

VOX POP Newsletter

of Political Organizations and Parties

An official section of the American Political Science Association
Produced by the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron

Electoral College Reform: Challenges and Possibilities (Ashgate Publishing, 2010)

Gary E. Bugh, Texas A&M University-Texarkana

In our book of original essays, *Electoral College Reform: Challenges and Possibilities* (Ashgate Publishing), we examine political practices related to modification of the presidential electoral system. For example, several contributors explore how political parties hinder the development of broad consensus for change. We address the current “National Popular Vote Interstate Compact” and how the electoral process affects presidential campaign strategies. In seeking to understand Electoral College reform, we also consider political theory.

The authors of part one of the book, “Thinking about Electoral College Reform,” address theoretical concerns related to reforming the presidential electoral system. Overall, we emphasize the importance of political theory to this area of study and establish an approach that includes two different understandings of representational democracy—traditional and popular. These contending views, reflected in the founding debates and in subsequent discussions about electoral reform, help frame the book’s chapters.

My analysis in the first chapter of congressional deliberations over proposed electoral amendments illustrates participants’ appeals to a dualistic concept of representation that suits both opponents and proponents of electoral reform. On the one hand, opponents have used the traditional view—with its emphasis on order and balanced representation—as a powerful foil against change. On the other hand, advocates generally appeal to popular democracy, with its simple guideline of rule by the most people through the most direct means. Perhaps fewer congressional members today would appeal to traditional representation than in 1970 when a few senators derailed direct election. However, it may be that the dichotomous nature of the system, which both limits and extols popular participation, will continue to complicate analytical support for electoral reform.

Michael Rogers’ argument in Chapter 2 that the founding involved hearty resistance against the proposed Electoral College also reflects the different sides of American political thought. Through new research of available state documents, Rogers contends that the Federalists did not dominate discussions about the system of electors. Anti-Federalists were also actively engaged in the discourse, and they levied extensive criticisms against the presidential electoral process. However, the Federalists’ defense of the electoral system and insistence that its approval was consensual has long suppressed important criticisms of the institution. By understanding both perspectives from the founding, contemporary reformers may better arm themselves to confront familiar adoration of the Electoral College with original condemnation.

In his examination of the presidential electoral process and possible reform plans in Chapter 3, Korzi argues that democracy and federalism present reasons to reform and to protect the Electoral College. Consequently, unsuccessful efforts to change the Electoral College may be a recurrent feature of American politics. Successful alteration or elimination of the institution may therefore demand tremendous attention to addressing both aspects. In order to accomplish this, Korzi suggests that reform proponents

SAVE THE DATE

*The American Association of Political Consultants
and the University of Akron
Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics
present*

AAPC Academic Outreach Conference
November 18-19, 2010
Akron City Centre Hotel, Akron, OH

The annual Academic Outreach Conference provides a forum for students, academics, and consultants to discuss professional political consulting and public affairs. Career trends, technical expertise, and ethical issues are explored throughout the conference.

A Mentoring Program will be implemented at the conference to connect students with professionals to provide career advice and guidance.

Registration information is available at www.uakron.edu/bliss. Academic travel subsidies are available on a first-come, first-serve basis.

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Chair: Paul Herrmson, University of Maryland
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ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

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consider a broader view of the presidency.

Part two of the book, “Challenges of Electoral College Reform,” reviews some of the difficulties that confront democratization of the presidential electoral system. In general, the apparent advantages of the Electoral College stand in the way of reform. These include bringing citizens together without suppressing their state loyalties, supporting the two-party system, minimizing fraud and corruption, and (usually) producing decisive election results. By looking beyond these conventional benefits, the authors of Chapters 4–9 add to the catalog of challenges facing electoral reform.

Jeffrey Stonecash argues in Chapter 4 that while direct election has merits, the Electoral College, in combination with the party system, provides for diverse, albeit indirect, representation. For Stonecash, presidential candidates respond to an array of different interests due in no small part to the national electoral majority requirement and “eras of party dominance.” A responsive presidential electoral system may be insulated from criticisms that it is undemocratic.

