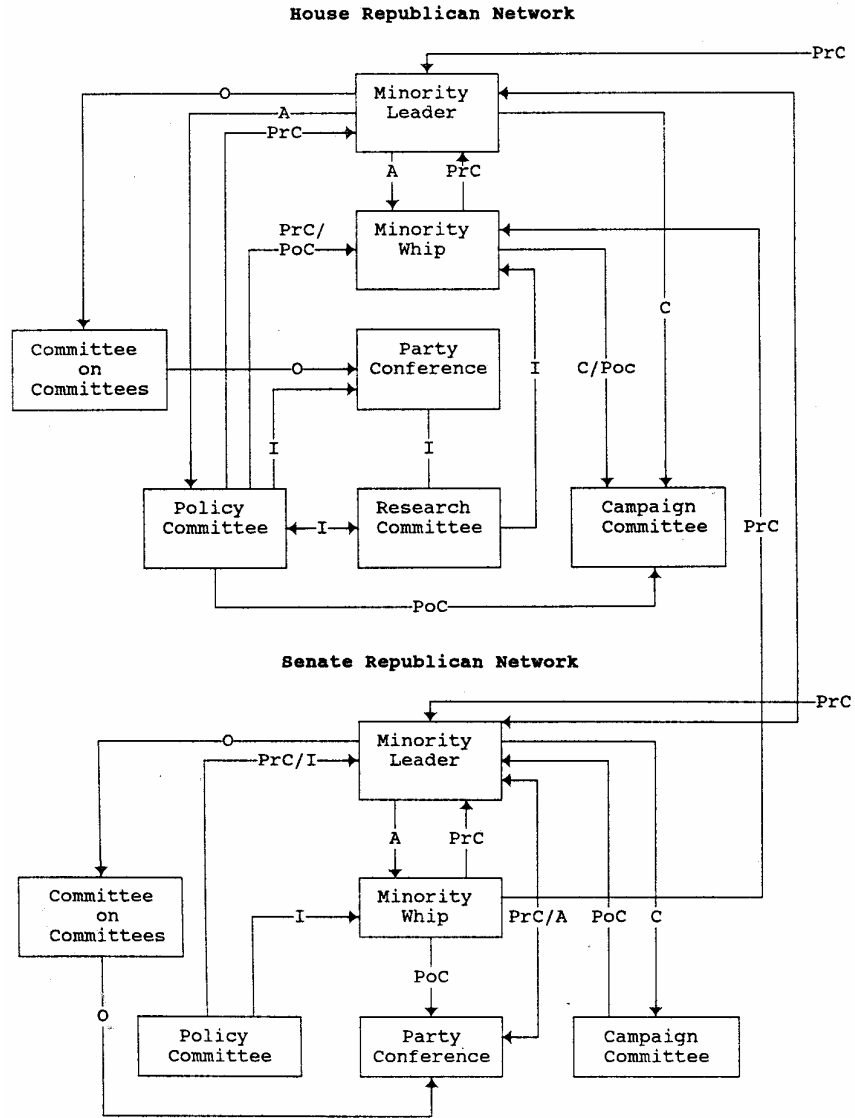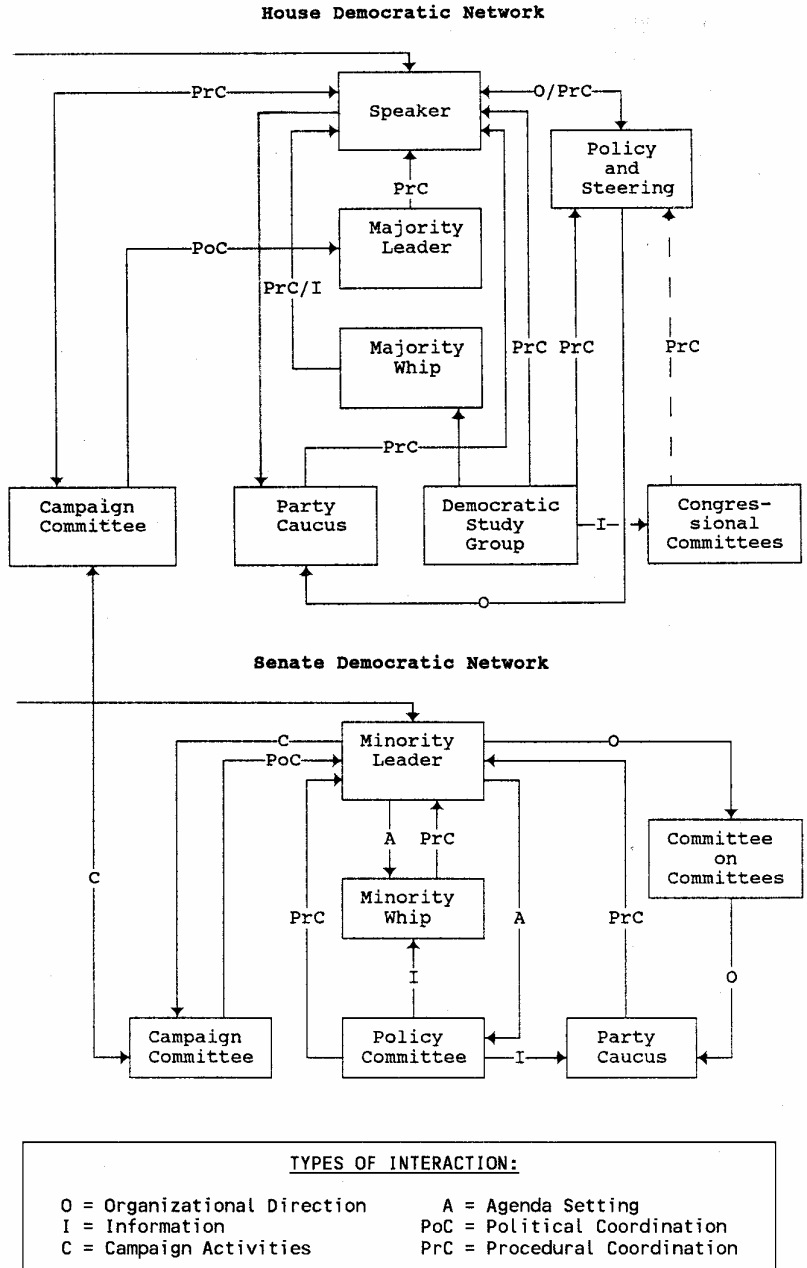**Figure 1. Congressional Party Organizational Networks**

