Bibliography for Paper 3

# Why/how the Senate is broken

* me :D <https://isabelle-sanford.github.io/senate-analysis/>
* Bloomberg article on how we can’t do anything about it [link](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-10-10/u-s-senate-is-undemocratic-but-there-s-no-way-to-change-it) **(need to download?)**
* Deadlock or decision – book ([tripod link](•%09https:/tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991003211999704921))
* Comparative Perspectives on Inequality and the Quality of Democracy in the United States (foreign perspective) [link](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41623697) [local](../Comparative%20Perspectives%20on%20Inequality%20and%20Democracy.pdf)
* Urban Underrepresentation in the U.S. Senate [link](https://proxy.brynmawr.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/urban-underrepresentation-u-s-senate/docview/59703408/se-2?accountid=9772) (possibly the same as [this](o%09https:/search.proquest.com/pais/docview/59703408/6468841D40554F45PQ/7?accountid=9772)? but maybe not)

# Statehood (1)

# The Filibuster (2)

* Democratizing the Senate from Within (pro-majoritarian cloture rule) [link](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3812526) [local](../Democratizing%20the%20Senate%20from%20Within.pdf)
* Exceptions to the Rule: The Politics of Filibuster Limitations in the U.S. Senate (more explanatory than solution-based) [doi](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07343469.2018.1558674) **get a better link/download**

# Election & campaign finance reform (3)

* HR1 – [text](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/1/) – [HR1 article](https://www.minnpost.com/national/2021/03/whats-in-democrats-big-election-reform-bill-and-why-they-might-be-willing-to-get-rid-of-the-filibuster-in-order-to-pass-it/) [local](../HR1%20summary%20article%20MinnPost.htm) – [unknown](https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/congress-could-change-everything) (how HR1 would prevent current voter restriction legislation)
* Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the US Senate [doi](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511528033) [longlink](https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991018898378004921&context=L&vid=01TRI_INST:BMC&lang=en&search_scope=BMC_Catalog&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,%22U.S.%20Senate%22%20reform&offset=0)
* [1970s commission](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/TowardaModernSenate.pdf)

# Senate Reform Act / reallocation of senate seats (4)

* [Public draft](https://faculty.wharton.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Senate.Democracy.12.7.18.final_.pdf) – [Final version](https://www.proquest.com/docview/2281098739?accountid=9772) – [local final v](../Orts%20final.pdf)
* [Response law review article](http://www.aulawreview.org/there-is-a-way-but-will-there-ever-be-a-will-comments-on-eric-ortss-senate-democracy/)
* Orts Atlantic article –[link](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/01/heres-how-fix-senate/579172/)[local](../(proportional)%20Here's%20How%20to%20Fix%20the%20Senate%20-%20The%20Atlantic.html)
* **Not cited anywhere:** [**math stuff**](https://wernerantweiler.ca/blog.php?item=2019-07-04)

# Redraw the Map (5)

* [Fulcrum article](https://thefulcrum.us/congress/redrawing-state-lines) - Eberhard book on amazon for $3 – becoming a democracy: how we can fix the electoral college, gerrymandering, and our elections (chapter 9 on the senate, 10 on citizen’s assemblies) **maybe get**
* WSJ – [Divide States to Democratize the Senate](https://www.wsj.com/articles/divide-states-to-democratize-the-senate-1542672828) [local](../Divide%20States%20to%20Democratize%20the%20Senate%20-%20WSJ.html) (probably pulled from his book, see Other)
* Times people have tried to split up cali <https://www.scpr.org/news/2018/04/13/45392/six-californias-from-jefferson-to-colorado-the-cal/> **(read)** [**local**](../Map%20Splitting%20up%20California%207%20times%20they've%20tried%20to%20break%20up%20the%20Golden%20State%2089.3%20KPCC.htm)
* East Oregon wants to join idaho <https://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/2020/02/another-eastern-oregon-county-ready-to-gather-signatures-to-switch-state-allegiance-idaho-governor-it-doesnt-surprise-me-one-bit.html>
* SUGGESTED MAPS
  + Fifty states with equal population: <http://fakeisthenewreal.org/reform/> **no cite**
  + George Etzel Pearcy, 1973, 38 states – mentalfloss article: <https://www.mentalfloss.com/article/57444/map-only-38-states> (not cited), **do more research**
  + WaPo, what the US map should really look like **not cited yet** [link](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/12/12/the-radical-new-map-that-would-really-reflect-life-in-the-u-s/) [local](../What%20the%20U.S.%20map%20should%20really%20look%20like%20-%20The%20Washington%20Post.htm) [journal article](https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0166083) **(check out)**

# Abolish the Senate (6)

* Dingell – Atlantic article, [website](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/12/john-dingell-how-restore-faith-government/577222/), [local file](../John%20Dingell%20How%20to%20Fix%20Government%20-%20The%20Atlantic.html)
* Hyatt – Op in the University Wire [link](https://www.proquest.com/docview/2306843022?pq-origsite=primo&accountid=9772) [publiclink](https://www.idsnews.com/article/2019/10/opinion-america-should-abolish-the-senate) [appears to be just a dude??]