Congressional endorsement of electoral reform presents other difficulties. In Chapter 5, I detail the low numbers of proposed joint resolutions to revise or eliminate the Electoral College over the last three decades. Perhaps more surprising is that congressional members put forward so few of these plans—just seven, only four of which were new—following the most troubling election in recent history. This and other trends displayed in the bills do not bode well for immediate congressional endorsement of an amendment to change the presidential electoral process. Mark McKenzie’s analyses in Chapter 6 of House and Senate floor votes on electoral amendments since 1950 helps explain why Electoral College reform remains elusive. He also addresses the likelihood of the public pressuring Congress to take action on electoral reform. If Congress is unlikely to act, perhaps concerned citizens can do something about the Electoral College through other avenues, such as the states.

Brian Gaines in Chapter 7 investigates whether or not enough states will pass the current “National Popular Vote Interstate Compact.” Gaines’ analysis of recent state actions on the plan demonstrates that most politicians who support the proposal belong to one political party. One implication of this finding is that if enough states manage to adopt the compact, along with other potential problems, the new system would be the mandate of one political party, not the popular will. As other contributors address, today’s heightened state of partisanship in American politics is not something that those pursuing Electoral College reform may easily ignore. James Melcher in Chapter 8 further explores this aspect at the state level in his review of the political struggles over the adoption and retention of the district system in Maine and Nebraska. These case studies confirm that partisanship is a serious barrier to state-level efforts to modify the electoral system. His analysis suggests a way that states may overcome a party’s resistance to reform. Nonetheless, attempting to change the Electoral College through the states does not seem necessarily easier than trying to do so through the national amendment process.

Offering a comparative perspective, Jody Baumgartner and Rhonda Evans Case in Chapter 9 emphasize a point often brought up against Electoral College reform. An election system of any kind, they argue, will not always represent the popular will. One implication of this lesson is that electoral reformers should address the democratic tradeoffs of their proposed systems.

In part three, “Possibilities of Electoral College Reform,” the contributors defend the prospects for changing the electoral system. While the Electoral College has some benefits, especially when the focus is on preserving order, when considered in terms of popular democracy, it has costs. And these problems offer compelling reasons for reform. Several of the book’s contributors review some of the familiar disadvantages of the system, including the bias against certain sized states, neglect of popular votes cast for losing candidates within a state, discrimination against third parties and minorities, facilitation of third parties as spoilers, discouragement of voting, chance of electing a president who did not win the national popular vote, and threat of faithless electors. The authors of Chapters 10–14 elaborate on the system’s failings and hold that electoral reform is well within our reach.

Robert Alexander and Brendan Doherty in their respective essays analyze specific and previously under-studied areas of the presidential electoral process that raise substantive democratic reasons for reform. Alexander in Chapter 10 addresses the fear shared by many Americans that faithless electors could determine a presidential election. His questioning of past electors reveals disturbing practices and behaviors that shine a light on the office

as one of the weakest cogs in the U.S. system of representative democracy. Doherty in Chapter 11 analyzes how the Electoral College constrains presidents’ travels throughout the nation. Following the last five sitting presidents, Doherty finds that they favored some states over others, and that the most visited states were associated with one political party. In skewing presidential campaigning toward some states and one party, the Electoral College fails to provide broad representation.

Along with focusing on reasons for change, the scholars of the last three chapters present unique ideas that may bring about reform of the presidential electoral system. In Chapter 12, Robert Bennett argues for two contemporary and prominent reform ideas, including the “National Popular Vote Interstate Compact.” He discusses several difficulties with enactment of each proposal, drawing attention to a traditional legal concept, and suggests a different philosophical approach. Paul Schumaker in Chapter 13 contends that amending the electoral system is achievable. Along with promoting a specific electoral proposal that satisfies several evaluative concepts, he defends a clever strategy that could lead to congressional endorsement of electoral reform. Burdett Loomis in the last chapter of the book reviews some reasons why Congress is likely to endorse a constitutional amendment. He emphasizes the important historical points that just a few conservatives defeated direct election in 1970 and that this same group no longer remains in Congress. Recognizing this opening, the next step is to draft a proposal that will attract the support needed to propel it through the amendment process. Loomis details a plan that would ensure popular representation yet only institute moderate changes.