Figure 1. (Continued)

House Democratic Network

Senate Democratic Network

TYPES OF INTERACTION:

O = Organizational Direction   A = Agenda Setting
I = Information   PoC = Political Coordination
C = Campaign Activities   PrC = Procedural Coordination

Organizational and Agenda Direction

At the beginning of each new congress, the parties organize themselves to meet their legislative and representative responsibilities. While these organizational functions once were performed by one or a few leaders, these decisions are now a part of the organizational network of congressional parties. While recommendations for committee positions are made by the appropriate committee on committees, the speaker or the floor leader select the members of those committees and play a strong advisory role in committee assignment. For example, as Chairman of the Steering and Policy Committee, the Speaker of the House plays a central role in the committee process. Rules changes for the 103rd Congress seem destined to enhance the organizational power of the speaker even more. Although the caucus has the power to ignore the recommendations of the committee, they seldom exercise that prerogative.

In organizing the party, the leaders and the members of the committee look to meet the needs of individual members as well as of the party as a whole. Members submit requests and lobby the leaders and committee members for positions (Keefe and Ogul 1993, 188). According to a staff member of the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, committee assignments and chairmanships are made with an eye toward committee seniority, individual desire, regional support and partisan interest. The leaders and members of the Committee on Committees generally attempt to satisfy the members.

In addition to setting the tone of the session with committee assignments, leaders influence policy direction throughout the congressional session. Leaders of the parties interact with component units to establish what issues will be placed on, or removed from, the agenda. While party organizational units often determine their own agendas, actors such as the policy committees and the caucus leaders look to the floor leaders to suggest topics for discussion or research. A staff member of the House Democratic Caucus explained this:

> We meet every Monday. Basically for us this is the main thing, since we are in the midst of a pretty busy schedule most of the time. But a lot of things are defined outside of the caucus. If the Speaker wants to do something, or the Majority Leader wants to do something, we generally do it . . . . On Monday, we go over our schedule for the week . . . The Majority Leader, every day that the House is in session, has a message of the day. At this meeting we find out what are the issues of the week. We also set the legislative schedule, and that determines what we talk about—what we talk about is always linked to the legislative schedule.

Leaders may establish agenda priorities without necessarily shaping the substantive particulars of policy. A House Republican leadership staff member, characterizing the role of the Republican Leader in relation to the Policy Committee, observed:

> Generally, the leadership decides what issues will come to policy. They don't decide the position of the policy committee. It is up to the committee to do that.

House Minority Leader Robert Michel (R-IL) has shaped the agenda of the Republican Policy Committee by asking its chairman to establish task forces to consider particular policy issues, such as child care, congressional reform, or Central America.

Exchange of Information

Information exchange is endemic to the congressional party organizations. A number of committees in the congressional parties routinely publish substantive information concerning significant issues. Indeed, it often seems that Congress is awash in information! This material includes policy-neutral facts about an issue, the positions of major actors, justifications for a particular vote, or explanations of strategies and procedures. In order to avoid duplication of effort, party committees exchange information. Floor leaders and whips use the information provision and dissemination capabilities of their party committees and staffs in order to coordinate coalition-building efforts.

A characteristic information flow develops in the relationship between the House Republican Conference, the Policy Committee, and the Research Committee. These three entities provide coordinated use of information. The Research Committee is "a general clearing house for information," as one staff member described it. It provides general information on a policy position to the Policy Committee. Once the Policy Committee has processed that information, it may issue a policy paper or statement expressing the House Republican position. That policy position contributes to building a party consensus at the caucus meetings when a bill is under active consideration and moving toward floor action. A Republican Policy Committee staff member explained:

> We will not bring an issue to a vote in the executive session [of the Policy Committee] if there is not an emerging consensus. It serves no purpose. The purpose of having a policy statement that represents your conference is so that you can unify the conference . . . and help them project that in debate and voting on the floor.

The process of information exchange is crucial in setting party agendas, developing intra-party consensus, and building effective coalitions.

Political and Procedural Coordination

Naturally, party leaders interact with their fellow partisans to determine what issues can be placed on the party agenda. While the component units of the congressional parties often set their own agendas, policy committees and caucus leaders to look to the majority or minority leaders for policy areas or issues for discussion or research. In the House parties, this is especially well-illustrated by the task force movement of recent years (Garand 1986, 1988; Sinclair 1983, 138-146). This agenda-shaping is handsomely illustrated in the description of the process provided by a staff member of the House Democratic caucus:

> . . . the majority leader has the power to form task forces on issues that he thinks are important and need to be dealt with. He is very interested in competitiveness, so he has a competitiveness task force . . . . the whole point of its existence   is to come up with a legislative package within a year or two.

When there is some urgency, agenda-piercing efforts may emerge, as they did in 1991, when a House Democratic task force underscored the particulars of the Democratic version of campaign finance reform to its party caucus, or when a Senate Republican task force unveiled its party's plan to provide more extensive health care coverage.

Procedural coordination is essential to a highly decentralized organization. Congressional party leaders coordinate the timing and scheduling of activities so that party members are not caught by surprise. Such coordinating is well-exemplified by the role of the House majority leader: majority leaders "do floor scheduling, which is their main job, . . . in consultation with the speaker . . . . the speaker ultimately has the authority to decide the floor schedule, although it is the majority leader who does 99 percent of the work with that." Moreover, procedural coordination is central to the "steering" part of the function of the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. This committee, recounted one of its staff,

> . . . is an arm of the leadership . . . to make sure that the committees and leadership are in sync . . . . the committee doesn't want to see the leadership until it comes to the floor, and then they say, okay, we got this bill out of committee, and we hope you can pass it without any amendments . . . . Our greatest resource is to keep in touch with committees, keep them prepared, and get them ready for the floor.

