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The Blue Dog Coalition: Impact of a Single-Issue Caucus from the 104th to the 110th Congress

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**THE BLUE DOG COALITION: IMPACT OF A SINGLE-ISSUE CAUCUS FROM
THE 104TH TO THE 110TH CONGRESS**

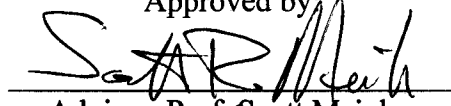
by

Andrew J. Clarke

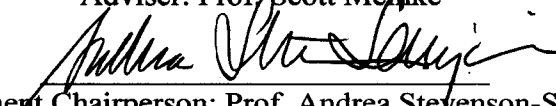
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Abstract

The Blue Dog Coalition is an informal organization of legislators within the House of Representatives that strives to influence policy on fiscal responsibility, attract the attention of the electorate, and hone the various lawmaking skills of its members. They are a group that elicits wide range of reactions covering the length of the political spectrum, but despite this, their claims of special defense of fiscal conservatism within the Democratic Party have gone relatively undocumented by the academic community.

This project has integrated a party literature with a caucus literature, in the attempt of building a novel framework for research. Work on polarization, the significance of parties, the purpose and history of caucuses all have been fused in such a way that the Blue Dogs have created an opportunity to test broad congressional questions on a caucus-microcosm scale. Three important questions have emerged from the many possible avenues of exploration on the topic: How does admission into the Blue Dog Coalition effect voting behavior — measured by interest, ideology, and party unity scores? How does party leadership delegate prestigious committee assignments, a traditional indicator of partisan favor and influence, towards Blue Dogs? Can we use the Blue Dog Coalition as an indicator of fiscal conservatism?

To each of these questions, a number of interesting results emerged. Blue Dogs, in the 104th scored higher in conservative interest group scores, more towards the center in ideological methods, and lower in party unity measurements. Over time, the Blue Dogs began to behave closer to their Democratic counterparts. In addition, membership on these select committees rose from a very small number to greater proportional parity within the Democratic Party. Perhaps most interesting, the Blue Dog Coalition does

behave as a significant, independent predictor effect on NTU scores, a variable used to demonstrate fiscal conservatism.

This research has shown, first and foremost, that it is useful and practical to apply old arguments within the party literature to a smaller, caucus level of analysis that is relatively untouched by the political science field. For the Blue Dogs, specifically, we have tested the validity of their claims in an attempt to reach broader questions of democratic responsibility and electoral clarity. This work, and other work I have drawn upon, has barely scratched the surface on Blue Dog Democrats and other caucuses of comparable influence and popularity, and there remains a wealth of research material on this caucus alone to be explored by scholars in the field of congressional politics.

Chapter 1: Introduction

On the surface, The Blue Dog Coalition (BDC) is only a small Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives, but the depths of this organization's behavior has drawn fierce criticism and support from members of both political parties. This group is a relatively new phenomenon to congressional politics, but its ability to attract attention to the cause of fiscal conservatism has quickly made their name brand a staple of contemporary policy debate. Since 1995, the Blue Dogs have thrived in times of political polarization, garnering attention from individuals across the political spectrum.

At times, Democrats speak of the BDC with exasperation. They appear to be an obstructionist minority within a minority, stubbornly resisting progressive legislation for political gains (Suddath 2009). In 2007, Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.) made remarks that caused a stir within the Blue Dog camp, as she encouraged anti-war groups "to field primary challengers to any Democrat who does not vote," along party lines, "to end the war" (Bresnahan 2010, 2/9/10). The Democratic Party frequently experiences internal tension on controversial issues, and because the Blue Dog Coalition publicly disagrees with party leadership on issues pertinent to fiscal conservatism, that pressure is amplified in the caucus-party relationship.

Often, Republicans will scoff at Blue Dog claims of fiscal responsibility, viewing the caucus as an exaggerated name brand constructed by vulnerable representatives (Loomis 2009, 6). These individuals, to the GOP, are in the business of maintaining their own job and subsequently, their party's majority in Congress. Furthermore, they occupy highly contested seats making themselves vulnerable to primary challenges on the left and general election threats to the right. Blue Dogs prosper by emerging from evenly

divided and politically moderate electoral districts, which makes them a glaring reminder of seats that could have been put towards the construction of a Republican majority.

Public perception frequently falls along party lines, but to many proponents of Blue Dog Democracy, the caucus is a conservative counterweight to an otherwise liberal agenda (Lambro 1995). To some, the caucus appears to be a tight-knit fraternity of pragmatists, and a “nonthreatening alternative to Republicans” (Suddath 2009). The projection of the BDC as the rare bridge between two increasingly polarized political parties in the United States is to be either rejected or accepted by their electorate (Melancon 2009). When both camps are hotly divided, those left in the uncertain center attract the attention of those seeking to build a successful coalition of votes. But how much of this has been the message put out by the media, or even the Blue Dogs themselves, and how much of this is reflective of real facts on the ground?

It is time that political scientists devote attention to such sweeping claims of influence within Congress. Through analysis of the 104th to the 110th Congress, I will examine the impact of the Blue Dogs on three fronts. First, I will examine whether the caucus influences voting behavior of new members over time or merely reflects preexisting policy preferences. Second, I will look for signs of Democratic leadership giving preference to Blue Dogs due to the importance of the organization within the Party. Third, and finally, I will estimate the independent effect membership in the Blue Dog Coalition holds upon fiscal conservatism. All of these questions will include analysis that takes into account change over time, as a framework to view all three sets of hypotheses.

These questions complement my argument that powerful caucuses in the House of Representatives, such as the Blue Dog Coalition, can be viewed as the next step in the division of Congressional labor. As a party within a party, the informal and personalized characters of these institutions provide members with an opportunity to bend policy initiatives towards their individual and collective preference without having to obey the traditions and regulations of partisan hierarchy. For this reason, the BDC presents an excellent case study for powerful caucuses in a polarized House.

History and Description

The purpose of the Blue Dog Coalition is twofold: name brand and policy group. The Blue Dogs are characterized by exclusive membership and policy focus on disciplined fiscal conservatism. The organization is used as an ideological forum to connect with constituents, to hone leadership skills, and perfect policy expertise. Some of this may stem from the context in which they emerged. The Blue Dog Coalition formed in reaction to the increasingly strong, conservative leadership of Newt Gingrich and the Republican majority of the 104th Congress; a lack of opportunity for the few conservatives left in the Democratic Party also played a key role in its development. Legislation surrounding the deficit and debt, such as Pay As You Go (PAYGO), has become the trademark interests of these moderates, and through its rhetoric, the BDC demonstrates a belief that its unique position in the House can bring attention to long-overlooked budgetary concerns.

With members in every region of the country, the appeal of the Blue Dogs seems to fill the cracks of vulnerable, hotly contested congressional seats, thus giving leverage

and prestige to these members as “majority makers.” Their numbers are capped at twenty percent of the Democratic House Caucus; they have strict rules on mandatory voting unity (given a 2/3 majority in agreement) and a whip system to enforce the Caucus will (“Blue Dog Democrats” 2008). The exclusionary measures taken by instituting these formal measures (whips, rules, etc.) allow for a level of cohesiveness that many other moderate-to-conservative members are literally lining up to join – after being waitlisted and vetted. What began as 23 dissatisfied House Democrats meeting on an informal basis has grown to be a force of 52 moderates consistently consulted on the most monumental legislative proposals of our time.

The role of Blue Dogs in the U.S. House of Representatives during a shift in majority power makes for an interesting and valuable context for my research. The Democratic-run 110th Congress provided an ideal end point for my range of research, creating a wide range of opportunities for Blue Dogs to show their behavioral character. Pelosi’s strong leadership offered an opportunity to observe Blue Dogs under a similar level of pressure from within their own party, rather than the opposing party. The range of the 104th to 110th Congresses provides a spectrum of observation ranging from strong conservative to strong liberal majority leadership influence. This time frame also allows us to watch the development of the caucus in its most crucial, beginning stages.

Name: Ideology and Pragmatism

The name “Blue Dog” is a construct of politicians seeking to better promote themselves and their interests. The label was given to the caucus from the outside, and the unclear story of the group name’s origins reflects the dichotomy of ideology and

pragmatism. In this sense, the Blue Dog name brand embodies the character of the group with relative efficiency.

The first of two explanations emphasizes the role of *ideology* in the party. Accordingly, the name acknowledges an association with blind partisan loyalty by recalling the term for southern voters of the early 20th century who would rather support a mangy yellow dog than a Republican: the “Yellow Dog” Democrat. The BDC, as cofounder Rep. John Tanner explains, are “yellow dogs ... that have been choked by extremes in both political parties to the point they have turned blue” (Tanner BD Mission Statement, 29-30). In reality, the ideology of the Blue Dog Coalition is much closer to the Southern “Boll Weevils” who voted with the GOP on tax and budgetary issues through much of the 1980s, but the Blue Dogs have unsurprisingly tried to avoid connection to this group and its negative, even destructive, connotation.

This explanation is important for two reasons. First, this account gives us some window into the way that BDC members view and present the purpose of the BDC through the construction of the caucus name brand. Second, this version may offer some inclination as to what can be expected of the behavioral patterns of the organization. Acceptance of this narrative would seem to suggest that at the very roots of the caucus is an underlying agreement of political ideology.

Even among Blue Dogs, the name has been explained in different ways. *Pragmatism* is a key component of the Blue Dog appeal, and it cannot be divorced from their rhetoric of financial common sense. The original meetings of the group took place in former Louisiana Representative Billy Tauzin’s office, which apparently had one of Cajun artist George Rodrigue’s famous Blue Dog paintings. The image presented by this

accounting of the name's origins is one of practicality. Conservative Democrats had common interests. They viewed the increasingly liberal Democratic Party as potentially dangerous for the country. They did something about it.

By claiming to have gathered out of necessity, to find some way of exerting influence over the dangerous reality of Congress at the time of their conception, the Blue Dogs take on a more pragmatic, businesslike approach. Forgetting the lofty account of ideological clash, this story simply states that like the members of the BDC, the name was circumstantial, a product of the environment it was put into more than anything else.

Geography: The Role of the South

One thing does seem to transcend both renditions of the origins of the Blue Dogs: the influence of the South on the Blue Dog Coalition. The Cajun art and allusions to past southern conservative Democrat coalitions make clear that there was, at the outset, a strong tie to the southern region of the United States if only in popular culture and historical reference. This understanding can be supported by the percentage of Blue Dogs that represent districts in the South. During the 104th Congress of 1995, the Blue Dogs' first official legislative period as a caucus, 50% of the small group was Southern. Over the next fourteen years, a steady decrease in the percentage of Blue Dogs that represent Southern states took place. By the 110th Congress, only 13 (30%) of the 43 Blue Dogs represented Southern districts.

Testing the Significance of Southern Claims

Approximately 39.9% of Blue Dogs for the 104th-110th Congressional period were from Southern states. In this sense, the parallels drawn to the Boll Weevil Democrats are relatively misguided. The Democratic Party, as a whole, was approximately 23.25% Southern, and non-Blue Dogs were approximately 23.8% Southern. By doing a chi-square analysis, I can confidently say that the correlation between being a Blue Dog and being Southern is significant, and that Blue Dogs are *more Southern* than the Democratic Party as a whole, despite being a *non-Southern* in majority.

(Table A)

Column1	Not Southern	Southern	Total	Significance
Blue Dog	131	87	218	
Non-Blue Dog	1,004	257	1,261	
Total	1135	344	1,479	<0.001

This affirmation of a substantially Southern character to the organization is significant in answering the question of preexisting homogeneity within the Blue Dog Coalition. Whether it is for political survival or the natural fit of common viewpoints, the votes of these lawmakers are better understood in light of this Southern component. Certainly the shared geographic interests of bordering states may offer some sense of common interest and preference aside from any external exertion of pressure from BDC leadership, but the uninterrupted decline in southern percentage of the Coalition points to the possible importance of factors outside like-minded influence of Southern constituencies.

Numbers: The Growth of the Coalition

During this time, the organization as a whole was growing rapidly, irrespective of region of the country. At its founding in 1995, the Blue Dog Coalition consisted of 18 members (8.9% of the Democratic minority). During the following years leading up to the Democratic controlled 110th session, the Blue Dogs not only maintained but increased their raw size and percentage within the Democratic Caucus. An uninterrupted rise from 18 members in the 104th to 32 Blue Dogs in the 107th Congress to 43 Blue Dogs of the 110th Congress amounted to a 9.6% expansion within the Democratic bloc of legislators. By 2007, roughly 18.5% of Democrats in the House of Representatives were Blue Dogs – conservatives who claimed to be at odds with the dominant ideological principles of the Democratic majority.

When nearly one in five partisans claim to be a different brand of Democrat, the importance of studying the actions and interactions of such a group is evident. For the purpose of this research, these numbers directly relate to the second and third research questions. The increase in sheer numbers will, presumably, affect the way that the leadership of the Democratic Party treats the BDC over time, and with the growth of physical presence in the House, efforts to maintain and advance unity on issues that Blue Dogs have championed as central to their name brand may prove to be more noticeable.

Party Unity: Closing the Gap

The message offered by Blue Dogs is one of principled resistance to issues that threaten fiscal responsibility and inflate the budget beyond what they deem to be

appropriate use of public funds, and in this light, they seem to be far from the ideal legislators to count on for party votes. The numbers on party unity, if only in the beginnings of the BDC, support this assumption. During the 104th Congress, Blue Dogs held a party unity score,¹ on average, of 57.38, while non-Blue Dog Democrats averaged 86.74. By the 107th, Blue Dogs collectively averaged 71.63 and the rest of the Democratic Party held a mean score of 90.55. Large discrepancies between these groups of Democrats continued from the 104th onward to the 110th, but it is important to note two growing trends.

While the average Democrat (excluding Blue Dogs) continued to score higher each year on counts of party unity, the gap between the Blue Dogs and the rest of the Democratic Party began to close with each new session. By the 110th, Blue Dogs scored 89.85 on tests of party unity, compared to 97.06 scored by other Democrats. This amounts to a gap of about 29 points in the 104th to a difference of only about 7 points in the 110th between the caucus and the rest of the Democratic Party. Between the 109th and 110th sessions, a drastic decrease in disparities between the two groups occurs. Thus, around the time of Democratic control of the House of Representatives, the Blue Dogs change from being over 14.48% below the non-BDC average to only half of that number. The steady increase in mean party unity scores for the Blue Dog Coalition may translate into a substantial realignment with party leadership over time. This shift may be either a cause or effect of altered relations with party leadership over time, and is worth further examination.

¹ The party unity score is a percentage of party-dividing votes on which the member of Congress supported his or her party leadership (Meinke, Codebook for House and Senate Voting Behavior Data Sets)

Tenure: An Indicator

On average, Blue Dogs during the 104th-110th Congresses have served 4.02 terms; that is 2.44 terms less than non-Blue Dogs. This may be due to the rapid expansion of the caucus, the tendency for more junior representatives to join caucuses, or the increase in Democratic power (and thus moderate districts won over by Democrats that are ready fits for the Blue Dog philosophy). The newer a member of Congress is to his or her position as legislator, the more likely he or she is to join a caucus (Miler 2008, 14). This is done to increase channels into policy creation, raise publicity for members in vulnerable seats (or members lacking the incumbency benefits), and gain skills that more veteran lawmakers have achieved through committees. In any case the Blue Dogs seem to have been, on average, elected to the House more recently than their non-Blue Dog counterparts.

Concluding an Introduction

The well-known dualism of members of the United States Congress helps us understand the motives of members as they join the Blue Dog Coalition. Simply stated, a member of the House of Representatives, irrespective of any distinguishing characteristics, acts as a *legislator* and a *campaigner* (Davidson, Oleszek, and Lee, ch. 1). This reality is ever-present; it is the summary of political self-interest in our system, and it is a reflection of the basic duties to crafting new laws as well as the fundamental responsiveness necessary in full democracies. Members of caucus are specialists, and as such, admission to organizations such as the Blue Dog Coalition signals the acquisition of

new, additional roles. Blue Dog membership neatly links the two realms of responsibilities for members of Congress.

Caucuses are sub-party units. They operate within the confined boundaries of the American legislative branch and within the restrictive rules of their own party norms and regulations. Over the last two decades, caucuses have grown in number, accumulated more significance, and established greater levels of autonomy. Viewing caucuses as a party-within-a-party is appropriate in cases that demonstrate this greater autonomy and has the potential to yield greater understanding of the American political system as a whole.

