State Politics & Policy Quarterly (2026), **26**: 3, 285–306
doi:10.1017/spq.2026.10028

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

FIELD ESSAY

Ninety-Nine Chambers and the Development of Comparative Legislative Studies

Jordan Butcher[1] and Peverill Squire[2]

[1]Hugo Wall School of Public Affairs, Wichita State University, Wichita, USA and [2]Political Science, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, USA
Corresponding author: Jordan Butcher; Email: jordan.butcher@wichita.edu

(Received 02 September 2025; revised 24 January 2026; accepted 16 March 2026; published online 15 June 2026)

Abstract

In 1997, Malcolm Jewell published a review of state legislative research stating that there were great "difficulties and possibilities of doing comparative work." Much of this difficulty lies with data and accessibility. As such, many of the foundational works in state politics, and particularly in U.S. legislatures, were rooted in single-state or small sample studies. In the 25 years since *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* started publication, comparative studies have become more common, allowing for better tests of "laboratories of democracy." In this review essay, we document the extent to which state legislative studies have moved beyond single-state studies to larger comparative examinations. We outline the significant developments in the literature and highlight much of the notable research that has increased our understanding of state legislatures.

Keywords: legislative politics; legislative behavior; legislative elections; representation; public policy; legislative professionalism; term limits

Introduction

The notion that the 50 state legislatures lend themselves to comparative analysis is not novel. Nor is the idea that insights into how Congress functions can be gained through the study of state legislatures. More than a half-century ago, H. Douglas Price (1975, 20) observed,

> For anyone interested in the variety of historical patterns of organization presented by the House and Senate in the nineteenth century, the current range of state legislative practices have quite a familiar look. One does not need to go, like Darwin, to the Galapagos Islands to rediscover long missing species of legislative operation.

The advantages of the comparative study of American legislatures have long been appreciated (Squire and Hamm 2005, 1–3). So have the obstacles. In 1997, Malcolm

© The Author(s), 2026. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution and reproduction, provided the original article is properly cited.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Jewell reviewed seven books that examined state legislatures, only three of which were "comparative in the sense of covering data and examples from more than one legislature." He observed that "The multistate studies illustrate both the difficulties and possibilities of doing comparative work" (Jewell 1997, 273). The challenges at that time were largely driven by data limitations. As a result, many of the foundational works on state legislatures were rooted in studies of either a single body or a small number of them. For example, Wahlke and his colleagues' (1962) pathbreaking book, *The Legislative System*, examined just four state legislatures. Fortunately, with the advent of the Internet and the digitization of many legislative records, data accessibility increased dramatically, allowing scholars to go beyond the information contained in the *Book of the States* and whatever other sources they could scrounge up. Consequently, the prospects for comparative studies advanced, allowing for the possibility of more rigorous tests of legislative theories.

We have two missions in reviewing the work on state legislatures published since *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* (*SPPQ*) initially appeared in 2001. First, we document the extent to which state legislative studies moved beyond single-state studies to larger comparative examinations. Second, we detail the topics state legislative scholars studied over the last quarter century and assess the possibilities for more generalizable legislative theories growing out of their efforts.

The state of state legislative research

In a conference paper presented a quarter century ago, Hamm (2001) reported that between 1995 and 2001, 650 articles dealing with legislatures were published across 10 major political science journals. He found that 90 percent of the approximately 70 articles that focused on state legislatures examined more than one institution. This was a noteworthy figure because it contrasted sharply with studies on Congress and non-American legislatures that almost always focused on a single body (or, more specifically, a single house).

As it happened, in 2001, state legislative research found an additional home with the arrival of *SPPQ*. To trace the evolution of state legislative studies since *SPPQ* appeared, we examined articles focused on state legislatures published in it from 2001 through the middle of 2025 and in seven other journals where we would anticipate such work to appear: *American Journal of Political Science* (*AJPS*), *American Political Science Review* (*APSR*), *American Politics Research* (*APR*), *Journal of Politics* (*JOP*), *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (*LSQ*), *Political Research Quarterly* (*PRQ*), and *Social Science Quarterly* (*SSQ*). We did not include articles that were labeled "field notes," literature reviews, or book reviews. To be included, an article had to have one or more state legislatures as a focal point, not as a tangential interest or only as a control variable. In total, we collected 449 articles. It is possible that some relevant articles were excluded but we are confident that the sample is representative of publications on state legislatures over that time period.

We categorized the articles into six broad areas of scholarship on legislatures. The first category, *elections*, is centered on how lawmakers attain and retain office. The second and largest category in terms of the number of articles is *legislative behavior*, the examination of what legislators do in office. The third category is *legislative process*, exploring the role of structures, rules, and procedures in explaining how legislatures function. The fourth category is *measurement*, which covers

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1. Article subject, by journal

Subject	*AJPS*	*APR*	*APSR*	*JOP*	*LSQ*	*PRQ*	*SPPQ*	*SSQ*	*Total*
Elections	6	7	1	8	10	12	14	5	63
Legislative behavior	7	13	8	12	41	17	40	10	148
Legislative process	5	5	4	5	15	11	22	0	67
Measurement	3	2	1	2	2	0	17	0	27
Public policy	4	1	4	2	6	11	21	5	54
Representation	6	5	4	8	25	16	22	4	90
Total	31	33	22	37	99	67	136	24	449

measurement issues relevant to the study of legislatures. The fifth category is *public policy*, where the focus is on the role of legislatures in producing specific public policies. The sixth category is *representation*; the study of whose interests get represented in the legislature.

We begin exploring the breadth of the legislative research articles we collected by looking at the topics they investigated and how many states were included in their analyses. The distribution of topics by journal is presented in Table 1. The three journals that published the most articles on state legislatures were, in order, *SPPQ*, *LSQ*, and *PRQ*. The *APSR* published the fewest articles on the topic. While *SPPQ* had the highest overall number of articles on state legislatures, it did not publish the most in each area. Of the studies targeting legislative behavior or representation, *LSQ* published more articles. Articles focused on measurement were the least common, with *SPPQ* being the only journal to publish more than three articles on the topic.

In Figure 1, we illustrate the frequency of each subject for each of the journals. Electoral studies were most common in *JOP*, *APR*, and *SSQ*. *SSQ*, *LSQ*, and *APR* published the highest percentage of their articles on legislative behavior. *APSR*

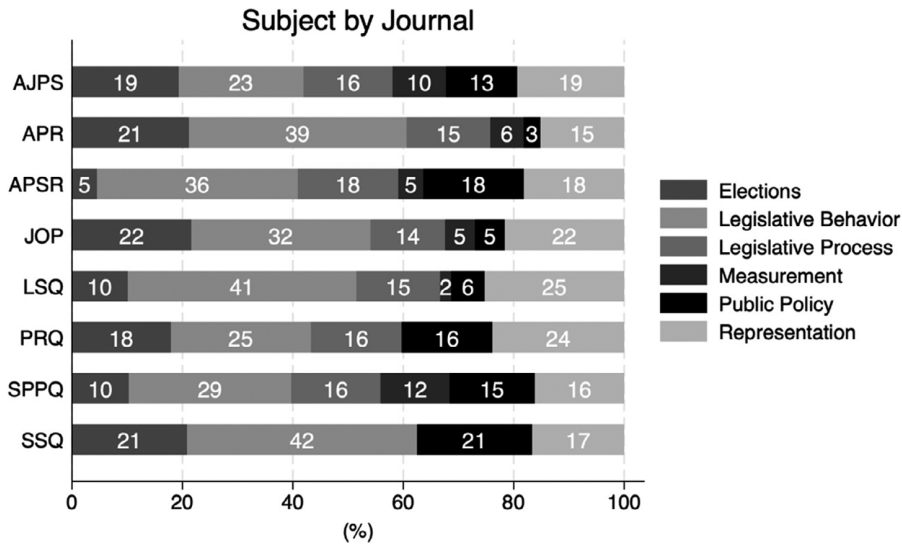


Figure 1. Percentage of publications by subject for each journal.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

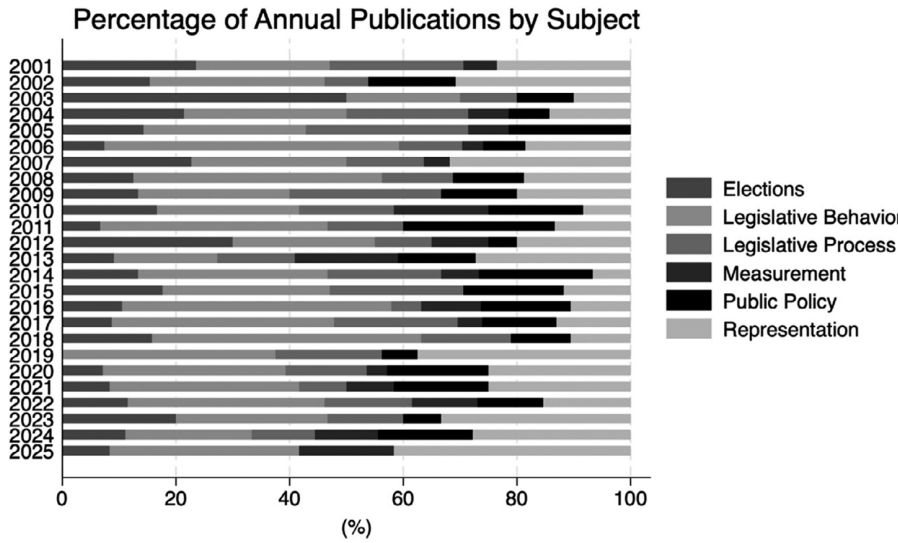


Figure 2. Percentage of annual publications by subject, 2001–2025.

published the highest percentage on the legislative process, and *SSQ* published no articles on it. While *SPPQ* published the most measurement articles, they constituted only 12 percent of its state legislative publications. *SSQ*, *APSR*, and *PRQ* had the highest percentages of public policy articles. Finally, *LSQ*, *PRQ*, and *JOP* had the highest rates of representation articles. Overall, *SPPQ* and *AJPS* were the most balanced in the state legislative topics they published.