While there are undoubtedly more aspects to examine, we have endeavored to offer a thorough review of theoretical concerns, practical challenges, and diverse possibilities related to Electoral College reform. Our collective effort suggests that two differing views of politics are integral to understanding this topic. Some of the contributors highlight difficulties and others opportunities. It is our hope that *Electoral College Reform* will serve anyone interested in exploring this area of American politics. To this end, in addition to the analytical essays, the book has extensive appendixes that students of the presidential electoral system may find useful. One dataset, for example, identifies the constitutional amendments introduced in Congress to alter or abolish the Electoral College over the last one hundred years. Rather than take a position squarely for or against the existing system, *Electoral College Reform* provides a valuable resource on a subject that has long perplexed Americans.

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Lobbying the Electoral College: The Potential for Chaos, by Robert M. Alexander
Electoral College Incentives and Presidential Actions: A Case for Reform? by Brendan J. Doherty
Current Electoral College Reform Efforts Among the States, by Robert W. Bennett
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FROM HEADQUARTERS
LETTER FROM THE CHAIR
July 2010

Dear Colleagues,

These are exciting times for those of us who study political organizations and parties. Current forecasts suggest that many of the upcoming midterm congressional elections will be competitive. The Supreme Court's ruling in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* creates the possibility of significant increases in spending by corporations, unions, and other groups. Moreover, the variety and numbers of groups and party leaders participating in the lawsuit itself suggest that it would make an interesting case study of interest group activity. Of course, there also will be some exciting developments related to the upcoming congressional, state, and local elections in the U.S., the parliamentary elections in Great Britain, and various political developments across the globe. All of this means there will be much for us to study and learn from!

The same can be said for POP's panels at the upcoming American Political Science Association Conference. Section co-chairs Miki Caul Kittilson and Richard Herrera, both of Arizona State University, have put together an outstanding program. There will be panels on party influence and political networks; mass-elite linkages; interest group approaches and influence; women, movements, and political leadership, state politics; party organizations in comparative perspective; the transformation of party systems and movements; and more. The panels feature senior and junior scholars presenting cutting edge research. Please join me in expressing our appreciation to Miki and Rick for their efforts. Thanks to them, I anticipate we will have terrific conference.

I hope you will be able to attend POP's Business Meeting at the APSA Conference. I'd like to hear your thoughts and suggestions about directions for the future. The meeting also will give us all the opportunity to catch up with old friends and meet new ones.

With Best wishes,

Paul Herrnson
University of Maryland
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**CLEA:
Constituency-Level Elections Archive
March, 2010**

We are pleased to announce a major expansion in the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA). The central aim of the CLEA project is to produce a repository of detailed results – i.e. votes received by each candidate/party, total votes cast, number of eligible voters – at a constituency level for the lower house legislative elections that have been conducted around the world. This is the largest repository for such data available online.

The directors of CLEA are Ken Kollman (University of Michigan), Allen Hicken (University of Michigan), Daniele Caramani (St. Gallen University, Switzerland), and David Backer (College of William & Mary).

You can access the data at: www.electiondataarchive.org. As you will see, the archive is organized to make downloading easy and to facilitate comparative research. Also on the site are descriptions of political systems and lists of political parties.

The directors gratefully acknowledge the American National Science Foundation (www.nsf.gov) and the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy for their funding of the project. The directors are continuing to improve CLEA and hope to post additional data from more countries and more elections in the near future.

**POP
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING
Thursday, September 2, 12:15 p.m.**

**POP BUSINESS MEETING
Friday, September 3, 12:15 p.m.**

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

Join us in New Orleans!

