Fellowships at The National Endowment For Democracy

The National Endowment for Democracy is pleased to announce the establishment of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program to enable democracy activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of and enhance their ability to promote democracy. Reagan-Fascell Fellows will be in residence at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the research and publication arm of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), located in Washington, D.C.

The International Forum hosts 12-15 fellows per year for three to ten months each. Each fellow will receive a monthly stipend for living expenses plus health insurance and reimbursement for travel to and from Washington, D.C. Stipend levels range from a minimum of $3,500/month to a maximum of $7,500/month, taking into account the fellow’s previous annual income, level of experience, and the cost of living in Washington, D.C. Limited funds may be available for travel within the United States.

Applicants for Reagan-Fascell fellowships must choose between two tracks: a practitioner track (typically three to five months) to improve strategies and techniques for building democracy and to exchange information with counterparts in the United States; and a research and writing track (typically five to ten months) to conduct original research for publication.

Eligibility: The Reagan-Fascell fellowship program is intended primarily to support practitioners and scholars from new and aspiring democracies. Distinguished scholars from the United States and other established democracies are also eligible to apply. Practitioners are expected to have substantial experience working to promote democracy. Applicants who will focus on research and writing are expected to have a Ph.D. or, for non-academics, to have published in an area of expertise. The program is not designed to support students working toward a degree.

Applications should be sent by air mail as well as mail to the address below and should consist of the following materials: eight copies of a 5-10 page description of the proposed project to be carried out while in Washington, D.C. Those choosing the practitioner track should: 1) describe the work that they have been doing to advance democracy; 2) explain what they hope to accomplish through the fellowship, identifying a feasible fellowship project that takes into account the specific resources that they would draw on and the activities they would undertake; 3) provide a preliminary outline of the fellowship product (short article, policy memorandum, etc.); and 4) discuss how the fellowship will strengthen their ability to conduct their work and contribute to the more effective promotion of democracy in their country or region.

Those choosing the research and writing track should: 1) discuss how their project will advance public understanding of the theory or practice of democracy; 2) briefly describe how the proposed research relates to or extends existing literature on the subject; 3) indicate how a fellowship at the International Forum in Washington, D.C., will facilitate this research; and 4) provide a preliminary description of the proposed written product (article, monograph, or book).

An indication of the preferred track to be pursued while in residence: practitioner or research/writing; an indication of the preferred starting date and desired duration of fellowship; eight copies of a detailed CV or resume; three letters of reference.

The deadline for fellowships beginning in Fall 2002 is April 1, 2002, although applicants are encouraged to submit their materials earlier.

(Continued on page 2)
Treasurer's Report
(July 1, 2000 to June 30, 2001)
Presented by
Secretary-Treasurer Diana Dwyre

FUNDS ON HAND JULY 1, 2000 $ 10,733.98

REVENUE FOR PERIOD
APSA section dues $1,211.00
Interest income 34.20
Other revenue: mailing labels 226.90

TOTAL REVENUE 1,472.10 1,472.10

EXPENDITURES *
2000 awards (175.68)
Short Course Stipends (700.00)

TOTAL EXPENDITURES (875.68) $ (875.68)

NET ACTIVITY FOR THE PERIOD 596.42

FUNDS ON HAND JUNE 30, 2001 ** $ 11,330.40

* Copying, printing, postage, telephone, travel and staff provided gratis by Tufts University, the Bliss Institute at the University of Akron, California State University, Chico, and University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

** Bank of America funds on deposit divided between nonprofit checking ($8,169.09) and nonprofit savings ($3,161.31).

FROM HEADQUARTERS

Dear POP Members:

Thank you all for attending the annual business meeting of the Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association. We've had a terrific year, culminating in the presentation of awards to a number of distinguished scholars in our field. Building on our successful website created by John Coleman for the Responsible Parties celebration, Scott Furlong has constructed a general website for POP at http://www.apsanet.org/~pop/. It's up and running and much more material will be added to the site over the coming year. Another project we have going is a collection of syllabi of courses on political parties or interest groups. Robin Kolodny is editing this set of reading lists and course outlines.

An innovation at this year's POP workshop was the awarding of ten $100 scholarships to doctoral candidates interested in attending. These scholarships offset some of the additional expense incurred by coming to APSA a day early. Demand far outstripped our supply! This year will mark the full implementation of our new or newly reconstituted awards. Our Political Organizations and Parties/Party Politics award for the best paper on a POP-sponsored APSA panel will be given out for the first time. This will also be the first year we will give out the Epstein award to a contemporary book rather than to a classic.