First, and perhaps most fundamental to the point of this project, I seek to answer a fundamental question of identity; are the Blue Dogs actually what they are made out to be? Long after I began looking into this subject, and well into writing this thesis, I flipped open the dictionary to see if the term “Blue Dog Democrat” had made it to the level in popular knowledge that it was deemed worthy of an entry. To my surprise, I found an entry concisely conjoining the “yellow-dog-choked-blue” beginnings of the organization with the Southern heritage. In fact, by definition, Blue Dogs today are “Southern Conservative Democrats” (New Oxford American Dictionary 2005, 183).

This was startling to me, because I had just summarized my limited data collected up to that point, and I was aware that at its highest point, the organization was never made up of a southern majority. In truth, the average percent of Southerners in the Blue Dog ranks only amounted to roughly 38%. The myth of Blue Dogs has already begun to settle into the realms of common knowledge, and the near absolute lack of scholarly attention given not only to caucuses, but Blue Dogs in particular, points to the need for

scholarship on congressional caucuses to keep pace with the increased significance of these subgroups.

Second, I argue that the Blue Dogs provide an opportunity to apply congressional theoretical debates to caucus level analysis. In other words, the opportunity to test the BDC as a sub-party unit, by simply applying tests of party strength to the caucus, offers opportunities that exceed the results of my specific subject matter. The Blue Dogs may indeed be one of a handful of fast growing caucuses that can best be viewed from a party-within-a-party perspective, as I will show. The only logical way of moving forward the topic of caucus research is putting it transparently next to the wealth of academic dialogue available for partisan theory, and exploring how they differ, how they interact, and how they can and should benefit from one another. Caucuses and sub-party units impact American politics, and negligence on the subject means an incomplete view of our democratic system.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Polarization

The Blue Dog Coalition has not escaped the enveloping polarized climate of modern American politics. In fact, the centralizing, reshuffling, and radicalization of key components of the congressional system created the foundation on which the caucus could be built. Without the contributing factor of polarization, the Blue Dogs would not threaten both the status quo of ideological divide between parties and the clarity that accompanies this neat cleavage between Republicans and Democrats.

Parties have been polarizing for the last thirty-five years, and during this time, ideology-scoring methodology has developed enough to reflect this clear divergence between the two major parties in American politics. The consequences of a growing ideological gap can be good and bad, ranging from clarity to legislative gridlock, as “the salience of party,” since 1980, “has increased by 48%” (Hetherington 2001, 620). The reality of a divided legislature has affected both chambers equally in ways ranging from leadership relations to constituency services. Following a period of ideological pellucidity, vividly demarcated lines on the political battleground have marked the lifetime of recent generations. The electoral map has shown a conservative Republican southern United States and a liberal Democratic west and east coast. The words conservative Democrat and liberal (or even moderate) Republican do not fit well into contemporary American political vernacular.

Evidence of a growing divide between the Republican and Democratic Party is reliable and constant. Theriault observes that, “Democrats representing these moderate constituencies in the mid 2000s have roll call records that are almost 25 percent more

liberal than the Democrats who represented moderate constituencies in the mid 1970s; Republicans in these districts vote 50 percent more conservatively than their 1970s counterparts” (Theriault 2008, 4). In 1984, approximately half of the public could correctly place the political parties in their appropriate ideological points on a given spectrum; by 1990, this number increased by 13 percentage points--an additional indication of the widening gulf between the two major parties (Hetherington 2001, 623).

While regional disparities and partisan levels of increased polarization may vary, the presence of an increasingly polar legislative branch stands on solid empirical ground. The Senate and House have equally polarized through the last three to four decades, showing a trend that probably has more to do with national shifting identities than institutional restructuring. This change was lauded by political scientists from the 1950s to the 1980s as a movement towards national clarity- a tendency that would lead to more visible democratic responsibility (Ansolabehere, Snyder, Stewart 2001, 560).

Now that this path to polarization is seemingly in full swing, a new threat of political gridlock, the ultimate stalemate in progressing legislative initiatives, has become a primary concern. Since 1990 political preferences have become further entrenched as “more than half of all congressional votes have featured a majority of one party opposing a majority of the other party. This level of party polarization represents a steady increase over the 47 percent of such votes in the 1980s and 39 percent in the 1970s” (Jones 2001, 125). The swing to a hyper-divided governing body could crush essential actions under the weight of the political pressure that has developed and settled into every day obstruction of law making.

The catalysts behind increased polarization are essential to the understanding of how to deal with and interpret the ensuing effects of our present political climate—especially the role of political moderates. Theriault offers a framework for observing and prioritizing sources of polarization at the national level. Redistricting, extremism of party activism, procedural change and constituent sorting can neatly summarize the foundation necessary for the past 35 years of polarization (Theriault 2008, 50-51).

Redistricting, or more to the point, gerrymandering, is a common motif that courses through the narrative of congressional ailments, yet a very serious debate over the weight that should be placed on redistricting as a cause of polarization continues. Theriault suggests, “that redistricting causes between 10 and 20 percent of the party polarization that has occurred in the House of Representatives in the past 32 years” (Theriault 2008, 83). It is a factor, to be sure, but independent of similar influences, redistricting as a polarizing force does not stand up on its own legs. The ability for politicians to manipulate the level of change in this variable has made the issue a media pundit favorite, but being widely loathed does not qualify redistricting as a core component of the polarization process. For this reason, Theriault appropriately places redistricting at the bottom of a list of significant contributing factors.

If redistricting is mildly over stated, then *constituent sorting* is significantly underemphasized. According to Theriault, “roughly one-third of the party polarization has come through the gradual adaptation of incumbents migrating to their parties’ ideological homes” (2008, 42). This is an enormous shift. Citizens of the United States of America today are voting more like their neighbors, producing safe districts in these regions of common ideology, which in turn lead to more liberal Democrats and more

conservative Republicans. In light of the reshuffling that has pushed legislators further away from each other, the Blue Dogs, should their claims prove accurate, float uneasily in the growing void of would-be moderates as an anomaly defying the tendencies for members to essentially go extreme or go looking for a new job.

In conjunction with this effect, *extreme party activism* has become a factor that pushes members to polar ends beyond what their constituents pressure them to do. Some place “elite polarization at the heart of the explanation for party resurgence and hypothesize a set of causal dynamics between elites and ordinary Americans” (Hetherington 2001, 623). This argument explains the role of political elites as leaders in indicating policy preference and political disposition. “Mass behavior should reflect, at least to some degree, elite behavior. Therefore, mass party strength should have increased as a result of greater partisanship at the elite level” (Hetherington 2001, 619). The relationship between the mass electorate and the political elites is an important one; in many ways the “behavior of the Republican and Democratic elite as the engine for an issue evolution” is the most complete analysis of the way information is trickled down to the public through these individuals (Hetherington 2001, 622).

In other words, the political elites act as the indicating body of voters making this group a promising reflection of future congressional voting behavior. Hetherington explains that

If people are exposed to a heavily partisan stream of information, which will be more likely if elites are behaving in a partisan manner, then it follows that respondents will express opinions that reflect the heavily partisan stream. Because greater ideological differences between the parties on the elite level should produce a more partisan information stream, elite polarization should produce a more partisan mass response. (Hetherington 2001, 622).

Party activists, members that would attend at least 3 party events or the national convention, have become more ideological in the post-reform congressional era. As a result, the “would-be moderate candidates knew that surviving a primary dominated by ideologues was next to impossible” (Theriault 2008, 111). So in response to the imminent danger of losing before the general election can even be had, members of Congress are casting increasingly ideological votes.

Thus party activists are pushing lawmakers to extreme points of ideological preference that may be well beyond the median of the political party. “The lion’s share of polarization in both chambers is brought about by the growing ideological voting of members above and beyond their constituencies’ growing partisanship,” and this trend permeates through every corner of the nation, if more easily noticeable in the southern region of the country (Theriault 2008, 108). For this reason Hetherington believes elite polarization is the heart of polarization and a resurgent centralized party; he argues a “set of causal dynamics between elites and ordinary Americans” (2001, 623).

Two steps lead to the sorting process, then. First, constituents become more homogeneous through geographic and ideological sorting, gerrymandering, and extreme party activism. Heterogeneous districts similarly elect more polarized candidates, giving observers an “underlying cause of why rank and file members have ceded power to their party leaders” (Theriault 2008, 221). In short, voters identify more and more with the core programs of political parties, and as a result, leaders are given more of a mandate to carry out their initiatives.

This is where Theriault’s notion of *procedural change* comes into the picture. As a result of the (previously mentioned) first step, party and constituent preferences are

aligning quite nicely, strengthening party leadership. Party leaders feel growing pressure to get things done, to please their more homogeneous, core supporters, and to capitalize on the extended powers granted by rank and file members aiming to survive in a politically volatile climate. The changing step of party leadership is both the procedural change element of Theriault's summary of polarization in the postmodern House of Representatives, and it is the second step that relies on sorting, redistricting, and party activism just as these three depend on procedural change in any effort made to give a holistic account of polarization.

A host of observers of congressional leadership step in where Theriault and other scholars of political polarization have left off. "Centralization," according to Smith and Gamm, "occurs when the parties are polarized, electoral conditions are favorable to the majority party, and the institutional context permits control of legislative outcomes by a centralized majority party" (Smith and Gamm 162). The question of party leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives is directly relevant to the research I will employ on special preference given to Blue Dogs within the Democratic Party. Furthermore, there is an implicit significance present in further establishing the context within which the BDC operates, and this narrative would be incomplete without addressing the changing role of party leadership.

Party Leadership

The creation of the Blue Dog Coalition is largely a reaction to tension between the caucus and party policy platform. Party leadership, and the rewards they allocate to members of their party, must be understood if the behavior of Blue Dogs is to be understood with any sense of holistic clarity. Furthermore, the effect that the emergence

of the BDC may have on the concentration of power designated to House leaders is entirely dependent on theories of party centralization. Power has been wielded with the effectiveness of Newt Gingrich and Nancy Pelosi before, and a look at this history might provide a better framework to view the BDC.

Speaker Reed (1889) and Speaker Cannon (1903) wielded committee assignments and rules to shape laws and policy as they saw fit. If “the aim of the party leadership is to enact as much of the party’s program as possible,” then Speaker Reed and Cannon were archetypes for brilliant and powerful leadership that most Speakers have not come close to in the last one hundred years (Aldrich and Rohde, 38). The Blue Dogs emerge from a time again charged with boisterous partisan leadership. Speaker Gingrich, and to a lesser extent Speaker Pelosi, have been effective and strong enough to recall the memory of Cannon and Reed.

The 104th Congress, then, witnessed a resurgence of strong party leadership as a result of a renewed sense of clarity from polarized ideologies. The 1990s were the culmination of changes that had been taking place since the mid-1970s. If Smith and Gamm are correct, “Party leaders are strong only when their party colleagues allow them to be strong” (Smith and Gamm 142). So where do the Blue Dogs fit in with their primary goal of fiscal responsibility, even at the cost of intraparty friction? Are they the victim of party discipline or the subject of Democratic preference? Can we trace unusual punishment or undue rewards being doled out to the caucus for its unique position within the House?

It may be helpful to consider the distribution of political spoils in terms of positives only; in other words, one should consider any given leadership style as one of

the “carrot,” with punishment not so much the traditional “stick” but more so the absence of the “carrot.” Forgette writes about “coordination rather than enforcement” as the “primary role for the congressional party caucus” (Forgette 2004, 411). Only in the case of “a clear breach in ethics, gross party disloyalty (such as supporting another party’s presidential candidate), or perhaps defection on an initial organizational vote” would the concrete enforcement of party discipline truly be required (Forgette 2004, 412). This is, and has been for quite some time, the dilemma of party leadership. When is it appropriate to discipline members of your own party, and how can you be sure you will not collapse your majority if you choose to do so? The Blue Dogs, while much higher than the 20% party unity scores of previous conservative Democrats, are truly the focal point of this debate.

Some argue that, as the majority gains control, leaders will stack key committees with party loyalists to enact this agenda. Others claim that leaders will press factions into deeper bonds to the overall party by employing a more inclusive, proportional representation of members in the various institutions that form legislation. This gets to the heart of my second research question, which integrates political leadership theory with my specific interest in the Blue Dog Coalition. Ultimately, things like party unity scores and fund raising numbers matter a great deal to political leaders, and as usual, the Blue Dogs have placed themselves in the center of things.

Conditional Party Government (CPG) Theory

The Conditional Party Government (CPG) Theory is an attempt to discover the necessary circumstances for the nourishment of increased party leadership. When a

political party is unified in Congress, they will allow the leadership to take a more assertive role in determining the direction of the agenda. When that unified party is facing a hostile opposition, the tendency to rely on strong party leadership goes up even more. In the words of Aldrich and Rohde, the Conditional Party Government Theory, “contends that members’ decisions on allocating power to the party leadership depend on the degree of preference agreement within the party and the amount of preference conflict between parties” (Aldrich and Rohde 217).

In short, CPG theory claims that centralization of a party, or the amount of power allocated to leadership, is dependent on the level of preference unity within a party and friction between parties (Aldrich 2008, 217). The institutional context and electoral conditions do not demand that the parties represent one homogeneous ideology in the process of centralizing leadership; in fact, the conflict that Blue Dogs bring to the congressional context may be a contributing factor to the empowerment of Democratic leadership.

The volatility of a partisan coalition, whether rooted in voices of regionalism or conservatism, creates a need for a strong hand in keeping the party together. One can go so far as claiming, “sharp intraparty factionalism, more than interparty differences, stimulated liberals to strengthen their central party leader and weaken the powers of full committee chairs, many of whom were conservatives” (Smith and Gamm 157). Fear of a majority crumbling to inefficient bickering and a lack of consensus prompts members to cede more authority to the Speaker than situations of greater unity.

This analysis can be simplified into three guiding questions. First, have intraparty homogeneity and interparty divergence remained high? These are the foundation for any

circumstance that could lead to a fortified party leadership. Second, has the majority party delegated strong powers to its leaders? This is the action that the CPG truly focuses on; it is the end to the aforementioned means. Finally, has the majority leadership exercised this power to facilitate legislation and electoral goals? Analyzing whether or not leadership has taken advantage of the new legislative assets is more a confirmation that the previous two steps have taken place than an independent factor in itself. Given new powers to legislate with higher efficiency, party leaders will use them to the best of their capabilities.

Parties Matter

The Blue Dog Coalition provides an opportunity to test theories of party significance on a smaller scale. Theories on the source of preference can be focused into one defining set of policies, fiscal conservatism, and tested for external influence exerted upon this group of legislators. In this sense, the rich literature explaining what role partisan organizations play in the development of voting behavior within Congress benefits from an analysis of Blue Dogs, just as a deeper look into the character of the BDC is achieved along the way.

This general understanding makes up the first camp of congressional scholarship on the significance of parties. Their claim is simple: parties matter. The aforementioned Conditional Party Government (CPG) theory is at the heart of this debate, but there is a basic argument being made that encompasses much of what frequently passes as political common sense. Smith and Gamm say it best, “A majority party that votes in a disciplined manner and controls policy outcomes does so primarily because of the underlying policy agreement of its members” (Smith and Gamm 143). Parties are based

in common ideology, but it is the discipline of its members that leads to a controlled policy outcome.

A large group of congressional scholars maintain that parties matter. Studies on polarization, leadership, and the CPG are all touched by an ongoing debate over the significance of the Republican and Democratic institutions. The argument is relatively straightforward and intuitive; parties directly impact preference, as organizations with whips and leadership positions wielding both informal and formal mechanisms. “The aim of the party leadership is to enact as much of the party’s program as possible,” and implicit in this statement is an understanding that parties, and thus party leadership, have the capability to influence members of their organization (Bond and Fleisher 2004, 38). Does it make sense that this is now and has been the case throughout the history of the modern House of Representatives?

Parties are political organizations that seek electoral victories as a means of participation in government. Republicans and Democrats wage campaigns nationally just for the chance to enact their collectively agreed upon policies. Adherants of the “party matters” argument claim that sometimes members vote contrary to their true preference as a result of their party membership. In fact, the collectively agreed upon policies are sometimes the product of rough, conflicting view points being hammered out by whips to keep the party running smoothly.

Convincing others to change their position on a bill is a central part of political strategy. Positions are not locked into their orientation of true preference, and lawmakers can and are regularly influenced by forces beyond their own views. Inconsistencies within political parties clearly arise, and arise frequently, but “leaders then induce them –

through compromises, side payments, and threats – to pledge their votes should they be needed” (King and Zeckhauser 2003, 389).

This is even more apparent in the disparities of party unity scores on different forms of voting. “If only preferences matter, then the relationship between ideology and voting behavior should be the same for close and lopsided roll calls,” but a pattern of party pressure enforced on party votes is “borne out in the data, and it is reflected in both the aggregate roll-call voting scores and on specific bills” (Ansolabehere, Snyder, and Stewart 2001, 551). When legislative representatives are in private, closed-door conversations among themselves, we see compromises on the order and nature of legislative initiatives unrolled to protect members from issues of electoral sensitivity.