Figure 2 traces the percentage of publications by topic since 2001. The annual trends reveal how scholarship shifted with the additional attention that *SPPQ* brought to state legislative politics. As might be anticipated, studies of elections remained consistent over time, with a regular small jump two to three years following a presidential election. The most conspicuous change is with studies of representation; there were no publications on the topic in 2005, but they constituted nearly 40 percent of all publications in 2018, 2023, and 2025.

Our next goal is to track the trends in how state legislatures were studied over the last quarter century. For each article, we reviewed its scope and noted whether the bulk of the analysis centered on a single state, 2–5 states, 6–24 states, or 25 or more states. By not having a category for 50 states, we sidestep the oft-present "Nebraska problem" induced by its singular nonpartisan and unicameral status.

In Figure 3, we display the variation in analyses based on the subject studied. Notably, nearly 90 percent of measurement studies included 25 or more states. Comparatively, half of the studies looking at legislative behavior examined 25 or more states, whereas only 12 percent of studies included 2–5 states, and 19 percent examined a single state.

The number of states studied each year shifted over time. Figure 4 reveals that the number of broadly comparative studies increased, particularly those examining 25 or more states. Between 2010 and 2015 there was a noticeable surge in such studies.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

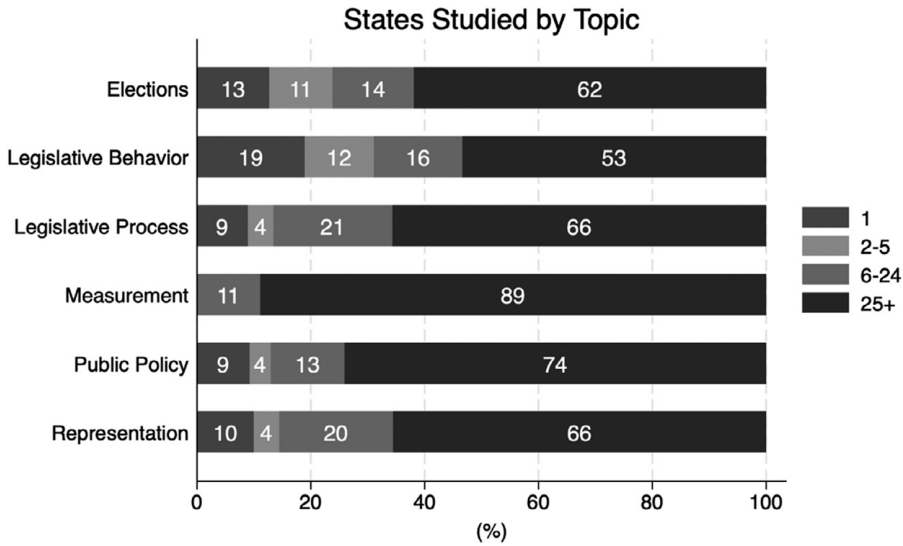


Figure 3. The percentage of states studied, by topic.

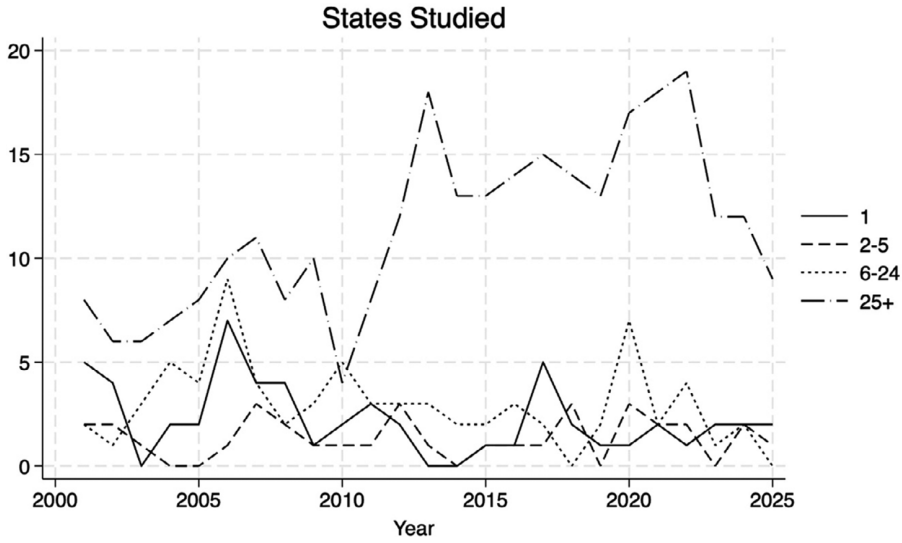


Figure 4. Frequency of states studied, 2001–2025.

There was a subsequent decrease around 2024, though the level remained high relative to the other categories.

There were some noteworthy trends among single-state studies. Unsurprisingly, California was the most common single-state subject with 14 articles solely about

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

it. Other common single-state study subjects included Florida (4), Illinois (5), Michigan (4), North Carolina (3), Texas (3), and Wisconsin (3). Small population state legislatures were never singled out for attention, save for Nebraska.

Trends in state legislative research over the last quarter century

Given the large volume of studies on state legislatures over the last 25 years, including those not appearing in the eight journals analyzed above, our understanding of these bodies has accordingly expanded. In this section, we highlight what we see as important directions the work has taken in each of the six areas of state legislative research.

Elections

State legislative elections are an enticing subject for study in comparison with congressional elections because of the larger number of potential cases and their greater variation across a range of variables of interest. Over the last quarter century, research on state legislative elections encompassed topics such as electoral rules and campaign strategies (Abbe and Herrnson 2003; Hale 2020; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003), redistricting (Herron and Wiseman 2008; Makse 2012; Schaffner, Wagner, and Winburn 2004; Tolbert, Smith, and Green 2008), and campaign finance (Hamm and Hogan 2007; Kilborn and Vishwanath 2022; Pippen, Bowler, and Donovan 2002). And as might be anticipated, the prospects for gerrymandering were a keen topic of interest (Kelly 2012; Herron and Wiseman 2008; Krasno *et al.* 2018).

Leveraging the greater variation afforded by the states, studies of legislative elections investigated the effects of different electoral reforms states implemented over the past 25 years. Electoral competitiveness was a particular focus. It was found that district make-up was a strong indicator of vigorous electoral competition (Hogan 2003). Lower campaign contribution limits lead to greater competition (Hamm and Hogan 2007). There were a few unexpected findings. First, term limits did not alter the electoral prospects of incumbents or increase electoral competition (Masket and Lewis 2007). Second, redistricting commissions only minimally impacted the level of state legislative competition (Forgette, Garner, and Winkle 2009). Third, candidates who relied on public campaign financing were more ideologically extreme than candidates who did not rely on such funds (Kilborn and Vishwanath 2022, but see Masket and Miller 2015).

Some state legislative elections articles examined a small number of states, potentially limiting the generalizability of their results. For example, Gaines, Nokken, and Groebe (2012) devised an intriguing two-state natural experiment using Illinois and Texas, uncovering little impact of differing term lengths on candidate campaign behavior. Alvarez and Sinclair (2012) reported that California's switch to a nonpartisan blanket primary election system produced lawmakers who were more willing to reach compromises with their colleagues. Other single-state studies included examinations of the impact of party platforms on legislative elections in Illinois (Wiseman 2005), the effects of a redistricting by formula reform in Ohio (Altman and McDonald 2017), and the different ways gerrymanders might be detected in Wisconsin (Krasno *et al.* 2018). All their findings are of considerable interest but, perhaps, of limited transportability.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

At the same time, in some instances studying a small number of states proved beneficial through exploitation of unique aspects of their elections and rules. For instance, a few analyses capitalized on significant policy contrasts among states, notably the existence of public campaign funding programs (Kilborn 2018; Kilborn and Vishwanath, 2022; Masket and Miller 2015) or strict restrictions on campaign contributions (Barber 2016; Schecter and Hedge 2001).