The Southern Political Science Association 82nd Annual Meeting and Conference will be held at the Hotel Intercontinental January 6-8, 2011. Political Parties Section Chair, John Griffin invites your proposals for individual or panel presentations.

The proposal deadline is August 9, 2010. Electronic proposal submission is available at www.spsa.net. The awards are available for junior faculty, students, and international scholars. Child care will be available.

**SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS
DIVISION 35
Political Organizations and Parties**

September 2-5, 2010

Title: Pulling the GOP Right: Conservative Activism in the Republican Party

Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

Chair: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College (rvalell1@swarthmore.edu)

Participants: Jane Green, University of Manchester (jane.green@manchester.ac.uk), Nolan McCarty, Princeton University (nmccarty@princeton.edu), Daniel Galvin, Northwestern University (galvin@northwestern.edu), Gwendoline M. Alphonso, Cornell University (gma22@cornell.edu), John H. Aldrich, Duke University (Aldrich@duke.edu) and David Karol, University of California, Berkeley (karol@american.edu)

Title: Mass-Elite Linkages in Comparative Perspective: Policy, Valence and Clientelism

Friday, 4:15 p.m.

Chair: Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara (hstoll@polsci.ucsb.edu)

Papers: "Programmatic Party System Structuration: Developing and Comparing Cross-National and Cross-Party Measures with a New Global Data Set." Kent E. Freeze, Duke University (kef13@duke.edu), Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University (h3738@duke.edu) and Daniel Max Kselman, Juan March Institute (dmk10@duke.edu)

"When Do Individual Politicians Make Valence Appeals? An Analysis of Campaign Platforms in Japan." James Adams, University of California, Davis (jfadams@ucdavis.edu), Jed Hideki Kawasumi, University of California, Davis (jhwawasumi@ucdavis.edu) and Ethan Scheiner, University of California, Davis (escheiner@ucdavis.edu)

"Does the Ideological Dispersion of Parties Mediate the Electoral Impact of Valence? A Cross-National Study of Party Support in Six Western European Democracies." Michael Clark, Northern Illinois University (mclark12@niu.edu) and Debra Lynn Leiter, University of California, Davis (dlleiter@ucdavis.edu)

"Clientelism and Ethnocultural Politics." Kiril Kolev, Duke University (kkk4@duke.edu) and Yi-ting Wang, Duke University (yw48@duke.edu)

Disc: Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara (hstoll@polsci.ucsb.edu)

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Title: Right Wing Parties in Europe

Thursday, 10:15 a.m.

Papers: "The Electoral Consequences of Political Prosecution: A Survey Experiment." Till Weber, European University Institute (till.weber@eui.eu) and Joost van Spanje, University of Amsterdam (j.vanspanje@uva.nl)

"Immigration, Political Community and Distrust in Politics in Europe." Lauren M. McLaren, University of Nottingham (lauren.mclaren@nottingham.ac.uk)

"The Effect of Extreme Right Parties on the Immigration Policy, the Case Study of France and Belgium." Steven Van Hauwaert, University of Vienna (steven.vanhauwaert@univie.ac.at)

Title: Political Parties and Interest Groups in State Politics

Saturday, 2:00 p.m.

Chair: Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona (norrander@u.arizona.edu)

Papers: "Voting Systems, Ballot Design, and Party Strength." Paul S. Herrnson, University of Maryland (pherrnson@capc.umd.edu), Richard G. Niemi (niemi@rochester.edu) and Kelly D. Patterson, Brigham Young University (kelly_patterson@byu.edu)

"Generalists and Specialists: A Test of the Competitive Exclusion Hypotheses." Justin Kirkland, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (jhkirkla@email.unc.edu), David Lowery, University of Leiden (dlowery@fsw.leidenuniv.nl) and Virginia H. Gray, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (vagrays@email.unc.edu)

"Party Contribution Networks in State Legislative Elections." Andrea McAtee, University of South Carolina (mcateea@mailbox.sc.edu)

"State and Local Party Organizations in the 21st Century." Douglas D. Roscoe, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth (droscoe@umassd.edu) and Shannon Jenkins, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth (sjenkins@umassd.edu)

Disc: Rick D. Farmer (rick@rickfarmer.net)

Title: Women, Parties and Organizations

Sunday, 10:15 a.m.