Linkages between party and committee leaders tend to be recursive, with committee chairmen informing floor leaders about their committee's schedule and activity, and party leaders coordinating with the chairmen regarding the calendar and floor schedule.

Much procedural coordination occurs at the weekly leadership meetings held by all four of the congressional parties. The leaders use these meetings to set the schedule of the respective chambers and marshall the work of the various party committees. The leadership meetings are instrumental in determining the issues to be examined by the caucuses, the research committees, or the whip organizations, and coordinating the diverse activities of these party committees. In addition, interparty coordination among leaders is essential, particularly in the Senate, to establish the schedule of legislative business.

The whip organization of the House of Representatives has come to provide a vital environment for political and procedural coordination, especially for Democrats. While the party caucuses and policy committees provide arenas for interaction among members, and between rank-and-file members and party leaders, the whip systems provide an alternative *venue* for intra-party coordination. The modern-day House whip system dates from the mid-1970s, when Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. (D-MA) encouraged enlarging the number of whips and approved regular whip meetings. Over the last twenty years, the history of the House whip organizations is a story of growth in size and inclusiveness (see Dodd & Sullivan 1981; Ripley 1964; Rohde 1991, 82-90; Sinclair 1983, 55-67). Figure 2 charts the expansion of the House Democratic whip organization since the 90th Congress (1967-69), and Figure 3 shows the development of the Republican whip organization over the same years. For House Democrats, growth in the number of whips began under the aegis of Majority Whip John Brademas (D-IN), and continued apace during the now-Speaker Foley's tenure as whip (1981-1987). At the close of the 1960s, the Democratic whip organization numbered twenty-one members, less than 9 percent of House Democrats. By the early 1990s, one-hundred House Democrats were counted as whips, nearly two-fifths of the Democratic membership. The Republican whip organization also grew in size from the mid-1970s through the 1980s, but when Newt Gingrich (R-GA) became whip he streamlined and reduced the size of the whip apparatus.

The coordinative efforts of the Democratic whip organization develop importantly through the creation of *ad hoc* whip task forces. One key Democratic staff member explained the process:

Figure 2. House Democratic Whip System, 1967-1993
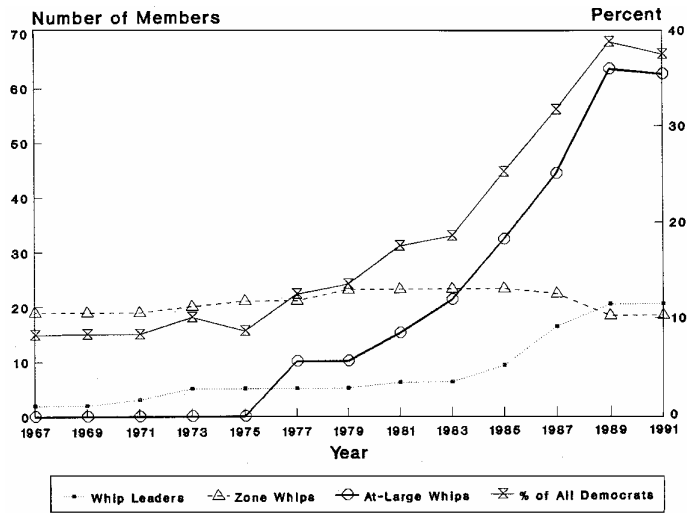
Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Staff Directory,* various issues.

Figure 3. House Republican Whip System 1967-1993
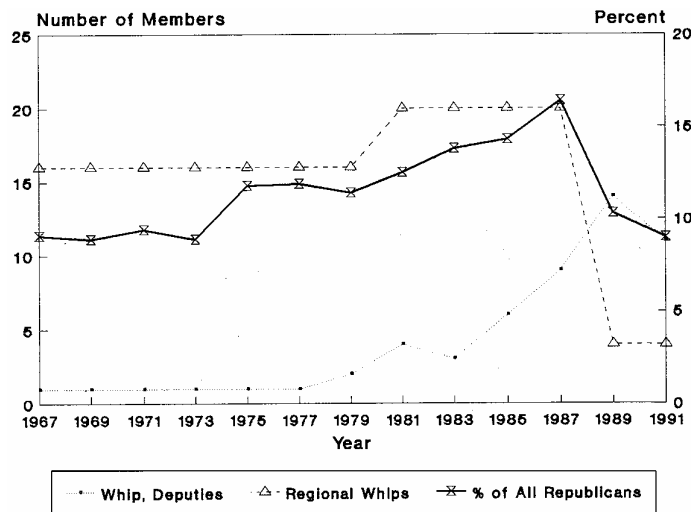
Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Staff Directory,* various issues.

> . . . take the issue of the balanced budget amendment. The first thing we do is the whip organization does a count. They count the members by having each of the regional whip people ask their members, "Will you oppose a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget?" You get those results back, and you get a certain number of people that say they won't support a constitutional amendment, a certain number of them will, and a vast majority in the middle who say they are leaning one way or another so they are undecided . . . . So, then you appoint a whip task force of members who are involved or interested in the issue—people on the Budget Committee . . . . on the Ways and Means Committee . . . . Then, you've got some people who are sort of professional whips, who have been doing whipping continuously on a lot of issues. This task force divides up the Democratic membership, and tries to get people to make a final decision, yes or no. And you try to get 218, or in this case 145, members together to block a constitutional amendment.

Political coordination of this kind has become a major, if not the main, function of the Democratic whip organization.

Campaign Assistance

The congressional campaign committees developed to provide support and assistance to candidates, mainly incumbents, for election to the House and Senate (Bone 1958; Herrnson 1988). The House campaign committees developed into significant agencies to assist in the campaigns of their partisans, partly because of the entrepreneurial energies and skills of Republican Guy Vander Jagt (R-MI), longtime chairman of the NRCC, and Democrat Tony Coelho (D-CA), DCCC chairman from 1981 to 1987. The Senate committees perform more modestly, perhaps mainly because Senate candidates have less substantial assistance or service needs than House candidates. Moreover, the Republican committees have, in recent years, been able to support and service their party's candidates much more extensively than the Democratic committees. The leading student of congressional campaigning has shown that "the Republican committees are larger, more stable, more highly developed, and serve a more homogeneous constituency than do the Democratic committees" (Herrnson 1989, 318).

