VOX POP

The Newsletter of Political Organizations & Parties

A Continuing Subfield of the American Political Science Association

Vol. 6, No. 1 Summer, 1987

CHAIR:
William Crotty
Northwestern University

NEWSLETTER EDITORS:
Ann Elder
Illinois State University
Sandy Maisel
Colby College

PROGRAM CHAIR:
Alan Gitelson
Loyola University

IN THIS ISSUE

From the Chairperson ............. 2
Nominees for Offices ............... 4
Winners of Awards, 1987 ............ 4
Abstracts .......................... 5
Preview of APSA Convention .......... 14
FROM THE CHAIR

To the Members:

At the September, 1987 American Political Science Association convention in Chicago, my second two-year term as President/Chair of the Political Organizations/Parties Organized Section of the APSA will come to an end.

Basically, I view the last four years as an extension and advancement of the Organized Section's interest in, and role in relation to, the APSA. The effort has been made to solidify the organization's membership and substantive interests; expand its role within the broader national association; develop institutional support systems that will provide an organization memory, structure and procedure for conducting business that should outlive any one president; expand the substantive contacts and informational exchanges among members through an enlarged presence at the APSA annual convention, a vigorous Vox Pop, and the development of panels and roundtables meant to raise questions, introduce new approaches, and reflect on what is being done or what should be researched, with a synopsis of these sessions appearing in Vox Pop or PS. There also has been an effort to expand the number of people active in the organization's decision making and sharing in its workload and, in a much needed and well-received move, to recognize the work and contribution to social science generally and to our area's concerns more specifically, of the best among us.

In these regards, the following deserve special mention:

Alan Gitelson, as Secretary of POP and Program Chair for the APSA Convention

L. Sandy Maisel and Ann Elder, editors of Vox Pop

Anne Hopkins, Chair, and William Flanigan and Ronald Weber, Nomination Committee

John S. Jackson, III, Chair, and L. Sandy Maisel and Robert Harmel, Awards Committee

There will be both a business meeting and an awards session at the upcoming 1987 APSA convention. In line with the anticipated turning-over of the Organized Section's concerns to the nominee for incoming President, Frank J. Sorauf, a number of us (Ann Elder, L. Sandy Maisel, John S. Jackson, III, Alan Gitelson, Anne Hopkins, and myself) met with Frank to review the organization's development and potential future concerns and growth. The outline of the topics covered follows. We invite comments on each of these areas and solicit additional recommendations.

Otherwise, it has been a satisfying and productive four years.
Prospective Concerns for Incoming President/Chair, American Political Science Association Organized Section, Political Organizations/Parties

1. Name of organization to better reflect membership and make welcome Voting Behavior and Interest Group scholars. This is really a policy decision.

2. Representing Organized Section to rest of APSA and discipline.

3. Co-sponsoring or sponsoring between 5 and 12 panels and roundtables at APSA annual meeting.

4. Using one or more of roundtables to advance substantive interests and research in the field. Can be done in conjunction with individual researchers in given areas and results of roundtable (ex. Joe Schlesinger's and Mac Jewell's of 1986 APSA) with summations or results to appear in PS or Vox Pop with Organized Section role in those clearly indicated.

5. Continued expansion, systematization of distribution and increased academic quality of Vox Pop under independent editorship as vehicle of scholarly communication.

6. More Vox Pop notices on research in progress; grants available; ideas for new research and/or teaching developments (ie. a resurrected PROD).

7. Addition of a book review section to Vox Pop.

8. Continuation of Best Published Paper, Best Book, and Career Achievement to the best in the field.

9. Potential introduction of an Annual Yearbook dedicated to a collection of pieces or with one thematic development. Editors would have to be assigned 2 to 3 years in advance and an agreement with a publisher would have to be reached.

10. Publication of a journal or creation of a formal association with an existing journal such as the American Politics Quarterly.

11. Continuation of Awards Meeting and separate Business Meeting at Annual APSA with Awards statements appearing in Vox Pop.