Chair: Kira Sanbonmatsu, Rutgers University (sanbon@rci.rutgers.edu)

Papers: "EMILY's Friends: The Emerging Relationship Between EMILY's List, Organized Labor, and Women Candidates in U.S. House Elections." Rosalyn Cooperman, University of Mary Washington, (rcooperm@umw.edu)

"Alternative Organizing within State Legislatures: Bipartisan Women's Caucuses in Three States." Anna M. Mahoney, Rutgers University (ammitch@eden.rutgers.edu)

"Who's in the Governor's Mansion? Gender Differences in the Policy Priorities of Governors." Karen Shafer, Grand Canyon University (karen.schafer@asu.edu) and Richard Herrera, Arizona State University (richard.herrera@asu.edu)

"Gender, Labor and Progressive Coalitions Working the Vote: Grass Roots Mobilizations for Registration and Early Voting in the 2008 Election." Laura R. Woliver, University of South Carolina (woliver@mailbox.sc.edu) and Annie L. Boiter-Jolley, University of South Carolina (aboiterjolley@gmail.com)

Disc(s): Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame (wolbrecht1@nd.edu) and Kira Sanbonmatsu, Rutgers University (sanbon@rci.rutgers.edu)

Title: Women, Movements and Political Leadership

Friday, 4:15 p.m.

Chair: Aili Mari Tripp, University of Wisconsin (atripp@wisc.edu)

Papers: "Party Systems, Democratic Engagement and Gender in Comparative Perspective." Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State University (Miki.Kittilson@asu.edu) and Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, University of Missouri (schwindt@missouri.edu)

"Someday My Chance Will Come: Women Contesting for Executive Leadership in West Europe." Karen Beckwith, Case Western Reserve

University (Karen.beckwith@case.edu)

"Explaining Movement and Countermovement Events in the Contemporary U.S. Women's Movement." Lee Ann Banaszak, Pennsylvania State University (lab14@psa.edu) and Heather L. Ondercin, Louisiana State University (ondercin@lsu.edu)

"Exploring Gender Disparities in Re-Election: The 2002-2006 Electoral Cycle in Peru." Gregory D. Schmidt, University of Texas at El Paso (gdschmidt@utep.edu)

"Why Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Global, Cross-Issue Analysis." S. Laurel Weldon, Purdue University (weldons@purdue.edu) and Mala N. Htun, New School for Social Research (htun@mindspring.com)

Disc(s): Mark P. Jones, Rice University (mpjones@rice.edu) and Tiffany D. Barnes, Rice University (tiffanydbarnes@rice.edu)

Title: Transforming Party Systems and Movements

Thursday, 2:00 p.m.

Chair: Sarah Childs, University of Bristol (s.childs@bristol.ac.uk)

Papers: "Swords into Plowshares: Explaining the Organizational Transformation of Rebel Groups into Political Parties." John Ishiyama, University of North Texas (John.Ishiyama@unt.edu) and Anna Batta, University of North Texas (annabatta@verizon.net)

"Integration Policies in Federal Settings: Assessing the Impact of Xenophobic Direct Democratic Decisions and Radical Right Parties on Sub-National Integration Policies." Anita Manatschal, University of Bern (anita.manatschal@ipw.unibe.ch)

"Parties as Ethnic Mobilizers in Africa? Uganda's 'No Party' Democracy as a Natural Experiment." Jeffrey K. Conroy-Krutz, Michigan State University (conroyk6@msu.edu)

"Building Bulwarks in Troubled Times: Party System Emergence in Russia and Brazil." Daniel J. Epstein, Colgate University (depstein@colgate.edu)

Disc(s): Steven Van Hauwaert, University of Vienna (STEVEN.VANHAUWAERT@UNIVIE.AC.AT) and Lars Svasand, University of Bergen (lars.svasand@isp.uib.no)

Title: Party Politics in Government

Saturday, 2:00 p.m.