My term as chair has ended and I want to offer a simple but heartfelt thanks to all the members who have volunteered time to the organization during these last two years. There are too many people to thank by name so I hope all of you that I have called on will excuse this blanket expression of my appreciation. In these past two years over sixty members of POP have served on committees, been a member of our Board, or taken on special projects for our section. It was a privilege to serve as POP chair. Thank you all so much for giving me that opportunity.

Sincerely,
Jeffrey M. Berry
Chair, POP

Presidential Television Ads: 1960-1996

John Geer of Vanderbilt University has made public his data on presidential TV ads from 1960 to 1996.

They are available on his web site, http://www.vanderbilt.edu/psci/geer/.
The data can be downloaded in a number of formats. There is also a code book and a brief description of the content analysis to help interested users. Contact Geer with questions, john.g.geer@vanderbilt.edu.
FROM HEADQUARTERS

Political Organizations and Parties
New Officers

Chair, Two-Year Term:


For Executive Council, Two-Year Terms:

Linda L. Fowler, Ph.D., University of Rochester. Director of the Nelson A. Rockefeller Center and Frank O. Reagan Professor of Policy Studies at Dartmouth College. Publications include Candidates, Congress and the American Democracy (University of Michigan Press, 1993); Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress (with Robert D. McClure, Yale University Press, 1989), and a variety of chapters and articles on American politics dealing with elections and campaigns. Fowler is the recipient of grants from the National Science Foundation, the Dirksen Center, and the Environmental Protection Agency. She has served as Chair of the Legislative Studies Conference and been a member of several editorial boards for scholarly journals. Among her current research projects is a study of campaign effects in the New Hampshire primary.


Richard G. Niemi, Ph.D., University of Michigan. Don Alonzo Watson Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester. Niemi has taught at Rochester for more than 30 years and has served as Department Chair, Associate Dean, and Interim Dean. He is coauthor or coeditor of Comparing Democracies 2 (Sage, forthcoming); Vital Statistics on American Politics 2001-2002 (CQ Press, 2001); Controversies in Voting Behavior, 4th ed. (CQ Press, 2001); Term Limits in the State Legislatures (University of Michigan Press, 2000); Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn (Yale University Press, 1998). He has written numerous articles on political socialization, voting, and legislative districting. His current research includes topics on term limits, public opinion, and civic education.

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Ph.D., Northwestern University. Professor of Political Science, the Maxwell School, Syracuse University. His research focuses on political parties, their electoral bases, and their roles in shaping policy debates. Stonecash has published in American Politics Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Polity, Political Research Quarterly, Publius, and Social Science History. He is the author of Class and Party in American Politics (Westview Pres, 2000), and editor of Governing New York State, 4th ed., (2001). He is now completing a book on the sources of party polarization in the House of Representatives. He has done polling and consulting for political candidates since 1985, and is Professor-in-Residence in the New York State Assembly Intern Program.
FROM HEADQUARTERS

2001 POP AWARDS

Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Award, given annually to recognize a member of the profession who has made an exemplary contribution to the study of political organizations and parties. Presenter: Ruth Jones, Arizona State University

Recipient: John Bibby, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Jack Walker Award, given annually to honor the best article published in the field of political organizations and parties during the previous two calendar years. Presenter: Ken Kollman, University of Michigan


Leon Epstein Award, given annually to honor the best book published in the field of political organizations and parties during the previous two calendar years. Presenter: William Mayer, Northeastern University

Award for 2000:
Recipient: Pradeep K Chhibber, University of California, Berkeley, Democracy without Associations: Transformation of the Party System and Social Cleavages in India, University of Michigan Press

Award for 2001 (co-winners):

Emerging Scholar Award, given annually to a young scholar in the field of political organizations and parties. Presenter: Robin Kolodny, Temple University


Political Organizations and Parties/Party Politics Award, for the best paper delivered on a Political Organizations and Parties-sponsored panel at the previous APSA conference. Presenter: Hal Bass, Ouachita Baptist University

Recipients: Byron E. Shafer, Oxford University, and Richard Johnston, University of British Columbia, “The Transformation of Southern Politics, Revisited: The House of Representatives as a Window”

Political Organizations and Parties Committees, 2000-2001

Eldersveld Career Achievement Award
Burdett Loomis, Chair, University of Kansas
Rick Hall, University of Michigan
Ruth Jones, Arizona State University