12. Charting new and independent course over next several years.

The Organized Section is young and vibrant with a fine future. There are some areas that need development and, in effect, a solidification and acceptance of the Section's role in the APSA is important.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Awards Meeting: Friday, September 4, 12:30 - 1:30 p.m.

Business Meeting: Friday, September 4, 5:30 - 6:30

The Awards Meeting will be devoted to the recognition of the outstanding contributions of our colleagues. Last year's Awards Meeting was well attended and an excellent opportunity to honor Leon Epstein, Joe Schlesinger, and Sam Eldersveld. At this year's meeting, we will be honoring the excellence of:

Outstanding Book
Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes

Outstanding Article
John F. Bibby, Cornelius P. Cotter, James L. Gibson, and Robert J. Huckshorn

Lifetime Contribution
Austin Ranney

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Nominees for Offices

At this year's annual business meeting, to be held from 5:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Friday, September 4 at the Chicago APSA meetings, an important order of business will be the election of the Executive Committee and Officers of the Section. The Nominating Committee has put forth the following slate:

President: Frank Sorauf
University of Minnesota

Secretary and Program Chair:
Alan Gitelson
Loyola University of Chicago

Members of the Executive committee
Peggy Conway
University of Maryland

Anne Costain
University of Colorado

Lorn Foster
Pomona College

Sarah Morehouse
University of Connecticut at Stamford
ABSTRACTS

Below are brief abstracts of articles culled from a wide array of journals. Articles are listed alphabetically by author.


In an analysis of the phenomenon of preferences for candidates among voters, Abramowitz found that among Democrats, affective evaluations of candidates were the strongest influence but judgments about the prospects of the candidate were also significant.


The authors argue for including short term evaluation of party in models of midterm voting change as a link between both presidential popularity and economic conditions with election results.


Variations in partisan competition in American states are explained by using a multivariate linear regression model with independent variables reflecting change in the size, composition, and characteristics of state populations as well as changes in the characteristics of the state party systems.


Data from NES "rolling cross-section" surveys are used to test models of popular support for Gary Hart during the 1984 primaries. A model using two factors - predisposition to oppose Mondale based on socio-political
factors and the perception of Hart's chances - is better at predicting voter preferences than one relying on direct evaluations of Hart or Mondale.


Party voting patterns are partially dependent on information voters possess. In 1984 contests for the Ohio Supreme Court, campaigns were highly partisan yet defections were more common among voters than in the presidential election. This is explained by the lack of partisan designation on the ballot. Also, it was observed that there were high levels of party loyalty among the best informed Republicans but high levels of defection among the best informed Democrats.


The authors present a model of party competition that reverses Downs to assume that parties win elections in order to formulate policies. Using simulation experiments, the authors show that as the degree of voter certainty decreases, parties diverge towards their optima, whereas increases in voter certainty draw parties towards cycles in which party positions vary, but predictable issue stances are maintained on the average.


Using Canadian panel data for 1974, 1979, and 1980, the authors argue that federalism may enhance tendencies toward partisan change, holding issues, candidates, and other effects constant. Because more opportunities exist in different arenas for voters to formulate position and participate in a federal system, this may encourage different party orientations at the various levels that may make overall change more likely.


In this case study of the economic and political influences on monthly variations in the popularity of the governing and opposition parties between 1974 and 1979 in Canada, the authors find that contextual variables and salient political events show as much importance as economic variables. They argue that there is a complex interplay of economic variables and other influences on voter perception of parties.

Cox, Gary W., University of Texas - Austin, "The Development of a Party-Oriented Electorate in England, 1832-1918," British Journal of Political

After demonstrating statistically that English voting behavior changed markedly in the 19th Century, causal relationships between electoral choice and Parliamentary behavior are examined. Development of a party-oriented electorate in mid-victorian period is based chiefly on prior erosion of the powers of the individual MPs between 1830 and 1850.


The authors utilize laboratory experiments to determine under what conditions participants will opt for participation in interest groups rather than to effect free rider status.