Party structure, as the CPG already suggests, is about more than preference. If parties held no significance beyond the individual preferences of its members, then a legislative period in which Democrats and Republicans each won half of the time would result in a congressional voting average of the point exactly between Democrats and Republicans on an ideological scale. The real outcome, however, would be a division of results between the medians of each party. Aldrich also argues that there is no automatic counterbalance present in minority action. While the Republicans in the 104th Congress dramatically strengthened the control of their leadership, the Democratic minority responded with no similar action.

Finally, the evolution of congressional rules and powers allocated to leadership offers definitive support to the argument of party significance. There is really quite a lot that can be done at the top to influence the lower ranks of Congress. Leaders can frame amendments to target political opponents, forcing tough decisions, or similarly maneuver

to counter such an effort. This is the process of *conspiracy*. Leaders can induce members to support policies that might be unfavorable through the use committee chairmanship positions and other positions of prestige. This use of the “carrot” is referred to as *inducement*. The Speaker and other powerful members of a party can also sweeten policy deals, by packaging tough to swallow positions with wide ranging benefits that make opposition difficult. This form of bulking up controversial initiatives is known as *contextual self-interest* (Aldrich and Rohde 2000, 58-61).

Leadership in 1970s all but threatened the political lives of southern Democrats, threatening to replace them with more loyal members. As a result, Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.), as one example, changed voting behavior drastically to fall into party line (Bond and Fleisher 2004). With this ability to alter preference and voting patterns when absolutely necessary, the “influence of the majority party was increased asymmetrically, without any counterbalancing increase for the minority” (Aldrich and Rohde, Ch. 3). The same was done under Gingrich’s watch in 1998, as he replaced influential committee members that posed a threat to very his policy agenda. This nature of congressional pressure is impossible to ignore, and difficult to credit solely to individual legislators’ preferences.

Parties Do Not Matter

The Blue Dog Coalition was created by a group of lawmakers that shared common policy preference. There is no clearer application of Krehbiel’s explanation on the exaggeration of political parties’ influence. The BDC demonstrates the way in which a collection of individuals can join without many of the political pressures associated

with admission into formal political parties, and the positive or negative change in preferences relative to the caucus offer an excellent opportunity to analyze how caucuses push their political will upon their members.

The importance of party organizations has not gone uncontested within the American politics literature on congressional theory. Some, and here Krehbiel is at the forefront, simply claim that political parties are the product of preexisting commonalities of members. Parties are images of the bigger picture; the compilation of shared preferences among hundreds of lawmakers.

A rift has emerged among American political scientists; those who find political parties unimportant challenge the underlying assumption of partisan influence. The critics, individuals who claim parties' role in legislative matters has been overstated, claim, "party behavior is independent of preferences" (Krehbiel 1993, 255). Krehbiel argues that party effects are either nonexistent or insignificant, that party preference is a mere reflection of member preference, and that there is a risk of "misrepresenting, if not overstating, the significance of parties as organizations of governing" (Krehbiel 1993, 262). The position taken by those who agree with this view create a valuable challenge to the primary view of parties as important and significant players that influence expressed Congressional preferences.

Krehbiel's assumes that political parties are significant influencing organizations and seeks to prove or disprove this assumption in his work. In short, phenomena are important, and parties are correlated with these phenomena. Therefore, parties are, by causal implication, important (Krehbiel 1993, 237). The assumption of causation in

places where correlation exists is the purpose for Krehbiel's critique, and the most helpful point of his deconstruction of narratives on party significance.

Krehbiel's findings are conclusive in that he fails to prove a strong, positive effect of parties. In Krehbiel's seminal work "Where's the Party?" five policy domains (Defense, Foreign Policy, Agriculture, Education, and Labor) are set up and tested for party effects that might have a direct impact on legislators' final decision. In his words, "party fails to establish itself as an independently significant force, consistent with the definition" (Krehbiel 1993, 240).

Krehbiel's work becomes relevant when testing for the significant of a sub-party unit behaving in many of the same ways as parties. This analysis of significant party behavior in committee assignments has led to my own questioning of significant caucus behavior in similar assignments. Krehbiel, however, comes to the conclusion that "partisanship does not explain much variation in the observed stages of organizing the legislature" (Krehbiel 1993, 237). This claim can and will be applied to the caucus level of analysis.

This leads to the one question I have unabashedly borrowed in my search to apply common questions of partisan significance to the caucus level: "do individual legislators vote with fellow party members *in spite of their disagreement* about the policy in question or do they vote with fellow party members *because of their agreement* about the policy in question" (Krehbiel 1993, 238). The source of decision-making is a question that places the significance of the Blue Dog Coalition in a new light. If Krehbiel is correct in his thinking that party unity is a product of commonality, then the BDC should be viewed just as most traditional caucuses are – another tool in the belt of legislators.

However if Blue Dogs behave as a micro-party organization and Krehbiel is wrong, then there should be concrete evidence of exerted influence upon a significant number of members.

The self-critique of “Where’s the Party?” outlines much of what is missing from Krehbiel’s primary argument. The significance of parties is not limited to legislation. Data on committee appointments and assignments does not constitute an exhaustive search for signs of party significance. Parties may be so effective that the effects of party pressure may have tainted the preferences Krehbiel interprets as truly reflective of an individual. Finally, and I think most importantly, “some party theorists claim that parties are creators of, and thus antecedent to, policy cleavages, policy preferences, intensities of preference and so on” (Krehbiel 1993, 257). In the end, I think Krehbiel’s estimation of the limits of parties in American politics is extreme; if nothing else, the electoral responsibility of reflecting the values embedded within a party label, the requirement of a lawmaker to do as a Democrat (or Republican) would do, is more than Krehbiel really gives due credit for.

To reiterate, Krehbiel’s approach is laudable. His focus on party behavior can be applied to caucuses and the Blue Dogs. For my purpose, I find Krehbiel’s critics and their party significance orientation persuasive. However, I will aim to mimic Krehbiel’s test at the caucus level in order to shed light on the Blue Dogs, specifically, and caucuses as a force of growing importance, broadly.

Caucus History

The Blue Dog Coalition may demonstrate the next stage in the development of caucuses within the House of Representatives. The group presents a highly selective, rigidly organized voluntary institution outside of direct Democratic control, and with the extensive system of whips, committee chairs, and compulsory voting rules within the BDC, the organization has set itself apart from other caucus organizations.

The informal nature of caucuses provides a certain flexibility that has, over the last few decades, begun to take on a unique position within the political system. I will argue that the Blue Dog Democrats are at the forefront of this change in the role of caucuses, reaching levels of such prestige and influence that they represent a new division of congressional labor.

The history of the House of Representatives is on a course of *microevolution*; in the natural democratization and organization of its members, Congress has been divided and subdivided into more manageable units of associations throughout its history. The first of these major decisions was the division into the two major political parties of American politics. Next, parties utilized the division of labor in the form of committees, which varied in power throughout the 20th century alone. Finally, caucuses have begun to advance this evolution into a sphere of informal influence that cannot be directly controlled by the House without an outright ban. Essentially, each of these stages represents a turning point in the level of control each legislator has on his or her own career, policy agenda, and ability to improve his or her skill as a lawmaker.

Dating back half a century, caucus organizations have slowly crept into the status quo of lawmaking in the United States. Singh utilizes Hammond's definition of the

groups as “a voluntary association of members of congress, without recognition in chamber rules or line-item appropriations, that seeks a role in the policy process” (Singh 1998, 57). Scholars point to the Democratic Study Group, founded in 1959, as a starting point for Congressional Membership Organizations.

For the next ten years, only a handful of similar groups emerged. By the 1970s, however, caucuses began to pick up steam, growing more steadily into the 80s and 90s. In 1990, around one hundred caucuses existed. As of 2008, “over 400 caucuses exist[ed] in the contemporary House and almost every Member of Congress belong[ed] to at least one caucus” (Miler 2008 2). As Singh’s definition above explains, caucuses are organizations that work under the radar, producing raw political goods – electoral, informational, monetary or otherwise – as a reaction to institutional barriers.

Since the pivotal 104th Congress, caucuses do not receive the institutional support they once claimed, yet CMOs continue not only to sustain their membership but also to increase in frequency and popularity despite the loss of a budget, staff, office space, and various other assets that congressional committees enjoy. “As part of broader changes in the House rules, the Republican leadership included provisions that eliminated institutional funding and support for congressional member organizations,” including the restriction of “caucus employees, separate office space, or even separate webpage” (Miler 2008, 5-6).

The institutional development and growth of caucuses has allowed these groups to provide members with leadership skills, greater representation, policy expertise, and a way of proliferating and gathering information (Singh 1998, 22-23). Caucuses are way for leaders to be groomed for the future management of the party. It is a training grounds

of sorts; a microcosm of the larger obligations of Congress that allows newcomers and vulnerable members the ability to build up experience, confidence, and clout.

Hammond outlines six types of caucuses in the House: Party, Regional, Industry, Identity, and Policy (Hammond 1991, 279). Party caucuses are intraparty groups with common ideology and aspirations of improved party position and legislative outcome. Boll Weevils (Conservative Democratic Forum) and, of course, the Blue Dogs are immediate examples that come to mind, but class clubs also fit neatly into this category. This is the focus of my research on caucuses, as it is the category that best explains the BDC.

Miler explained that, “membership in caucuses is strictly voluntary and there are no restrictions concerning the maximum (or minimum) number of members in a caucus” (Miler 2008, 3). That is no longer the case, at least not with the Blue Dogs. Membership is capped, and this may demonstrate the next step in the evolution of Congressional Member Organizations, or simply the unique status of the BDC. From any perspective, the Coalition is not constrained by this laissez-faire membership approach.

Caucus Purpose, Motives Theory

Caucuses fill the void of leadership that has failed to include or listen to minority voices, train legislators with the expertise and education needed to better craft policy, influence the development of legislation, and gain voter recognition. These are the core purposes for the existence of caucuses, and the Blue Dogs are a successful demonstration of each. The Blue Dog Coalition is a response to a perceived absence of Democratic action on fiscal issues, and in their struggle to fill that vacuum, they have built up a

reputation as proficient in budget, debt and deficit policies. This skill set, acquired once in the ranks of the BDC, translates into a voice on major bills that correspond with their interests as well as an electoral label of being frugal and thrifty.

Representatives join caucuses to promote electoral goals. These informal organizations act as another “venue for constituency representation” (Miler 2), and as such immediately demand prioritized attention to lawmakers. Politicians are rational human beings, and as such act in their best self-interest. Caucuses are an extension of this reasoning, and as the history of CMOs suggests, the evolution of the organization is a reaction to the larger picture of Congressional context.

Representatives join caucuses to rival the institutional power of committees, which remain firmly under the command of party leadership. The gravity of committee benefits and the inability for minority ideologies and more junior members of political parties to receive immediate rewards meant that these individuals would need to respond accordingly. Caucuses are an informal, adaptable response to exclusion from committee rewards.

Representatives are more likely to join caucuses if they are junior members, in the minority party, in weaker districts, and generally in greater need of an alternative channel of power. “The data also shows that more liberal Democrats are less likely to belong to one (or more) partisan caucuses, which likely reflects the strength of moderate party caucuses such as the Blue Dog Coalition” (Miler 2008, 20). Blue Dogs emerged as a group of conservative Democrats fighting for their political careers. In many ways, then, the story of the BDC is the quintessential example of caucuses forming due to their circumstances within the balance of political power.

As Singh puts it, *the function of a caucus is informational, legislative, and representational* as it behaves both as “interest group” and “labor union” in congressional context (1998). CMOs behave as an interest group in so far as they achieve policy goals, while simultaneously improving the position and resources of its members in its labor union function. The dichotomous goals of caucuses fit perfectly with the nature of legislators themselves, because caucuses are the pure self-made tools of legislators. They have been shaped by common, run of the mill lawmakers for the purpose, among others, of more efficient congressional work.

Caucuses form as a reaction to a failure in leadership and out of a need to enhance electoral goals (Hammond 1991). Members without direct access to power have essentially found an alternative to the party system. Party leadership, in its inability to represent or address the concerns of key groups, has “allowed ad hoc groups to arise and fill the vacuum” of partisan guidance (Hammond 1991, 280).

Caucuses are bound by self-imposed rules, not unlike parties, but the more direct role of these informal institutions makes for some interesting variations on the freedom of member within these institutions. In the absence of a clear, engaged party leadership that accepts the BDC position of fiscal conservatism, it seems that members have developed their own sub-party unit into a more centralized organization with strikingly similar features of delegated authority. All of this seems to be, at least in part, the result of a void in their preferred form of party leadership.

The Blue Dogs’ narrow scope of fiscal conservatism allows for voting freedom in virtually all other aspects of legislation, yet even a single-issue caucus such as the BDC has begun to expand its influence upon its members. With organizational success, a

growth in influence over its members has occurred; there is a “new internal rule that binds all of their members to the group’s position if two-thirds of the members support the position,” offering a clear example of the ideological unity desired by the caucus as a whole (Pearson and Schickler 2009, 185).

Providing “psychological and solidary support” is one aspect of caucuses in which the Blue Dogs have found success. Loomis summarizes the effectiveness of their organization cleanly:

Given a strong sense of internal loyalty and camaraderie, coupled with a formal institutional presence as a caucus, the Blue Dogs have taken their commitment to fiscal conservatism very seriously, as they have sought to remain united as a centrist block in order to affect final votes and particular elements of the House Democratic agenda (Loomis 2009, 2).

In this sense, the BDC has taken advantage of the small, more tight knit bonds among members (relative to the broader membership of the Democratic Party) to further solidify its unity on a personal level outside of institutional mechanisms.

Rules and Voting Strategy

The Blue Dog Coalition’s role as a labor union, promoting and protecting the interests of its members, cannot be discussed without pointing out points of opportunity in which the caucus can flex its influence. The development of rules, the construction of voting strategy, and various other subtle maneuvers of party leadership in its enactment of policy initiatives can create a buffer for some of the inconsistencies within the Democratic coalition of ideologies. In this sense, a clear understanding of the connection

between rule development and leadership consideration of the sometimes electorally vulnerable BDC membership is absolutely essential.

Crafting the procedural guidelines for a legislative session is as important an action as the construction of the legislation itself. The creation of a context that will support vulnerable bills is the necessary prerequisite to effective vote gathering.

Examples of strategic rules are abundant and essential in today's combative political climate:

For example, what if a southern Democrat in the late 1980s was faced with a bill to which the GOP planned to attach an antiabortion amendment? ... In our theory, however, she would have a third (and preferable) choice: vote for a party-sponsored restrictive rule that deprived the Republicans from offering such an amendment in the first place. (Aldrich and Rohde, 58)

This kind of protection often eludes the public discourse, allowing subtle, preventative methods to be enacted at little cost to the majority party.

In theory, Blue Dogs are ideal targets for rules. In a Democratic run legislature, it is in the best interest of leadership to fortify the position of members who might hold positions on unrelated issues of morality that draw Republican fire. The same might apply for a Republican led congress using Blue Dogs to push through a bill. Just as in the example of the southern Democrat above, Blue Dogs might be forced to make a tough decision between party unity and saving face at home. These are the decisions that leaders, through effective construction of rules, should limit.

Vote buying is another tactical niche being carved out by the Blue Dogs. Leaders, being rational actors seeking to maximize benefits for their party, will seek to pass legislation at the lowest possible cost. However due to the heterogeneity of

circumstances behind individual legislators' preferences (ideology, constituency interests, etc.), a majority may need to be assembled through either coercion or incentive. In many cases, the cheapest solution is not confined to the borders of a political party.

King and Zeckhauser describe the "size principle" as a product of the zero-sum cooperative game that legislators operate within. This principle claims that there is one finite pie of political goods, and legislative initiatives will either produce Minimum Winning Coalitions (MWC) or universalistic coalitions (King and Zeckhauser 2003, 391). For the purpose of the Blue Dog Democrats, MWCs frame the way leadership interacts with this caucus in an interesting ways. Have Blue Dogs become the cheap vote for Republicans to pick up or the price-raising problem child of the Democratic Party?

As an example, earning the support of a threatened majority member might cost more, while the vote of a safe opposition moderate might be bought much cheaper. The Blue Dogs fit neatly into this category of moderates for sale, or moderates too expensive to buy. Aldrich and Rohde write on "the GOP's routine whip contacts with the "Blue Dog" Democrats in the 104th and 105th Congresses" as a case in support of this vote-purchasing model (Bond and Fleisher 2004, 39).