The campaign committees are not islands, but they do tend to operate rather separately from the other component units of their congressional party. There is some in-house coordination—between campaign committee and policy committee, research committee, or caucus leadership—and there is even more interaction between the same party's campaign committees in House and Senate. Even stronger than these linkages is the nexus between congressional campaign committees and the Democratic or Republican National Committees. But to a considerable extent the campaign committees work independently. One NRSC staff member described the Senate committee's situation well:

> . . . we are not part of the United States Senate. We are very separate from the United States Senate. But, of course, there is a senator who is chairman of this organization. Whoever is the chairman of this committee becomes part of what is known as the "leadership team" in the Senate, and he goes to the White House meetings.

Inter-committee coordination occurs. Although they target different constituencies, the campaign committees do share information concerning potentially volatile or significant political issues, and make sure everyone concerned is "reading from the same book." And, of course, the leaders in each house can influence the electoral success of their members by participating in fundraising and other campaign activities. One Senate staff member made this abundantly clear when she exclaimed that "an effective direct mail letter" is, by definition, "anything with George Mitchell's signature on it."

The contemporary congressional parties bear only faint resemblance to the speaker-dominated parties of the turn of the century (see Cooper & Brady 1981; Jones 1968). They certainly do not mirror the efficient, pyramidal hierarchies of classical bureaucratic organizations. However, they also are not the inept and ineffective "nonparties" that were described in the 1970s. The congressional parties of the present day are purposeful organizations with complex structures, decentralized operations, and cooperative, interactive networks.

Congressional Party Activities

The congressional parties are service-oriented organizations, serving three constituencies comprised of the same individuals in different capacities. First, each party organization labors to meet the political and legislative expectations of its members. Second, the organizations work to promote the policies and viewpoints of the legislative party as a corporate unit. And, third, the congressional party members are part of the large institution—the United States Congress—and, as such, contribute to the success of that institution as a lawmaking body. The integrative parties of the contemporary Congress serve these constituencies by performing multifarious activities that contribute to the success of representatives as individuals, as partisans, and as members of the institution. We aim to map out patterns of congressional party activities to elaborate on their organizational life.

Educating Members

Today's congressional parties are the primary creators and repositories of information in a system where information has become increasingly prevalent and available. There may have been a time when successful

congressional coalitions could be built by hoarding and secreting information, when members of the congressional houses were willing to follow party leaders blindly (see Cooper & Brady 1981, 27; Huitt 1990). But those days are distinctly over. Today, congressional party leaders and their staffs are quick to express pride in the variety, accuracy, cogency, timeliness, wide dissemination, and ready availability of the rich information they can assemble. In addition to written publications, technology has expanded the range of communications options available to representatives and their staffs. These now include computer mail and daily computer mail messages within all four congressional party organizations, a cable television network used by Senate Republicans, and a telephone line with messages that can be updated hourly (employed by Senate Republicans, and soon by Senate Democrats).

While a committee and its staff from each party provides a brief summary of every issue expected to reach the floor in a given week, party committees also provide more extensive analysis of major issues. Such issues cover an array of topics, with considerable variation in emphasis from one party to another. The House Republican conference, for instance, understandably emphasized providing information on President Bush's budget. The Democratic Study Group's *Fact Sheet* concentrated on presidential agenda items such as the budget, foreign policy, crime, and the state of the economy, while *Special Issues* devoted attention to issues especially advantageous to the Democratic party, such as the economy, social issues, and trade concerns. The Democratic Policy Committee published information in two main forms: its policy-oriented *Legislative Bulletin* featured the budget and foreign policy, while the more political *Special Reports* targeted Republican vulnerabilities, particularly social issues, energy, and the recession.

These differences of issue emphasis across party committees partly reflect different substantive agendas, but they also reflect divergent intentions. Congressional party information, like Gaul and many other things, seems to come in three distinct parts: substantive, political, and procedural. We have classified the information content of party units into these three categories, and we show the results in Table 2. Some party publications exclusively carry particular types of information, but others provide a mix of the three types or a combination of any two.

Substantive information includes material that describes the history, significance, content, or probable consequences of a bill, proposal, or issue. Of course, such information can be used to justify a particular position or support a partisan position. But what we consider substantive information generally is policy-neutral, providing members with the facts and data they may need to form an informed decision. For instance, a staff member in charge of providing such information said:

Table 2. The Substantive, Political, and Procedural Content of Party Information, 1991

Party Organization Unit and Publication	Publication Freq.	Publication Number	Substantive Policy Neutral %	Political Own Party Position %	Political Opposition Party Position %	Political Position of President %	Political Position of Public %	Procedural Scheduling & Rules %
HOUSE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS								
Legislative Digest (Primary)	W	39	100	0	0	0	0	0
Legislative Digest (Yellow)	AN	43	0	0	0	0	0	100
The Digest (Green)	AN	37	100	29	0	81	0	100
Issue Focus (Blue)	AN	10	100	0	0	50	0	60
HOUSE DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP								
Fact Sheet	AN	33	33	0	3	42	3	100
Legislative Report	W	52	100	*	*	*	*	*
Special Report	AN	13	61	38	30	46	8	31
Daily Report	D	D	*	*	*	*	*	*
SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE								
Weekly Legislative Update	W	52	0	0	0	0	100	100
Legislative Bulletin	AN	52**	100	27	4	58	56	12
Special Report	AN	39	92	46	15	64	21	0
SENATE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE								
Floor Watch	W	39	0	0	0	0	0	0
Issue Alert	AN	43	100	0	0	0	0	100
Legislative Notice	AN	50	100	8	14	90	0	100
Policy Analysis	AN	17	94	35	24	48	0	24
Economic Indicators	BM	5	100	0	0	0	0	80
SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE SECRETARY								
Poll Watch	W	52	0	0	0	0	100	0

Note: Issue frequency is indicated as follows: AN = As necessary; W = Weekly; D = Daily; BM = Bimonthly.
*The nature of these weekly and daily publications varies according to the calendar for that week or day. The *Weekly Legislative Update* (Senate Democratic Policy Committee) also often includes public opinion data.
**Sixty-two *Legislative Bulletins* were actually issued in 1991, but only 52 were available for content analysis.