Legislative behavior

Legislative behavior centers on what lawmakers do and how they go about doing it. Much of this research over the last quarter century was driven by the increased availability of roll-call floor votes data (Clark *et al.* 2009; Jenkins 2006; Wright 2007). But there were additional ways behavior was studied. For instance, Kurtz and his colleagues (2006) examined how state legislators regarded the demands of their position. They conducted a national survey to gauge how lawmakers allocated their time, confirming the expected variations across full-time and part-time legislatures. In a study of the Texas legislature, Schilling, Matthews, and Kreitzer (2023) analyzed more than 73,000 bills that had been introduced between 1979 and 2020 to learn how legislators timed their cosponsorship decisions, reporting that electoral insecurity and partisan considerations were influential in the decisions. Other behavior-related articles explored the relationships that existed among different groups of lawmakers (Hicks, McKee, and Smith 2016; Kirkland and Williams 2014; Zelizer 2019; 2022) and among legislators and outside entities (Armaly 2020; Baker and Hedge 2013; Bergan 2009; Wilhelm 2009).

Considerable attention was devoted to gaining a better understanding of legislator career ambitions and their impact on behavior in office (Lazarus 2006; Maddox 2004a; Maestas 2003). In the early 2000s, much of the focus was on the effects of term limits. They were found to induce meaningful behavioral changes; dynamically transforming how legislators represented their constituents (Carey *et al.* 2006; Sarbaugh-Thompson *et al.* 2006), altered their career calculations (Engstrom and Monroe 2006; Herrick and Thomas 2005; Moncrief, Niemi, and Powell 2004), and affected the pipeline of candidates seeking to move to Congress (Steen 2006). More recently, some behavioral studies shifted to looking at "how" the legislative job got done despite the challenges created by term limits (Olson and Rogowski 2020; Swift and VanderMolen 2016).

Attention was also devoted to the impact of the increased resources that accompanied legislative professionalization. It was determined that professionalized state legislatures accomplished more in terms of passing legislation (Boehmke and Shipan 2015) and that they accorded their leaders more power (Clucas 2007; Shay 2021, but see Richman 2010). They also attracted stronger, better qualified candidates (Nemerever and Butler 2020).

Other behavioral research focused on various groups within the legislature and how they behaved in office. Characteristics of women's legislative behavior were dissected in terms of their higher levels of collaboration, bill cosponsorship, and productivity (Holman and Mahoney 2018; Holman, Mahoney, and Hurler 2022; Mahoney and Clark 2019; Sweet-Cushman, Gill, and Horn 2025; Swift and VanderMolen 2021). Also explored were differences in policy preferences between men and women legislators (Poggione 2004) and contrasts in their use of twitter to communicate with constituents (Butler, Kousser, and Oklobdzija 2023).

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Legislative behavior research benefited from methodological innovations. Notably, Shor and McCarty (2011; 2022) analyzed vast numbers of roll-call votes to help understand lawmakers' behavior through identifying their "ideal points." Another significant development was the uncovering of issue networks to rigorously detect connections between and among lawmakers (Kirkland 2011; 2014). Clever design and implementation of experiments using lawmaker surveys established stronger understandings of causal relationships (Bergan 2009; Butler and Broockman 2011; Druckman and Valdes 2019; Harden 2013; Rhinehart 2020). A shift from mail to digital surveys helped cut the costs of collecting these sorts of data without significant impacts on representativeness or responses (Fisher and Herrick 2013). All these developments led to deeper insights into the reasons legislators behave in the ways they do.

Legislative process

Comparative research on the legislative process is arguably the most daunting undertaking in the study of legislatures. Although there are similarities across Congress and state legislatures in rules and committee structures, there are also nuances that make comparative study of them challenging (Squire and Hamm 2005, 120–22; Squire and Moncrief, 2020, 139–42). Filibusters, for example, are allowed in some legislative houses, but where they are permitted the rules governing how they may be conducted and how they may be ended differ in consequential ways (Clinton and Richardson 2019; Grossman 2015; Squire and Hamm 2005, 122–23). The same is true for discharge petitions; not every set of legislative rules includes them and those that do differ in their application (Clark 2015, 43; Squire and Hamm 2005, 124–26). For legislative scholars, both obvious and subtle differences in rules and procedures are potential landmines that make devising relevant theories and gathering appropriate data to test those theories trying.

That is not to suggest that it has not been done successfully. Among the questions such studies have profitably addressed are the impact of legislative membership size on budget outcomes and lobbying activities (Chen and Malhotra 2007; Strickland 2022), the powers granted the majority party to set the legislative agenda (Anzia and Jackman 2013; Crosson 2019; Jackman 2014), the employment of conference committees (Emrich 2022), and the rules that shape relationships between lawmakers and outside interests (Garlick, Kroeger, and Pellaton 2025; Strickland 2020).

Some legislative process work was notably innovative. One such analysis focused on Nebraska's unicameral legislature, seemingly only a conventional single-state study. But by devising a synthetic control to create an alternative bicameral legislature for the state, Hankins (2020) was able to test the effect of the number of legislative houses on state budgetary outcomes. His finding that lawmakers devise ways to overcome significant institutional restructurings and to eventually continue on as they would have in the absence of any reform has important implications for our understanding of how the legislative process unfolds in the aftermath of extensive transformations.

Measurement

Articles focused on measurement issues related to state legislatures are few in number, but they have proven to be of considerable utility, not just to analyses of

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

legislative institutions but also to the broader study of state politics. Their value comes from putting state legislatures on some common metric, thereby facilitating their comparison. The most widely employed measure related to state legislatures is legislative professionalization. It routinely appears in comparative analyses, sometimes as an independent variable of specific theoretical interest, or more commonly as an essential control variable. It has been found to impact lawmaker behavior, the way legislatures operate, and the substance of policy decisions (Squire 2024a, 110–11).

Legislative professionalization's mechanics garnered considerable attention (Bowen and Greene 2014; Brown and Mitchell 2025; Maddox 2004b; Squire 2007; 2017a; 2024a). There is broad consensus regarding its components: legislator compensation, time demands of service, and staff resources. Measuring compensation is generally straightforward, though questions can be raised about whether salary calculations should be augmented by the inclusion of per diems and benefits. Measuring time demands is tricky with some states reporting calendar days, others reporting legislative days, and a few not reporting any information.

The biggest debate surrounds measuring staff resources. The Squire Index uses a direct measure of the number of legislative staff gathered through a survey conducted roughly every seven years by the National Conference of State Legislatures. That gap may be problematic for studies requiring annual time series data. As a solution, Bowen and Green (2014) and Brown and Mitchell (2025) proposed measures substituting annual legislative budget data for staff numbers. The question confronting legislative scholars adopting that approach is determining what spending gets swept into those budget figures and how well they track staffing numbers.

Other useful measurements related to various aspects of state legislatures have been introduced. Exploiting roll-call voting data, Shor and McCarty (2011; 2022, see also Remmel and Mondak 2020) provided an ideological mapping of state legislatures. Butcher (2022) updated and expanded traditional measures of membership turnover. Newmark (2005) created a measure of lobbying regulations, focusing on the limitations placed on lawmakers and special interests. Measures of standing committee power (Hamm, Hedland, and Martorano 2006), speaker power (Mooney 2013), and lawmaker effectiveness (Bucchianeri, Volden, and Wiseman 2025) were devised. Americans' policy preferences by congressional and state legislative district were calculated by Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013). There were also useful measures of political ideology and political competition, each of which has obvious implications for the study of state legislatures (Berry *et al.* 2013; Shufeldt and Flavin 2012). All of these advanced the ability of scholars to fully exploit the advantages offered by the comparative study of state legislatures.

Public policy

Policymaking articles focus on state legislative production of specific laws and policies. Data on the content of proposed and passed legislation tend to be more voluminous and more accessible to scholars than are data relevant to many other areas of legislative study. Scholars have made use of that wealth of information to produce insightful analyses about legislatures and the policymaking process. Among the policies prominently examined over the last 25 years were those targeting the environment, health care, and education.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Public policy articles can be put in three distinct categories. The first includes studies that examine the process by which legislatures adopt specific policies. Typically, these were analyses carried out across a large number of states, tackling topics such as the adoption of court curbing measures (Leonard 2022), education funding (Kitchens 2021), English-Only laws (Preuhs 2005), environmental laws (Fowler and Kettler 2021), firearms legislation (Reich and Barth 2017), laws targeting undocumented migrants (Zingher 2014), parental leave policies (Williamson and Carnes 2013), public-sector labor laws (Anzia and Moe 2016), welfare policies (Fellowes and Rowe 2004), and wrongful conviction legislation (Hicks, Mullinix, and Norris 2021). Occasionally, a policy decision in a single state was examined, as with the adoption of in-state tuition for undocumented students in Kansas (Reich and Mendoza 2008).

The second category involves studies examining a broad swath of policies. For example, Jansa, Hansen, and Gray (2019) evaluated 12 policies across the 50 states, finding that legislators in less professional legislatures were more likely to copy bills passed elsewhere than were their counterparts in more professional bodies. Parinandi (2020) evaluated hundreds of policies to understand when states were more likely to copy from their neighbors rather than to devise their own policies from scratch, finding electoral vulnerability predicted the former and government ideology the latter. Garlick (2023) uncovered a pattern of "bottom-up" diffusion of legislation developed by state legislatures to Congress across 12 policy areas.