Emerging Scholar Award
Robin Kolodny, Chair, Temple University
Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside
Thomas Poguntke, University of Keele

Leon Epstein Best Book Award
William Mayer, Chair, Northeastern University
John Clark, Western Michigan University
Christine Day, University of New Orleans
Susan Scarrow, University of Houston
Laura Woliver, University of South Carolina

Jack Walker Best Article Award
Ken Kollman, Chair, University of Michigan
Charles Prybyl, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Sandra Suarez, Temple University

POP/Party Politics Award
Jack Wright, Chair, Ohio State University
Hal Bass, Ouachita Baptist University
Robin Kolodny, Temple University

Nominating Committee
Marian Lief Palley, Chair, University of Delaware
Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico
John Green, University of Akron
made those organizations stronger and more effective. And finally, for all of us who have had the privilege of knowing John and working with him, he serves as a model—not just because of all he has accomplished but because he is a wonderful human being who has done all these things while maintaining dignity, professionalism, honesty, humor, and kindness. It is with pleasure that POP presents to John Bibby the Samuel J. Eldersveld Career Achievement Award.

Jack Walker Award
The committee to choose the Walker Award consisted of Sandra Suarez of Temple University, Charles Prysby of University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and Ken Kollman of the University of Michigan. Professor Kollman chaired the committee. The Walker Award is given to the outstanding article published on the topic of political organizations and parties in the previous two years (in this case, 1999-2000).

After reading many fine articles, the committee gave the Walker award to four authors from the University of Iowa for their article “Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies: Fact or Fiction?” Arthur Miller, Gwyn Erb, William Riesinger, and Vicki Hesli published their article in the May 2000 edition of the Journal of Politics.

The committee agreed this was a superb contribution to the study of parties and organizations. The article summarizes an important, ambitious project to understand the partisanship, mass-elite linkages, social bases of the parties, and ideological cohesion of party blocs in Russia. It is an overview of many research findings, and as such each section of the article raises many questions that are now ripe for further research, either by the authors or by other scholars. The authors also answer many interesting questions, and the committee agreed this will be an influential article and project for a long time. The one overall theme of the article is that Russians are paying closer attention to the policy programs of parties and candidates than previous researchers and commentators have claimed. This finding is important for anyone to acknowledge in the study of Russian politics and party politics in emerging democracies.

Leon Epstein Award
Pradeep K. Chhibber, Democracy Without Associations: Transformation of the Party System and Social Cleavages in India

Democracy without Associations is an example of comparative political scholarship at its very best. At its core, Chhibber's book is an attempt to explain the transformation of the party system in India: in particular, why the Congress Party, a catch-all party that had dominated Indian politics since it achieved independence in 1947, went into a sharp decline and was gradually replaced by a party system that was divided along regional, caste, and religious lines. But this inquiry quickly raises a series of more fundamental questions about the relationship between party systems and social cleavages, and about why some cleavages, and not others, are reflected in the structure of party coalitions. Chhibber persuasively argues that the model of cleavage development put forward by Lipset and Rokkan in the mid-1960s applies only to a specific set of cases, and that a fuller theory needs to
FROM THE FIELD

take account of the role of the state and the nature and quality of a country's associational life. Above all, he shows that the parties themselves play an important role in making cleavages. Chhibber then demonstrates that his model also accounts for the recent evolution of the party systems in Spain and Algeria. The result is a work that is likely to have a major impact on studies of political parties and comparative political development.

Mark A. Smith, American Business And Political Power: Public Opinion, Elections, And Democracy

In this ambitious book, Mark Smith takes on an assumption shared by a remarkably wide range of schools in American political science: namely, that democracy and popular control of public policy are at their weakest when American business is united in its policy goals. To the contrary, Smith argues, issues that unify business are actually those where democracy works best, for these issues tend also to be highly ideological, partisan, and salient to the voters. Besides its analytical clarity, a particular strength of this book lies in the quality of its empirical work. At various points, Smith finds imaginative and plausible ways to measure: the set of issues marked by a high degree of business unity; an annual indicator of the favorability of national lawmaking to business; the state of public opinion toward business; and a variety of other ways that business seeks to influence elections, public policy, and public opinion. In sum, American Business and Political Power is a major contribution both to the study of business as an interest group and to the larger question of how democracy functions in a society where economic resources are unequally distributed.