Chair: Harold F. Bass, Ouachita Baptist University (bassh@obu.edu)

Papers: "Strategic Opposition and Government Cohesion in Westminster Democracies." Torun Dewan, London School of Economics (t.dewan@lse.ac.uk) and Arthur Spirling, Harvard University (aspirling@gov.harvard.edu)

"Investing in Agreement: Party Organization, Leadership Change and Policy Positions." Weiwei Hu, Binghamton University, SUNY (whu2@binghamton.edu) and William B. Heller, Binghamton, SUNY, (wbheller@post.harvard.edu)

"Minority Resources and Niche Party Entry." Benjamin David Farrer, SUNY Binghamton (benjaminfarrer@googlemail.com)

"The Structural Foundations of Divided Government, 1952-2008." Richard G.C. Johnston, University of British Columbia (rjohnston@politics.ubc.ca) and Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin, Madison (bshafer@polisci.wisc.edu)

Disc(s): Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester (bonnie.meguid@rochester.edu)

Title: Interest Group Approaches

Saturday, 8:00 a.m.

Chair: Thomas T. Holyoke, California State University, Fresno (tholyoke@csufresno.edu)

Papers: "Advocates and Interest Representation in Policy Debates." Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University (marieh@psu.edu), Kathleen Marchetti, Pennsylvania State University (kmm516@psu.edu), Frank R. Baumgartner, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 4)

(frankb@unc.edu), Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University (jeffrey.berry@tufts.edu), David C. Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis (kimballd@msx.umsl.edu) and Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University (leech@polisci.rutgers.edu)

"A Typology of Interest Group Competition and Legislative Success in the U.S. House of Representatives." Holly Brasher, University of Alabama, Birmingham (hbrasher@uab.edu)

"The Relationship between Contributions and Lobby Expenditures in Congress." Lynda W. Powell, University of Rochester (lynda.powell@rochester.edu) and Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University (wilcox@georgetown.edu)

"Interest Groups, Political Institutions and Strategic Choices: What Influences Institutional Lobbying Strategies?" Bryan S. McQuide, University of Idaho (mcquide@uidaho.edu)

Disc(s): Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas (bloomis@ku.edu) and Jennifer A. Steen (Jennifer.steen@gmail.com)

Title: Interest Group Influence

Thursday, 10:15 a.m.

Chair: Ruth S. Jones, Arizona State University (ruth.jones@asu.edu)

Papers: "Measuring Interest Group Influence in Bureaucracies: The Impact of Simpson's Paradox." Scott H. Ainsworth, University of Georgia (sainswor@uga.edu)

"Who's Protected? Electoral Votes and the Structure of Trade Protection in the U.S." Su-Hyun Lee, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (suhyun@umich.edu)

"A Longitudinal Analysis of Interest Group Influence in Retirement Policy." John C. Scott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (jscscott@email.unc.edu)

"The U.S. Foreign Policy Auction: A Monetary Estimate of Interest Group Influence and Competition." Benjamin Freeman, Texas A&M University (bfree3210@polisci.tamu.edu) and Erik Kinji Godwin, Texas A&M University (egodwin@politics.tamu.edu)

Disc(s): James A. Thurber, American University (thurber@american.edu) and Amy Melissa McKay, Georgia State University (amymelissamckay@gmail.com)

Title: Intra-Group Dynamics

Friday, 2:00 p.m.