# Other

* ???? Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate [link](https://proxy.brynmawr.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/responsiveness-era-inequality-case-u-s-senate/docview/1445359508/se-2?accountid=9772,%20doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1065912912459567) (may or may not be the same as [this](o%09https:/search.proquest.com/pais/docview/1445359508/12B82A685DBE493APQ/2?accountid=9772)) – maybe goes in intro?
* The vice president in the U.S. Senate: Examining the consequences of institutional design [link](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07343469.2018.1444112)
* [Michelle’s research](https://docs.google.com/document/d/11uWA9IB1fx4IKfFHq3eVWSlp2MhpX86Nz-MUvxCPYIs/edit) **pull stuff**
* [Twitter thread](https://twitter.com/braden_crimmins/status/1347324528393936899?s=20)
* Can’t get at: When at times the mob is swayed: a citizen’s guide to defending our republic, by Burt Neuborne

# TO SORT & CITE

* [stuff](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.3162/036298006X201869)
* [stuff 2](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/sizing-up-the-senate-the-unequal-consequences-of-equal-representation-by-frances-e-lee-and-bruce-i-oppenheimer-chicago-university-of-chicago-press-1999-304p-4800-cloth-1700-paper/B378F84E4A483C5FB4C6D3F56FFFB5B5)
* [stuff 3](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/studies-in-american-political-development/article/abs/stacking-the-senate-changing-the-nation-republican-rotten-boroughs-statehood-politics-and-american-political-development/76FCAD315F874CADCBC4BA1857D736F1#access-block)
* [stuff 4](https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2021/2/23/2013769/-How-minority-rule-plagues-Senate-Republicans-last-won-more-support-than-Democrats-two-decades-ago)
* [UK article](https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/when-it-comes-to-fair-votes-the-us-senate-is-ripe-for-reform/)
* [Vox article](https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2019/4/9/18300749/senate-problem-electoral-college)
* [Economist smallstate advantage](https://www.economist.com/briefing/2018/07/12/americas-electoral-system-gives-the-republicans-advantages-over-democrats)
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  + ADAM JENTLESON,KILL SWITCH:THE RISE OF THE MODERN SENATE AND THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (2021);
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  + <https://perma.cc/X5ZX-ELAS>
  + https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/11/28/by-2040-two-thirds-of-americans-will-be-represented-by-30-percent-of-the-senate or <https://perma.cc/4AQT-885S>
  + Footnote 8: According to another projection based on census data, this means thirty percent of the population will control a veto-proof sixty-eight senators by 2040. Jamelle Bouie, The Senate Is as Much of a Problem as Trump, N.Y.TIMES,May 10, 2019, at SR4 (citing study by the Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia).
  + Footnote 9: 9. AREND LIJPHART,PATTERNS OF DEMOCRACY:GOVERNMENT FORMS AND PERFORMANCE IN THIRTY-SIX COUNTRIES 194–97 (2d ed. 2012) (finding only Argentina to have a more unequally representative legislative branch); see also ROBERT A.DAHL,HOW DEMOCRATIC IS THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION? 49–50 (2d ed. 2003) (criticizing the Senate and noting that legislatures in Brazil and Russia are also radically unrepresentative). In other democratic countries, including Australia, Canada, Germany, and India, voting weight ratios do not exceed twenty-one to one. Adam Liptak, Smaller States Find Outsize Clout Growing in Senate, N.Y.TIMES, Mar. 11, 2013, at A1 (citing Dahl).
  + Lynn A. Baker & Samuel H. Dinkin, The Senate: An Institution Whose Time Has Gone?, 13 J.L.&POL.21, 83 (1997)
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# main 5 sources, take 1

## SOURCE 1 Senate Reform Act (orts)

* Orts, Eric W. "SENATE DEMOCRACY: OUR LOCKEAN PARADOX." *American University Law Review*, vol. 68, no. 6, 2019, pp. 1981-2087*. ProQuest*, https://www.proquest.com/docview/2281098739?accountid=9772.
* Link to a draft 2018 version which is free access: <https://faculty.wharton.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Senate.Democracy.12.7.18.final_.pdf>
* AU law review article about it: <http://www.aulawreview.org/there-is-a-way-but-will-there-ever-be-a-will-comments-on-eric-ortss-senate-democracy/>
* [Fix by Proportionality](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/01/heres-how-fix-senate/579172/) – Atlantic article about the SRF
* A proposal for the reallocation of Senators such that each state gets 1 senator, and after that they’re allocated by population, to make the senate more representative. Long discussion of constitutionality, which I do not intend to do more than touch on. I’m using this as my primary proposal source.

## SOURCE 2 The economic realities of political reform: elections and the US Senate

* Regens, James L., and Ronald Keith Gaddie. *The Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the US Senate*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.
* Link: <https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991018898378004921&context=L&vid=01TRI_INST:BMC&lang=en&search_scope=BMC_Catalog&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,%22U.S.%20Senate%22%20reform&offset=0>
* Looking at the impact of various possible reforms on the Senate, in the vein of campaign finance, term limits, and election reform.

