

**INDEX TO  
OKLAHOMA POLITICS  
VOLUMES 1-9**

This index presents the contents of the first nine volumes of *Oklahoma Politics*. For convenient reference, the citations are first presented alphabetically by principal author. Then, the index repeats the citations by volume year. Where authors' abstracts were available these have been included in this second listing.



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### OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 1 (OCTOBER 1992)

**Vestal, Theodore M.** "Representation on the Oklahoma Democratic Party's Central Committee: One Person/One Vote?" pp. 1-16.

In the 1980s the Democratic party went through a series of reforms that restricted autonomy of state parties and democratized delegate selection for presidential nomination conventions. Between 1985 and 1988 the rural and urban factions of the Democratic party of Oklahoma struggled over the question of one person/one vote in representation in the State Central Committee (SCC). The matter was resolved only when the Democratic National Committee threatened to bar a delegation from Oklahoma at the 1988 national convention unless the SCC was apportioned in accordance with the national party's constitution. The SCC was reconstituted on more democratic lines, and the state

party, operating under a new constitution, has enjoyed a more united leadership. The struggle to reapportion the Democratic party of Oklahoma looms as the most important episode in the organization's fifty year history.

**Holloway, Harry**, with Frank S. Meyers "The Oklahoma County Commissioner Scandal: Review, Reform, and the County Lobby" pp. 17-34.

This article reviews the findings of an extended study of Oklahoma's county commissioner scandal (Okscam). A basic finding is that institutional weaknesses allowed county commissioners to operate with a combination of resources and discretion that invited abuse. Second, reforms definitely improved the system but left in place much of the traditional system of county road building, a system one observer described as "road districtis". Third, the growing strength of the county lobby in support of county government poses a potential long term threat to the persistence of the reforms enacted in reaction to Okscam.

**Van Ness, Joseph T.** "Strategic Oklahoma Politicians: Analysis of the Oklahoma House of Representatives" pp. 35-48.

In this study, Oklahoma House of Representatives races from 1974-1988 are examined to the conclusion that attorneys and previous officeholders are the two best employment categories from which to stage successful challenges to an incumbent or election to an open seat. Additionally, although open seats are more easily obtained than when an incumbent is present, parity can be approached by a minority party over time by adhering to the suggested electability model. If the public mood is changing in the 90s, the implications of the model could become even more significant.

**McCoy, Melanie** "The Impact of Oklahoma Indian Tribes on the Political Agenda of the U.S. Government", pp. 49-66.

This study of the effect of Oklahoma Indian tribes on the political agenda of the U.S. government attempted to



answer two research questions: whether the unique legal and political status of Indian tribes provide them with special access to, and influence on, the agenda-setting and policymaking of the national government and whether Oklahoma Indian tribes are able to advance a political agenda they define. The results of this study support the conclusion that the special status of the tribes does give them special access to, and influence on, national policies only after they are established by other political actors. Therefore, Indian tribes are not able to advance a political agenda they define. The national Indian policy agenda is set by other political actors.

**Kirksey, Jason F.,** and David E. Wright III "Black Women in State Legislatures: The View from Oklahoma" pp. 67-80.

Over the past 20 years the number of black women elected to public office has increased dramatically. However, beyond the act of holding office comes the ability to directly affect change in public policy. In order to bring about policy change, elected officials have to become an integral part of the policy-making process. This article examines the level of incorporation conducted with members of the legislative process. The results show that black women appear to have become effective members of the Oklahoma Legislature.

**OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 2 (OCTOBER 1993)**

**Adkison, Danny M.** "Initiative, Courts, and Democracy" pp. 1-12.

In 1992 Oklahoma's Supreme Court prevented the submission of an initiative petition to the votes on the grounds that it unconstitutionally limited elective abortions. Such pre-submission review is examined in light of constitutional, theoretical, and practical arguments. Several reasons are given for why the Court should adhere to an earlier precedent denying pre-submission review.

**Rosenthal, Cindy** "Organizing for State Economic Development: The Case of Oklahoma Futures" pp. 13-32.

Oklahoma Futures was created by the Oklahoma Legislature as a public-private partnership in 1987 in an effort to redirect state economic development programs and strategies. This article retraces the history of and political dynamics revolving around Oklahoma Futures and then uses three models to analyze the organization's development. The three models of structural development-top-down, diffusion, and structural choice-each provide necessary and useful explanatory insights, but none is totally sufficient.