> We provide the best arguments that we can get from the proponents of the legislation to give us a basis as to why it should be passed and the best arguments that we can get from the opponents of the legislation . . . . if we softball the arguments on one side or the other, we would shortchange our readers, so we do the best job of checking that.

Much of the substantive information is issued in the weekly summaries of bills and in the periodic special reports provided by each party organization. Such information on the pros and cons of issues enables members to cast more informed votes, but party leaders think the information contributes to party unity, as well. Said one Senate Democratic Policy Committee staff member:

> Before the DPC provided this kind of information, you had fifty-five senators going in to vote reading fifty-five different memos prepared by fifty-five legislative assistants with fifty-five different messages . . . . maybe if they were all reading one memo prepared by the Democratic Policy Committee staff with one set of pros and cons, one message, and then they go vote . . . we may have a little more unity in our ranks.

Coordinated information resources contribute to integrative congressional party organization.

Substantive information may carry weight for its apparent objectivity and policy neutrality, but it is not enough. Rank-and-file party members want to know where the party stands, and what the leaders think. In short, political information is essential. Political information is intelligence about the policy preferences and positions of major political actors—the president, the congressional party leadership, major interest groups, and even the public. A growing volume of congressional party information carries this kind of content. Republican publications of this type take advantage of the posture of President Bush, while Democratic publications take on the president where they perceive a partisan advantage.

When the party caucus, policy committee, or leadership takes a policy position, the house organs carry the message to members. The hyperactive minority party leadership in the House published party positions on twenty-one different political issues during the first month of 1991 alone, many emanating from the increasingly active Policy Committee. *Legislative Bulletins*, *Special Reports*, and the *Weekly Poll Watch* frequently carry public opinion results, recount the policy stands of interest groups, or provide information about campaigns and elections.

Moreover, congressional party leaders need to keep their members informed about the schedule of legislative work, and about the procedural status of major issues. Publications, phone messages, or electronic networks are designed to keep members procedurally informed. Material such as the *Daily Reports* of the Democratic Study Group or *The Digest* of the House

Republican Conference warn members of provisions of rules, control of time, or amendments, or inform them about procedural votes they should be alert to as a bill approaches consideration on the floor. All four congressional parties issue weekly summary descriptions of all major bills and amendments, updated with daily supplements, to keep members aware of pending floor activity.

Agenda Management Activities

An important component of the activity of the congressional party leaderships is the provision of strategy and tactics for managing the legislative agenda. The activities include scheduling bills for floor debate, convening strategy discussions for considering who will participate in floor debate, specifying the role of the whips, providing for special restrictions in rules governing floor debate and amendments, formulating strategy for the use of suspensions of the rules, or considering the multiple referral of major bills to committees (see Hasbrouck 1927, 83-133; Rohde 1991, 93-105; Sinclair 1983, 127-174). Agenda-setting activity can be concentrated around the congressional budget process (Kiewiet & McCubbins 1991). Invoking the rules of the House of Representatives for partisan or leadership advantage depended upon capturing party caucus control of the House Rules Committee, making it an "arm of the leadership" (see Oppenheimer 1977, 1981). Beginning in the early 1980s, the House majority party leadership made increasing use of restrictive rules to manage the legislative process on the floor (see Bach & Smith 1988, 68-71). The growth in the employment of restrictive rules by the House Democratic leadership through its control of the Rules Committee is quite a handsome marker for accelerated activity by the congressional parties. This growth is portrayed in Figure 4. Special orders constraining amendments to bills and recommittal have become rather common indicators of the proclivity of the majority leadership to channel legislative activity. Not surprisingly, this practice increasingly has produced Republican outrage, precipitating sometimes extended partisan exchanges in the House. Such was the case during a 1991 debate over the rule for consideration of civil rights legislation, when one Republican Rules Committee member complained that "a closed rule for civil rights legislation is legislative hypocrisy in Orwellian proportions" (*Congressional Record* 4 June 1991, H3829).

Figure 4. Restrictive House Rules, 1977-1990
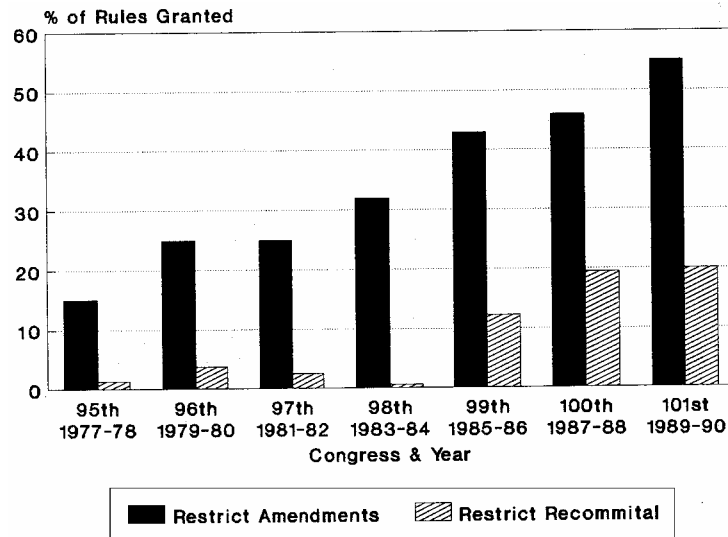
Source: Don Wolfensberger. 1991. The Motion to Recommit in the House: The Rape of a Minority Right. *Congressional Record* 137: H3818.