Canada and India are examined as exceptions to Duverger's Law which links two party systems and plurality voting. Dobell finds the common characteristics of the two countries to be the dominance of one national party and the weakness of the conventional alternative governing party as well as the persistence of ideological parties on the left.


The question is whether different racial, ideological, partisan, income, and educational groups have different perceptions about candidate policy differences. The author finds that the ways these different groups see the issues is related to the extent to which they perceive issue differences among the candidates. This is a test of the Enelow-Hinich model.


Despite many external similarities, there are significant differences between parties on issues such as legitimacy and representation, organizational style, attitudes toward dissent and disloyalty, means of maintaining cohesion, and meeting the demands of new groups.


In this discussion of presidential primaries, the author argues that the failure of primaries to yield a candidate who can win broad electoral support is not a function of primaries per se. If rules governing the primaries were changed to allocate delegates proportionally,
to adopt a preference ballot, and to allow independents to vote, the primaries would not be a barrier to candidates with broad appeal.


The study examines 670 state statutes and constitutional provisions declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court between 1837 and 1964. The cases are analyzed along various dimensions, including the legal-political issues involved and the relationship of these to the issues salient to partisan realignment in these periods. Findings show that these partisan issues constitute a majority of the Court's invalidation agenda and are usually adopted by states in which partisan majorities are different from that of the Court or from states in which the state party differs ideologically from the national party.


The author argues against relying on categories of either pluralism or corporatism in classifying relations between the state and society in industrial states. She argues for consideration of categories of labor exclusion and competitive symbiosis.


Incumbents raise and spend large amounts of money very early in their races (preemptive). Later, they spend in reaction of perceptions of challengers' strength, partisan divisions in the district, and the candidate's feelings of vulnerability.


The authors investigate the comparability of state PACs with those at the national level and examine the involvement of PACs in the 1983 Louisiana state and local political campaigns. Like national PACs, state organizations invest in legislative incumbents regardless of partisan affiliation. State PACs, however, fall into two categories: (1) those that contribute cash or in-kind services to candidates and (2) those receiving cash from candidates in return for in-kind service and support. The authors find a two-step flow from trade, membership, and health PACs to candidates who, in turn, give to non-connected PACs. The authors conclude, therefore, that state PACs are not a microcosm of national PACs.

Herrnson, Paul S., University of Massachusetts at Amherst, "Do Parties Make

Data from nearly 400 House candidates indicate that party organizations play an important role in campaigns. National committees are providing valuable technical assistance while state and local organizations aid in gauging public opinion and in mobilizing voters. Republican organizations are more effective than Democrats.


Using Israel's party system, Herzog suggests a re-examination of the role of minor parties as something more than marginal factors. She suggests several important roles for minor parties and also suggests an examination of the coalition potential of minor parties.


Using cluster analysis, the cohesion of factors in group ratings of legislative performance are analyzed. Findings are that business groups are more diverse in their goals than labor.


The hypothesis that state party organizational strength is a function of national organization-building efforts is confirmed for Democrats but not for Republicans, although the relationship may have existed in the past. Authors speculate about the broader significance for party system change.


An historical perspective on the development of mass political parties, beginning with Martin Van Buren and the Albany Regency. Maintains parties were primary source of unity for a heterogeneous people.


A model of individual-level participation in primary and general elections is tested with survey and contextual data for a sample of Kentucky registrants. Consistent with expectations, analysis of a seventeen predictor probit model reveals that intra- and inter-party competition
affect participation in primaries and general elections quite differently. In primaries, registrants vote most often in counties that are dominated by a political party - their own. However, in general elections, registrants vote most often in counties where the parties compete on a more or less equal footing. These findings are consistent with the general proposition that people are most motivated to vote when the perceived stakes are highest.


The authors' expectation is that divisive primaries encourage partisans to develop in-group loyalties and out-group hostilities similar to those observed in small groups. Least squares regression confirms that divisiveness in primaries does have negative effects on general election outcomes, especially when the other party's primary is uncontested.


In the British Labour Party and the German SPD, the left attempted to change the party rules to create a direct mandate for party representation which was successful in Britain because the left was able to attract the support of the trade unions. The effort was unsuccessful in the SPD because the party structure was centralized and better able to ward off such a challenge.