**Copeland, Gary W., and John David Rausch, Jr.** "Sendin'Em Home Early: Oklahoma Legislative Term Limitations" pp. 33-50.

The drive to enact legislative term limitations has emerged as an enduring political movement in the early 1990s. However, the phenomenon has changed much since Oklahoma voters approved State Question 632 on September 19, 1990. Term limit supporters suffered one setback with a defeat in Washington State in 1991, but were overwhelmingly successful in 1992 with approval of term limit initiatives in 14 states. Now the focus of term limit supporters is on working to enact a constitutional amendment which would limit the tenure of members of Congress from all fifty states. In being the first state to enact term limits, the Oklahoma experience tells us much about how the term limit phenomenon began and provides a benchmark to judge how much the movement has been transformed.

**Jewell, Malcolm E.** "Sources of Support for Legislative Term Limitations in the States" pp. 51-76.

In the election of 1990 and 1992 the voters in 15 states approved initiatives imposing term limits on the state legislatures, by margins ranging from 77 to 52 percent. The purpose of this paper is to explain why the term limit initiatives passed and what factors may have caused

variations among the states in the level of support. Among the factors considered are the characteristics of the legislatures and the strictness of the proposed limitations, as well as several aspects of the campaigns: the sources of support from within or outside the state, sources of opposition, the role of media, and differences in opinion and voting patterns of various groups in the state. The most important factor appears to have been how extensive an effort was made by opponents of term limitations.

**McCoy, Melanie, and Corie Delashaw** "Tribal Elections: An Exploratory Study of the Chickasaw Nation" pp. 77-90.

This is a preliminary study of the Chickasaw Nation's tribal elections for the legislature and governor in 1990. An important historical issue has been the controversy between the legislative branch and the executive branch over power within the nation. The focus here is whether this controversy had a significant impact on modern tribal elections.

### **OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 3 (OCTOBER 1994)**

**Simpson, Phillip** "The Modernization and Reform of the Oklahoma Judiciary" pp. 1-14.

Between 1964 and 1970 trauma and fundamental change swept through Oklahoma judicial system. In a state not known for its modernizing and reforming impulses, Oklahoma developed the outlines of a modern and effective judiciary. The state court system that prevailed when the scandals of 1964 broke into the open is not at all the state court system we have today. A political and historical analysis of that tumultuous period in Oklahoma judicial history will tell why court reform succeeded then when reform so often fails in Oklahoma. This paper examines the early judiciary and its critique, the push for judicial reform, the Supreme Court scandal of the 1960s, and the eventual reform of the Oklahoma judiciary.

**Raush, Jr., John David** "Religion and Political Participation In Oklahoma City" pp. 15-30.

This study investigates the rate of political participation among Protestant evangelicals and fundamentalists in Oklahoma City. Using data collected by the 1991 Oklahoma City Survey (N=394), two competing hypotheses are tested. One hypothesis proposes that Evangelical and Fundamentalist Protestant (EFPs) strongly favor otherworldly preparations over personal involvement in political activities. This is found not to be the case. The competing hypothesis that the New Christian Right perceives a danger in the moral decay of American society and, therefore, participates more actively in politics also is found wanting. Participation in religious activities was found to be the significant indicator of political activity.

**Farmer, Rick** "David and Goliath: Media Effects in the 1990 Oklahoma State Treasurer's Race" pp. 31-44.

This study adds to the debate on media effects in political campaigns by examining the 1990 Oklahoma State Treasurer's race. Extensive interviews with participants in the race supported the hypothesis that Oklahoma City TV news had a significant effect on the outcome of the race.

**Nixon, David L., William M. Parle, and Harold V. Sare** "State Managed Export Promotion in Oklahoma" pp. 45-60.

State Governments have always played a role in economic development management, but their entry into direct export promotion is fairly recent. Although state governments have increased their involvement in this area, little is known concerning the outcome of such efforts. This study reports and analyzes the findings of a survey of Oklahoma firms that have received state based export assistance.

**OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 4 (OCTOBER, 1995)**

**Farmer, Rick** "The Effects of Term Limits on Oklahoma Legislators" pp. 1-10.

Term limits will have a dramatic effect on the membership of the Oklahoma Legislature. Senate will be most affected. Groups that will gain descriptive representation from term limits include Republicans, women, and the young.

**Anderson, Rita S.G.**, and James J. Lawler, "Implementation of the Emergency Planning and Community Right to Know Act in Oklahoma: Elite Dominance and Community Non-Participation" pp. 11-24.

The federal Emergency Planning and Community Right to Know Act (EPCRA) directs Local Emergency Planning Communities (LEPCs) to make citizens aware of chemical hazards in their communities. This study of how EPCRA is being implemented in eight Oklahoma Communities finds that: there is considerable variation in implementation from one county to another; most communication by the LEPCs is directed to industry rather than the general citizenry; the most active LEPCs are chaired and aided by industries regulated by the law; and LEPC members have a narrow view of their functions and limited understanding of their community outreach responsibilities. Reforms are suggested to involve the public more actively in the risk communication process.

**Benson, Megan** "Reform and Retaliation: Cora Diehl and The Logan County Election of 1891" pp. 25-42.

This is an account of the election of the first woman in public office in the new territory of Oklahoma. The Logan County elections of 1891 pitted the majority Republicans against a fusion of the minority Democratic and People's parties. Cora Diehl was the People's Party nominee for County Register of Deeds. Later she was endorsed by a fusion convention for that office. This fusion proved successful and Diehl was elected. But elements within her own party; as well as the Republicans, challenged her election—a challenge that ultimately went to the Oklahoma

Territory Supreme Court which upheld Diehl's election. This article examines the elements that contributed to her defeat for re-election. Most significant of these was the adoption of the Australian ballot. The single ballot format, rather than the previously used partisan ballot, discouraged fusion. The new ballot had a specific impact on both Populist "mid-roaders" and on the expanding black voting population in Logan County. It is the assertion of this article that the Republican victory of 1892 was directly attributable to the antifusion nature of the Australian ballot and that the decline of the third party movement also resulted from the changed ballot format. As a result, women and blacks lost their political voice.

**Frankland, Erich G** "The Wastewater Treatment Construction Grants Program: The Impact of 'New' Federalism" pp. 43-64

The 1970's federal attempt to address water quality with national standards and national funding ran into Reagan administration initiated budget cuts. This left state and local governments with the task of meeting national water standards with largely local resources. The problem is illustrated in the cases of Muncie, Indiana and Norman, Oklahoma.

**Wheeler, W. Michael, Beverly A. Wheeler, and Michael D. Connelly,** "Trends in Oklahoma's Aging Prison Inmates" pp. 65-81.

Prison populations are aging and Oklahoma's is no exception. Currently seven percent of Oklahoma's prison population is 50 years old or more, and this older population is growing at a faster rate than their younger counterparts. Changes in statutes related to sentencing, longer life expectancy, and an increase in crime committed by older individuals are all contributing to the situation. As prison populations age, the problems facing corrections officials will also change. The specialized needs of this particular segment of the prison population are not only different from those of traditionally younger inmates, but they are also diverse within the group. This trend towards a growing elderly prison population and its associated concerns and problems is forcing new thinking about incarceration.

**OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 5 (OCTOBER 1996)**

**Simpson, Phillip** "The Role of Partisanship in the Reform of the Oklahoma Judiciary" pp. 1-16.

Oklahoma judicial reform in the late 1960s represented a clash between populist values of partisan democracy, reformist non-partisan ballots, and the Missouri plan of the legal reformers centering on commission selected judges. Reform became inevitable when the Supreme Court bribery scandals hit. The race between the legislature's 'mixed' reform package and the more radical Missouri plan reform advocated by sponsors of an initiative referendum was won by the legislature.

**Herrick, Rebekah, Marie Miville, and Judith S. Kaufman** "Explaining Oklahomans' Support For Gay and Lesbian Issues: Affect, Cognition, and Prejudice" pp. 17-30.

Prejudice and symbolic beliefs were expected to have a direct effect on Oklahoma's support for gay and lesbian issues, while emotions and stereotypes concerning gays and lesbians were expected to have an indirect effect. The model is tested and confirmed among students at Oklahoma State University. Gender and ideology provide an independent effect on support for gay and lesbian policies.