Chair: Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University (marieh@psu.edu)

Papers: "Intraorganizational Conflict in Federated Advocacy Organizations in the 2009 Health Care Reform Debate." Maryann Barakso, University of Massachusetts, Amherst (barakso@polisci.umass.edu)

"The Inside View: Using the Enron Email Archive and Automated Content Analysis to Understand Business Lobbying Strategies." Daniel J. Hopkins, Georgetown University (dh335@georgetown.edu) and Lee Drutman, University of California, Berkeley (drutman@berkeley.edu)

"Hearing Voices: External Influences on the Internal Politics of the Southern Baptist Church-State Advocacy." Andrew R. Lewis, American University (andy.lewis@american.edu)

"Issue Advertising and Direct Lobbying." Richard L. Hall, University of Michigan (rlhall@umich.edu)

Disc(s): Laura R. Woliver, University of South Carolina (woliver@mailbox.sc.edu)

Title: Parties as Organizations

Friday, 8:00 a.m.

Chair: John G. Geer, Vanderbilt University (john.g.geer@vanderbilt.edu)

Papers: "Base Appeal: Party Activists, What They Want, and How Much They Get." Larry M. Bartels, Princeton University (bartels@princeton.edu)

"The Drivers of Party Change: The British Conservatives Since 1945." Tim Bale, University of Sussex (t.p.bale@sussex.ac.uk)

"Changing Views on Individual Responsibility: The Evolution of American Liberalism and the Conservative Response." Mark D. Brewer, -5-

University of Maine (mark.brewer@umit.maine.edu) and Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University (jstoneca@syr.edu)

"Economic Crises and Party Elites' Engagement in Media Rows." Florence So, University of California, Los Angeles (florence.so@ucla.edu)

"Common Cause: Interest Groups, Local Party Organizations, and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." Daniel George Lehman, Temple University (dlehman@temple.edu)

"Party Systems Effects on Country Governance." Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University (k-janda@northwestern.edu), Jin-Young Kwak, Ewha Womans University and Julieta Suarez Cao, Northwestern University (jsc@u.northwestern.edu)

Disc(s): William J. Crotty, Northeastern University (w.crotty@neu.edu)

Title: Parties and Organizations in Comparative Perspective

Saturday, 10:15 a.m.

Chair: David M. Farrell, University College Dublin (david.farrell@ucd.ie)

Papers: "Party Systems Effects on Country Governance." Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University (k-janda@northwestern.edu) and Jin-Young Kwak, Ewha Womans University.

"Determinants of Party Electoral Failure in Established Democracies, 1890-2009." Jennifer K. Smith, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (jksmith@uwm.edu) and Stefan J. Wojcik, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (sjwojcik@uwm.edu)

"Meaning Components of Left and Right: A Comparative Analysis of the Impact of Party Manifestos on Voter Left-Right Cognitions Across Four Decades and 18 European Countries." Hermann F.J. Schmitt, University of Mannheim (hschmitt@mzes.uni-mannheim.de) and Cees van der Eijk, University of Nottingham (cees.vandereijk@nottingham.ac.uk)

"Voluntary Associations as Sources of Politically Relevant Social Networks?" Susanne Lundasen, Ersta Sköndal University College (Susanne.lundasen@gmail.com)

Disc(s): Paul D. Webb, University of Sussex (p.webb@sussex.ac.uk) and David M. Farrell, University College Dublin (david.farrell@ucd.ie)

Title: Authors Meet Readers: The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform

Saturday, 4:15 p.m.

Chair: Richard Herrera, Arizona State University (richard.herrera@asu.edu)

Participants: Hans Noel, Georgetown University (hansnoel.umich.edu) John R. Zaller, University of California, Los Angeles (zaller@ucla.edu) Martin Cohen, James Madison University (cohenmg@jmu.edu) David Karol, University of California, Berkeley (karol@american.edu)

Disc(s): Marjorie R. Hershey, Indiana University, Bloomington (Hershey@indiana.edu) and Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Notre Dame (glayman@nd.edu)

Title: Realignment and American Electoral Politics

Saturday, 8:00 a.m.