King and Zeckhauser also discuss "hip-pocket" votes and the extraordinary benefit available to leaders through the reserve nature of the agreements. It is useful to have the ability to have x amount of votes in the bag, without having to spend them in landslide or unreasonably challenging tasks. Evidence "consistent with models of moderate vote-buying is weak, at best," but the theoretical incentive is there (Ansolabehere, Snyder, Stewart 560). Blue Dogs and other moderate legislators, "knowing they will not be subject to the most severe costs, will sell their votes or their

vote options cheaper,” which will in turn increase the demand for their support (King and Zeckhauser 2003, 398). Also, legislators will feign hesitancy on measures to which they already support, simply to reap the purely political rewards of playing hard to get.

Concluding rules and strategies of vote inducement, it is safe to say that voters anticipate a likely outcome and behave accordingly. There were more small wins than small losses (18.1% vs. 10.1%) in King and Zeckhauser’s findings, and narrow wins are more frequent than narrow losses. “The day-to-day practice of building coalitions works more like an options market than a bazaar” (King and Zeckhauser 2003, 405), and the calculated workings of Congress draw in members like the BDC with their predictable platform of fiscal conservatism and their relatively strong ties to the Democratic Party.

Conclusion

The Blue Dog Coalition can be analyzed under the fused perspective of both party and caucus literature. The debate on the significance of party influence on congressional voting behavior will be applied to the caucus level. Results should contribute to both caucus and party-level analysis. The Blue Dog Coalition, acting as a party-within-a-party, presents an opportunity for a novel application of prominent theorists from each literature.

Polarization provides a context for the origins of the BDC. Furthermore CPG theorists describe polarized climates, such as the environment surrounding the BDC inception, as one of many contributing factors in the concentration of power in party leadership. I will explore the extent of leadership-BDC relations through the committee

spoils system. More fundamentally, Krehbiel challenges the significance of parties in their ability to affect individual legislator preferences. In turn, I will test for independent influence that caucuses, as a smaller party-like organization, may have on its members' voting behavior.

Polarization contributes to Conditional Party Government Theory as an explanation of concentrated influence in the House of Representatives. In turn, this sets the stage for the great debate on party significance and individual preferences. From this point, it is possible to move the argument forward through the application of these themes on a caucus-level of analysis. By doing this, we can test for caucus organizational influence, caucus-leadership relations, and the role of caucus in calculations of strategic voting and the construction of legislation.

Chapter 3: Findings

Question #1: The Source of Preference

The Blue Dog Coalition has sought to declare itself as a semi-sovereign institution within Congress by its mere existence as a policy focused caucus outside of the mainstream Democratic platform. The BDC demarcates the boundaries between Blue Dogs and non-Blue Dogs very clearly when it comes to issues of fiscal conservatism, and whether it is ideological reflection or electoral grand strategy, the purpose of the Blue Dog Coalition is clearly to serve the needs of its members.

In the midst of this, the Krehbiel vs. CPG-theorists argument allows us to frame the one question that may matter most for this research project: Do the Blue Dogs, as an organization, hold significance beyond the preference of individual members of the coalition?

In an effort to clearly answer this question, I have asked the question that imitates the debate on party significance. Does the Blue Dog Coalition have common legislative preference “in spite of disagreement” or “because of their agreement” (Krehbiel 1993, 238)? Do Blue Dogs, upon entry into the organization, respond by becoming more conservative?

I have collected and analyzed a variety of variables meant to measure conservative tendencies in individual members. The ratings of the National Taxpayers Union and American Conservatives Union, two interest groups, will serve this goal. Party unity scores will be employed as yet another measure to take into consideration. As with all aspects of this research, the values for Blue Dogs will be contrasted with all

Democrats not in the Blue Dog Coalition². Finally, the DW Nominate score produced by Poole and Rosenthal will aid my attempt to place the Blue Dogs on the ideological spectrum.

With the differences laid out over the period ranging from the 104th to the 110th Congress, these four variables can be used as a tool to measure the change experienced by new members of the Blue Dog Coalition.

Hypothesis #1a: Joining the BDC increases the fiscal conservatism of new members

Hypothesis #1b: Blue Dogs will be more fiscally conservative than non-Blue Dogs

The goal here is to calculate and analyze the mean change of returning members of the House of Representatives, members who have served at least one term as a non-Blue Dog, and contrast these numbers with their non-Blue Dog counterparts. In this way, I have provided a glimpse of the immediate effects of admission to the BDC upon members who have shown a pre-caucus pattern of voting behavior.

Party Unity

As previously explained, party unity scores are a percentage of party-dividing votes on which the member of Congress supported his or her party leadership (Meinke, Codebook for House and Senate Voting Behavior Data Sets). This score will be used to

² Throughout the tables and graphs, these two groups will be described as BDC (given the value of 1), or members of the Blue Dog Coalition, and non-BDC (value=0), all other Democrats.

discover any significant divide between Blue Dogs and non-Blue Dogs. The party unity score is a widely used and widely trusted measurement of internal party cohesion.

Party Unity Means

The party unity of Blue Dog Democrats from the 104th to 110th Congress averaged around 74.7 over 218 observations. This is in comparison to the 91.2 mean of the 1244 non-Blue Dog Democrats observed over the same period of time. Immediately there is a substantial gap according to this variable that sets off Blue Dogs from their non-caucus counterparts suggesting that Blue Dogs *do vote less along party lines than Democrats outside of their organization*. In other words, Blue Dogs, on average, have been behaving differently from the rest of the Democratic Party. Below is the table demonstrating the mean party unity of Blue Dogs vs. Non-Blue Dogs during this time period:

(Table 1-A)

	Mean Party Unity	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	74.66733		
Non-Blue Dog	91.22437		
Total	88.75553	22.5363	<0.001

Party Unity Mean Change

From the 104th to the 110th, many things changed in the American political landscape. Most importantly, perhaps, was a swing from Republican leadership back to Democratic control in the House of Representatives. I have compared Blue Dogs to Non-Blue Dog Democrats to acknowledge the change in party unity that might occur as a

result of this swing and to differentiate, if indeed there is such a gap in score, the two groups. *During this time, the Blue Dogs began to close the gap on party unity as they increased at a much higher rate than their counterparts.*

My prediction was a greater difference in party unity change among Blue Dogs than among non-BDC Democrats, and this is supported by my data. There is significant data to support the idea that Blue Dogs increased in party unity more than their Democratic peers over the 104th-110th spectrum. This may be a result of shifting party leadership, as Democratic leaders apply more pressure to push through their proposals, as well as a gradual change in electoral support for voting behavior. The Blue Dogs seem to respond to this notion, changing more rapidly than other Democrats, despite having come from a lower starting position of party unity. Blue Dogs increased their party unity, from congress to congress, by 2.38 more than legislators outside the Blue Dog Coalition. The data supporting this significant effect of Blue Dogs and average party unity change is shown below:

(Table 1-B)

	Mean Party Unity Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	2.773387		
Non-Blue Dog	0.3913645		
Total	0.725033	-5.0224	<0.001

Party Unity Mean Change of Returning Member

Taking this pair of variables, I have calculated the mean change in party unity from the previous year, the year prior to admission into the BDC, to the first year of Blue Dog membership. The results are predictable. The Blue Dogs, with their scores lower

than the rest of the Democratic Party to begin with, have increased their mean party unity score by .79; the rest of the Democrats increased in party unity, on average, by 1.33.

Interestingly, upon joining the Blue Dog Coalition, legislators have increased in party unity, but by .54 less than the rest of their peers in the Democratic Party. In other words, these self-acclaimed conservatives have seen growth in party unity, but only at around 68.3% of the rate that the rest of their party has experienced this same synchronizing of voting behavior.

The level of significance fails to meet the standard necessary to reject our null hypothesis, however, and this is probably in no small part due to the low number of observations for Blue Dogs who have served as non-Blue Dogs in Congress before (n=17). This does not necessarily mean that the findings are erroneous or mere chance, but it does mean that we cannot come to a concrete conclusion with the current results. The results below reflect this conclusion:

(Table 1-C)

	Mean Party Unity Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	0.7906568		
Non-Blue Dog	1.333562		
Total	1.323847	0.5599	0.2878

**All Democrats have served the previous term as non-Blue Dog Democrats.*

NTU

Interest group scores are valuable in that they offer a score to judge political representatives, but from a very specific, often issue-oriented perspective. The mission of this group describes its issue emphasis:

National Taxpayers Union (NTU) is America's independent, non-partisan advocate for overburdened taxpayers. NTU mobilizes elected officials and the general public on behalf of tax relief and reform, lower and less wasteful spending, individual liberty, and free enterprise. Founded in 1969, we work at all levels for the day when every taxpaying citizen's right to a limited government is among our nation's highest democratic principles. ("About NTU" 2009)

While by no means a perfect fit with the ambiguous goal of fiscal responsibility that Blue Dogs champion, the organization will provide us with our second variable in the analysis of BDC-exerted influence on members. Any significant shift in NTU scores for newly inducted members will offer more support for the hypothesis that the Blue Dog Coalition does indeed apply effective pressure upon its members, altering voting behavior.

It should be noted that, unlike the ACU, the NTU does not take a small sample of significant policies and rate members according to these results. The NTU website describes its effort to establish a large sample to develop the most extensive exploration of voting tendencies on issues that directly relate to the Blue Dog creed of fiscal conservatism.

Every year National Taxpayers Union (NTU) rates U.S. Representatives and Senators on their actual votes--every vote that affects taxes, spending, and debt. Unlike most organizations that publish ratings, we refuse to play the "rating game" of focusing on only a handful of congressional votes on selected issues. The NTU voting study is the fairest and most accurate guide available on congressional spending. It is a completely unbiased accounting of votes ("NTU Rates Congress" 2009)

While the Blue Dogs never mention reduction of taxes as a primary goal, the common thread of debt reduction should make the caucus a friend of the NTU.

NTU Means

Blue Dog Democrats scored significantly higher than Non-Blue Dog Democrats on the NTU interest group score from the 104th to the 110th Congress. This result is predictable and neatly in line with the basic foundation of Blue Dog claims to fiscal conservatism. By testing this, I aimed to establish a basis for testing preference exerted upon and preexisting caucus membership in the Blue Dog Coalition.

By running a t-test to test the significance of the difference in mean NTU by BDC status, I have discovered that the BDC, according to this measurement, are indeed *more conservative on fiscal issues than other members of their party*. In this sense, the NTU score suggests that Blue Dog preference for fiscal conservative behavior (relative to the rest of the Democratic Party), does in fact exist. Blue Dogs scored, on average, approximately 4.88 points higher according to this variable than their counterparts, as shown in the table below. What is left is a discovery of the source of this preference; does it stem from caucus-guided policy or its members' convictions?

(Table 1-D)

	Mean NTU	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	24.54147		
Non-Blue Dog	19.66158		
Total	20.38638	-7.0558	<0.001

NTU Mean Change

Members of the Coalition experienced *a greater level of negative mean change in NTU scores* during the spectrum offered between the Gingrich- and Pelosi-run Houses. The average change of the rest of the Democratic Party was roughly a 1.5 point decrease,

signifying a move towards voting behavior not conducive to fiscally conservative tax policy. The Blue Dogs, however, more than doubled the decrease in NTU score, reaching an approximate 3.3-point average drop per congress.

Over time, the Blue Dogs are moving away from the National Taxpayer’s Union ideal voting pattern, suggesting a shift away from fiscal conservatism over the six Congresses under analysis. This is an important next step in observing whether Blue Dogs change their voting behavior upon joining the BDC. By first noticing the average change in score for all members of Blue Dogs, we can better distinguish important jumps in NTU scores at the point of admission into the caucus from normal trends in changing behavior. These results are highly significant, suggesting that the pattern witnessed below is probably not due to chance:

(Table 1-E)

	Mean NTU Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-3.307263		
Non-Blue Dog	-1.559383		
Total	-1.803432	2.3416	0.0097

NTU Mean Change of Returning Member

The buildup of NTU mean scores, mean change in score, and mean score for new Blue Dogs who are returning members of Congress has led to the analysis of Hypothesis 1a. Do members of the Blue Dog Coalition experience external pressure that influences behavior with regard to fiscal conservatism or do their expressed preferences remain unaffected, as Krehbiel argues with parties, upon admission to the BDC? My

hypothesis was that a bump in NTU score, signaling an increased fiscal conservatism, would take place upon entry into the Coalition.

All Democrats are declining, but the Blue Dogs are declining in NTU score less so than their partisan peers. The evidence I found, therefore, does not support my hypothesis. The results are not significant, and therefore the potential remains that these results are the product of chance. The numbers present, significance aside, do suggest that Blue Dogs have experienced a change in NTU score upon admission, but to a lesser degree than their Democratic peers who undergo no similar theoretical caucus pressure. The numbers below are the basis for this conclusion:

(Table 1-F)

	Mean NTU Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-2.970588		
Non-Blue Dog	-3.893319		
Total	-3.87672	-0.5244	0.3001

**All Democrats have served the previous term as non-Blue Dog Democrats.*

ACU

The American Conservative Union (ACU) was founded just 5 years prior to the NTU, and both for my own research and public consumption, the two perform similar functions. The description on the organization’s website describes the utility that the score provides for my effort to establish a true understanding of the Blue Dogs below the surface level of rhetoric:

These ratings have throughout the years become a go-to guide to determine whether an elected official’s philosophical rhetoric matches his or her record. ACU’s purpose in this guide is to inform the public, in an

unbiased way, on where individual members of Congress fall on the ideological spectrum. (“How We Pick” 2010)

By evaluating the Blue Dogs change in ACU scores before and after joining the caucus, and then lining up these numbers with non-BDC, non-freshman Democratic counterparts, we begin to notice a clear pattern of separation.³

ACU Means

In line with my broad hypothesis that Blue Dogs will vote with greater fiscal conservatism, the ACU score *should* reflect a large gap between Blue Dogs and non-Blue Dogs with a substantive value for BDC members. In addition, I expect to see increased ACU values upon entry to the BDC. This is meant to demonstrate the presence of caucus influence dictating, to at least a small degree, a change in voting behavior that will, as a byproduct, result in greater overall conservatism relative to other Democrats.

The average ACU score of Blue Dogs is significantly higher than Non-Blue Dog Democrats. In fact, the average rating given by the American Conservative Union is nearly triple that of the rest of the Democratic Party, suggesting a clear division between the voting behavior between the two groups on the most important matters (to the BDC). The significance of the relationship of higher ACU scores for Blue Dogs is present below:

³ It should be noted that the ACU does not count missed votes, thus weighting each remaining vote more heavily. If a member of Congress were to only take one of the roughly twenty-five votes that are considered in the creation of the ACU score each year, his score will be 100. That being said, the score is a unique opportunity to gauge how an organization overtly opposed to liberalism (in the context of American politics) ranks individual members of this organization.

(Table 1-G)

	Mean ACU	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	32.45392		
Non-Blue Dog	11.72227		
Total	14.80151	-19.697	<0.001

ACU Mean Change

By examining the drop in ACU scores during the years of the 104th to the time of the 110th Congress, I am taking an important first step in providing context for the changing voting behavior of each group. What I expect to discover, again, is a greater change in ACU for Blue Dogs than in other Democrats.

