A colleague once decided to investigate the reading habits of other college professors, so he asked a random sample of people to list the best book they had read in a number of areas. For instance, he asked about the best 'serious novels,' 'science fiction,' 'mysteries,' 'beach books' and so forth, gradually becoming more and more estoric with 'third-world feminist poetry' and 'psychological portrait of marginalized peasants.' Fearing he had missed some important type of book (and would thus be held up to ridicule), he also included a fill-in-the-blank 'other' category. He then asked for a ranking of which type of book was most important. Much to his surprise, the 'other' category won hands down and it was dominated by an unlikely response: reference books. From dictionaries to almanacs to handbooks, scholars read -- and valued--reference works above other kinds of literature.

Students of American political parties can now join their colleagues by reading a new reference on their favorite topic. Edited by Andrew Appleton and Dan Ward, and with entries written by a veritable Whose Who of American party scholarship State Party Profiles presents state-by-state descriptions of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Each profile covers the history, development, organization, and activities of the two major parties. In addition, each profile contains a resource guide to archival information and a bibliography for further research on the major parties in each state. The profile details the unique characteristics of each party, but at the same time identifies patterns among party organizations and across states.

The editors have provided a cogent introduction to the profiles, and as an added bonus, a summary of the present state party law in an appendix.

A forward is provided by Samuel Patterson, and the following quote describes this reference work well: "Monitoring the development and performance of the state parties will be assisted measurably by this guide to crucial source of data. In these chapters on the parties of the fifty-American states we acquire rich information about the political background and party development in each state. And, each chapter provides both a very fecund profile of the state of the parties in the states and a veritable goldmine of information about the archival resources in the state upon which analysis in depth and over time can proceed. This compilation is a valuable, indeed an indispensable, reference source of the study of political parties in the United States."

Now party scholars will have no excuse to read novels or poetry in their spare time, and risk ridicule from their reference book toting colleagues.

(State Party Profiles is published by CQ Press; ISBN 1-56802-150-x; available in October 1996; tentative price $80.00)
To the members of POP:

As we begin preparations for POP activities in 1996-97, I want to say a few words of appreciation on behalf of the membership to our 1996 Program Chair, Barbara Burrell, for organizing the POP portion (13 panels) of the 1996 APSA Annual Meeting Program, and to Paul Herrson for putting together a stimulating and enlightening workshop on the third parties from which will soon emerge a book of papers edited by Paul and John Green. We also, of course, owe a continuing debt of gratitude to John Green, who has provided us with a first rate newsletter, VOX POP.

POP's vitality and the extent of its contributions to our field depends upon the involvement and contributions of the members. Please note the 1997 activities for which we need your suggestions and involvement.

1997 Pop Program

Burkett Loomis (University of Kansas) is the 1997 POP Program chair. Panel, paper, and roundtable suggestions should be sent to him promptly.

1997 Pop Workshop

The annual POP one day workshop has become an important tradition on the Wednesday before the APSA meeting that has enabled our membership to delve into a topic of current concern. All POP members have benefited from these workshops though the journal articles and other presentations. Recent workshops have explored third parties and parties and the law. Please send your suggestions for the 1997 workshop to John F. Biddy, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Pop Awards for 1997

One of the highlights of the annual business meeting is the awards ceremony. Please forward your suggestions for the following awards to the committee chairs listed below.

Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement: to honor a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field.

Award Committee Chair: Gerald Pomper, Rutgers University

Leon Epstein Outstanding Book Award: to honor a book of outstanding, lasting significance to the field

Award Committee Chair: William Keefe, University of Pittsburgh

Jack Walker Outstanding Article Award: to honor an article or published paper of unusual significance and importance to the field

Award Committee Chair: William Keefe, University of Pittsburgh

Emerging Scholar Award: to honor a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last five years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise

Award Committee Chair: John Jackson, III, Southern Illinois University

Nominating Committee

At the 1997 business meeting, the POP membership will elect (1) chair for a two-year term beginning in 1997, and (2) four members of council. Please send your recommendations for POP chair and council members to any of the nominating committee members listed below.