The article examines the equilibrium of legislative party size, based on scale economics, Political production has strong scale economies up to but not far beyond a majority of the voters. Either 1 or 2 parties is efficient; more are not. A single party will try to benefit a dominant majority to forestall a second party but rent seeking eventually causes a second party and a stable two party equilibrium.


Langbien uses Tobit analysis to examine data from the 95th Congress to establish the impact of PAC contributions and several other independent variables (member's tenure, legislative position, electoral security) on the number of minutes members spent in their offices with representatives of organized interest groups. Results suggest PAC contributions do have an impact.

Lawrence, David J., Fordham University, and Richard Fleisher, Fordham University, "Puzzles and Confusions: Political Realignment in the 1980s"
Consideration of the nature of partisan realignment concludes that there is a Republican realignment at the presidential level without a corresponding realignment at the state and local level.


While Ireland appears to be a deviant party system in that its parties do not appear to fit a left-right dimension, in the area of economic policy they do. In fact, such a dimension provides an explanation for coalition formation.


Three models of interest groups, power and political process in America are contrasted: (1) the Truman-Dahl-Lindblom pluralism, (2) the unfinished pluralism of Lowi, and (3) the "triadic" model of process set forth by Wilson. It is argued the triadic model is the most advanced of the three although it still needs development. Eighteen illustrative propositions are presented in terms of triadic power. These include relationships among interest groups and state autonomy, "high politics", and routine politics, and types of coalitions in policy systems. Other propositions describe links to possible cycles between triadic power and plural elitism to corporatist decision making, and to the "resource mobilization" theory of social movements.


The authors test the Olson hypothesis of state growth as opposed to the convergence hypothesis. No evidence consistent with Olson's hypothesis emerges. The authors conclude that a large part of the rapid growth of the South is convergence.


Similarities: both have trade unions associated with parties but Danes have a tradition of cooperation with government. Citizens in both countries accept the role of unions in politics but oppose contestation of political authority. In both countries, a belief in the supremacy of Parliament is firmly rooted.

Research compares two beliefs about the ways people revise their beliefs about political parties' abilities to handle national economic problems. One view is that beliefs are highly responsive to new information while the other is that such beliefs are highly resistant to change. Results indicate the latter.


The author criticizes the traditional theory of coalitions which treats parties as unitary actors capable of a rational calculus rather than treating them multi-dimensionally. The municipal elections and coalition behavior of parties in Flanders are examined in light of this reassessment.


Using data from 12 nations in the 1970s, the author reports replication of results linking extremist parties with instability in legislatures and political turmoil. He further notes that parties appear to be primarily a barometer of citizen alienation in street protest while in legislature the strength of extremist party representation is linked with political instability. Also, extremist parties seem to encourage system alienation rather than ideological polarization.


Considers the difficulties of developing proxy variables for the strength and encompassing nature of groups in testing Mancur Olson's hypothesis about growth and decline of economies.


The author examines the impact of PAC contributions on committee level behavior in the House of Representatives. The use of studies of three interrelated pieces of legislation allows testing of hypotheses about the conditions under which the effects of the contributions are likely to be maximized or minimized.


Examines evolution of the Greek party system in postwar era. The author emphasizes the interparty competition within the theoretical framework of Sartori. The author finds ideological polarization to be the central
characteristic of Greek political life.


This article is an examination of party differences in the Irish case and a discussion of some general problems in the dimensional analysis and spatial representation of party differences. Multidimensional scaling and discriminant analysis are applied to data derived from interviews carried out in 1975 with a sample of seventy-five members of Dáil Éireann. Case-specific conclusions include: the existence of considerable inter-party differences at the parliamentary level; the requirement of at least two dimensions (left-right and nationalism) to account for the differences; the probable operation of a third dimension (confessionalism) in the system.


The author finds the press, in an examination of three cases, to combine a "systematic professional bias and a pervasive neo-Progressive outlook" in the reporting of American campaign finance. Emphasis is placed on the high levels of spending and the clash of private vs. public interests in press coverage.