Christina Wolbrecht, The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change

Christina Wolbrecht's book is a broad-ranging examination of the politics of women's rights issues, focusing in particular on the role that the two major parties played in structuring that politics. Specifically, she examines the transition between two periods of equilibrium: one in the 1950s and early 1960s, when few people were interested in the issue of women's rights and there was relatively little difference between the parties; the second in 1980, when the issue had considerably greater salience, major groups had emerged in support and opposition, and the two major parties had clearly defined differences on many gender-related policy issues. Of particular note is the central role that Wolbrecht assigns to political parties in her analysis. As she concludes, "As debate over the role of parties in the modern American political system continues, the capacity of parties to absorb and channel an issue of this scale and divisiveness stands as testament to the continuing relevance and importance of parties in the functioning of American democracy."

Wolbrecht's book is a signal addition to the literature on both groups and parties, and a careful and even-handed reconstruction of an important transformation in American electoral politics.

Emerging Scholar Award

The Emerging Scholar Award Committee of POP (R. Kolodny, S. Bowler and T. Poguntke) have chosen Paul Frymer (Department of Political Science, UC - Berkeley --- soon to be of UCSD) as the POP 2001 Emerging Scholar Award Winner.

Paul Frymer received his Ph.D. in 1995 from Yale University. While still a graduate student, Frymer published an article in Political Science Quarterly on divided government. He has published a monograph, Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America with Princeton University Press. Frymer's central argument in the monograph, that African-Americans have been "electorally captured" by the Democratic party. The Democrats have literally taken the vote of African-Americans for granted in national politics since the Republicans cannot appeal for their support due to the views of their base. This is an important and timely contribution to the contemporary discussion of party politics. Frymer's book has even been the subject of a panel at the 2001 Midwest Meetings. In addition, Frymer has published works on realignment politics, the "electoral capture" of labor and Latino voters, and the role of courts and parties in racial politics. While doing all this important research, Frymer has also completed a law degree at UC-Berkeley. We are persuaded that Paul Frymer's contributions have been significant to date and show a high likelihood of continued productivity in the future.

APSA POP Best Paper Award

This year's award-winning paper is "The Transformation of Southern Politics, Revisited: The House of Representatives as a Window." The co-authors are Byron E. Shafer and Richard G.C. Johnston. Shafer has recently relocated from Nuffield College, Oxford University, to the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and Johnston is affiliated with the University of British Columbia.

As the title indicates, the paper reconsiders the oft-analyzed transformation of Southern politics, wherein over the last half-century, a remarkable inversion of party fortunes has occurred: Republicans on the rise and Democrats in decline. Shafer and Johnston offer a fresh and fascinating focus on this phenomenon by looking at contests for seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. They ingeniously integrate and interpret electoral outcomes with survey data from the American National Election Studies and U.S. Census Bureau. They present their findings with penetrating, provocative, and persuasive insight.

Their data indicate that economic development has been the primary catalyst for partisan change, amid a changing politics of economic interest. Secondly, they counter-intuitively demonstrate that the civil rights revolution that ended legal segregation slowed rather than advanced the Republican surge, while producing a revised politics of racial identity. Complicating or reinforcing these developments were strategic responses by partisan elites: Republican office-seekers and Democratic incumbents.

This reinterpretation of the transformation of Southern politics adds an important new dimension to our understanding of partisan change. It well merits the Best Paper Award.
SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS:

Papers of Interest

American Political Science Association
Annual Meeting


"Indigenous Peoples' Political Parties in Latin America." Donna L. Van Cott, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.


"Gender, Partisanship, and Group Affiliation among State Legislators in the U.S.A." Elizabeth A. Bemion, Indiana University, South Bend.

"Farewell to Materialism: Welfare Reform, Ending Entitlements for Poor Single Mothers, and Expanding the Claims of Poor Employed Parents." Ann Shola Ooloff, Northwestern University.

"The VRA and Beyond: Understanding African-American Political Mobilization in the Modern American South." Irwin L. Morris, University of Maryland and M.V. Hood, University of Georgia and Quentin Kilde, Christopher Newport University.

"Black Political Representation in the New South." Katrina L. Gamble, Emory University.

"Competing with the Neophyte: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategies in Rising Party Success." Bonnie M. Meguid, Harvard University.

"The Limits of Anti-Clienetalist Appeals: Opposition Failure in Japan." Ethan Scheiner, Duke University.


"Linkage Strategies and Electoral Competition in Mexico's PRI." Kenneth E. Greene, University of California, Berkeley.