The results are significant and in accordance with my hypothesis. Blue Dogs experience similar changes in interest scores from the American Conservatives Union as they did with the National Taxpayer’s Union. Members of the Coalition dropped approximately 3.01 points in favor with the ACU while the rest of Democrats only fell 1.05 points. Again, this is in the context of a large gap in raw mean for ACU scores, but we experience the same closing of the gap as we did with party unity and NTU scores. On average, *the average movement towards liberalism is greater for Blue Dogs than non-Blue Dogs*. This data can be seen in the Table 1-H:

(Table 1-H)

	Mean ACU Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-3.019663		
Non-Blue Dog	-1.054397		
Total	-1.327479	1.6475	0.0498

ACU Mean Change of Returning Member

Upon entry into the Blue Dog Coalition, members of the caucus experience a 3.75 point decrease in American Conservative Union scores. This data runs contrary to my hypothesis of increased fiscal conservatism upon entry into the caucus. In addition, the rate of change in which Blue Dogs become *less* conservative is much higher for new Blue Dogs than for non-Blue Dogs. Not only do newly inducted Blue Dog Democrats become *less conservative*, they *decrease their conservatism by a larger amount, on average, than their Democratic peers*. Table 1-I shows that the difference between means is not significant with a .2291 p-value:

(Table 1-I)

	Mean ACU Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-3.75		
Non-Blue Dog	-1.246774		
Total	-1.289112	0.7421	0.2291

**All Democrats have served the previous term as non-Blue Dog Democrats.*

Summary of ACU, NTU, and Party Unity

The graph below lays out the means of both the Non-Blue Dogs and Blue Dogs as summarized above, with the “value 1” graphs representing members of the BDC and the “value 0” data representing the rest of the Democratic Party. It shows that Blue Dogs hold a lower level of party unity, a slightly higher score according to the National Taxpayers Union, and a much higher American Conservatives Union score. In conclusion, the means of three indicators on conservative legislation within Congress

have all been in line with the thesis of Blue Dogs holding a slightly more conservative record than their non-BDC counterparts. The bar graph below (Figure A) offers a simple comparison of the two groups (Blue Dogs=1, Non-BDC=0):

(Figure A)

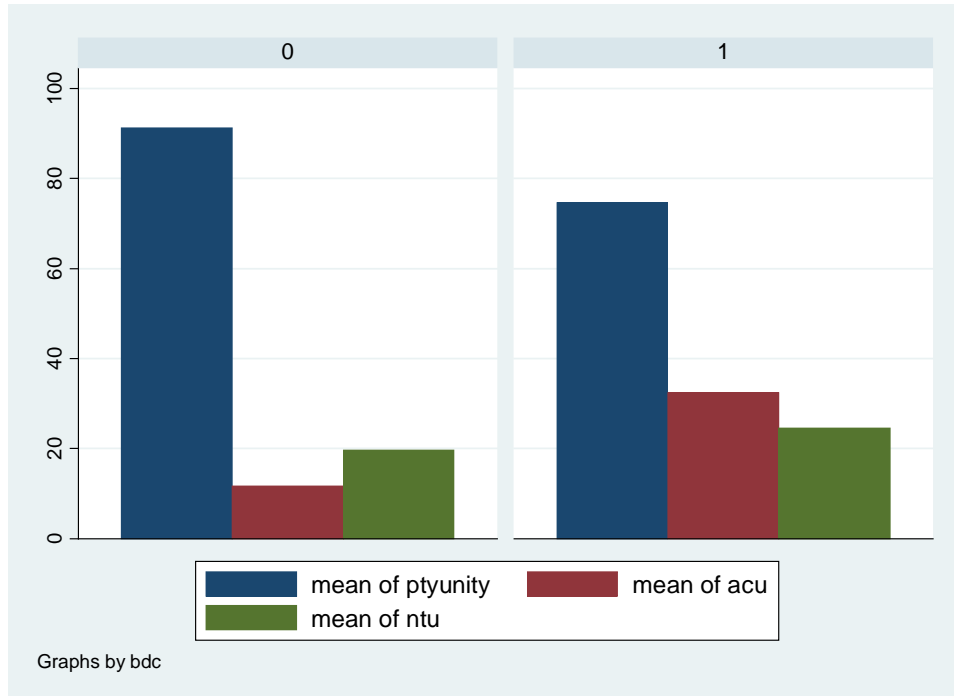
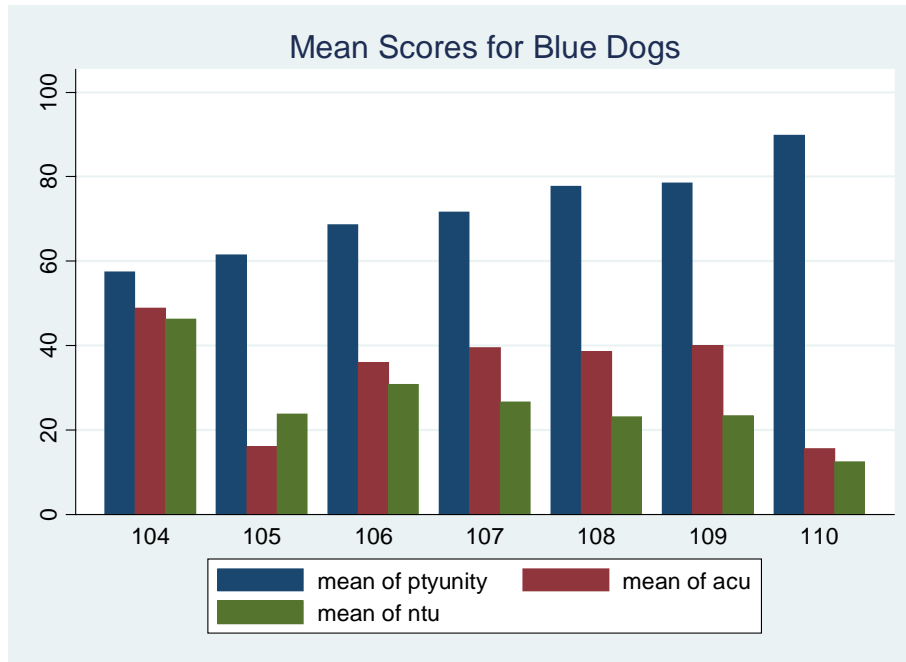
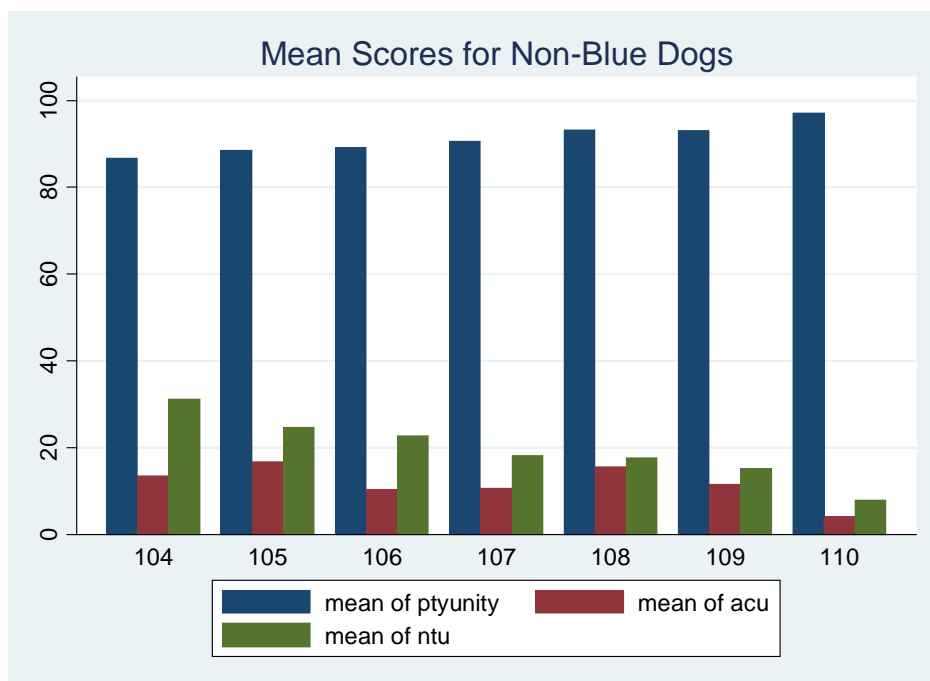


Figure B sorts the same variables by congress, in an attempt to show the changing patterns of voting behavior for both Blue Dogs; Figure C does the same for non-Blue Dogs. Note the direction in which Blue Dog scores area headed:

(Figure B)

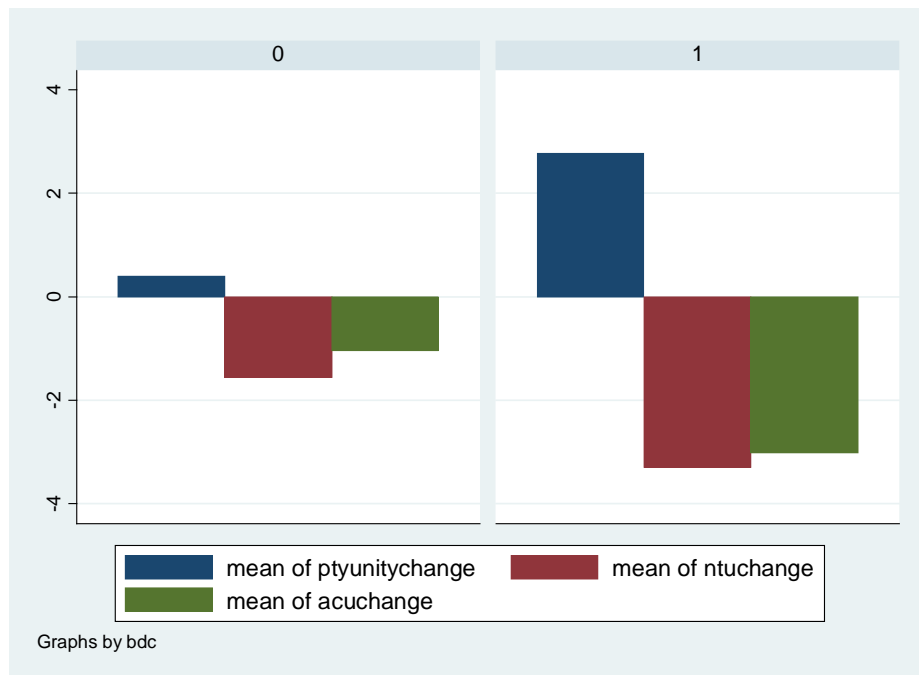


(Figure C)



As the Blue Dog Coalition developed through the next six Congressional sessions and electoral changes took place, the mean change of the same variables allowed observers to make claims about the nature of the BDC within the party as we judge its relative gains or losses in each category. Both groups increased in party unity, but Blue Dogs clearly increased by a higher percentage. Both groups lost points according to NTU and ACU interest group scores, indicating a liberal shift, but Blue Dogs decreased by a greater degree according to both variables. The mean change of party unity, ACU scores, and NTU scores for the 104th to 110th Congress is demonstrated below:

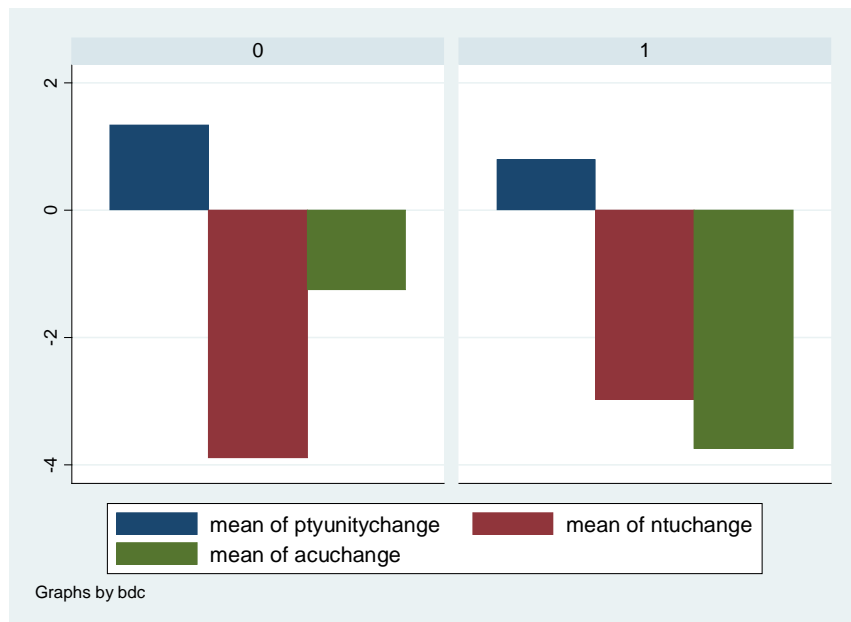
(Figure D)



The measure of scores based on at least one previous term in Congress as a non-Blue Dog allows us to view the influence exerted upon members by the BDC as a

Congressional Member Organization. This effort to gauge the significance of the institution on voter preferences has provided us with some interesting conclusions. Upon joining the BDC, members of Congress still increased in party unity scores, but at a rate less steep than their non-Blue Dog counterparts. New members of the caucus also lost points in both conservative interest group scores, effectively showing that, like regular Democrats, they had become more liberal with time. It should be noted that while the change in NTU scores was less dramatic in its swing to the left for the Blue Dogs, ACU scores decreased much more for Blue Dogs than regular Democrats in a similar position. The results of change in NTU, ACU, and party unity for members of Congress who have served at least one previous term as a non-Blue Dog are expressed in the graph below:

(Figure E)



NOMINATE

The split nature of roll calls allows political scientists to map voting patterns, by issue, across a continuum. The process of plotting these points of behavior to “conceptualize the legislative process” can be broadly referred to as *spatial theory*. The NOMINAL Three-step Estimation (NOMINATE) process is a specific probabilistic model that can be applied to multidimensional settings. This method, developed by Poole and Rosenthal in *Ideology and Congress*, aids the process of better identifying legislators and the preferences they represent. The data is compiled through “positions of legislator and roll call outcomes solely from observed individual roll call decisions” (Poole and Rosenthal 2007, 30). In this sense, it is blind to external factors of influence, such as parties, making it an ideal variable for my research.

The score composed by Poole and Rosenthal provides a comprehensive measurement of members’ ideology, because the use of nearly all voting information, especially non-unanimous votes. The NOMINATE score places members of Congress on a -1 to 1 spectrum (with negative numbers being more liberal and positive numbers being more conservative), evaluating members’ voting records in their entirety, encompassing both social and economic issues. In this sense, the NOMINATE variable offers a broader lens with which we can view the BDC as an ideological unit.

With roll call voting as the bedrock for this model, it is important we take note of the trends present in modern roll calls. The continuum of ideology presented by Poole and Rosenthal is remarkably stable since 1940, with the only major spikes in ideological preference change due to key points in American history. Furthermore, the continuums

are increasing in stability, and it is rare that members of Congress change ideology once in office.

Finally, the length of the continuum has changed. The first 70 years of the 20th century experienced gradual shrinkage, while intraparty diversity was stable. This was due to the reduction of the ideological gap between the two parties. In the last 30 years, however, parties have polarized and returned to the highs of 1900, allowing an expansion of the continuum once more.

Unless members change parties, ideology remains relatively constant over a career, and “unless the legislator’s voting pattern is extremely noisy, his position will be pinned down by his overall pattern of voting, even when there is little or no error” (Poole and Rosenthal 2007, 27). This makes the NOMINATE score an excellent tool for measuring the change in ideology that may or may not occur upon entry into the Blue Dog Coalition; parties are a restraining variable that alter members voting behavior, but what about caucuses? Will the Blue Dog Coalition influence members so much that their NOMINATE score jumps?

We will be dealing with only one part of the multidimensional score, the first dimension, which represents the traditional left-right spectrum of liberalism to conservatism as it is interpreted in the United States. This emphasis on economic and government intervention should allow an even more precise way of gauging the Blue Dogs changing conservatism over time and upon entry. The figures below demonstrate this change.

DW NOMINATE Means

The ideological mean of Blue Dog Democrats is much closer to the center than that of Non-Blue Dogs within the Democratic Party. In this sense, claims of unique conservatism within a largely liberal party appear to be well founded. The BDC, on average, scored just about .18 points to the left of true center, which is significantly closer to the center than the party average. Non-Blue Dog members of the Democratic Party scored approximately .43 points left of center, creating a gap of about .25 of a point between the two groups.

This stage of analysis importantly builds up our narrative to better view the effects of preference in accordance with or in defiance of preexisting positions. The significance level, again, is enough to ensure that the correlation between ideological positioning on the DW NOMINATE score is probably not due to chance. As a result, we can claim with 95% confidence the relationship between NOMINATE scores closer to 0 and membership in the Blue Dog Coalition, as seen in below:

(Table 1-J)

	Mean DW NOMINATE Score	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-0.1798914		
Non-Blue Dog	-0.4286695		
Total	-0.3937287	-21.7016	<0.001

DW NOMINATE Mean Change

The average change in DW NOMINATE scores on the first spectrum (economic, rather than civil rights ideology) is -.0012207 for Blue Dogs. Contrasted with the -.001499 change, we witness a lesser degree of ideological shift, for the first time, among

Blue Dog than the rest of the Democratic Party. Predictably, the shift in ideology is extremely slight, with legislators barely adjusting their legislative positions over an entire career, but so far as there is movement, the Blue Dogs seem to be moving less so than their counterparts outside of the caucus.

The two-sample t-test below shows the relationship between the slight liberal shift and membership in the Blue Dog Coalition. Both groups, over the 104th-110th Congress period do move left on average, but Blue Dogs move less to the left than the rest of their party. Again, our significance level fails to meet the threshold required to rule out chance results. The results can be seen below:

(Table 1-K)

	Mean DW NOMINATE Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-0.0012207		
Non-Blue Dog	-0.001499		
Total	-0.0014625	-0.1285	0.4489

DW NOMINATE Means of Returning Members

Members of Congress who have served as Non-Blue Dogs in the previous term average similar to the broad average of all Democrats’ DW NOMINATE score. Blue Dogs scored just .2374 points to the left of the complete ideological center, with the rest of the Democratic Party .4382074 towards the liberal end of the spectrum. This gap of roughly .2 NOMINATE points further liberal than the Blue Dog Coalition, demonstrates the unique position of the BDC within the greater umbrella of the Democratic Party.