Studies in the third category evaluate the effect of specific public policies on the legislature itself. The obvious example is the impact of term limits (Kousser 2006; Miller, Nicolson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty 2011). Other studies evaluated policy relationships between the legislature and the bureaucracy (Kroeger 2022; McGrath 2013; Rosenson 2003; Weissert and Silberman 2002), the legislature and the courts (Hoekstra 2009; Miller, Ringsmuth, and Little 2015; Roch and Howard 2008; Wilhelm 2007), and the legislature and interest groups (Grasse and Heidbreder 2011; Ozymy 2010; Thieme 2020). There were also policymaking studies that revealed the impact of the initiative and the referendum on legislative decision making (Boehmke, Osborn and Schilling 2015; Cummins 2023; Masket and Noel 2012; Preuhs 2005).

Representation

Research on representation takes advantage of gender, racial, ethnic, and other forms of diversity to determine their impact on legislative decision making and public policies. Many studies over the last 25 years advanced our understanding of different aspects of representation. It was found that the legislative behavior of women legislators differed from that of their male colleagues (Osborn *et al.* 2019; Sanbonmatsu 2002). This finding was important because it forced a reorienting of legislative scholars' perspectives, as many of the field's understandings about lawmaker behavior were generated through a lens focused only on men. Women were found to work together more often than their male colleagues (Holman and Mahoney 2018), and they typically overperformed in state legislative office (Holman and Mahoney 2023).

Other research demonstrated that there was an "action" required for representation to occur. This action could be generated by a political party (Karpowitz, Monson, and Preece 2017) or politically prominent women (Ladam, Harden, and Windett 2018). In the absence of some deliberate action, representation did not organically

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

occur. Other studies examined how gender balancing laws, party leadership behavior, and district characteristics influenced the ability of women to run and get elected to the legislature (Doherty, Dowling, and Miller 2019; McQueen 2021; Pyeatt and Yanus 2019), and what was necessary to get them to stay once there (Butcher and Haynes 2024; Haynes and Butcher 2025).

Representation studies also emphasized the differences between and among lawmakers and came to incorporate a greater emphasis on intersectionality. This perspective changed how lawmakers were viewed, their varied pathways to office, and their behavior once elected. Studies of intersectional relationships broadened our understandings of representation (Scola 2013).

Research on representation of different demographic groups was another area of increasing interest. Examinations of the impact of racial and ethnic diversity in state legislatures increased over the last quarter century (Bullock III *et al.* 2020; Hicks *et al.* 2018; Juenke 2014; Juenke and Preuhs 2012). There were studies on minority candidate electoral success (Fraga, Juenke, and Shah 2020). A notable development was the increased attention devoted to Asian American representation and the role Asian American lawmakers played once in office (Kistner and Raychaudhuri 2025; Lublin and Wright 2024; Yeung 2022). Representation research also generated studies on LGBTQ+ legislators and their pathways to office and behavior once there (Brant 2025; Brant and Butcher 2022; Haider-Markel *et al.* 2020; Lollis and Dobson 2025).

Studies of representation extended beyond gender, racial, and identity characteristics to include examinations of diversity in lawmaker professional backgrounds and social class (Carnes and Hansen 2016; Hansen and Treul 2025; Lollis 2024; Makse 2022), political partisanship (Rouse, Hunt, and Essel 2022; Schaffner, Streb, and Wright 2007), and generational cohorts (Rouse, Hunt, and Barth 2025). Other studies revealed contrasts in how different groups of lawmakers organized within the legislature (Casellas 2009; Green and Gawehns 2024; Mahoney and Clark 2019). There were also examinations conducted on the impact of external factors on representation; for example, how the use of multi-member districts benefited certain groups of candidates in gaining office (Richardson, Russell, and Cooper 2004; Snyder Jr. and Ueda 2007). Overall, the larger number of state lawmakers compared to members of Congress allowed legislative scholars to more fully explore the representational impact of the many demographic characteristics and life experiences lawmakers bring with them to their service.

An emerging area: Historical studies of state legislatures

Given their long and varied histories, the states offer a fruitful area to investigate how legislative institutions change over time. Over the last 25 years a handful of insightful historical studies surfaced. Among the questions they investigated were how notions of what constituted representation emerged, changed, and impacted lawmaker behavior (Butcher and Gooch 2021; Olson 2025; Squire 2017b), how parliamentary rules and procedures evolved (Squire 2012; 2013), how the powers accorded to standing committees varied (Hamm, Hedlund, and Martorano 2006), how constituents instructed state legislators and state legislators instructed U.S. senators (Squire 2021), how partisanship in the drawing of legislative districts developed (Gooch 2024), how career movements between state legislatures and Congress changed (Squire 2014), how the mix of bills that passed shifted (Gamm and Kousser 2010; 2013), how the capacity of

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

legislatures to perform their work grew (Burns *et al.* 2008; Squire 2012), and how voters used state ballot measures to shape the way their legislatures were structured and operated (Squire 2024b). Even with these works, the historical study of state legislatures and its usefulness for developing and testing legislative theories about organizational and behavioral changes has barely been tapped.

State legislatures, congress, and general theories

At start of the twenty-first century, a major reservation registered about the study of American legislatures was that Congress and state legislatures were usually examined in isolation from each other. Theories devised to explain certain aspects of Congress – almost always meaning the House of Representatives – were seldom tested outside that institution (Squire and Hamm 2005). Attempts to more broadly explain legislative processes or behaviors were rare.

Fortunately, since then there were efforts to conceive and test more general legislative theories in the American context. In many instances that meant seeing if something that was found to be important in Congress also proved to matter in state legislatures. Take Katz and Sala's (1996) finding that the introduction of the Australian ballot led to the development of committee property rights in the U.S. House. An intriguing follow-up question was whether that innovation, having been imposed at the same time and before the same voters, also led to the development of committee property rights in state legislatures. As it happened, it did not (Squire *et al.* 2005). The discrepancy in outcomes appeared to be best explained by careerism having emerged at the congressional level around the time the Australian ballot was adopted but not at the state legislative level. Testing a theory outside the confines of just one institution helped to better inform our larger understanding of what happened and why.

Other studies seeking to test findings from the congressional literature on state legislatures examined the extent to which political parties influenced lawmaker voting behavior (Battista and Richman 2011), the extent of committee gatekeeping powers (Thieme 2021), the prevalence of standing committees that were ideological outliers (Overby, Kazee, and Prince 2004), the "waffling" behavior of cross-pressured legislators (Kirkland and Harden 2016), the degree to which voters held their representatives accountable (Rogers 2017), and lawmaker effectiveness (Bucchianeri, Volden, and Wiseman 2025).

Although rare, some theorizing was applied simultaneously to Congress and state legislatures. Bianco and Sened's (2005) investigated majority party influence at both levels, reporting that when lawmakers' preferences were polarized, outcomes were generally closer to the majority party's wishes, without any positive action having been taken by majority leadership. Chen and Malhotra (2007) examined the positive relationship between legislative membership size and spending, which had been formalized as the law of $1/n$. Analyzing data on bicameral state legislatures they found that the size of the upper house was a positive predictor of government expenditures, but the ratio of lower-to-upper house seats exerted a negative effect.

It should also be acknowledged that a rich vein of theory emerged exclusively from the study of state legislatures. For example, legislative term limits do not exist at the federal level. Studies and theories exploring their effects touched on their influence on roll-call voting (Wright 2007), electoral competition (Masket and Lewis 2007), and

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

careers (Lazarus 2006; Moncrief, Niemi, and Powell 2004). Similarly, public financing for legislative campaigns is unique to state politics. Accordingly, theories and analyses focused on its impact were restricted to state legislative studies (Kilborn and Vishwanath 2022; Mancinelli 2022; Masket and Miller 2015).

Discussion

SPPQ created an opportunity for greater attention to be directed toward state legislatures. From our review of state legislative research between 2001 and 2025, we uncovered notable trends on where such research was published, when it was published, and the key subject matters it tackled. Importantly, we found that research was trending toward more fully comparative studies, particularly on topics such as representation and public policy.

At the conclusion of his review of seven state legislative books, Jewell (1997, 274) proposed that moving forward, "the challenge to specialists in state legislatures is to build on research employing various techniques in one or a number of states to advance a body of knowledge that is both theoretically well-developed and empirically rich." Our canvass of nearly 450 articles suggests that Jewell's charge was accepted. Research on state legislatures published between 2001 and 2025 often employed new and sophisticated techniques and usually included data on large numbers of states. As more scholars come to fully appreciate the advantages of the larger number of cases and greater variation on variables of interest afforded by looking at state legislatures, more work along this line is apt to emerge. Both legislative studies and the study of the politics in the states will benefit from such endeavors.

Data availability statement. Replication materials are available on SPPQ Dataverse at https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/XQQOTH (Butcher and Squire 2026).

Funding statement. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Competing interests. The authors declared no potential competing interests with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

References

Abbe, Owen G., and Paul S. Herrnson. 2003. "Campaign Professionalism in State Legislative Elections." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 3(3): 223–45. doi: 10.1177/153244000300300301.

Altman, Micah, and Michael McDonald. 2018. "Redistricting by Formula: An Ohio Reform Experiment." *American Politics Research* 46(1): 103–31. doi: 10.1177/1532673X17700611.

Alvarez, R. Michael, and Betsy Sinclair. 2012. "Electoral Institutions and Legislative Behavior: The Effects of Primary Processes." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3): 544–57. doi: 10.1177/1065912911411098.