**Garrett, Terence M.** "The Art of Judgment: A Case Study Organizational Analysis of the Oklahoma City Fire Department, April 19, 1995" pp. 31-44.

The author argues that stories told by managers, and the subsequent judgements they make when engaged in the actual work, are an effective way to communicate useful knowledge to students and practitioners of public administration. The recent Oklahoma City bombing produced massive response by many government agencies. The Oklahoma City Fire Department was on the scene early and had primary responsibility for safety and rescue. The event produced a complex set of problems for administrators and required changes in rules and procedures that had not been taken into account planning. Using a

case study approach, the author argues that adaptation to a chaotic milieu requires an understanding and appreciation of the human capacity for innovation. This is often not recognized as legitimate by traditional scientific analysis.

**Connelly, Michael**, and Gregory Moss "The Deliberative Opinion Caucus: A New Mechanism for Democratic Input and Judgment" pp. 45-60.

Local governments, including school districts, are faced with the same crisis of legitimacy and credibility confronting all democratic systems today. To develop greater public input and confidence and to determine better actual "public judgement" on issues, one local school district created a 'deliberative opinion caucus' from models by Dahl, Fishkin, and others. Although the 'caucus' failed to reach a statistically representative cross section of the community as planned, it instituted a mechanism enhancing participants' perceived efficacy and policymakers' knowledge of community desires. Its success provides all local governments a means to improve public knowledge of and confidence in local policymaking.

#### **OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 6 (OCTOBER 1997)**

This edition consists of a number of introductory articles to *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics*. These articles have no abstracts.

**Farmer, Rick** "Overview of the Oklahoma Legislature" pp. 3-6.

**Warner, Jean Shumway** "Oklahoma Governors" pp. 7-14.

**McCollum, Lesli E.** "The Oklahoma Judiciary" pp. 15-24.

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**Rausch, David** "Direct Democracy in Oklahoma" pp. 33-36.

**Rausch, Dave**, and Rick Farmer "Term Limits in Oklahoma" pp. 37-42.

**Rosenthal, Cindy Simon** "Women in the Oklahoma Legislature: The Experience of Tokenism" pp. 43-48.

**Atkins, Hannah D.** "The Role of Women in Oklahoma State Politics" pp. 49-52.



- Holloway, Harry** "Oklahoma Corruption Past and Present" pp. 53-60.  
**Maletz, Don,** and Jerry Herbel "The Oklahoma Ethics Commission" pp. 61-66.  
**Warner, Larkin** "The Oklahoma Economy" pp. 67-76.

#### **OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 7 (OCTOBER 1998)**

- Focht, Will,** Michael W. Hirlinger, and James J. Lawler "A Political Participation Model of Citizen NIMBY Opposition" pp. 1-24.

Why citizens choose to oppose sitings of noxious facilities in their communities is examined in a 1991 survey of Oklahoma adults' risk judgements. Regression models of both actual and hypothetical NIMBY-motivated political participation are tested. The composite risk-judgment component proves significantly related to NIMBY participation in both actual and hypothetical siting scenarios, but not in the same way. An important finding is that the existence of hypothetical bias in greenfield communities can invalidate survey findings conducted as part of community relations planning.

- Schrems, Suzanne H.** "Capitalizing on the Woman Question: Organizing Oklahoma Women into the Socialist Party in the Early Twentieth Century" pp. 25-38.

In Oklahoma, three women, Winnie Branstetter, Kate Richards O'Hare and Caroline Lowe stand out as strong Socialist party organizers who capitalized on the women suffrage question to gain recruits to the party and, therefore, a new voting strength with which to initiate social change in turn-of-the-century Oklahoma.

- Rausch, David** "Legislative Term Limits and Electoral Competition in Oklahoma: A Preliminary Assessment" pp. 39-58.

This paper examines the consequences of term limits on competition in primary and general elections for the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Term limits appear to have had little effect on competition. In fact, term limits may have a negative effect on competition in primary and

general elections. Increased competition may only occur when incumbents are prohibited from seeking reelection.

**Kirksey, Jason F., et al.,** "Interest Groups in Oklahoma, 1986 and 1997" pp. 59-90.

The interest group universe continues to expand in Oklahoma. While education, labor, oil, and agriculture persist, church influence and the newspapers are declining. Service, professional, business, banking, utility lobbies and telecommunications are growing in power. Interest group influence in Oklahoma is becoming more diversified as the state continues to mature and develop economically.