Another striking development in agenda control activity in the House is the growing practice of multiple referral of bills. This procedure permits the majority leadership a degree of control over committee consideration of bills. Moreover, as two congressional scholars have argued, "multiple referral may be viewed as a mechanism for enhancing lateral relations in a legislative institution, such as the House, where relations among members are collegial rather than hierarchical, where committees anchor the division of labor system, and parties the integrative system" (Collie & Cooper 1989, 262). Since the mid-1970s, the Speaker has utilized multiple reference increasingly—from only 6 percent of all bills in 1975 to 14 percent in 1986 (Davidson & Oleszek 1992). These bills represent an even more significant proportion of the work of House and Senate committees: for some committees as much as half of the workload consists of multiply-referred bills. And, in the House, "the multiple-referral device has paradoxically augmented the scheduling prerogatives of House leaders" (Davidson & Oleszek 1992, 140).

Finally, rules changes recommended by the Committee on Organization, Study and Review, and adopted by the Democratic Caucus at the beginning of the 103rd Congress, are expected to strengthen the agenda-setting powers of the Speaker. The committee system was streamlined with

the elimination of sixteen subcommittees. The Policy and Steering Committee was granted the power to declare the chairmanship of a committee or subcommittee vacant at anytime during a particular congress. And, the caucus gave its blessing to a 20-member panel of members selected by, and responsible to, the Speaker. The "Speaker's Working Group on Policy Development" is charged to develop policy directives on behalf of the party (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* 12 December 1992, 3778-3780).

Developing and Coordinating Issue Interaction

Integrative, inclusive legislative parties strive to cultivate and coordinate members' interaction and deliberation concerning political issues. The contemporary congressional parties have embraced the "strategy of inclusion," complete with an enlarged whip organization and with permanent, semi-permanent, and temporary task forces and committees charged with developing broad policy positions, specific legislation, political strategy, and procedural strategy (see Sinclair 1983).

In recent years, the Democratic caucus has been very active in developing a party program. In 1990, nine caucus task forces were at work, each charged with developing long-range policy positions for the party on major issues, and led by a chair selected by the chairman of the Democratic Caucus. Nearly half of the membership of the Democratic caucus were involved in the task force effort. In the 102nd Congress, the House Republican Research Committee, chaired by Rep. Duncan Hunter (R-CA), organized fifty policy task forces that included more than a third of all House Republicans. Additionally, the House Republican Policy Committee, under the direction of Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-OK), made concerted efforts to revive its original purpose of developing and promoting policy positions. This 34-member committee published thirteen policy resolutions in 1991. The Policy Committee task forces are tied more closely to the floor leader, and usually are most active just before a floor vote, while the Research Committee task forces operate more independently. Indeed, there has been some conflict between the Research and Policy committees over the establishment of task forces. But they serve as important integrative activities, as a Republican Research Committee staff member pointed out:

> A goal of our task forces is to give people . . . entree into an arena of interest that they might not otherwise have. . . . You might have someone interested in agriculture, but not on the committee. We put them on a task force, and they can get influence and have input in the area. It gives them an additional avenue of participation and input, and they can represent their district where they might not have a committee position.

In an effort to be less reactive and more proactive, House Republicans have created several membership units intended to develop and promote party legislation on specific issues. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-GA) has established a strategic whip organization charged to "try to get ahead on some issues and be aggressive in pushing the Republican agenda and having legislative options available for the party," according to one staff member. Directed by Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-WI), this group gathers the ideas of interested Republican backbenchers, lobbyists, and administration officials on a variety of issues, with the intent of producing legislative proposals or responses to Democratic proposals.

On the Democratic side, such issue-specific policy development has tended to take place in the closed meetings of the party caucus (see Rohde 1991, 69-70). This *venue* for consensus development was utilized in November, 1991, when the caucus extensively debated health care issues, and unanimously approved a resolution calling for comprehensive national health insurance legislation (*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* 16 November 1991, 3377). Again, in February, 1992, the caucus debated a tax package that would increase taxes on wealthy Americans and reduce the tax burden of middle-income people (*Washington Post* 21 February 1992, A4). As for matters of institutional procedure, members of the party suggest substantive changes to the rules of the House and of the Democratic Caucus through an arm of the latter, the Committee on Organization, Study and Review. Under the direction of Rep. Louise Slaughter (D-NY), the committee has been active in translating members' ideas into formal rules proposals to be considered by the Caucus.

The congressional parties offer members multiple opportunities to influence the substantive, political, and procedural activities of their parties. Party members participate in the legislative process at all levels of policy development, making an imprint on the legislative activities and direction of the party. Party leaders anticipate that such decentralized, participatory activities will result in policies with wider appeal within the party and strengthen party loyalty.

Publicizing Members

The staffs of the congressional parties provide large quantities of the information, coordination, and technical support that individual congressmen need in order to relate their congressional activities to their districts or states, and the parties can present a unified message and image to voters in the constituencies. The public relations function of the congressional parties traditionally has included assistance with press releases, newsletters, and

issue research. But the contemporary parties in Congress have expanded greatly their public relations activities to include television production, graphics design, videotape editing, and satellite uplinks. The Senate Republican Conference possesses the resources and capability to produce video "actualities" of senators, programs ready to be transmitted daily to local television and radio stations, live cut-ins (home state interviews via satellite), video press conferences, and documentaries based upon Senate activities. Furthermore, the Republican conference staffs in both houses will design special visual material for members—graphs, maps, charts, or illustrations slickly produced to make the presentation of the information appealing and entertaining. The purpose of these public relations logistics is to enable members to maintain their competitive edge as incumbents when election day rolls around.

The congressional party organizations not only help package and deliver promotional material for members, but also they help manufacture and crystallize themes, ideas, and policy positions. Some of the task force activity of members serves public relations purposes as importantly as fostering policy development. The House Democratic Caucus staff develops a message of the week and arranges for members to give one minute speeches on the floor concerning that message. These issues are reflected in the pre-session Democratic leadership press conferences led by Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO). House Republicans, guided by the minority leader's office, rely on a group of 15-20 members called the "Theme Team" who develop one-minute speeches and coordinate their presentation on the floor. For senators, both the Republican Whip's and the Democratic Majority Leader's offices coordinate speakers so that the parties present consistent messages in floor speeches, devoting an hour each day to a particular issue.