Anzia, Sarah F., and Molly C. Jackman. 2013. "Legislative Organization and the Second Face of Power: Evidence from U.S. State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 210–24. doi: 10.1017/S0022381612000977.

Anzia, Sarah F., and Terry M. Moe. 2015. "Public Sector Unions and the Costs of Government." *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 114–27. doi: 10.1086/678311.

Armaly, Miles T. 2020. "From Statehouse to Courthouse: Legislative Professionalism and High Court Auditing Behavior." *Social Science Quarterly* 101(1): 362–75. doi: 10.1111/ssqu.12728.

Baker, Travis J., and David M. Hedge. 2013. "Term Limits and Legislative-Executive Conflict in the American States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(2): 237–58. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12012.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Barber, Michael J. 2016. "Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of American Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 296–310. doi: 10.1086/683453.

Battista, James Coleman, and Jesse T. Richman. 2011. "Party Pressure in the U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(3): 397–422. doi: 10.1111/j.1939-9162.2011.00020.x.

Bergan, Daniel E. 2009. "Does Grassroots Lobbying Work? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effects of an E-mail Lobbying Campaign on Legislative Behavior." *American Politics Research* 37(2): 327–52. doi: 10.1177/1532673X08326967.

Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, Evan J. Ringquist, Russell L. Hanson, and Carl Klarner. 2013. "A New Measure of State Government Ideology, and Evidence that both the New Measure and an Old Measure Are Valid." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 13(2): 164–82. doi: 10.1177/1532440012464877.

Bianco, William T., and Itai Sened. 2005. "Uncovering Evidence of Conditional Party Government: Reassessing Majority Party Influence in Congress and State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 361–71. doi: 10.1017/S0003055405051713.

Boehmke, Frederick J., Tracy L. Osborn, and Emily L. Schilling. 2015. "Pivotal Politics and Initiative Use in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(4): 665–77. doi: 10.1177/1065912915606234.

Boehmke, Frederick J., and Charles R. Shipan. 2015. "Oversight Capabilities in the States: Are Professionalized Legislatures Better at Getting What they Want?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 15(3): 366–86. doi: 10.1177/1532440015593005.

Bowen, Daniel C., and Zachary Greene. 2014. "Should We Measure Professionalism with an Index? A Note on Theory and Practice in State Legislative Professionalism Research." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14(3): 277–96. doi: 10.1177/1532440014536407.

Brant, Hanna K. 2025. "Cisheteropatriarchal Institutions and the Representation of LGBTQ+ Legislators." *Politics & Gender* 21(2): 376–83. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X2510007X.

Brant, Hanna K., and Jordan Butcher. 2022. "Legislating as Your Full Self: Queer Women of Color in US State Legislatures." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 43(3): 297–309. doi: 10.1080/1554477X.2022.2068119.

Brown, Adam R., and Ellie M. Mitchell. 2025. "Comparing Three Measures of Legislative Professionalism." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 25(1): 119–31. doi: 10.1017/spq.2024.23.

Bucchianeri, Peter, Craig Volden, and Alan E. Wiseman. 2025. "Legislative Effectiveness in the American States." *American Political Science Review* 119(1): 21–39. doi: 10.1017/S0003055424000042.

Bullock, Charles S., William D. Hicks, M. V. Hood III, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "The Election of African American State Legislators in the Modern South." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 581–608. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12280.

Burns, Nancy, Laura Evans, Gerald Gamm, and Corrine McConnaughy. 2008. "Pockets of Expertise: Institutional Capacity in Twentieth–Century State Legislatures." *Studies in American Political Development* 22(2): 229–48. doi: 10.1017/S0898588X08000072.

Butcher, Jordan. 2022. "Be Careful What You Count: Updating Legislative Turnover in the 50 States." *American Politics Research* 50(4): 503–10. doi: 10.1177/1532673X221082319.

Butcher, Jordan, and Aric Dale Gooch. 2021. "The Development of Representation in American Political Institutions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46(4): 1059–86. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12322.

Butcher, Jordan, and Noah Haynes. 2024. "Already Gone: Retaining Women in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 49(1): 33–73. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12435.

Butcher, Jordan, and Peverill Squire. 2026. "Replication Data for: "Ninety-Nine Chambers and the Development of Comparative Legislative Studies, 2021–2025." Harvard Dataverse. doi: 10.7910/DVN/XQQOTH.

Butler, Daniel M., and David E. Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 463–77. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00515.x.

Butler, Daniel M., Thad Kousser, and Stan Oklobdzija. 2023. "Do Male and Female Legislators Have Different Twitter Communication Styles?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 23(2): 117–39. doi: 10.1017/spq.2022.16.

Carey, John M., Richard G. Niemi, Lynda W. Powell, and Gary F. Moncrief. 2006. "The Effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures: A New Survey of the 50 States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1): 105–34. doi: 10.3162/036298006X201742.

Carnes, Nicholas, and Eric R. Hansen. 2016. "Does Paying Politicians More Promote Economic Diversity in Legislatures?" *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 699–716. doi: 10.1017/S000305541600054X.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Casellas, Jason P. 2009. "Coalitions in the House? The Election of Minorities to State Legislatures and Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 62(1): 120–31. doi: 10.1177/1065912908315335.

Chen, Jowei, and Neil Malhotra. 2007. "The Law of k/n: The Effect of Chamber Size on Government Spending in Bicameral Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 657–76. doi: 10.1017/S0003055407070566.

Clark, Jennifer Hayes. 2015. *Minority Parties in U.S. Legislatures*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. doi: 10.3998/mpub.7329083.

Clark, Jennifer Hayes, Tracy Osborn, Jonathan Winburn, and Gerald C. Wright. 2009. "Representation in U. S. Legislatures: The Acquisition and Analysis of U. S. State Legislative Roll-Call Data." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 9(3): 356–70. doi: 10.1177/153244000900900305.

Clinton, Joshua. D., and Mark D. Richardson. 2019. "Lawmaking in the U.S: American Legislatures and Lawmaking, 1997–2011." *Journal of Public Policy* 39(1): 143–75. doi: 10.1017/S0143814X17000265.

Clucas, Richard A. 2007. "Legislative Professionalism and the Power of State House Leaders." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 7(1): 1–19. doi: 10.1177/153244000700700101.

Crosson, Jesse M. 2019. "Stalemate in the States: Agenda Control Rules and Policy Output in American Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(1): 3–33. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12210.

Cummins, Jeff. 2023. "Are Initiatives an End-Run around the Legislative Process? Divided Government and Voter Support for California Initiatives." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 23(4): 443–62. doi: 10.1017/spq.2023.20.

Doherty, David, Conor M. Dowling, and Michael G. Miller. 2019. "Do Local Party Chairs Think Women and Minority Candidates Can Win? Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment." *Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1282–97. doi: 10.1086/704698.

Druckman, James N., and Julia Valdes. 2019. "How Private Politics Alters Legislative Responsiveness." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 14(1): 115–30. doi: 10.1561/100.00018066.

Emrich, Colin. 2022. "The Politics of Bicameral Agreement: Why and When Do State Lawmakers Go to Conference?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 22(3): 289–319. doi: 10.1017/spq.2022.4.

Engstrom, Erik J., and Nathan W. Monroe. 2006. "Testing the Basis of Incumbency Advantage: Strategic Candidates and Term Limits in the California Legislature." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(1): 1–20. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600101.

Fellowes, Matthew C., and Gretchen Rowe. 2004. "Politics and the New American Welfare States." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 362–73. doi: 10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00075.x.

Fisher, Samuel H., and Rebekah Herrick. 2013. "Old versus New: The Comparative Efficiency of Mail and Internet Surveys of State Legislators." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 13(2): 147–63. doi: 10.1177/1532440012456540.

Forgette, Richard, Andrew Garner, and John Winkle. 2009. "Do Redistricting Principles and Practices Affect U.S. State Legislative Electoral Competition?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 9(2): 151–75. doi: 10.1177/153244000900900202.

Fowler, Luke, and Jaclyn J. Kettler. 2021. "Are Republicans Bad for the Environment?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(2): 195–219. doi: 10.1177/1532440020941794.

Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. 2020. "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the Emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 82(2): 771–5. doi: 10.1086/706599.

Gaines, Brian J., Timothy P. Nokken, and Collin Groebe. 2012. "Is Four Twice as Nice as Two? A Natural Experiment on Electoral Effects of Term Length." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 12(1): 43–57. doi: 10.1177/1532440011433588.

Gamm, Gerald, and Thad Kousser. 2010. "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 151–70. doi: 10.1017/S000305540999030X.

Gamm, Gerald, and Thad Kousser. 2013. "No Strength in Numbers: The Failure of Big-City Bills in American State Legislatures, 1880–2000." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 663–78. doi: 10.1017/S0003055413000397.

Garlick, Alex. 2023. "Laboratories of Politics: There Is Bottom-up Diffusion of Policy Attention in the American Federal System." *Political Research Quarterly* 76(1): 29–43. doi: 10.1177/10659129211068059.