William Crotty, Chair, Northeastern University
Sarah Morehouse, 242 Somerset Ave., Fairfield NC 06430
Jerome Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Sincerely,

John Bibby

Political Organizations and Parties Organized Section of the American Political Science Association

Annual Business Meeting
San Francisco, 31 August 1996

The section meeting was called to order by John Bibby, Chair, at 12:34 p.m. The following business transpired:

1. A. Minutes: Printed in Vox Pop, Volume 14, Issue 2, p. 5. Approved unanimously

2. B. Treasurer's Report

Funds on Hand July 1, 1995 $5,174.72
Revenue Generated:
APSA section dues $1,224.99
Interest income 74.41
Other revenue: mailing labels 264.00 total revenue $1,563.40 $1,563.40
Expenditures:
Bank service fees (13.01)
1995 awards plaques (182.40)
TOTAL EXPENDITURES $(95.41) $(95.41)
Net Activity for the Period: $1,367.99
Funds on Hand June 30, 1996** $6,542.71

continued on page 3
FROM HEADQUARTERS

continued from page 2

* Copying, printing, postage, telephone, travel and staff provided gratis by the Univ. of Maryland Baltimore County, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and the Univ. of Akron.

** NationsBank funds on deposit divided between nonprofit checking ($3,640.64) and nonprofit savings ($2,902.07).

C. Membership Data

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>1996</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>589</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>571</td>
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2. POP Awards Ceremony: Awards reported at the bottom of the page.

3. Nominating Committee Report: The committee presented the following slate (all terms expire 1998):

Secretary Treasurer: Diana Dwyre, Univ. of Maryland
Baltimore County
Council Members: John Jackson, III,
Southern Illinois University
Ruth S. Jones,
Arizona State University
Candice J. Nelson,
American University
Daniel S. Ward, Rice University

The slate of candidates was elected unanimously. John Bibby thanked the out-going Council Members for their excellent service.

4. APSA Centennial in 2000 & "Toward a More Responsible..." Program: The year 2000 is the APSA Centennial and the 50th Anniversary of "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System" (APSR, 1950). Sheila Mann of APSA has suggested that POP work with APSA to develop a special symposium and program to commemorate the essay (e.g., a symposium on the state of the parties, develop educational materials, invite scholars and practitioners). She is seeking grant support for this. Anyone who would like to work on this effort should contact John Bibby.

5. POP Journal: An electronic journal continues to be considered. The journal committee, chaired by Sandy Maisel, concluded that such a journal is feasible, but that problems remain, such as finding an editor (see Journal Committee report in Vox Pop). Sandy Maisel reported that many questions remain, but that APSA is interested in helping us (e.g., financially, technically, etc.) and the POP Council indicated that the project is worth pursuing. Sandy stressed that it will take a very special person to successfully perform the editor's job, noting also that POP began considering a POP journal about 15 years ago.

David M. Farrell, one of the editors of the journal Party Politics, noted that it is still possible for POP to have some relationship with the journal (e.g., one issue can be compiled from POP members' APSA papers, perhaps a POP member can be an editor).

Charles Hadley, Univ. of New Orleans and American Review of Politics managing editor, noted that it is still possible to get the original contract with Heldref and to make the journal available without cost to POP members. APR is now current.

Kay Lawson noted that there may be problems with citing electronic journal articles, and Sandy Maisel said that this issue can be resolved.

John Bibby noted that Vox Pop is very successful. It is helpful, timely and informative. In its present format it is valuable, and we should not lose that, we should maintain its viability. He will continue discussions with those interested in contributing to the establishment of a POP journal.

6. Miscellaneous: Ray Kennedy of the International Foundation for Elections Systems announced that the organization has a USAID contract to conduct party building and strengthening around the world. He asked POP members to stop by booth #903 at the meeting.

John Bibby thanked all for attending, and the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Diana Dwyre, Secretary-Treasurer

1996 POP AWARDS

Herbert E. Alexander, winner of the Samuel Eldersveld Award for a lifetime of distinguished scholarly and professional contributions to the field.


Anthony Corrado, winner of the Emerging Scholars Award.

While the Epstein and Walker awards are being awarded posthumously, the committee believed that it was essential that POP acknowledge the contributions made by these pioneering parties specialists and for these works in particular which have had a continuing impact upon our field.
FROM HEADQUARTERS

The Rowman & Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching in Political Science

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. proudly announces the establishment of the Rowman & Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching in Political Science. The award, which carries a $500 cash stipend, will be presented each year beginning in 1997 at the President-Elect's Reception at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

The Innovative Teaching Award will recognize political scientists who have developed effective new approaches to teaching in the discipline. The award seeks to honor a wide range of new directions in teaching, not a particular new direction. Thus, in one year a professor might be chosen because of an innovative course syllabus; in another year a multimedia approach to reaching students might be chosen; in yet another the creator of a simulation or an education data set might be recognized; and in yet another, the author of a text or monograph that changes the way in which a subject is taught might be tapped. The only limits on what will be recognized are the imagination and creativity of those teaching political science.