The development of electronic technology has made it possible for the congressional parties to organize component units that can perform as public relations firms. By thusly aiding members in the presentation of themselves, the congressional parties enhance the probability that their members will remain in office, and encourage the promotion of an organized, prospective, and active legislative party that speaks with a united, cohesive voice.

Recruiting for the Leadership

The congressional party organizations are, virtually by definition, structures for the recruitment of leaders. There can be considerable turnover in leadership positions, exemplified by the shifts that followed the retirement of Speaker O'Neill, the resignation of Speaker Wright, the resignations of

House Democratic Whips Tony Coelho (D-CA) and William Gray (D-PA), and the decision of House Republican Whip Trent Lott (D-MS) to run for the Senate.

The leadership groups of the congressional parties fluctuate; also, they are large. The House Democratic leadership includes over 180 positions. The primary recruitment unit for House Democrats is the whip organization, which for the 102nd Congress included a whip, three chief deputy whips, a floor whip, 10 deputy whips, three whip task force chairmen, 66 at-large whips, and 18 regional whips. The 175 House Republicans of the 101st Congress had 65 leadership positions, including 28 tactical whips, 12 strategic whips, and the chairmen and executive committees of the campaign, policy, and research committees. Over 30 percent of Democratic senators and 35 percent of Republican senators serve in leadership positions in the much smaller Senate.

Congressional party members enjoy four avenues into leadership: caucus election, appointment, selection by an intraparty group such as a regional delegation, or self-selection. Appointment by the party leader is highly significant in the congressional opportunity structure—after all, the Speaker appoints about 80 percent of those in House majority party leadership, and the Senate Majority Leader appoints almost half of the majority party leaders in his house. The succession processes themselves have been chronicled in considerable detail by other scholars (Peabody 1976; Brown & Peabody 1984, 1990).

Promoting Re-election

The parties in Congress have used campaign committees to facilitate re-election for a century, but only in the last decade have they taken a particularly active role in the campaigns of a wide array of candidates. Today, the party campaign committees provide an impressive array of services for their incumbent candidates, and engage in recruiting and supporting challengers where seat gains seem to be in the offing. These campaign committees' staffs bulge in the campaign season to one hundred or two hundred people, offering their party's House or Senate candidates financial assistance, technical assistance and advice, and both substantive and political information.

The campaign committees offer candidates both direct and indirect assistance. Direct support includes cash contributions and coordinated expenditures; indirect assistance comes in the form of technical assistance, advice, in-kind services, and research. For the 1990 election cycle, the Federal Election Commission reported that House and Senate congressional

campaign committee expenditures totalled about $132 million, most of it in indirect costs. The Republican committees accounted for 80 percent of this total. The House committees (DCCC and NRCC) maintain regional staffs throughout the country equipped with political consultants, researchers, advisors, and technicians. Today, the campaign committees are active in recruiting candidates, as well as helping them to develop effective campaign messages, strategies, fund raising programs, and budget plans. One House campaign committee staff member explained that:

> We can encourage . . . an efficient use of resources rather than letting [candidates] go it alone, which our senators, in particular, have always done. We can help them draw up their campaign plan, their campaign budgets, their fund raising plans. We have people on the staff who are very good at that. I spend a lot of time with press secretaries and [in members'] offices drawing up communications plans and thinking through how you do certain things.

The congressional campaign committees have become full-service campaign machines, offering candidates a supermarket of services in addition to direct financial assistance.

Integrative Congressional Parties: A Conclusion

The organizational life of the congressional parties has become more politicized. The insatiable demand for leadership, information, direction, technical assistance, and promotional services has produced a growing cadre of specialized and service-oriented staffs. While galloping technology has increased productivity within these staffs, partisan staff roles have evolved in important ways. Much of the interaction apparent between party committees occurs at the staff level, and virtually all of the preparation for procedural and political coordination is conducted by specialized staff members. The integrative congressional parties depend upon these crucial linkages.

The emergence of more substantial congressional party organizations contributes to intraparty cohesiveness in decision making. No doubt a variety of factors contribute to legislative party cohesion (see Sinclair 1991; Rohde 1991). But well-organized congressional parties can contribute to party voting cohesion. The growing organizational strength of the congressional parties since 1980 has been paralleled by an extraordinary increase in partisan cleavage in both House and Senate (see Patterson & Caldeira 1988). The integrative congressional parties foster party voting in several ways. First, we observe the "participation hypothesis" at work; participation in the development of the party position, policy, and floor strategy engenders a sense of identity with and loyalty to the final decision (see Sinclair 1983).

Second, interaction can forestall divisiveness; participation enables the party to address the concerns of recalcitrant members before an issue reaches the floor, often avoiding a floor division.

Third, congressional party organizational activities both contribute to the attainment of individual members' goals and facilitate the achievement of party goals. For instance, the proliferation of information, properly channeled, enables members to cast educated, knowledgeable votes, but it also increases the odds that those decisions will be made based on common information that helps to unify the party. While the linkage activities of task forces and decision-making units allows members to be involved in policy decisions, they also contribute to molding consensus decisions that will have support on the floor. And, importantly, the intricate exchange of information and cooperation within the congressional parties makes the party organizations more aware of intraparty fissures long before a bill reaches a floor decision, reducing the proportion of votes upon which the party is in disarray.

Decentralized decision making and atomization within the congressional parties fosters a new type of policy leadership in Congress. Now, more than ever, congressional party leaders are reactive consensus-builders more than they are policy-innovators. Policy directives emerge at the lower levels of the party organizations, and then are accepted or rejected by "the leadership," depending on the leaders' ability to build a successful coalition. Policy decisions within the party seldom reflect merely the position of the primary party leaders, but rather are a consensus developed across regional, ideological, and political boundaries.