"Target Practice: Liberal Democrat Campaign Strategy in the 1997 and 2001 British General Elections." Ed Fieldhouse, University of Manchester and Ian Mcallister, Australian National University.

"Programmatic Adjustment by Social Democratic-Labor Parties in Sweden, Germany, the USA and Great Britain to the Encroachment of Neo-Liberalism." Detlef Jahn, University of Greifswald.


"Democratic and Republican Factionalism in the Age of Divided Government." Howard L. Reiter, University of Connecticut.

"The Collapse in Public Trust: Are Political Parties to Blame?" John J. Coleman, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

"Regional Coalitions and the Re-emergence of Party Conflict." Nicole Mellow, University of Texas, Austin.


"Old Wine in a New Bottle: MacRae's Assemble Nationale Reconsidered." Howard Rosenthal and Erik Voeten, Princeton University.

"Insincere Voting under the Successive Procedure." Bjorn-Erik Rasch, University of Oslo.


"Women in State Executive Offices: Variation across State and Parties." Richard L. Fox, Union College.

"Political Parties and Women's Recruitment to State Legislatures." Kira L. Sanbonmatsu, Ohio State University.

"Realignment without Replacement: Veteran Politicians, Reputations and Issue Switching by American Parties." David Karol, University of California, Los Angeles.


"Inter-Party Mobility among Political Elites in Post-Communist East Central Europe." Goldie Shabad and Kazimierz M. Sloczynski, Ohio State University.

"Securing Partisan Advantage: Congressional Redistricting in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries." Erik J. Engstrom, University of California, San Diego.

"Pathways to the Floor: The Development of Majority Party Negative Agenda Control in the 19th Century House." Christopher Den Hartog, University of California, San Diego.

"Investigating the Determinants of Representatives' Voting: Partisan Versus Non-Partisan Considerations." Jamie L. Carson and Jeffrey A. Jenkins, Michigan State University and Eric Schickler, University of California, Berkeley.

"The Electoral Connection: An Examination of the Senate from 1910-1930." Mark Berges, SUNY, Stony Brook, Seann M. Theriault, Stanfford University.

"Building an Effective Lobby." Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University.


"Women's Rights and Coalition Lobbying." Laura R. Wolver, University of South Carolina.


"Issue Advocacy and Soft Money in the 2000 Michigan Senate Race." Eric M. Freedman, Michigan State University and Michael W. Traugott, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and Allison L. Hayes, Western Carolina University and Martha E. Kropf, University of Missouri, Kansas City and Anthony D. Simones, Southwest Missouri State University.

"Issue Advocacy and Soft Money in the 2000 Montana Senate Race." Craig Wilson, Montana State University, Billings and Michael J. Laslovich, University of Montana and Frank J. Sorauf, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

"The Conservative Party: The Value of Internal Reforms at the General Election." Philip Cowley, University of Hull and Stuart Quayle, University of Bristol.

"New Labour's Election Mission." Steven Fieding, University of Salford.

"The Impact of the European Union upon Party Campaigning in the 2001 General Election." Andrew Geddes, University of Liverpool and Iain MacAllister, University of Manchester.

"Legislative Learning in the Modern Congress." T. Jens Feeley, University of Washington.

"Congressional Party Defection in American History." Keith T. Poole and Timothy P. Nokken, University of Houston.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS:


"Alleviating the Social Costs of the Financial Crisis in Southeast Asia: Economic Recovery or Public Spending?" Kimberly J. Niles, University of Boulder, Colorado.

"Deliberation in the House of Representatives: The Effect of Informal Caucuses." Celia M. Carrol, Emory University.

"A Study in Congressional Decision Making: The Influence of Parties and the Appropriations Committee on Federal Spending." Mary Sprague, University of California, Berkeley.


"Disentangling the Effect of Party and Preferences: An Analysis of Roll Call Voting." Sarah Fulton, University of California, Davis.

"Coalitions in the Republican Conference: Voting Behavior of the Republican Committee on Committees." Scott A. Frisch, California State University, Bakersfield, Sean Q. Kelley, Niagara University.


"The Changing Seniority System in the U.S. Congress." Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University.


"Understanding Congressional Dynamics in Chile: The Limits of Roll Call Analysis." Liesl Haas, Western Michigan University.


"Institutions, Context and Outcomes in Africa's Emerging Democracies." Shaheen Mazaffar, Bridgewater State College.