The t-test shows the significance level meeting the standards necessary, allowing us to make conclusions based on the data that Blue Dogs, returning to Congress and

entering the Coalition, hold a mean ideological score more conservative than the majority of the Democratic Party. Whether this reflects preference due to agreement or in the face of disagreement remains to be seen, but the basic nature of the caucus seems to be more conservative than its home party, as seen in the following table (Table 1-L):

(Table 1-L)

	Mean DW NOMINATE Score	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	-0.2374		
Non-Blue Dog	-0.4382074		
Total	-0.4344469	-5.3842	<0.001

**All Democrats have served the previous term as non-Blue Dog Democrats.*

DW NOMINATE Mean Change of Returning Members

Finally, the test of changing ideology upon entrance to the Blue Dog Coalition allows us to conclude our measurement of caucus influence upon voter behavior. Blue Dogs experience a +.0146, signaling a *jump in ideological score towards the conservative end of the spectrum*. This is the exact type of reaction one would predict if there is indeed an independent caucus effect present. Non-Blue Dogs, in as similar a situation as possible, undergo a less radical shift of -.000584 points. This shows that Democrats outside of the Coalition move slightly *towards the liberal end of the spectrum*. Essentially, Blue Dogs join the caucus and experience an immediate right-oriented change in voting behavior, while their peers continue the trend of liberal, incremental change.

For the 17 returning Democrats who joined the ranks of the Blue Dog Coalition, the Blue Dogs shifted by .015184 NOMINATE points to become more conservative than

the non-Blue Dogs in the Democratic Party. This spike in fiscal conservatism associated with entrance into the Coalition is supported by the test of significance listed below:

(Table 1-M)

	Mean DW NOMINATE Change	T-value	Significance Level (95% Confidence Interval)
Blue Dog	0.0146		
Non-Blue Dog	-0.000584		
Total	-0.0002996	-2.3571	0.0093

**All Democrats have served the previous term as non-Blue Dog Democrats.*

Using the -1 to 1 spectrum of ideology can sometimes have the unintended consequence of dwarfing disparities between groups due to the small scale of units in the score, but in this case, the conservative swing of newly elected Blue Dogs and liberal continuation of returning members of the Democratic Party shows clearly the difference in NOMINATE scores between members of the BDC and regular Democrats. The mean change of DW NOMINATE scores, for Blue Dogs and non-Blue Dogs, are clearly demonstrated by these findings.

Question #2: Representation on Prestigious Committees

Committee assignments are one of the primary sources of influence that leaders wield over their members; prestigious positions are doled out to the loyal, the vulnerable, and the senior members of a party as a way of maintaining cohesion and order in the U.S. House of Representatives. Blue Dogs are not exempt from this system of reward and punishment by committee assignments, and as a way of finding patterns that may reflect the existence of abnormal preference given to this caucus, I have performed chi square tests using cross tabs to contrast BDC and non-BDC Democrats and their assignments relative to their numbers.

If Blue Dogs receive an undue amount of preference in the selection of the power committees, then the null hypothesis of Blue Dogs receiving a normal amount of political benefits through this medium can be rejected, suggesting a dynamic relationship with the Democratic leadership that could signal either significance or vulnerability of the BDC. The selected power committees are as follows: Appropriations, Ways and Means, Rules, and Budget.

Hypothesis #2: The Blue Dogs Receive Extra Preference in the Form of Prestige Committee Assignments from Party Leadership

By bringing Blue Dogs into the ranks of these committees, leaders keep them involved in order to know where they stand. Membership here translates into influence in policy making at the highest level. So, by hypothesizing that they will be overrepresented, I am suggesting that Democratic leadership is looking to co-opt the BDC in the committee process.

Democratic leadership has an incentive to reward Blue Dogs for a number of reasons. First, the Blue Dogs behave as majority makers, bulking up the legislative power of the party with their mere presence. Second, in the early days of the BDC (104th to 106th) there were a number of Blue Dogs that defected to the Republican Party. Even founding members of the BDC, such as Louisianan Billy Tauzin, found that the caucus experiment was not enough to maintain their position as Democrat.

By creating the Blue Dog Coalition, members of this caucus were signaling loudly to their leadership that they were not in line with everything on the party platform. Furthermore, they showed that they were in need of special electoral recognition, and most importantly, they needed the ability to influence policy through very specific channels. The unique position of Blue Dogs, as majority makers that could potentially be flipped to the opposition camp, created an incentive for party leadership to appease Blue Dog Democrats through the traditional means of partisan spoils: prestigious committee assignments.

Each of these committees represents a tool to carve out the policy agenda of the majority party. The Appropriations Committee sets the target for where funds are to be spent. Ways and Means controls how the American government raises funds. The Committee on Rules sets the pace, order, and structure of policy proposals, while the Committee on the Budget reconciles competing budget proposals.

The Appropriations Committee

The Appropriations Committee in the House is powerful because it allocates money for general government operations. Issues ranging from agriculture to national security are connected to the decisions made in this prestigious committee. In many ways, Appropriations symbolizes the central purpose of the legislator. The allocation of resources through the legislator is outlined in our most fundamental governing document as it claims, “No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law” (U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 9). Public funds, by law, cannot be used for anything other than the appropriated purpose set out by the legislature. Disproportionate representation of Blue Dogs on this committee would signal a disproportionate amount of power in the hands of the BDC.

Table 2-A shows that Blue Dogs are completely unrepresented in the 104th Congress’ Appropriations committee. While 13.51% of non-Blue Dogs hold seats on the Appropriations Committee, making decisions on fund allocation daily, not a single Blue Dog joined the prestigious committee during the inaugural year of the caucus. Importantly, I have noted that the results are not significant, allowing no concrete conclusions to be made solely on the data below.

(Table 2-A)

104th Congress-Approp	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	160/86.49	18/100.00	178/87.68
Member	25/13.51	0/0.00	25/12.32
Total	185/100.00	18/100.00	203/100.00

**P-value=0.096*

By the 110th, 7 of the 37 seats on Appropriations were designated to the Blue Dogs. This amounts to a 16.28% (of Blue Dog membership) rise in Appropriation Committee participation. By the 110th, the percentage of Blue Dogs holding positions in this committee was greater than the percentage of non-Blue Dogs. *By the 110th Congress, the Blue Dogs were very slightly overrepresented in the Appropriations Committee*, but the data in Table 2-B is not statistically significant.

(Table 2-B)

110th Congress-Approp	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	160/84.21	36/83.72	196/84.12
Member	30/15.79	7/16.28	37/15.88
Total	190/100.00	43/100.00	233/100.00

*P-value=0.937

The Ways and Means Committee

The House Ways and Means Committee is the oldest committee in the U.S. Congress. It embodies the power of the purse in the legislature; it maintains control over taxation and revenue-raising policies as well as some of the most expensive government projects (i.e. Social Security, Medicare, and other welfare programs). This power “derives a large share of its jurisdiction from Article I, Section VII of the U.S. Constitution which declares, ‘All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives’” (“Committee History” 2010). Ways and Means is in many ways the premier money committee. Naturally, legislators will be drawn to this concentration of legislative power as a mark of control over the most contentious and important issues to the electorate they represent.

Figure 2-C shows that Blue Dogs were, similar to the observations in Appropriations, absent from participation in the Ways and Means Committee. While only 8.11% of Democrats outside of the caucus held seats on this elite committee at the time, members of the BDC were clearly under represented at the time of their foundation. The following results are not significant.

(Table 2-C)

104th Congress-Ways	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	170/91.89	18/100.00	188/92.61
Member	15/8.11	0/0.00	15/7.39
Total	185/100.00	18/100.00	203/100.00

*P-value=0.209

By the 110th Congress, 3 of the 43 members (6.98%) of the Blue Dog Coalition had entered into the decision making process that controlled the methods of raising revenue as well as big budget issues. Non-Blue Dogs had increased their membership by 2.94%, and this coincides with a rise in total available seats from 15 to 24. The raise in representation, however, was clearly greater for Blue Dogs; despite this, under representation remained the reality of BDC members when contrasted with their counterparts in the Democratic Party.

(Table 2-D)

110th Congress-Ways	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	169/88.95	40/93.20	209/89.70
Member	21/11.05	3/6.98	24/10.30
Total	190/100.00	43/100.00	233/100.00

*P-value=0.427

The Committee on Rules

The Committee on Rules holds influence based on its tactical importance to legislating. Former House GOP Leader Bob Michel, III. best explains the functions of this standing committee (1981-1995):

The Rules Committee [dictates] how a piece of legislation gets to the floor, how many amendments will be considered, and how much time will be allowed for debate. The Committee usually sets the conditions for debate and may also waive various points of order against a bill or an amendment which would otherwise prevent House action. Because [of] the Rules Committee's critical role in controlling the legislative process, the Committee has traditionally been held under the tight control of the Speaker, and that is as it should be (Oleszek 1998)

The inextricable links between this committee and party leadership serve as a useful method in measuring the relationship between party leadership and Blue Dogs. 'Rules' are "privileged simple resolutions that establish the procedural conditions for considering legislation on the floor," and control over these procedures can significantly help or hinder the chances of passage through the House (Oleszek 1998)

In the 104th Congress, Blue Dogs were not present in the Committee on Rules. The 18 self-proclaimed fiscal conservatives were not allocated a seat, but it is important to keep in mind that they are in the company of 97.84% of non-BD Democrats. With only 4 positions available on Rules, it is unsurprising that Blue Dogs would receive no representation; only 4 members of the entire party enjoyed this status. The results can be found in Table 2-E:

(Table 2-E)

104th Congress-Rules	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	181/97.84	18/100.00	199/98.03
Member	4/2.16	0/0.00	4/1.97
Total	185/100.00	18/100.00	203/100.00

*P-value=0.529

By the time Democrats had gained power in Congress, 9 available seats were allocated amongst the various groups within the Democratic Party; of these seats, 2 were given to the BDC. This demonstrates a *very slight overrepresentation of Blue Dogs in the Committee that, more so than any other, guides the general direction of a legislative era*. While only 3.68% of non-BDC Democrats took part in this activity, 4.65% of the Coalition participated in the committee. This relationship is not significant, however.

(Table 2-F)

110th Congress-Rules	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	183/96.32	41/95.35	224/96.14
Member	7/3.68	2/4.65	9/3.86
Total	190/100.00	43/100.00	233/100.00

*P-value=0.766

The Committee on the Budget

Public Law 93-344 founded the Committee on the Budget in 1974, in the second session of the 93rd Congress. Both the complex development of managing large government programs, such as Social Security, and the growing number of conflicts between the executive and legislative branch budget goals created a need for the formal

institution of the Budget Committee. In reality, the existence of this committee is a reassertion of congressional power over the purse; the timing of its foundation coincides with a larger movement of House reforms that allowed for the mechanism to actually deal with the many tax and spending issues of the 20th century.

One of its self-proclaimed purposes is to actually check federal spending, giving the Blue Dogs a great incentive to find ways to influence the committee. The Office of History and Preservation, referenced on the Budget website about section, both emphasizes the importance of fiscal responsibility, the avowed hallmark of Blue Dog Democrats, and ties in the importance of chairmen in the committee:

For much of its history, the Budget Committee's agenda has been directed by centrist House Members who advocated fiscal responsibility while crafting compromises between the President's budget and Congress's appropriations interests. Although much of the committee's activity was directed toward reconciling executive and congressional budget goals, the legislative interests of individual committee chairmen also has played a role in steering the committee focus ("A Brief History" 2008)

This relationship between leaders in the Democratic party and budget proposals makes the Budget Committee an ideal candidate to test the manner in which BDC members are received within the Democratic Party.

During their first year in Congress as a CMO, Blue Dogs were overrepresented on the Budget Committee. Exactly 16.67% of the Blue Dog Coalition was present in the committee that has the most control over deficit reduction. Compare this proportion to the 8.65% of non-BD Democrats that made up the remaining 16 seats. Blue Dogs were more influential, in terms of committee membership, on matters of Budget than Non-Blue

Dogs were, when speaking in percentages of each respective group, *but it should be stressed*, again, that these results were statistically insignificant.

(Table 2-G)

104th Congress-Budget	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	169/91.35	15/83.33	184/90.64
Member	16/8.65	3/16.67	19/9.36
Total	185/100.00	18/100.00	203/100.00

**P-value* =0.265

By the time the 110th Congress and Pelosi leadership has come to be a reality, Blue Dogs have come closer to proportional parity with their non-BDC counterparts. The BDC picked up one seat in the committee, but dropped to 9.30% of the Coalition taking part in the process. Relative power to influence budget issues, according to committee membership alone, decreased between the 104th and 110th Congresses. Roughly 1 in every 10 non-Blue Dog was a member of the Budget Committee during this time, and that proportion nearly holds true for Blue Dogs as well. The very slight under-representation shown in Figure 3.6h is not supported by significance in its results. Table 2-H demonstrates this change, below.

(Table 2-H)

110th Congress-Budget	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	171/90.00	39/90.70	210/90.13
Member	19/10.00	4/9.30	23/9.87
Total	190/100.00	43/100.00	233/100.00

**P-value* =0.890

Prestige Committees

The total, pooled data for all of the above-described prestige committees is broken down in the following congress-by-congress analysis of proportional representation in the Democratic Party. None of the following tables showed significant results from their respective chi-square analysis tests. Nevertheless, some interesting tendencies emerge as we follow the linear change in percentage of Blue Dogs represented on these four committees.

During the 104th Congress, Blue Dogs received 3 of the 59 seats, amounting to 16.67% of the Blue Dog receiving prestige committee inclusion. Meanwhile, 30.27% of Non-Blue Dogs took part in the same prestigious committees. Comparing the two groups, Blue Dogs were severely underrepresented (with a difference of 13.6 percentage points) as we take a broad look at membership in any of these four committees. This is, of course, during their first year as a caucus.

(Table 2-I)

104th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	129/69.73	15/83.33	144/70.94
Member	56/30.27	3/16.67	59/29.06
Total	185/100.00	18/100.00	203/100.00

**P-value*=0.225

By the time the 105th Congress has finished, the prestige-membership percentage of both groups had risen. Blue Dogs had gained 0.72% inclusion in this elite committee system, while Non-Blue Dogs had gained 1.28% greater representation. Blue Dogs remained underrepresented only a few years later, with little sign of significant increase

in representation to come. Furthermore the gap between the two groups had increased to 14.16 percentage points.

(Table 2-J)

105th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	128/68.45	19/82.61	147/70.00
Member	59/31.55	4/17.39	63/30.00
Total	187/100.00	23/100.00	210/100.00

**P-value=0.162*

In the 106th Congress, Blue Dogs could claim that 19.35% of its membership was a part of at least one of the most powerful committees in the House. Non-Blue Dogs could declare that 31.67% of their ranks worked in the same legislative workshops. The difference in percentage between these groups fell, however, to a 12.32 percentage point gap. The Blue Dogs were still underrepresented when compared to their peers outside of the caucus, but less so than they had been in previous years.

(Table 2-K)

106th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	123/68.33	25/80.65	148/70.14
Member	57/31.67	6/19.35	63/29.86
Total	180/100.00	31/100.00	212/100.00

**P-value=0.167*

The 107th Congress again proved to be a year that Democrats were more a part of these power committees than in years past. The 18.75% of Blue Dogs present in

Appropriations, Rules, Ways and Means, or Budget were 15.69 percentage points lower than the 34.44% of regular Democrats present in the same group of committees. The Blue Dogs remained underrepresented in the 107th Congress, relative to their counterparts outside the Coalition.

(Table 2-L)

107 th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	118/65.56	26/81.25	144/67.92
Member	62/34.44	6/18.75	68/32.08
Total	180/100.00	32/100.00	212/100.00

**P-value=0.080*

The 108th Congress saw this gap between percentage of Blue Dogs and percentage of non-Blue Dogs on prestige committees fall drastically. The difference between the two groups was reduced to 4.2 percentage points (down from 15.69), as 10 of the 36 Blue Dogs held positions on these powerful committees. This demonstrates an enormous jump in influence potential among Blue Dogs, as shown in Table 2-M.

(Table 2-M)

108th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	117/68.02	26/72.22	143/68.75
Member	55/31.98	10/27.78	65/31.25
Total	172/100.00	36/100.00	208/100.00

**P-value=0.621*

In the 109th, Blue Dogs were better represented in prestigious committees than their Non-BDC counterparts. While 31.14% of regular Democrats held membership in one of the four power committees described above, 31.43% of the Coalition could claim seats in the same groups. For the first time Blue Dogs hold a slight *overrepresentation* (of 0.29 percentage points) over the rest of their party. Table 2-N shows the statistically insignificant data, with a P-value of 0.973, below:

(Table 2-N)

109th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	115/68.86	24/68.57	139/68.81
Member	52/31.14	11/31.43	63/31.19
Total	167/100.00	35/100.00	202/100.00

*P-value=0.973

In the 110th Congress, membership in the Blue Dog Coalition reached 43 total legislators out of 233 total Democrats. Approximately 18.45% of Democrats associated themselves as Blue Dogs during this time. By this time, 35.79% of the Non-Blue Dog majority of the Democratic Party was seated in Appropriations, Rules, Budget, or Ways and Means. By contrast, 32.56% of Blue Dogs shared these seats of influence. This comes to a 3.23 percentage point difference between the two groups, with the favor tipping slightly in favor of members outside of the caucus.