#### **OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 8 (OCTOBER, 1999)**

**Jones Jr., Randall J.** "Using Time-Series Models to Explain and Predict State Gubernatorial Election Outcomes: An Application to Oklahoma" pp. 1-16.

In Oklahoma gubernatorial elections the candidate of the incumbent governor's party benefits from a healthy state economy, though national economic conditions have little influence. When the President is popular, Oklahoma voters support the gubernatorial candidate of the party not in the White House, evidencing anti-Washington sentiment. A regression model incorporating these influences, along with a control for party, successfully predicted the outcome of the 1998 gubernatorial election.

**Shinn, Paul** "Citizen Participation and Municipal Government in Three Oklahoma Communities" pp. 17-42.

A study of citizen participation and relations between citizens and their elected officials in three suburban Oklahoma City communities shows that all forms of citizen participation are very low and that elected officials are generally forced to make decisions with very little input. Modes of decision-making, dealing with conflict, and changing regimes all suggest that Dahl's model of pluralism, designed to explain the politics of 1950s New Haven, fit

these 1990s suburbs nearly as well. While there are signs of growing communitarianism and civicism in these communities, these activities are supplementing, not supplanting, the plural democratic systems.

**Graham, Michael** "Craig V. Boren: Sex Discrimination, 3.2% Beer, and the Clash Between Oklahoma Law and the Equal Protection Clause" pp. 43-64.

Political events in Oklahoma interact with national trends to produce a Supreme Court decision establishing equal gender rights for states.

**Winger, Richard** "Oklahoma Law: Tough on Minor Party and Independent Presidential Candidates" pp. 65-82.

NO ABSTRACT

**Darcy, R., and Erik Motsinger** "Oklahoma Ballot Access is Reasonable" pp. 83-90.

Richard Winger has amassed an amazing amount of electoral facts and these he applies toward an analysis of ballot access. In this journal he argues Oklahoma election law is tough on minor and independent presidential candidates and is out of line with current practice in the other states. He has organized an eclectic body of arcane material in support of his contention. Here, we show that Oklahoma law is not particularly tough on minor and independent presidential candidates.

**Maletz, Donald J.** "Oklahoma Higher Education: The Budget, The Faculty, The Mission" pp 93-105.

NO ABSTRACT

**Rosenthal, Cindy Simon, E. Barrett Ristroph, and Jocelyn Jones.** "Learning to Talk the Talk: Gender Differences in Adolescent Socialization to World Politics" PP 107-127.

Several Oklahoma universities sponsor Model United Nations simulations as an extracurricular activity for adolescents from middle school through college. These

simulations provide a window on adolescent socialization to world politics offering an opportunity to examine whether male and female adolescents participate in the same way or have similar experiences. This project assessed gender differences in participation at the Model United Nations of the Southwest (MUNSW) at the University of Oklahoma. Important gender differences in participation were observed in the number of speaking turns taken by male and female delegates, types of committees chosen by participants, and interactions among delegates. The analysis suggests that adolescents already have learned gender norms of political behavior and they reenact those norms in such extracurricular activities. The structure of the event affects behavior and can be altered to enhance the participation of all delegates, particularly females.

**OKLAHOMA POLITICS, VOLUME 9 (OCTOBER, 2000)**

**Davenport, James** "Political Perspectives in Central Oklahoma: Testing Sowell and Lakoff" pp. 1-29.

NO ABSTRACT

**Satterthwaite, Shad** "Medicaid Reform in Oklahoma: Legislative Information Sources on a Complicated Issue" pp. 30-45.

NO ABSTRACT

**Garrett, Terence M.** and Geoffrey D. Peterson "You Get Yours, I'll Get Mine: A Policy Analysis of Faculty Salaries for the Professorate in Oklahoma" pp. 49-71.

NO ABSTRACT

**Aguirre, Grant** "The Determinants of Grade Inflation: A Research Note" pp. 73-80.

Using Census data and grade information provided by four year public universities in the southwestern United States, this research note offers a conjecture about the relationship between the size of state university systems and the severity of grade inflation.