The recipients of the award will be chosen by a five-person committee, chaired on behalf of Rowman & Littlefield by L. Sandy Maisel, the William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor and Chair of the Department of Government at Colby College. Additional committee members will include the outgoing president of APSA or his/her designee, the APSA Director of Education and Professional Development, and two members selected by the outgoing APSA Program Chair(s).

The first Rowman & Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching in Political Science will be presented at the President-Elect's Reception at the 1997 APSA Annual Meeting in Washington, DC. Nominations for the award, together with supporting documentation, should be sent to Professor L. Sandy Maisel, Department of Government, Colby College, Waterville, ME 04901. The nomination deadline is February 15, 1997.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

Where Have All the (Republican) Women Gone?
by Jo Freeman


There was a young lady from Niger
Who smiled as she rode on a tiger.
They came back from the ride.
With the lady inside.
And the smile on the face of the tiger.

Tanya Melich's story of betrayal by the part of her birth, an institution which was her family, is also the story of how partisan realignment happens as experienced by one woman. It is a woman's eye view of a major change in the political climate, something which political scientists only as part of millions of individual voting decisions. Melich lived realignment; she fought it, and now she's written about it.

Melich does not see the gradual elimination of feminists from the Republican Party and the take-over by right-wing zealots as the accidental result of impersonal forces, but one consequence of deliberate decisions made by identifiable people following a plan. She traces the silencing of moderate Republicans in general and feminist Republicans in particular through the five Republican conventions from 1972 to 1992. There is some discussions of policy decisions and political activities between conven

The book is a fascinating read, but most of the book is about the platform and rules and the context in which they took place.

Melich situates the rise of the New Right in Kevin Phillips's 1969 book The Emerging Majority, which argues that the Party could regain dominance by joining "the old guard fiscal conservative mesage" with "white southern conservatives" and "blue-collar Democrats and independents who were social conservatives." Since feminism was not a public movement at that time, it was "the racist nature of its premise" that "Nixon's new conservatives embraced." (pp. 13-14, citing Phillips, 1969.)

However, she does see incipient antifeminism in Nixon's veto of the first comprehensive child care bill since World War II for its family weakening implications, and the fact that many members of the moderate Ripon Society thought "child care would destroy the family" (p. 28). A subtheme of her book is that the moderate Republican men, as they were being slowly eliminated by the New Right, did not ally themselves with feminist Republican women because they didn't care very much about issues which touched on the family and thus would not fight those on the other side who did.

In pursuit of Phillips's New Majoritarian strategy, the New Right made a Faustian bargain with social conservatives in which they ceded hegemony over domestic policy continued on page 5
in order to write the script for foreign and economic policy. The New Right was not interested in traditional Republican fiscal conservatism, but in supply side economics. They systematically sought electoral defeat of Republican moderates and removal of the "old guard" of the party, even if it means electing Democrats. They brought the fundamentalists and disaffected Democrats into the Republican Party for this purpose.

New Rightist quickly discovered that "misogynist messages" could garner money and votes. Indeed sex was a much better issue than race or taxes to rouse voters out of their disenchantment with politics. Legalized abortion and homosexuality were highly charged emotional issues; the backlash against them made good fishing grounds. On these themes the right-wing direct mail houses and think tanks flourished.

The political possibilities of abortion became apparent even before Roe was decided in 1973 when the Catholic Church mobilized opposition to the movements to reform abortion laws in several states, a movement which was often led by Democratic legislators. "New conservatives" saw this as a golden opportunity to go trawling for another traditional Democratic constituency "by tightly linking the Republican party to the Church's position on abortion." (p. 15)

The influence of the new conservatives was enhanced at the Presidential level adjusting the delegate formulas to favor Southern and Western states. Begun in 1964 when Goldwater controlled the convention, this process magnified conservative influence on the Presidential nomination. In 1972 Nixon sided with the conservatives. Since he controlled that convention, the delegates allocation formula made a conservative take over a serious possibility in 1972.

By then the center of the party had shifted. At the 1976 convention the old guard conservatives were now the moderates; the moderates were denounced as liberals on the fringe of the party; and the Reagan conservatives almost took over. When Ford lost to Carter, they completed the process. Feminist Republicans were allied with Ford in 1976, and when he was defeated they lost their base. RNC Co-chair Mary Crisp, an ERA activist who had campaigned for Goldwater in 1964, was virtually read out of the party by 1980.