(Table 2-O)

110th Congress-Any	Non-Blue Dog (n/%)	Blue Dog (n/%)	Total (n/%)
Not Member	122/64.21	29/67.44	151/64.81
Member	68/35.79	14/32.56	82/35.19
Total	190/100.00	43/100.00	233/100.00

**P-value*=0.689

Committee assignment is a primary tool of party leadership; appointments to key positions can be used as punitive measures as well as rewards. The demonstration of Blue Dog presence at a level below that of their appropriate proportional representation may signal disfavor or second-class membership within the Democratic Party. By excluding some Blue Dogs, the Democratic leadership has willfully allocated power to hands more likely to vote the party line and less likely to represent a separate and independent message. Over time, however, one can observe that the Democratic leadership gives the BDC roughly its “fair,” and here we mean proportional, share of representation. The marked rise in parity between the two groups tells a story counter to what one might have imagined looking at the early numbers.

In conclusion, my hypothesis of extra preference allocated to the Blue Dogs due to their position within the caucus as vulnerable and influential lawmakers is not entirely correct. If anything, the Blue Dogs receive negative attention, preventing an appropriate representation within the most powerful committees of the House of Representatives. However, the divide between the two groups plummets from 13.6 percentage points below the proportion of Non-BDs (in the 104th) to a mere 3.23-percentage point gap (by the 110th).

While there was no evidence in support of the hypothesis I set out, the increase in proportional representation over time to a level of near parity may explain a lot about the influence of the Blue Dogs within the Democratic Party. I may have overstated the possibility of an immediate overrepresentation as compensation for the BDC, but the vulnerable and unique position of Blue Dogs as majority makers may have brought about this gradual rise in prestige committee membership towards a state of near equality among Blue Dogs and their partisan counterparts. Caucuses, as the literature suggests, are demands for more influence in the policy making process, and in this sense, the Blue Dog Coalition has seen success over the last decade.

Question #3: Blue Dog Association With Fiscal Conservatism

The NTU score encompasses a collection of votes indicative of conservative ideology, and ranks them accordingly. The caucus' collective score is a measure of Blue Dog cohesion on these issues. With a whip system, CMO rules in place to reinforce when votes are obligatory, and a size cap on membership that improves personal exchange of ideas, caucus unity has become a core component of Blue Dog Democracy—the style and strategy of the BDC.

Hypothesis #3: Blue Dog membership is associated with higher fiscal conservatism among Democrats even when other factors are controlled.

Furthermore, the NTU score is already tried and proven, providing a well-respected constant upon which to gauge the independent effect of membership in the BDC.

It is important to note that there are limitations to the emphasis I have placed upon NTU scores in my work. The NTU score does take into account more votes than the ACU scores, and the Taxpayer's score is exclusively focused on a selection of votes that have a weighted range of impacts on federal budgetary issues. That being said, using an interest group as your primary fiscal conservatism indicator means relying on the hand-picked selection of votes in a given year as your primary way of discerning ideology. This may pose a problem if what the NTU perceives as the fiscally responsible and conservative choice of voting behavior is contrary to most legislators' opinion.

There are a number of factors—including personal ideology, tenure in office, and constituency opinion-- that make a legislator fiscally conservative, but above and beyond

that, I hypothesize that the Blue Dog Coalition has an independent effect on fiscal conservatism, as recorded by the NTU scores. In other words, is it possible that the caucus pulls its members in the direction of greater fiscal conservatism? I will test this by running a regression analysis of the above-mentioned variables.

In running a regression analysis, I have discovered that Blue Dogs hold an independent, significant predictor effect on the NTU score. I used linear regression with the NTU score as the dependent variable being predicted, and several conservative independent predictor variables, the first of which was the Blue Dog Coalition variable to determine the effect the BDC has on NTU scores. The NOMINATE score is utilized to measure ideology in its entire breadth of conservative-liberal on the political spectrum. Tenure is used to identify what relationship between conservatism and job security may exist below the surface of ideology debate.

In the 104th, the 107th, the 108th, and the 109th Congress, the Blue Dogs and the NOMINATE score have an extremely significant effect on fiscal conservatism, as judged by the NTU scores. The 110th shows the same relationship, but the NOMINATE score's significance is slightly weaker than the aforementioned Congresses. Tenure never proves to establish itself as an independently influential variable with regards to fiscal conservatism.

The results of the 105th are fascinating in that they show an immediate drop (roughly 4.87 to -.04) in the coefficient of Blue Dog Coalition membership. Furthermore, while the effects of the BDC returned to a significant status, the NOMINATE score of the 106th Congress could not claim an effect on NTU scores independent of chance or other variables held constant.

The results of this test are listed in Table 3-A:

(Table 3-A)

Conservative Independent Variables' Effect on NTU Score

	104	105	106	107	108	109	110
BDC	4.869571 (2.67)**	-.0351044 (-0.02)	7.235064 (4.64)**	5.657424 (4.50)**	4.195772 (5.15)**	6.475123 (6.11)**	3.568492 (4.01)**
DW Nom.	33.28992 (11.08)**	-3.069699 (-0.79)	3.442405 (1.05)	12.0564 (4.50)**	5.602254 (3.03)**	9.003439 (3.58)**	3.682542 (1.66)*
Tenure	-.1282814 (-1.27)	-0.0447567 (-0.36)	0.0089663 (0.07)	0.309548 (0.32)	0.0684915 (1.11)	.0863431 (1.08)	-.1073089 (-1.65)
Constant	45.58133 (31.43)**	23.6345 (13.23)**	24.08654 (14.72)**	23.16489 (16.73)**	19.70079 (20.98)**	18.49962 (14.82)**	10.27883 (9.56)**
Observations	199	206	209	211	205	202	229
R-squared	0.5178	0.0047	0.1606	0.2932	0.2716	0.3355	0.1651

Absolute value of t-statistics in parentheses
 * significant at 5% level; ** significant at 1% level

It appears that all of the independent variables, except tenure, are significant in the prediction of NTU scores at the 5% level. In conclusion, the Blue Dog Coalition can be used to predict the NTU score, meaning membership in the BDC has a concrete impact on levels of fiscal conservatism. This level of influence suggests that the fiscally conservative claims of Blue Dogs can be verified by the behavior of its members.

It is important to note that, as I warned above, using an interest group score's hand picked vote collection leaves the results to the whim of any year's given selection. In the 105th Congress, it seems as though the collection of votes assembled by the NTU did not match up with preferences throughout Congress. The fact that NOMINATE,

which is an all-encompassing ideological score of sort, did not achieve a level of significance in the 105th and 106th Congress points to the possibility of a problem with respect to the NTU's key vote selection.

Limitations of this section are exposed when discussing the influence of constituency influence. As a result, I have taken into account the percentage of support, in a given constituency, for the Republican presidential nominee as a brief demonstration of this variable, which can be found below. Unfortunately this analysis was limited to the results of the 107th, 109th, and 110th Congresses, but the brief overview offered below suggests that the presidential support variable has a significant effect on the NTU score. In addition, with other variables held constant, this additional constituency-based variable does not change the BDC variable significance and independence in its influence over fiscal conservatism.

(Table 3-B)

Effects on NTU Score, Including Presidential Support Variable

	107	109	110
BDC	5.609267 (4.41)**	6.116715 (5.78)**	3.190499 (3.61)**
DW Nom.	11.49677 (3.52)**	5.172293 (1.74)	-.9424219 (-0.36)
Tenure	.0287303 (0.30)	.07354578 (0.93)	-.1020915 (-1.60)
prezparty	-.0107282 (-0.30)*	-.081513 (-2.37)*	-.0953726 (-3.06)**
Constant	23.6154 (11.57)**	22.0451 (11.36)**	13.96083 (8.72)**
Observations	211	202	229
R-squared	0.2935	0.3539	0.1986

These findings suggest that membership in the Blue Dog Coalition, apart from tenure, presidential party scores, and the NOMINATE ideology score, will allow observers to predict a higher National Taxpayers Union score. This points to the extraction of the Krehbiel vs. CPG theorist debate, and the final results suggest that there is something unique about membership in the informal caucus institution that will increase fiscal conservatism. The literature review discusses the argument of parties influencing personal preferences; this research has applied that argument and shown fascinating results on the caucus level with the above regression analysis.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Summarizing the Data

Blue Dogs are more conservative than the rest of the Democratic Party. On average, interest group scores have shown slightly more conservative tendencies in members of the Coalition than in their non-Blue Dog counterparts. They also have a lower rate of party unity than their peers outside of the caucus. Their ideology score, which includes votes on social policy as well as fiscal, places them, on average, closer to the center than the Democratic Party as a whole (and in absence of Blue Dogs).

In most aspects, the gap between conservative Blue Dogs and their more liberal counterparts is closing. BD reduction rates in NTU scores and ACU scores fell more quickly than those of Non-Blue Dogs. While the Blue Dogs stay more conservative than the party average, changes in voting behavior signal a more cohesive Democratic coalition.

Entrance into the BDC did not correspond with a significant change in conservatism on most scores. It seems the Krehbiel-minded theorists could have better predicted these results on a caucus scale than the CPG theorists on the whole; ACU and NTU scores decreased during the year of admission, rather than the predicted rise in conservative behavior, suggesting no effective influence was exerted upon members of the BDC. Interestingly, the NOMINATE scores, which include social ideology in their vote collections, show a significant departure from the rest of the Democratic Party towards the conservative end (positive values) of the spectrum provided by Poole and

Rosenthal. It is important, however, to recall that our N never exceeds 17 for Blue Dogs that join from a previous non-BDC position in Congress.

Democratic Party leadership, in the 104th, showed no positive leadership preference given to Blue Dogs in the form of prestige committee assignments, as I predicted. On the contrary, Blue Dogs received under-representation in Ways and Means, Budget, Rules, and Appropriations during their early days, yet as time went on, the BDC members reached a state of near proportional parity with Non-Blue Dogs in these powerful institutions. It seems that additional seats that accompany a newly elected majority in the House were not spent on loyalty, but translated into ideological representation and coalition preservation from which the Blue Dogs benefited.

Blue Dogs can also be used to predict changes in fiscal conservatism. The regression analysis done at the end of Chapter 3 testifies to the strong correlation between fiscal conservatism and Blue Dog Democracy. Just as percentage of support for a Republican presidential candidate and NOMINATE scores reflect ideological preference, so too does membership in the Blue Dog Coalition mark a legislator as fiscally conservative (in line with NTU scores). If a member of Congress can claim membership in the Blue Dog Coalition, one can safely assume that their NTU score will be higher by the provided value in Table 3-A.

Future of CMOs

The Blue Dog Coalition, along with other premier caucuses, has begun to change the rules of the game. Many groups and individuals, the BDC included, have begun to frame caucuses as institutions that behave as parties within parties. The services they

offer are related but much more specific to the partisan groups to which they belong, and this specialization offers a natural way of maintaining some sense of uniqueness in a Congress that grows more divided along partisan lines. The proliferation of caucus institutions seems to follow an evolution in the division of congressional labor. This specialization follows from the development of parties in our early history, alongside the construction of a sweeping committee series in the early 19th century. It is possible that caucuses, in many ways, are the next step in congressional governance.

Centralization of party leadership in the Speaker position certainly seems to contradict this point at the surface level, but the Conditional Party Government theory presents some very valuable counterpoints to mind. In many ways, the strengthening of liberal leadership is a result of greater intraparty factionalism than homogeneity. This is important for three reasons.

First, a party that is more ideologically diverse will need outlets to represent these dissenting voices on smaller policy issues. Members, such as the fiscally conservative Blue Dogs, must be allowed to vocalize their opinions on these issues if there is to be any sense of security for the partisan coalition. If legislators feel strongly enough (for electoral or personal reasons) about these conflicting views to ruffle the party feathers, the stifling of these views will have negative effects that transcend a simple sense of democratic propriety; under all circumstances, the inability to answer the fundamental question of representing the entirety of a party will jeopardize the party's long term policy initiatives and future electoral prospects.

Second, an ideologically diverse party, if appropriately consolidated, will be a more powerful party. The political tactics of the United States are unlike many of our

parliamentary counterparts; the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties are catchall campaigns that seek to maximize the breadth, rather than the depth, of party support. Knowing this, the party with the widest appeal will logically emerge more successful. The era of Democratic rule from 1949 to 1994 in the House of Representatives was in no small part due to the spread of ideological ground covered by southern conservative Democrats and other groups that have since converted to the Republican Party. Pelosi's strategy of distributing power proportionally to the interests of her party has in many ways recaptured the Democratic Party of old, while retaining higher party unity.

Third, a diverse party often strengthens leadership. Democrats are in the same political boat. There's a collective responsibility when one runs for office under a partisan title that is rarely trumped by personal credentials. The more seats won by a political party, the more effective their policy initiatives will be passed through the legislature, and so every individual Democrat has an interest in maintaining as large and strong of a party majority as possible. This is a crucial point that has been raised by proponents of the CPG. Diversity, as well as homogeneity, can demand stronger leadership to maintain a governing coalition, so long as factions threaten outcomes in a generally cohesive party environment.

I foresee caucuses, and particularly small, ideological party caucuses such as the BDC, as becoming an integral part of any party's ideological integrity, so long as they pursue a strategy of maintaining a broad, umbrella-like ideological base. CMOs offer a way for members to disagree quietly, having greater influence on legislation, within the system and within the umbrella of acceptable party behavior. Caucuses satisfy many

needs of members who could ultimately disrupt the cohesiveness of a political party, and the consistent, solid Blue Dog support for the Democratic Party, even if slightly below the rest of the party may avoid detrimental factionalism.

How Do the Blue Dogs Fit into All of This?

The conflict of politics is unsettling to the American people, despite the direct responsibility they hold over the circumstances. It has been argued that “the central political fact in a free society is the tremendous contagiousness of conflict,” but (Schattschneider 1975, 2) the cacophonous crash of ideologies at every turn of the lawmaking process has led to a general dislike of all the components of the democratic process. While it is undeniably true that the public holds the opportunities of democracy dear and sacred, Hibbing and Theiss-Morse argue that the general love of the process is less certain; “what Americans want is much more difficult. They want stealth democracy” (Smith, Roberts, and Vander Wielen 2009, 5).

Furthermore, this polarization has squeezed the most extreme voices to the surface, so that moderates are drowned in the chaos that must ensue in such a process. As Brady and Theriault say, “The consensus among journalists, senators, and scholars, then, is that the national media pay more and more attention to less and less important” lawmakers in such a polarized context (Smith, Roberts, and Vander Wielen 2009, 13). What, then, does this mean for the attention-smothered Blue Dog Democrats and their claims of centrism?

The clear perception of victors and losers allows partisan feelings to develop and manifest itself in a structured view of American politics, built around the two major

parties (Hetherington 2001, 624). The failures of Congress become the failures of Democrats or the failures of Republicans, and over time, a very rigid sense of responsibility develops between voters and their party identification. “As people come to realize that Democrats and Republicans will pursue substantially different courses, attachment to one side or the other becomes more consequential, and party image becomes more salient,” and as a result, any muddling of the newly demarcated lines of responsibility could have drastic consequences for the relationship between constituencies and voters (Hetherington 2001, 627).

Polarization creates a sense of ideological clarity that the Blue Dogs evade. When, “in 1990, fewer than half of Americans could even identify which party controlled the House, despite the fact that the Democrats had done so for nearly 40 years,” it is no stretch of the imagination that “two voices may only serve to confuse citizens,” and it is important to remember that the public is not a constant observer of American politics (Hetherington 2001, 625). Much is dependent on the timing and frequency of media coverage of events and individuals on the Hill. The Blue Dog Democrats, however, are growing in recognition and have put up some fights on some pieces of legislation on which the Democratic majority has staked its political livelihoods. Suddenly, with the emergence of a group such as the BDC, a victory for Democrats may require clarification as to what types of Democrats are being discussed.

Avoiding Clarity

Is the emergence of a party-within-a-party organization of such clout a good thing for democratic elections? The much-lauded clarity that arrived hand in hand with

modern polarization may not be imposed upon groups that follow the Blue Dog model. “Elite polarization has clarified public perceptions of the parties’ ideological differences, which has led to a resurgence of parties in the electorate,” but what of the sub-party units hovering below the radar of nightly news (Hetherington 2001, 619)? The BDC was formed to represent the interests of its members in an attempt to secure seats despite districts that could have a high chance of being contested by liberals for the Democratic nomination and conservative Republicans in the general election. Just as a party with greater ideological inclusion may have an inherent advantage in national elections due to the breadth of their appeal, a candidate that can appeal to a greater number of voters will increase his chances of reelection.