Garlick, Alex, Mary Kroeger, and Paige Pellaton. 2025. "Legislative Capacity Limits Interest Group Influence: Evidence from California's Proposition 140." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 50(1): 71–84. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12478.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Gooch, Aric Dale. 2024. "Congressional Redistricting and Strategic Copartisans: Partisan Gerrymandering in Pennsylvania, 1800–1824." *Political Research Quarterly* 77(4): 1096–109. doi: 10.1177/10659129241254551.

Grasse, Nathan, and Brianne Heidbreder. 2011. "The Influence of Lobbying Activity in State Legislatures: Evidence from Wisconsin." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 567–89. doi: 10.1111/j.1939-9162.2011.00027.x.

Green Matthew, N., and Florian Gawehns. 2024. "From Congress to the States: Explaining the Emergence and Membership of Freedom Caucuses in State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 24(4): 370–88. doi: 10.1017/spq.2024.24.

Grossman, Kyle. 2015. "The Untold Story of the State Filibuster: The History and Potential of a Neglected Parliamentary Device." *Southern California Law Review* 88(2): 413–52.

Haider-Markel, Donald P., Patrick Gauding, Andrew Flores, Daniel C. Lewis, Patrick R. Miller, Barry Tadlock, and Jami K. Taylor. 2020. "LGBTQ State Legislative Candidates in an Era of Backlash." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 53(3): 453–9. doi: 10.1017/S1049096520000372.

Hale, Isaac. 2020. "Candidate Extremism and Electoral Design in U.S. State Legislative Elections." *Social Science Quarterly* 101(2): 861–77. doi: 10.1111/ssqu.12749.

Hamm, Keith E. 2001. "Comparative Legislative Research: An Observer's Perspective." Prepared for the Conference on the Comparative Study of Deputy "Hill Style" in Latin American Legislatures, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.

Hamm, Keith E., Ronald D. Hedlund, and Nancy Martorano. 2006. "Measuring State Legislative Committee Power: Change and Chamber Differences in the 20th Century." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(1): 88–111. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600105.

Hamm, Keith E., and Robert E. Hogan. 2008. "Campaign Finance Laws and Candidacy Decisions in State Legislative Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(3): 458–67. doi: 10.1177/1065912908314646.

Hankins, William B. 2020. "Finally, Nebraska: A Synthetic Control Analysis of Legislative Structure." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 20(1): 3–22. doi: 10.1177/1532440019868818.

Hansen, Eric R., and Sarah A. Treul. 2025. "Prior Experience and State Legislative Effectiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 50(4). doi: 10.1111/lsq.70011.

Harden, Jeffrey J. 2013. "Multidimensional Responsiveness: The Determinants of Legislators' Representational Priorities." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(2): 155–84. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12009.

Haynes, Noah, and Jordan Butcher. 2025. "'Stronger': Learning from Nevada's Women-Led Legislative Majority." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. doi: 10.1111/lsq.70001.

Herrick, Rebekah, and Sue Thomas. 2005. "Do Term Limits Make a Difference? Ambition and Motivations among U.S. State Legislators." *American Politics Research* 33(5): 726–47. doi: 10.1177/1532673X04270935.

Herrnson, Paul S., J. Celeste Lay, and Atiya K. Stokes. 2003. "Women Running 'as Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 244–55. doi: 10.1111/1468-2508.t01-1-00013.

Herron, Michael C., and Alan E. Wiseman. 2008. "Gerrymanders and Theories of Law Making: A Study of Legislative Redistricting in Illinois." *Journal of Politics* 70(1): 151–67. doi: 10.1017/S0022381607080115.

Hicks, William D., Carl E. Klarner, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(2): 408–23. doi: 10.1177/1065912917738574.

Hicks, William D., Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "A Bipartisan Election Reform? Explaining Support for Online Voter Registration in the American States." *American Politics Research* 44(6): 1008–36. doi: 10.1177/1532673X16661818.

Hicks, William D., Kevin J. Mullinix, and Robert J. Norris. 2021. "The Politics of Wrongful Conviction Legislation." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(3): 306–25. doi: 10.1017/spq.2020.4.

Hoekstra, Valerie. 2009. "The Pendulum of Precedent: U.S. State Legislative Response to Supreme Court Decisions on Minimum Wage Legislation for Women." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 9(3): 257–83. doi: 10.1177/153244000900900301.

Hogan, Robert E. 2003. "Institutional and District-Level Sources of Competition in State Legislative Elections." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(3): 543–60. doi: 10.1111/1540-6237.8403004.

Holman, Mirya R., and Anna Mahoney. 2018. "Stop, Collaborate, and Listen: Women's Collaboration in U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43(2): 179–206. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12199.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Holman, Mirya R., Anna Mahoney, and Emma Hurler. 2022. "Let's Work Together: Bill Success via Women's Cosponsorship in U.S. State Legislatures." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(3): 676–90. doi: 10.1177/10659129211020123.

Holman, Mirya R., and Anna Mitchell Mahoney. 2023. "Take (Her) to the Limit: Term Limits Do Not Diminish Women's Overperformance in Legislative Office." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 48(3): 681–94. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12406.

Jackman, Molly C. 2014. "Parties, Median Legislators, and Agenda Setting: How Legislative Institutions Matter." *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 259–72. doi: 10.1017/S0022381613001291.

Jansa, Joshua M., Eric R. Hansen, and Virginia H. Gray. 2019. "Copy and Paste Lawmaking: Legislative Professionalism and Policy Reinvention in the States." *American Politics Research* 47(4): 739–67. doi: 10.1177/1532673X18776628.

Jenkins, Shannon. 2006. "The Impact of Party and Ideology on Roll-Call Voting in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(2): 235–57. doi: 10.3162/036298006X201797.

Jewell, Malcolm E., Alan Rosenthal, Sue Thomas, Robert S. Erikson, Gerald C. Wright, John P. McIver, Burdett A. Loomis, Richard A. Clucas, Grant Reeher, and Tom Loftus. 1997. "Trends in Research on U.S. State Legislatures: A Review Article." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22(2): 265–74. doi: 10.2307/440386.

Juenke, Eric Gonzalez. 2014. "Ignorance Is Bias: The Effect of Latino Losers on Models of Latino Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 593–603. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12092.

Juenke, Eric Gonzalez, and Robert R. Preuhs. 2012. "Irreplaceable Legislators? Rethinking Minority Representatives in the New Century." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 705–15. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2012.00584.x.

Karpowitz, Christopher F., J. Quin Monson, and Jessica Robinson Preece. 2017. "How to Elect More Women: Gender and Candidate Success in a Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 927–43. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12300.

Katz, Jonathan N., and Brian R. Sala. 1996. "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection." *American Political Science Review* 90(1): 21–33. doi: 10.2307/2082795.

Kelly, Jason P. 2012. "The Strategic Use of Prisons in Partisan Gerrymandering." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(1): 117–34. doi: 10.1111/j.1939-9162.2011.00037.x.

Kilborn, M. 2018. "Public Campaign Financing, Candidate Socioeconomic Diversity, and Representational Inequality at the U.S. State Level: Evidence from Connecticut." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 18(3): 296–323. doi: 10.1177/1532440018784980.

Kilborn, Mitchell, and Arjun Vishwanath. 2022. "Public Money Talks Too: How Public Campaign Financing Degrades Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 66(3): 730–44. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12625.

Kirkland, Justin H. 2011. "The Relational Determinants of Legislative Outcomes: Strong and Weak Ties Between Legislators." *Journal of Politics* 73(3): 887–98. doi: 10.1017/S0022381611000533.

Kirkland, Justin H. 2014. "Chamber Size Effects on the Collaborative Structure of Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 39(2): 169–98. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12041.

Kirkland, Justin H., and Jeffrey J. Harden. 2016. "Representation, Competing Principals, and Waffling on Bills in US Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41(3): 657–86. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12132.

Kirkland, Justin H., and R. Lucas Williams. 2014. "Partisanship and Reciprocity in Cross-Chamber Legislative Interactions." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 754–69. doi: 10.1017/S0022381614000097.

Kistner, Michael, and Tanika Raychaudhuri. 2025. "Immigration and Political Incorporation: Asian American Representation in State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 25(2): 212–36. doi: 10.1017/spq.2025.3.

Kitchens, Karin E. 2021. "Partisan Politics and Public Education: Finding the Formula for (Electoral) Success." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(1): 55–79. doi: 10.1177/1532440020933205.

Kousser, Thad. 2006. "The Limited Impact of Term Limits: Contingent Effects on the Complexity and Breadth of Laws." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(4): 410–29. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600403.

Krasno, Jonathan, Daniel B. Magleby, Michael D. McDonald, Shawn Donahue, and Robin E. Best. 2019. "Can Gerrymanders Be Detected? An Examination of Wisconsin's State Assembly." *American Politics Research* 47(5): 1162–201. doi: 10.1177/1532673X18767890.

Kroeger, Mary A. 2022. "Bureaucrats as Lawmakers." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 47(1): 257–89. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12320.

Kurtz, Karl T., Gary F. Moncrief, Richard G. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell. 2006. "Full-Time, Part-Time, and Real Time: Explaining State Legislators' Perceptions of Time on the Job." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(3): 322–38. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600304.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Ladam, Christina, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Jason H. Windett. 2018. "Prominent Role Models: High-Profile Female Politicians and the Emergence of Women as Candidates for Public Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 369–81. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12351.