## SOURCE 3 Dingell, Atlantic – how to restore faith in government

* John Dingell, the longest serving congressman in US history, thinks we should abolish the Senate (among other things).

* <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/12/john-dingell-how-restore-faith-government/577222/>
* Quotes:
  + California has almost 40 million people, while the 20 smallest states have a combined population totaling less than that.
  + My friend Norm Ornstein, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, sees a demographic shift coming that will effectively transform us into two countries. He tells me that “in 2050, 70 percent of Americans will be living in just 15 states. That 70 percent will then have 30 senators, and the remaining 30 percent of the people, mainly those living in the smallest and poorest states, will have 70 senators.”

## SOURCE 4: Democratizing the Senate from Within

* Democratizing the Senate from Within.
* Link: <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3812526>
* Proposes a “popular-majoritarian cloture rule” as a better alternative to removing the filibuster.

## SOURCE 5? - HR1

* HR1 / S1
* Nonpartisan redistricting commissions
* National modernized system for automatic voter registration
* Transparency reqs for political advertising
* Right for felons, disabled ppl to vote
* Campaign finance reform – keep foreign money out, transparency

# WHY IT’S BAD / WHAT’S THE EFFECT SOURCES

* **partisan responsiveness to wealth inequality**
  + <https://search.proquest.com/pais/docview/1445359508/12B82A685DBE493APQ/2?accountid=9772>
* **impact of small state overrepresentation**
  + https://search.proquest.com/pais/docview/59703408/6468841D40554F45PQ/7?accountid=9772

## examining the consequences of institutional design

* Lynch, M., Madonna, A., Owens, M., & Williamson, R. D. (2018). The vice president in the U.S. senate: Examining the consequences of institutional design. Congress & the Presidency, 45(2), 145-165. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07343469.2018.1444112
* mostly about the VP's role in affecting how the Senate runs and why that made the senate not work
* We argue that because the vice president frequently acts against the wishes of Senate majorities, senators have been reluctant to allow chamber power to be centralized under their largely unaccountable presiding officer. This fear has had a major influence on Senate development, preventing the Senate from allowing its chair to reduce dilatory action, as the House has done. Accordingly, delay, via the filibuster, has become commonplace in the Senate. Such delay has reduced the Senate's efficiency, but has largely freed it from the potential influence of the executive branch.

# MISCELLANEOUS OTHER SOURCES / QUOTES

* Bloomberg [U.S. Senate Is Undemocratic, But There's No Way to Change It](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-10-10/u-s-senate-is-undemocratic-but-there-s-no-way-to-change-it) - “There’s nothing incorrect about the objections. The design of the Senate is anti-democratic. In fact, it’s so undemocratic that it would be unconstitutional if it were used by the states. After the Supreme Court adopted the one person one vote principle in the 1960s, states were obligated to apply a proportional method for representation of their own senatorial districts.”
* Comparative Perspectives on Inequality and the Quality of Democracy in the United States
  + Stepan, Alfred, and Juan J. Linz. “Comparative Perspectives on Inequality and the Quality of Democracy in the United States.” *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2011, pp. 841–856. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/41623697](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41623697). Accessed 10 May 2021
  + FASCINATING comparison of US to other countries in terms of legislature, inequality, etc. please read. prob not worth citing? dunno
* Me! :D <https://isabelle-sanford.github.io/senate-analysis/>

## redraw the map

* Eberhard, Kristin. *Four ways to remake the nation’s map so power in the Senate is remade, too.* The Fulcrum, 2020. Accessed 14 May 2021. <https://thefulcrum.us/congress/redrawing-state-lines>
* Neuborne, Burt. *Divide States to Democratize the Senate.* Wall Street Journal Opinion,2018 (note: check citation, not accurate necessarily). Accessed 14 May 2021. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/divide-states-to-democratize-the-senate-1542672828>

## deadlock or decision @ SWAT - requested

* history of the senate and why it deadlocks now + what to do about it (campaign finance reform, changes in Senate rules, and a reshaped budget process to restore efficiency while preserving the trend toward responsiveness and democracy in the Senate.)
* <https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991003211999704921>

## current limits on the filibuster

* Wawro, G. (2019). Reynolds, molly E. exceptions to the rule: The politics of filibuster limitations in the U.S. senate. Congress & the Presidency, 46(1), 177-178. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07343469.2018.1558674

## 1970 Commission

* https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/TowardaModernSenate.pdf
* Internal report looking at how the 1970s senate could be changed/reformed
* Repass the public financial disclosure legislation for the FederalGovernment that was passed by the Senate in the 94th Congressbut which died in the House of Representatives. In the event itdoes not become law, set an example for the Federal Governmentby incorporating the proposal's pertinent provisions in the Senaterules (pp. 73-74).Increase the annual compensation of Senators to $65,000 whileat the same time prohibiting income from honoraria (pp. 74-75).Direct the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, or anindependent ethics commission created for the purpose, to preparefor Senate consideration a code of ethics which should include:definition of conflicts of interest; prohibition of the use of office forpersonal financial profit; restrictions on earned income from out-side sources; and provision for advisory opinions (pp. 75-76).