Throughout the Reagan era Republican feminists laid low. They expected to reenter the corridors of power, or at least be listed to, if only their old friend George Bush succeeded Reagan. By the time Bush was elected in 1988, he made his own bargain with the New Right and the social conservatives. Nothing changed.

During this time some moderate Republicans and many Republican feminists were wrestling with their lifelong allegiance to the Republican party. In 1992 many couldn't stand it anymore. They voted for Perot or, as Melch did, campaigned for Clinton. "The Republican party now belonged to the theocratic and the usual unprincipled power seekers... We women had been fighting for the soul of the party for years. Now, in its defeat, we had exorcized the genie. A new era was beginning." (p. 278).

While Melich details the slow demise of the liberal/moderate wing of the Republican Party as seen through the "war against women", she isn't too clear about why it happened. Indeed her amazement that her party could desert its' tradition concerns for individual freedom and choice resembles that of the middle-aged wife who discovers one day that the husband she has served and serviced so loyally for years has dumped her for a younger and more vibrant model.

Like that of the first wife, shock is in part due to years of self-deception. Her Republicans were always ladies and always loyal. They adhered to the cultural norms of the Republican party and didn't make a public stink when the men courted the religious conservatives. They allowed themselves to believe that if only they could elect a good man (e.g. George Bush) he would take care of them. They suppressed their anger at repeated betrayals and loyally put their shoulder to the wheel in campaign after campaign.

Most importantly, they did not organize the grass roots of the Republican Party that they firmly believed agreed with them. If it was out there, these roots too finally left the party in disgust. Instead, these women appealed to the leadership to do the right thing and still served it faithfully when they didn't.

Now they are mad as hell and... becoming independents and reluctant Democrats.

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Papers of Interest
1996 APSA Annual Meeting

"Why the U.S. Does Not Have a Multi-Party System." Paul S. Herrnson, University of Maryland.

"The Case for a Multi-Party System." Kay Lawson, San Francisco State University.


"Lessons about New Parties from Multi-Party Systems Abroad." Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University.


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"dyadic representation in the u.s. congress: multiple tests of a complex causal structure." kim quail hill and patricia a. hurley, texas a&m university.
"the republican tidal wave: consequences for realignment." alfred j. tuchfarber, jr, stephen e. bennett, andrew e. smith, eric w. rademacher, and kimberly downing, university of cincinnati.
"race and american party politics: black delegates' struggles in the 1912 and 1964 elections." daniel tichenor, rutgers university.
"strategic advancements toward collective party goals: national party organizations and house elections, 1993-96, robin kolodny, temple university and diana dwyre, university of maryland, baltimore county.
"nationalizing the state agendas: did state electoral contracts mirror the contract with america?" thomas little, university of texas, austin.
"importing/exporting campaign technique: british american party alliances." ezra paul, johns hopkins university.
"the state as gatekeeper: a comparative analysis of interest group regulation." yael yishal, university of haifa.
"regulating interest groups in the united states: national, state, and local experiences." clive thomas, university of alaska and ronald j. hrebenar, university of utah.
"from 'general good sense' to 'formalized rules': regulating political lobbying, the impact of the nolan committee in britain." grant jordan, university of aberdeen, scotland.
"the management of interest representation in the european union." justin greenwood, the robert gordon university.
"reinventing business-government relations: are we on the verge of a new progressivism?" richard harris, rutgers university.
"stuck in neutral: business and the politics of social innovation." cathie jo martin, boston university.
"political regimes and american business: opposition, incorporation, and disaffection." andrew polsky, city university of new york.
"state lobbyists and organizations: patterns of cooperation and conflict." patricia freeman and anthony nownes, university of tennessee.
"the effects of campaign organization on the electoral success of state legislative candidates." paul raymond, university of southern indiana.
"the dominance of institutions in interest representation: a test of seven explanations." virginia gray, university of minnesota and david l. lowery, university of north carolina, chapel hill.
"tobacco industry campaign contributions and legislative behavior at the state level." fred monard and stanton glantz, institute for health studies.
"the media consultants role in politics parallels the changing nature of television." bill carrick, carrick and morris media consulting.
"what are political consultants doing to american politics?" robert entman, north carolina state university.
"media and political consultants: a negative influence in american politics and government." marvin field, the field institute.
"media consultants: serving the public interest." seth geiger, frank magid associates.
"inequalities in the social bases of support for political parties." kenneth janda, northwestern university.
"political parties in federations." peter c. omdershook, california institute of technology.
"electoral expectations and performance evaluation: a comparison of party leadership perspectives in canada, france and the united states." daniel ward, rice university and andrew appleton, washington state university.
"party competition or critical mass: women's recruitment to cabinet positions in western europe." rebecca davis, virginia polytechnic institute.
"setting the plate in state legislative elections: a look at primaries." david breaux, mississippi state university and anthony gierzynski, university of vermont.
"is there a need for campaign finance reform?" malcolm jewell, university of kentucky and william cassie, appalachian state university.
"race, gender, and campaign contributions." gary moncrief, boise state university; keith hamm, rice university; and joel thompson, appalachian state university.
"campaigning for the state legislature: factors influencing strategy and use of techniques." robert hogan, rice university.
"mothers' movements and feminist theory: the case of the madre veracruzan and mexico's anticentral power movement." velma garcia, smith college.
"change and transition in the american feminist movement." joyce gelb, cuny, graduate center and jennifer disney, cuny, graduate school.
"invoking the state: anti-rape activism and public policy in the united states." janet gormick, baruch college and david s. meyer, city college.
"party switchers in the 104th congress." timothy prinz and bruce larson, university of virginia.