Lazarus, Jeffrey. 2006. "Term Limits' Multiple Effects on State Legislators' Career Decisions." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(4): 357–83. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600401.

Leonard, Meghan E. 2022. "New Data on Court Curbing by State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 22(4): 483–500. doi: 10.1017/spq.2022.8.

Lollis, Jacob M. 2024. "Are Workers Effective Lawmakers?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 24(3): 270–86. doi: 10.1017/spq.2024.8.

Lollis, Jacob M., and Mackenzie R. Dobson. 2025. "I'm Coming Out! How Voter Discrimination Produces Effective LGBTQ Lawmakers." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 58(3): 501–9. doi: 10.1017/S1049096525000101.

Lublin, David, and Matthew Wright. 2024. "Diversity Matters: The Election of Asian Americans to U.S. State and Federal Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 118(1): 380–400. doi: 10.1017/S0003055423000242.

Maddox, H. W. J. 2004a. "Opportunity Costs and Outside Careers in U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(4): 517–44. doi: 10.3162/036298004X201285.

Maddox, H. W. J. 2004b. "Working outside of the State House (and Senate): Outside Careers as an Indicator of Professionalism in American State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 4(2): 211–26. doi: 10.1177/153244000400400205.

Maestas, Cherie. 2003. "The Incentive to Listen: Progressive Ambition, Resources, and Opinion Monitoring among State Legislators." *Journal of Politics* 65(2): 439–56. doi: 10.1111/1468-2508.t01-3-00008.

Mahoney, Anna Mitchell, and Christopher J. Clark. 2019. "When and Where Do Women's Legislative Caucuses Emerge?" *Politics & Gender* 15(4): 671–94. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X18000806.

Makse, Todd. 2012. "Strategic Constituency Manipulation in State Legislative Redistricting." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(2): 225–50. doi: 10.1111/j.1939-9162.2012.00044.x.

Makse, Todd. 2022. "Instant Credibility: The Conditional Role of Professional Background in Policymaking Success." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(1): 118–33. doi: 10.1177/1065912920983917.

Mancinelli, Abigail. 2022. "Does Public Financing Motivate Electoral Challengers?" *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 22(4): 438–62. doi: 10.1017/spq.2022.12.

Masket, Seth E., and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2007. "A Return to Normalcy? Revisiting the Effects of Term Limits on Competitiveness and Spending in California Assembly Elections." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 7(1): 20–38. doi: 10.1177/153244000700700102.

Masket, Seth E., and Michael G. Miller. 2015. "Does Public Election Funding Create More Extreme Legislators? Evidence from Arizona and Maine." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 15(1): 24–40. doi: 10.1177/1532440014563682.

Masket, Seth E., and Hans Noel. 2012. "Serving Two Masters: Using Referenda to Assess Partisan versus Dyadic Legislative Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(1): 104–23. doi: 10.1177/1065912910388188.

McGrath, Robert J. 2013. "Legislatures, Courts, and Statutory Control of the Bureaucracy across the U.S. States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 13(3): 373–97. doi: 10.1177/1532440013497972.

McQueen, Shannon. 2021. "Pipeline or Pipedream: Gender Balance Legislation's Effect on Women's Presence in State Government." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(3): 243–65. doi: 10.1017/spq.2020.8.

Miller, Susan M., Jill Nicolson-Crotty, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2011. "Reexamining the Institutional Effects of Term Limits in U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(1): 71–97. doi: 10.1111/j.1939-9162.2010.00004.x.

Miller, Susan M., Eve M. Ringsmuth, and Joshua M. Little. 2015. "Pushing Constitutional Limits in the U.S. States: Legislative Professionalism and Judicial Review of State Laws by the U.S. Supreme Court." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 15(4): 476–91. doi: 10.1177/1532440015592782.

Moncrief, Gary F., Richard G. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell. 2004. "Time, Term Limits, and Turnover: Trends in Membership Stability in U.S. State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(3): 357–81. doi: 10.3162/036298004X201212.

Mooney, Christopher Z. 2013. "Measuring State House Speakers' Formal Powers, 1981–2010." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 13(2): 262–73. doi: 10.1177/1532440013484478.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Nemerever, Zoe, and Daniel Butler. 2020. "The Source of the Legislative Professionalism Advantage: Attracting More Knowledgeable Candidates." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 20(4): 416–36. doi: 10.1177/1532440020930709.

Newmark, Adam J. 2005. "Measuring State Legislative Lobbying Regulation, 1990–2003." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 5(2): 182–91. doi: 10.1177/153244000500500205.

Olson, Michael P. 2025. "'Restoration' and Representation: Legislative Consequences of Black Disfranchisement in the American South, 1879–1916." *American Journal of Political Science* 69(2): 387–405. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12868.

Olson, Michael P., and Jon C. Rogowski. 2020. "Legislative Term Limits and Polarization." *Journal of Politics* 82(2): 572–86. doi: 10.1086/706764.

Osborn, Tracy, Rebecca J. Kreitzer, Emily U. Schilling, and Jennifer Hayes Clark. 2019. "Ideology and Polarization among Women State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(4): 647–80. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12243.

Overby, L. Marvin, Thomas A. Kazee, and David W. Prince. 2004. "Committee Outliers in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(1): 81–107. doi: 10.3162/036298004X201104.

Ozymy, Joshua. 2010. "Assessing the Impact of Legislative Lobbying Regulations on Interest Group Influence in U.S. State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 10(4): 397–420. doi: 10.1177/153244001001000406.

Parinandi, Srinivas C. 2020. "Policy Inventing and Borrowing among State Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(4): 852–68. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12513.

Pippen, John, S. Shaun Bowler, and Todd Donovan. 2002. "Election Reform and Direct Democracy: Campaign Finance Regulations in the American States." *American Politics Research* 30(6): 559–82. doi: 10.1177/153267302237228.

Poggione, Sarah. 2004. "Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators' Policy Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(2): 305–14.

Preuhs, Robert R. 2005. "Descriptive Representation, Legislative Leadership, and Direct Democracy: Latino Influence on English Only Laws in the States, 1984–2002." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 5(3): 203–24. doi: 10.1177/153244000500500301.

Price, H. Douglas. 1975. "Congress and the Evolution of Legislative 'Professionalism.'" In *Congress in Change: Evolution and Reform*, ed. Norman J. Ornstein. New York, NY: Praeger, 2–23.

Pyeatt, Nicholas, and Alixandra B. Yanus. 2019. "It's All Relative: Understanding 'Women Friendliness' Between and Within States." *Social Science Quarterly* 100(6): 2391–407. doi: 10.1111/ssqu.12708.

Reich, Gary, and Jay Barth. 2017. "Planting in Fertile Soil: The National Rifle Association and State Firearms Legislation." *Social Science Quarterly* 98(2): 485–99. doi: 10.1111/ssqu.12423.

Reich, Gary, and Alvar Ayala Mendoza. 2008. "'Educating Kids' versus 'Coddling Criminals': Framing the Debate over In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students in Kansas." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 8(2): 177–97. doi: 10.1177/153244000800800204.

Remmel, Megan L., and Jeffery J. Mondak. 2020. "Three Validation Tests of the Shor–McCarty State Legislator Ideology Data." *American Politics Research* 48(4): 523–8. doi: 10.1177/1532673X20914621.

Rhinehart, Sarina. 2020. "Mentoring the Next Generation of Women Candidates: A Field Experiment of State Legislators." *American Politics Research* 48(4): 492–505. doi: 10.1177/1532673X20906459.

Richardson, Lilliard E. Jr.,, Brian E. Russell, and Christopher A. Cooper. 2004. "Legislative Representation in a Single-Member versus Multiple-Member District System: The Arizona State Legislature." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(2): 337–44. doi: 10.1177/106591290405700214.

Richman, Jesse. 2010. "The Logic of Legislative Leadership: Preferences, Challenges, and the Speaker's Powers." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 211–33. doi: 10.3162/036298010791170169.

Roch, Christine H., and Robert M. Howard. 2008. "State Policy Innovation in Perspective: Courts, Legislatures, and Education Finance Reform." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 333–44. doi: 10.1177/1065912907308097.

Rogers, Steven. 2017. "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll Calls and Ideological Representation." *American Political Science Review* 111(3): 555–71. doi: 10.1017/S0003055417000156.

Rosenson, Beth A. 2003. "Against their Apparent Self-Interest: The Authorization of Independent State Legislative Ethics Commissions, 1973–96." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 3(1): 42–65. doi: 10.1177/153244000300300103.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Rouse, Stella M., C. Charles Hunt, and Kristen Essel. 2022. "Growing Tea with Subnational Roots: Tea Party Affiliation, Factionalism, and GOP Politics in State Legislatures." *American Politics Research* 50(2): 242–54. doi: 10.1177/1532673X211041150.

Rouse, Stella M., Charles Hunt, and Jay Barth. 2025. "In the Interest of Millennials? Exploring Generational Representation in U.S. State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 25(1): 22–43. doi: 10.1017/spq.2024.9.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 64(3): 791–809. doi: 10.1111/0022-3816.00146.