This is the ultimate purpose of the BDC; the organization exists to increase the security of its members’ position as congressman by enhancing the utility, experience, and name recognition of its members in a favorable conservative Democratic light. Yet if the Blue Dogs can campaign to their Democratic base as still being firmly on the blue half of the ideological spectrum while simultaneously selling themselves as a different brand of legislator to conservatives, clarity begins to give way to the haze of political rhetoric and moderate ideology. Evasion of the collective responsibility that accompanies Democratic membership may be a primary incentive for Blue Dog candidates to join.

The decision to label oneself as a different brand of Democrat, as a fiscal conservative, comes at a price. It is too early to tell whether that price is declining along with transitions in power and adjustments in the approach Democratic leadership takes with respect to the BDC. The decision to willfully declare oneself at odds with certain

pillars of Democratic philosophy has garnered hostility among the Democratic faithful, and while not as extreme in the level of disagreement, the dialogue is reminiscent of past questions raised by Democratic lawmakers considering the position of Boll Weevils. At what level of low party unity and general disobedience does the value no longer outweigh the price of factionalism?

This question brings to the forefront an even more important question; are the claims made by the Blue Dogs supported by evidence? In my research, I've shown that in the 104th and the 110th Congress the BDC has voted more conservative than their counterparts, as reported by NTU scores and ATU scores, while remaining significantly lower than the average of non-Blue Dog Democrats in terms of party unity scores. The NOMINATE scores, additionally, have proved to show that Blue Dogs are indeed more conservative than their counterparts on the -1 to 1 spectrum.

Single-Issue Caucus?

The Blue Dogs have effectively picked a single issue that performs as a vector for all policy domains when and if they apply to the interests of the BDC membership. Despite this flexibility, the nominally singular nature of their purpose commits their organization to only the strictest interpretations of fiscal conservatism. The **budget**, the **deficit**, and the **debt** (think **blue dog democrat**), are really the only issues that the BDC cannot avoid addressing.

National security is a growing component of the Blue Dog identity. More and more members of the BDC have identified themselves with national security as a core component of their uniqueness within the Democratic Party. Given the traditional view

of “tough” foreign policy as a Republican strength, this transcendence of the singular focus on fiscal conservatism is natural. The occasional Blue Dog press releases, the website of specific members, and the commentary of journalists will include fiscal conservatism *and* a focus on national security as the defining features of the organization, marking a philosophical expansion of a relatively new organization.

More importantly, the amoebic utility of fiscal policy offers the Blue Dogs with their choice to virtually all-legislative opportunities. Funding is the heart of Congress; it is the center of legislative debate, and the core of politics. If politics, as an idea, is to be interpreted as the way in which resources are distributed in a given society, then the Blue Dogs have put themselves in the position of *only* focusing on frugal distribution. The limits of their interests, following this logic, do not exist; with nearly every action in Congress tied to the budget, debt, and deficit, the Blue Dogs too tie themselves to the select cases they which to take their stand.

Blue Dog Coalition as a Success Story

The Blue Dogs have been a success in a number of ways. First, they have garnered attention to their members in ways that the Blue Dog leadership, even if it were willing, would probably not have been able to manage. The Blue Dog Coalition has utilized “the media’s well-known bias toward framing politics in terms of conflict” (Hetherington 2001, 622). Whether this is a by product of their ideology or an explicit goal of the organization remains to be seen, but the Blue Dogs, more so than other caucuses of comparable congressional influence, have attracted public attention and notoriety for their combative stance on budget, debt, and deficit issues.

Self-Critique and Future Studies

The approach of calculating change in conservatism by measuring the difference in variable values from the first year of BDC membership and the year prior to admission is not without shortcomings. I maintain it is a relatively simple, encompassing approach to evaluating externally exerted pressure. There are very few members of the Blue Dog Coalition who joined after serving at least one term as non-Blue Dogs. Most members of the caucus join upon winning contested seats, and many of these received aid to their campaign from the Blue Dogs prior to their first electoral victory. This leaves a sampling size of only 17.

In addition, the third primary research question is primarily concerned with addressing the validity of their claims of fiscal conservatism. More than anywhere in my research, this area has suffered from time constraints. It would prove fruitful to continue this line of thought in a number of similar, refined directions.

My initial proposal included an evaluation of discrepancies between the roll call vote and the more closed doors counts on rules and regulations within the party. This was as promising a topic as any other I addressed, and without it, the story of the Blue Dog Coalition is incomplete. Closed door votes on rules allows the opportunity for protecting vulnerable legislators by crafting favorable conditions that would allow or not allow certain amendments to force a decision upon a party membership. The Blue Dogs, with their collection of conservatives, could easily fall victim to forced attention on abortion, guns rights, and a variety of other issues *not explicitly part of the BDC platform*, but nonetheless included in the general makeup of its membership. Similarly, Speaker

Pelosi and other Democratic leaders might create conditions that allow the BDC to voice public opposition, protecting an identity of staunch fiscal conservatism, while pressuring closed-door votes that all but secure the leadership-favored outcome. None of this is supported with concrete evidence in my work and should be addressed in future research.

Vulnerable membership, itself, is something that defines many caucus members in general and the Blue Dog Coalition in particular. The centrism of their claimed philosophy has placed them in the cross hairs of Democratic challengers and Republican contestants alike. However, the extent to which this circumstance brought about the BDC and maintains a factor in the necessity of the Coalition's services has not been supported with empirical evidence here. A look at electoral numbers from both primary and Republican challengers should be an important next step in evaluating the Coalition.

An examination of Blue Dogs and the circumstances of their primary position is yet another fascinating, essential piece of the puzzle I've begun to assemble, and without it, my work falls short of my initial goals. "As the threat of a serious primary opponent increases, so the argument goes, members cast increasingly ideological votes;" the assumed correlation between pragmatism and moderates on one hand and extremism and ideologues on the other is worth applying to the case of Blue Dogs (Theriault 2008, 50).

Furthermore, a look at the Blue Dog ranks is worth the time and attention of scholars beyond my own capacity. If Krehbiel maintains that parties have less influence on the organization of legislative activity than is commonly perceived, it would be interesting to observe party unity scores of co-chairs of the BDC at various points in time. If nothing else, this may offer some kind of insight as to the focus of the caucus. Do

leaders reward loyalty (as can be shown by party unity scores), fund raising, or diversity as a part of their strategy?

All in all, there is a wealth of data ready to be analyzed on the way in which Blue Dogs behave. Testing on caucus unity with regard to non-fiscal issues (gun rights, abortion, national security policy, etc.), the cohesion of the BDC as a result of the caucus whip system and mandatory voting regulations, and analysis on closed doors rules votes should be made a priority to continue the work I have begun here.

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Appendices: Rosters of the Blue Dog Coalition (by Congress)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
104	BAESLER, SCOTTY	KENTUCK	6
104	BREWSTER, BILL	OKLAHOM	3
104	BROWDER, GLEN	ALABAMA	3
104	CONDIT, GARY	CALIFOR	18
104	CRAMER, BUD	ALABAMA	5
104	DANNER, PAT	MISSOUR	6
104	GREEN, GENE	TEXAS	29
104	HALL, RALPH M.	TEXAS	4
104	LAMBERT, BLANCHE	ARKANSA	1
104	LIPINSKI, WILLIA	ILLINOI	3
104	MINGE, DAVID	MINNESO	2
104	ORTON, BILL	UTAH	3
104	PAYNE, L.F.	VIRGINI	5
104	PETERSON, COLLIN	MINNESO	7
104	PICKETT, OWEN B	VIRGINI	2
104	STENHOLM, CHARLE	TEXAS	17
104	TANNER, JOHN	TENNESS	8
104	TAYLOR, GENE	MISSISS	5

Source: (“Moderate-To-Conservative” 1995)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
105	BAESLER, SCOTTY	KENTUCK	6
105	BERRY, MARION	ARKANSA	1
105	BISHOP, SANFORD	GEORGIA	2
105	BOYD, ALLEN	FLORIDA	2
105	CONDIT, GARY A.	CALIFOR	18
105	CRAMER, ROBERT E	ALABAMA	5
105	DANNER, PAT	MISSOUR	6
105	GOODE, VIRGIL H.	VIRGINI	5
105	HALL, RALPH M.	TEXAS	4
105	HOLDEN, TIM	PENNSYL	6
105	JOHN, CHRISTOPHE	LOUISIA	7
105	LIPINSKI, WILLIA	ILLINOI	3
105	MCINTYRE, MIKE	NORTH C	7
105	MINGE, DAVID	MINNESO	2
105	PETERSON, COLLIN	MINNESO	7
105	PICKETT, OWEN B	VIRGINI	2
105	SANDLIN, MAX	TEXAS	1
105	SISISKY, NORMAN	VIRGINI	4
105	STENHOLM, CHARLE	TEXAS	17
105	TANNER, JOHN S.	TENNESS	8
105	TAUSCHER, ELLEN	CALIFOR	10
105	TAYLOR, GENE	MISSISS	5
105	TURNER, JIM	TEXAS	2

Source: (“The ‘Blue Dog’ Roster” 1997)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
106	BERRY	ARKANSA	1
106	BISHOP	GEORGIA	2
106	BOSWELL	IOWA	3
106	BOYD	FLORIDA	2
106	CARSON	INDIANA	10
106	CONDIT	CALIFOR	18
106	CRAMER	ALABAMA	5
106	DANNER	MISSOUR	6
106	FORD	TENNESS	9
106	GOODE	VIRGINI	5
106	HALL RALPH	TEXAS	4
106	HILL BARON	INDIANA	9
106	HOLDEN	PENNSYL	6
106	JOHN	LOUISIA	7
106	LIPINSKI	ILLINOI	3
106	LUCAS KEN	KENTUCK	4
106	MCINTYRE	NORTH C	7
106	MINGE	MINNESO	2
106	MOORE DENN	KANSAS	3
106	PETERSON C	MINNESO	7
106	PHELPS DAV	ILLINOI	19
106	PICKETT	VIRGINI	2
106	SANCHEZ	CALIFOR	46
106	SANDLIN	TEXAS	1
106	SHOWS RONN	MISSISS	4
106	SISISKY	VIRGINI	4
106	STENHOLM	TEXAS	17
106	TANNER	TENNESS	8
106	TAUSCHER	CALIFOR	10
106	THOMPSON M	CALIFOR	1
106	TURNER	TEXAS	2

Source: (“The ‘Blue Dog’ Roster” 1999)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
107	BACA JOE	CALIFOR	42
107	BERRY	ARKANSA	1
107	BISHOP	GEORGIA	2
107	BOSWELL	IOWA	3
107	BOYD	FLORIDA	2
107	CARSON	OKLAHOM	2
107	CRAMER	ALABAMA	5
107	FORD	TENNESS	9
107	HALL RALPH	TEXAS	4
107	HARMAN	CALIFOR	36
107	HILL BARON	INDIANA	9
107	HOLDEN	PENNSYL	6
107	ISRAEL	NEW YOR	2
107	JOHN	LOUISIA	7
107	LIPINSKI	ILLINOI	3
107	LUCAS KEN	KENTUCK	4
107	MATHESON	UTAH	2
107	MCINTYRE	NORTH C	7
107	MOORE DENN	KANSAS	3
107	PETERSON C	MINNESO	7
107	PHELPS DAV	ILLINOI	19
107	ROSS	ARKANSA	4
107	SANCHEZ	CALIFOR	46
107	SANDLIN	TEXAS	1
107	SCHIFF	CALIFOR	27
107	SHOWS RONN	MISSISS	4
107	STENHOLM	TEXAS	17
107	TANNER	TENNESS	8
107	TAUSCHER	CALIFOR	10
107	TAYLOR GEN	MISSISS	5
107	THOMPSON M	CALIFOR	1
107	TURNER	TEXAS	2

Source: (“107th Congress” 2002)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
108	ALEXANDER	LOUISIA	5
108	BACA	CALIFOR	43
108	BERRY	ARKANSA	1
108	BISHOP	GEORGIA	2
108	BOSWELL	IOWA	3
108	BOYD	FLORIDA	2
108	CARDOZA	CALIFOR	18
108	CARSON	OKLAHOM	2
108	CRAMER	ALABAMA	5
108	DAVIS	TENNESS	4
108	FORD	TENNESS	9
108	HALL	TEXAS	4
108	HARMAN	CALIFOR	36
108	HILL	INDIANA	9
108	HOLDEN	PENNSYL	17
108	ISRAEL	NEW YOR	2
108	JOHN	LOUISIA	7
108	LIPINSKI	ILLINOI	3
108	LUCAS	KENTUCK	4
108	MATHESON	UTAH	2
108	MCINTYRE	NORTH C	7
108	MICHAUD	MAINE	2
108	MOORE	KANSAS	3
108	PETERSON	MINNESO	7
108	POMEROY	NORTH D	1
108	ROSS	ARKANSA	4
108	SANCHEZ	CALIFOR	47
108	SANDLIN	TEXAS	1
108	SCHIFF	CALIFOR	29
108	SCOTT	GEORGIA	13
108	STENHOLM	TEXAS	17
108	TANNER	TENNESS	8
108	TAUSCHER	CALIFOR	10
108	TAYLOR	MISSISS	4
108	THOMPSON	CALIFOR	1
108	TURNER	TEXAS	2

Source: (Hawkings and Nittag 2004, 1140)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
109	BACA	CALIFOR	43
109	BARROW	GEORGIA	12
109	BERRY	ARKANSA	1
109	BISHOP	GEORGIA	2
109	BOREN	OKLAHOM	2
109	BOSWELL	IOWA	3
109	BOYD	FLORIDA	2
109	CARDOZA	CALIFOR	18
109	CASE	HAWAII	2
109	CHANDLER	KENTUCK	6
109	COOPER	TENNESS	5
109	COSTA	CALIFOR	20
109	CRAMER	ALABAMA	5
109	DAVIS	TENNESS	4
109	FORD	TENNESS	9
109	HARMAN	CALIFOR	36
109	HERSETH	SOUTH D	1
109	HOLDEN	PENNSYL	17
109	ISRAEL	NEW YOR	2
109	MATHESON	UTAH	2
109	MCINTYRE	NORTH C	7
109	MELANCON	LOUISIA	3
109	MICHAUD	MAINE	2
109	MOORE	KANSAS	3
109	PETERSON	MINNESO	7
109	POMEROY	NORTH D	1
109	ROSS	ARKANSA	4
109	SALAZAR	COLORAD	3
109	SANCHEZ	CALIFOR	47
109	SCHIFF	CALIFOR	29
109	SCOTT	GEORGIA	13
109	TANNER	TENNESS	8
109	TAUSCHER	CALIFOR	10
109	TAYLOR	MISSISS	4
109	THOMPSON	CALIFOR	1

Source: (Koszczuk and Stern 2005, 1160)

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>
110	ARCURI	NEW YOR	24
110	BACA	CALIFOR	43
110	BARROW	GEORGIA	12
110	BEAN	ILLINOI	8
110	BERRY	ARKANSA	1
110	BISHOP	GEORGIA	2
110	BOREN	OKLAHOM	2
110	BOSWELL	IOWA	3
110	BOYD	FLORIDA	2
110	CARDOZA	CALIFOR	18
110	CHANDLER	KENTUCK	6
110	COOPER	TENNESS	5
110	COSTA	CALIFOR	20
110	CRAMER	ALABAMA	5
110	DAVIS	TENNESS	4
110	DONNELLY	INDIANA	2
110	ELLSWORTH	INDIANA	8
110	GILLIBRAND	NEW YOR	20
110	HARMAN	CALIFOR	36
110	HERSETH	SOUTH D	1
110	HILL	INDIANA	9
110	HOLDEN	PENNSYL	17
110	ISRAEL	NEW YOR	2
110	MAHONEY	FLORIDA	16
110	MARSHALL	GEORGIA	8
110	MATHESON	UTAH	2
110	MCINTYRE	NORTH C	7
110	MELANCON	LOUISIA	3
110	MICHAUD	MAINE	2
110	MOORE	KANSAS	3
110	MURPHY	PENNSYL	8
110	PETERSON	MINNESO	7
110	POMEROY	NORTH D	1
110	ROSS	ARKANSA	4
110	SALAZAR	COLORAD	3
110	SANCHEZ	CALIFOR	47
110	SCHIFF	CALIFOR	29
110	SCOTT	GEORGIA	13
110	SHULER	NORTH C	11
110	TANNER	TENNESS	8
110	TAYLOR	MISSISS	4

110	THOMPSON	CALIFOR	1
110	WILSON	OHIO	6

Source: (Koszczuk and Angle 2007)