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Special Interests


"Strains in the Contemporary Democratic Coalition." Benjamin Ginsberg, Johns Hopkins University and Martin Shefter, Cornell University.

"Stasis and Upheaval in American Politics: The 1990s as a Case in Point." Walter Dean Burnham, University of Texas.


"Not for Fame or Fortune: Membership and Activity Patterns in Canada's New Reform Party." Harold Clarke, University of North Texas; Allan Kornberg, Duke University; Faron Ellis, University of Lethbridge; and Jonathan Rapkin, University of North Texas.

"Exit, Voice and Loyalty - The Dynamics of Participation in the British Labour and Conservative Parties." Paul Whiteley and Patric Syed, University of Sheffield.

"The Evolution and Adoption of Green Party Organizations in the German Lander." Brian Kessel, University of Iowa.

"Paralysis or Activism? The Impact of Coalition Political Dynamics and German Foreign Policy." Christopher Hanterman, University of California, Santa Barbara.

"Interest Organizations and the German Monetary Paradigm." Karl Kaltenthaler, Rhodes College.


"Do Cleavages Among Political Elites Reflect Mass Cleavages?" John Frendries and Alan Gitelson, Loyola University.

"From Exclusion to Inclusion: The Evolution of Racial Politics in Party Organizations in the South." Stephen Shaffer and Monica Johnson, Mississippi State University.

"Do Local American Parties Help Equalize Access to Public Policy-Making?" Paul Smith, SUNY, Binghamton.

"No Future? Alliance90/The Greens in East Germany." Thomas Poguntke, University at Mannheim.


From the Field

Campaign Craft

The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management

By Daniel M. Shea

Praeger Series in Political Communication,
ISSN 1062-5623

Shea presents a comprehensive guide to and analysis of modern political campaign communication, which will be of interest to the student of political campaigns and communication and to the professional involved in campaign management. Bringing to bear both academic and professional experience, Shea covers all aspects of present-day political campaigns, from understanding the context of the particular campaign (national trends, the media market, demographic research, etc.), to strategic thinking (developing an overall theme and strategy), and to specific voter contact techniques (the tactical use of fundraising, paid media, earned media, and grassroots activities). Throughout the text, the author's discussion and analysis is peppered with examples from national and state-level campaigns. This unique text is a must for those interested in political communications, campaigns and elections, and contemporary American government.

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1. Introduction: The Contemporary Campaign Craft
2. The Importance of a Campaign Plan

Part One: The Lay of the Land:
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5. Prior Electoral Targeting
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7. How to Become a Wise Consumer of Campaign Polling, by Jesse Marquette
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CALL FOR PAPERS

THE STATE OF THE PARTIES: 1996 & BEYOND

The Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at The University of Akron will sponsor a conference on American political parties October 9-11, 1997 in Akron, Ohio. The purpose of the conference is to assess changes in political parties resulting from the 1996 election. The conference will bring together scholars and practitioners for this purpose, and the best papers will be included in the 3rd edition of The State of the Parties, scheduled to be published by Rowman and Littlefield in 1998.

Scholars interested in presenting a paper on any aspect of contemporary American Party politics should submit a one-page proposal to John Green, Director, Ray Bliss Institute, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325-1904 by January 15, 1997. Questions can be directed to this address, or by telephone (330) 972-5182, or by E-mail (jgreen@uakron.edu).