The authors use multivariate analysis of survey data to determine whether support for Alliance was a protest or socially and attitudinally distinct. The study shows some distinct support and the possibility of a long-term role for the Alliance in the realignment of the British party system.


The authors assess the impact of policy crises on the structure and behavior of interest groups in the energy policy field. A restest of Glyn Berry's propositions that during a crisis, interest group influence declines, that if the crisis requires federal-provincial bargaining the tendency is accentuated, and that if groups face serious threats they will seek to exercise influence as widely as possible are confirmed. Also, the authors argue that in post-crisis periods, interest influence is reestablished and groups change to accommodate the change in the environment.


Given the failure of the Democrats to gain as many seats as many had
expected, the author offers some explanations, including the number of seats already held by Democratic incumbents and the policy environment.


Labor PACs are used to explore the factors that influence PAC contribution levels. Determinants of PAC contributions include ideological measures, Representative's political clout, measures of need for funds. Also, Democrats and important House committee members with strong challenges were likely to receive funds.

**********APSAPreliminary Program**********

Roundtable 1: PACs as Emerging Institutions
Chair: Burdett Loomis, University of Kansas
Participants:
Theodore J. Eismeier, Hamilton College
Andrew S. McFarland, University of Illinois - Chicago
Diana Evans, Trinity College
John C. Green, Furman University
Martin Tolchin, The New York Times
Mark Hansen, The Brookings Institution
Saturday, 1:30 p.m.

Roundtable 2: Cross-National Study of Party Organizations
Chair: Leon D. Epstein, University of Wisconsin - Madison
Participants:
Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University
E. Spencer Wellhofer, University of Denver
John Bibby, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee
Marshall W. Conley, Acadia University
Patrick Smith, Simon Fraser University
Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

Roundtable 3: The Measurement of Party Impact
Chair: Samuel J. Eldersvel, University of Michigan
Participants:
William Crotty, Northwestern University
Steven J. Rosenstone, University of Michigan
Dwaine Marvick, University of California, Los Angeles
Arthur H. Miller, University of Iowa
Barbara Burrell, Boston University
Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

Roundtable 4: Campaign Financing: Research Agenda for the Future
Chair: Ruth Jones, Arizona State University
Participants:
Panel 1: State Party Organizations in the South
Chair: Lewis Bowman, University of South Florida
Papers:
Robert P. Steed, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker,
The Citadel
"The Nature of Contemporary Party Organization in South Carolina"

Lewis Bowman, William E. Hulbary and Anne E. Kelley,
University of South Florida
"Party Organization and Behavior in Florida"

Merle Black, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Earl Black, University of South Carolina
"The Persistence of Run-Off Primaries in the South"

Discussant: David R. Mayhew, Yale University

Saturday, 3:30 p.m.

Panel 2: Party Leadership: Changing Roles
Chair: Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University
Papers: Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University
"The Changing Role of Leadership in New Party Development"

Sidney Milks, Brandeis University
"Changes in American Party Leadership, FDR to Reagan"

Discussants:
Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University
Hal Bass, Ouachita Baptist University

Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

In addition to these panels, all Section 14 panels will be co-sponsored by the Organized Section on Political Organizations and Parties.

Finally, A Note from Kay Lawson:

Kay Lawson, who is acting as the Convenor of a Work Group on Elections and Parties has suggested to members of the International Political Science Association and other interested colleagues that there is a need to further the study of political parties as organizations. She has suggested specifically that "...those of you who are - or think you might be - interested in working with the Elections and Parties Work Group in the near future should write to me to let me know your thoughts on this matter." She is particularly interested in knowing if you see the need for more emphasis on parties as organizations and, if so, what subjects need to be covered. Also, she would like to know
what work you might plan or are engaged in that might fit this line of investigation.

Kay's address is:

   Prof. Kay Lawson, Academic Visitor
   The London School of Economics and Political Science
   Houghton Street
   London WC2A 2AE
   U.K.