The congressional parties of the 1990s exhibit the remarkable adaptability of political organizations. Faced with an institutional and political environment molded by growing individualism, increasing access to information, accelerating magnitudes and varieties of campaign assistance, and the proliferation of avenues for political influence, the congressional parties gradually have shaped themselves as viable organizations once more. By developing their own channels for success, offering members information, campaign assistance, exposure and access, and myriad other services, these integrative parties have earned the support of their members for distinctive policy positions. And, by coordinating the talents and abilities of their diverse memberships, the congressional parties have been able to present a more united, active, and organized policy front than at any time in recent history. In a phrase, we now have, as David W. Rohde has said, "conditional party government" (1991, 31).

NOTE

REFERENCES

Bach, Stanley and Steven S. Smith. 1988. *Managing Uncertainty in the House of Representatives: Adaptation and Innovation in Special Rules*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Bone, Hugh A. 1958. *Party Committees and National Politics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Brown, Lynn P. and Robert L. Peabody. 1984. Dilemmas of Party Brown, Lynne P. and Robert L. Peabody. 1984. Dilemmas of Party Leadership: Majority Whips in the U. S. House of Representatives, 1962-1982. *Congress & the Presidency* 11: 179-196.

_____. 1990. Patterns of Succession in the House Democratic Leadership: The Choices of Wright, Foley, and Coelho. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

Budge, Ian and Hans Keman. 1990. *Parties and Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caldeira, Gregory A. and Samuel C. Patterson. 1987. Political Friendship in the Legislature. *Journal of Politics* 49: 953-975.

_____. 1988. Contours of Friendship and Respect in the Legislature. *American Politics Quarterly* 16: 466-485.

Collie, Melissa P. and Joseph Cooper. 1989. Multiple Referral and the 'New' Committee System in the House of Representatives. In Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 4th ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Cooper, Joseph. 1977. Congress in Organizational Perspective. In Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*. New York: Praeger.

_____ and David W. Brady. 1981. Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn. *American Political Science Review* 75: 411-425.

Davidson, Roger H. and Walter J. Oleszek. 1992. From Monopoly to Management: Changing Patterns of Committee Deliberation. In Roger H. Davidson, ed., *The Postreform Congress*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Dodd, Lawrence C. and Terry Sullivan. 1981. Majority Party Leadership and Partisan Vote Gathering: The House Democratic Whip System. In Frank A. Mackaman, ed., *Understanding Congressional Leadership*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper.

Duverger, Maurice. 1954. Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. London: Methuen.

Eldersveld, Samuel J. 1982. *Political Parties in American Society*. New York: Basic Books.

Epstein, Leon D. 1986. *Political Parties in the American Mold*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Fenno, Richard F., Jr. 1990. *Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press.

Garand, James C. 1988. The Socialization to Partisan Legislative Behavior: An Extension of Sinclair's Task Force Socialization Thesis. *Western Political Quarterly* 41: 391-400.

_____ and Kathleen M. Clayton. 1986. Socialization to Partisanship in the U.S. House: The Speaker's Task Force. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11: 409-428.

Hasbrouck, Paul DeWitt. 1927. *Party Government in the House of Representatives*. New York: Macmillan.

Herrnson, Paul S. 1988. *Party Campaigning in the 1980s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

_____. 1989. National Party Decision Making, Strategies, and Resource Distribution in Congressional Elections. *Western Political Quarterly* 42: 301-323.

Huitt, Ralph K. 1990. Democratic Party Leadership in the U. S. Senate. In Ralph K. Huitt, ed., *Working Within the System*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Sudies Press.

Jones, Charles O. 1968. Joseph G. Cannon and Howard W. Smith: An Essay on the Limits of Leadership in the House of Representatives. *Journal of Politics* 30: 617-646.

_____. 1964. *Party and Policy-Making: The House Republican Policy Committee*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

_____. 1970. *The Minority Party in Congress*. Boston: Little, Brown.

_____. 1982. The United States Congress: People, Place, and Policy. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Kamens, David H. 1989. A Theory of American Political Party Development, 1960-1986. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 17: 263-289.

Keefe, William J. 1988. *Parties, Politics, and Public Policy in America*, 5th ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

_____ and Morris S. Ogul. 1993. *The American Legislative Process: Congress and the States*, 8th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kiewiet, D. Roderick, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1991. *The Logic of Delegation: Congressional Parties and the Appropriations Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen. 1989. *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York: Free Press.

Oppenheimer, Bruce I. 1977. The Rules Committee: A New Arm of Leadership in a Decentralized House. In Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*. New York: Praeger.

_____. 1981. The Changing Relationship Between House Leadership and the Committee on Rules. In Frank H. Mackaman, ed., *Understanding Congressional Leadership*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Pannebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patterson, Samuel C. and Gregory A. Caldeira. 1988. Party Voting in the United States Congress. *British Journal of Political Science* 18: 111-131.

Peabody, Robert L. 1976. Leadership in Congress: Stability, Succession, and Change. Boston: Little, Brown.

Pomper, Gerald M. 1992. Concepts of Political Parties. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 4: 143-159.

Price, David E. 1984. *Bringing Back the Parties*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Ranney, Austin. 1968. The Concept of 'Party'. In Oliver Garceau, ed., *Political Research and Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ripley, Randall B. 1964. The Party Whip Organizations in the United States House of Representatives. *American Political Science Review* 58: 561-576.

_____. 1969. *Majority Party Leadership in Congress*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Rohde, David W. 1991. *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1984. On the Theory of Party Organization. *Journal of Politics* 46: 369-400.

_____. 1985. The New American Political Party. *American Political Science Review* 79: 1152-1169.

_____. 1991. *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Sinclair, Barbara. 1983. *Majority Leadership in the U. S. House*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

_____. 1991. *The Transformation of the U. S. Senate*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Strom, Kaare. 1990. A Behavioral Theory of Competitive Political Parties. *American Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-598.

Truman, David B. 1959. *The Congressional Party: A Case Study*. New York: Wiley.

von Beyme, Klaus. 1983. Governments, Parliaments, and the Structure of Power in Political Parties. In Hans Daalder & Peter Mair, eds., *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*. London: Sage Publications.