Sarbaugh-Thompson, Marjorie, L. Lyke Thompson, Charles D. Elder, Meg Comins, Richard C. Elling, and John Strate. 2006. "Democracy Among Strangers: Term Limits' Effects on Relationships Between State Legislators in Michigan." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(4): 384–409. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600402.

Schaffner, Brian F., Matthew J. Streb, and Gerald C. Wright. 2007. "A New Look at the Republican Advantage in Nonpartisan Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 240–9. doi: 10.1177/1065912907301812.

Schaffner, Brian F., Michael W. Wagner, and Jonathan Winburn. 2004. "Incumbents Out, Party In? Term Limits and Partisan Redistricting in State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 4(4): 396–414. doi: 10.1177/153244000400400403.

Schecter, David L., and David M. Hedge. 2001. "Dancing with the One Who Brought You: The Allocation and Impact of Party Giving to State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26(3): 437–56. doi: 10.2307/440331.

Schilling, Emily U., Abigail A. Matthews, and Rebecca J. Kreitzer. 2023. "Timing their Positions: Cosponsorship in the State Legislature." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 23(3): 245–66. doi: 10.1017/spq.2023.7.

Scola, Becki. 2013. "Predicting Presence at the Intersections: Assessing the Variation in Women's Office Holding Across the States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 13(3): 333–48. doi: 10.1177/1532440013489141.

Shay, Laine P. 2021. "Do Term Limits 'Limit' the Speaker? Examining the Effects of Legislative Term Limits on State Speaker Power." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(2): 139–64. doi: 10.1177/1532440020947643.

Shor, Boris, and Nolan McCarty. 2011. "The Ideological Mapping of American Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 530–51. doi: 10.1017/S0003055411000153.

Shor, Boris, and Nolan McCarty. 2022. "Two Decades of Polarization in American State Legislatures." *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 3(3–4): 343–70. doi: 10.1561/113.00000063.

Shufeldt, Gregory, and Patrick Flavin. 2012. "Two Distinct Concepts: Party Competition in Government and Electoral Competition in the American States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 12(3): 330–42. doi: 10.1177/1532440012451154.

Snyder, James M., Jr.,, and Michiko Ueda. 2007. "Do Multimember Districts Lead to Free-Riding?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(4): 649–79. doi: 10.3162/036298007782398503.

Squire, Peverill, Keith E. Hamm, Ronald D. Hedlund, and Gary Moncrief. 2005. "Electoral Reforms, Membership Stability, and the Existence of Committee Property Rights in American State Legislatures." *British Journal of Political Science* 35(1): 169–81. doi: 10.1017/S0007123405000086.

Squire, Peverill. 2007. "Measuring State Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 7(2): 211–27. doi: 10.1177/153244000700700208.

Squire, Peverill. 2012. *The Evolution of American Legislatures: Colonies, Territories and States, 1619–2009*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. 10.3998/mpub.4401998.

Squire, Peverill. 2013. "Quorum Exploitation in the American Legislative Experience." *Studies in American Political Development* 27(2): 142–64. doi: 10.1017/S0898588X13000084.

Squire, Peverill. 2014. "Electoral Career Movements and the Flow of Political Power in the American Federal System." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14(1): 72–89. doi: 10.1177/1532440013520244.

Squire, Peverill. 2017a. "A Squire Index Update." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 17(4): 361–71. doi: 10.1177/1532440017713314.

Squire, Peverill. 2017b. *The Rise of the Representative: Lawmakers and Constituents in Colonial America*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. doi: 10.3998/mpub.9429646.

Squire, Peverill. 2021. *The Right of Instruction and Representation in American Legislatures, 1778 to 1900*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. doi: 10.3998/mpub.11730353.

Squire, Peverill. 2024a. "A Squire Index Update: Stability and Change in Legislative Professionalization, 1979–2021." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 24(1): 110–9. doi: 10.1017/spq.2023.22.

Squire, Peverill. 2024b. *Reforming Legislatures: American Voters and State Ballot Measures, 1792–2020*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Squire, Peverill, and Keith E. Hamm. 2005. *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
Squire, Peverill, and Gary Moncrief. 2019. *State Legislatures Today: Politics under the Domes*, 3rd edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. doi: 10.5040/9798216424826.
Steen, Jennifer A. 2006. "The Impact of State Legislative Term Limits on the Supply of Congressional Candidates." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 6(4): 430–47. doi: 10.1177/153244000600600404.
Strickland, James M. 2020. "The Declining Value of Revolving-Door Lobbyists: Evidence from the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(1): 67–81. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12485.
Strickland, James M. 2022. "Legislature Size and Interest Mobilization: The Effects of Institutional Change." *American Politics Research* 50(4): 511–24. doi: 10.1177/1532673X211063214.
Sweet-Cushman, Jennie, Rebecca Gill, and Christopher Zorn. 2025. "Legislating in the First Female Majority State Legislature: Gendered Power, Leadership, and Patterns of Sponsorship and Cosponsorship." *Political Research Quarterly* 78(3): 1045–59. doi: 10.1177/10659129251338179.
Swift, Clint S., and Kathryn A. VanderMolen. 2016. "Term Limits and Collaboration Across the Aisle: An Analysis of Bipartisan Cosponsorship in Term Limited and Non-Term Limited State Legislatures." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16(2): 198–226. doi: 10.1177/1532440015608760.
Swift, Clint S., and Kathryn A. VanderMolen. 2021. "Marginalization and Mobilization: The Roots of Female Legislators' Collaborative Advantage in the States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 21(4): 355–79. doi: 10.1017/spq.2020.9.
Tausanovitch, Chris, and Christopher Warshaw. 2013. "Measuring Constituent Policy Preferences in Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities." *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 330–42. doi: 10.1017/S0022381613000042.
Thieme, Sebastian. 2020. "Moderation or Strategy? Political Giving by Corporations and Trade Groups." *Journal of Politics* 82(3): 1171–5. doi: 10.1086/707619.
Thieme, Sebastian. 2021. "A Direct Test of Legislative Gatekeeping." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46(4): 855–88. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12315.
Tolbert, Caroline J., Daniel A. Smith, and John C. Green. 2009. "Strategic Voting and Legislative Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers." *Political Research Quarterly* 62(1): 92–109. doi: 10.1177/1065912908314201.
Wahlke, John C., Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan, and Leroy C. Ferguson. 1962. *The Legislative System*. New York, NY: Wiley.
Weissert, Carol, and Susan Silberman. 2002. "Legislative Demands for Bureaucratic Policymaking: The Case of State Medical Boards." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 27(1): 123–39. doi: 10.2307/3598522.
Wilhelm, Teena. 2007. "The Policymaking Role of State Supreme Courts in Education Policy." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(2): 309–33. doi: 10.3162/036298007780907914.
Wilhelm, Teena. 2009. "Strange Bedfellows: The Policy Consequences of Legislative–Judicial Relations in the American States." *American Politics Research* 37(1): 3–29. doi: 10.1177/1532673X08318590.
Williamson, Sarah, and Matthew Carnes. 2013. "Partisanship, Christianity, and Women in the Legislature: Determinants of Parental Leave Policy in U.S. States." *Social Science Quarterly* 94(4): 1084–101. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6237.2012.00882.x.
Wiseman, Alan E. 2005. "Partisan Strategy and Support in State Legislative Elections: The Case of Illinois." *American Politics Research* 33(3): 376–403. doi: 10.1177/1532673X04267683.
Wright, Gerald C. 2007. "Do Term Limits Affect Legislative Roll Call Voting? Representation, Polarization, and Participation." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 7(3): 256–80. doi: 10.1177/153244000700700302.
Yeung, Yat To. 2023. "Beyond Pan-Ethnicity: Responsiveness of Elected Officials to Asian American Subgroups." *American Politics Research* 51(4): 543–54. doi: 10.1177/1532673X221139758.
Zelizer, Adam. 2019. "Is Position-Taking Contagious? Evidence of Cue-Taking from Two Field Experiments in a State Legislature." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 340–52. doi: 10.1017/S0003055419000078.
Zelizer, Adam. 2022. "Talking Shops: The Effects of Caucus Discussion on Policy Coalitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 66(4): 902–17. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12636.
Zingher, Joshua N. 2014. "The Ideological and Electoral Determinants of Laws Targeting Undocumented Migrants in the U.S. States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14(1): 90–117. doi: 10.1177/1532440014524212.

Author biographies. Jordan Butcher is an Assistant Professor of Public Administration studying state legislatures with the Hugo Wall School of Public Affairs at Wichita State University. She is the author of

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Navigating Term Limits: The Careers of State Legislators. Her work has been published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly, The Journal of Legislative Studies*, and *American Politics Research.*

Peverill Squire is a Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Missouri. His recent books include *A History of American Legislatures, 1619–2024* (2026), *Reforming Legislatures: American Voters and State Ballot Measures, 1792–2020* (2024), and *The Right of Instruction and Representation in American Legislatures, 1778 to 1900* (2021).

Cite this article: Butcher, Jordan, and Peverill Squire. 2026. "Ninety-Nine Chambers and the Development of Comparative Legislative Studies." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* **26** (3): 285–306, doi:10.1017/spq.2026.10028

https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2026.10028 Published online by Cambridge University Press