Chair: Herbert F. Weisberg, The Ohio State University (Weisberg.1@osu.edu)

Papers: "Realignment and the Swing-Ratio, 1900-2008." Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University (jstoneca@syr.edu)

"Patterns of Ideological Differences in the U.S. House, 1856-2006: Replacement Effects and the Slow Cycle of Polarization." Thomas L. Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas (tbrunell@utdallas.edu), Bernard N. Grofman, University of California, Irvine (bgtravel@uci.edu) and Samuel Merrill, Wilkes University (sammerrill3@comcast.net)

"Recent Realignment? The Case for 1992-1996 as a 'Critical Period' in American Elections." David A. Hopkins, University of California, Berkeley (dhopkins@berkeley.edu)

"The Nationalization of Electoral Politics in the United States: New Tools for an Old Question." Luis Aguiar-Conraria, Universidade do Minho (Ifaguiar@eeg.uminho.pt) and Pedro C. Magalhaes, Instituto de Ciencias Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (pedro.magalhaes@ics.ul.pt)

Disc: Shamira M. Gelbman, Illinois State University (sgelbman@ilstu.edu)

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 5)

Title: Partisan Influence and Political Networks

Saturday, 4:15 p.m.

Chair: Gregory Koger, University of Miami (gregory.koger@gmail.com)

Papers: "Linking Polarization: A Social Network Analysis of Partisan Behavior." Jeremy N. Phillips, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale (jeremyp@siu.edu) and Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University (mcclurg@siu.edu)

"The Multiplexity of Interest Group Lobbying: An Exponential Random Graph Model of Influence Reputation." Michael T. Heaney, University of Michigan (mheaney@umich.edu)

"Organized Interests, Ethnicity and Networks: Symbolic Politics and Substantive Policy." Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University (srobbin1@gmu.edu) and Brian Alexander, George Mason University (balexan3@gmu.edu)

"The Agenda-Setting Potential of Party Organizations in the United States." Andrew Waugh, University of California, San Diego (aswaugh@ucsd.edu)

"Inside the Issue Evolution: Dynamic Network Analysis of the Abortion Debate, 1970-1994." Rentaro Iida, Georgetown University (ri34@georgetown.edu)

Disc(s): Seth E. Masket, University of Denver (smasket@du.edu) and Jennifer Nicoll Victor, University of Pittsburgh (jnvictor@pitt.edu)

POSTERS

Title: Poster Session: American Politics 2

Thursday, September 2, 2:00 p.m.

Posters: "Do Party Contributions Help Candidates Win?" Anne E. Baker, University of Notre Dame (abaker4@nd.edu)

"PAC Influences on Party Polarization: Assessing the Role of Campaign Contributions on Ideological Substitutions in Congress." Zachary Baumann, University of Mississippi (zbaumann@olemiss.edu) and Richard G. Forgett, University of Mississippi (rforgett@olemiss.edu)

"The Impact of National and State Rules on U.S. Presidential Nominations." Caitlin Elizabeth Dwyer, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities (dwyer077@umn.edu)

"Interest Group Agenda Setting in the Congressional Arena." Dave Nelson, University of Wisconsin, Madison (denelson3@wisc.edu)

"Strategic Privatization and Survival of Authoritarian Dominant Parties." Masayoshi Takahashi, Michigan State University (takaha29@msu.edu) and Helen Lee, Michigan State University (leehele33@msu.edu)

"Donations, Diversity, and Extremity: Campaign Contribution Diversity and Voting Decisions." Brian Webb, Georgia State University (bwebb3@gsu.edu), Ryan M. Yonk, Georgia State University (ryanyonk@yahoo.com) and Rochdi A. Alloui, Georgia State University (ralloui1@student.gsu.edu)

"Gender-Based Differences for Mobilizing Support of Islamist Political Parties: The Case of Turkey." Sarah Fischer, American University

"Negative Campaign Advertising in a Comparative Perspective." Gustavo Rivera, University of Texas at Austin (grivera@mail.utexas.edu)

"The Myth of the Vanishing Voter in Comparative Perspective." Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University (mmcndon@gmu.edu)

"Improving Election Forecasting Models with Online Search Queries." Laura Ann Granka (granka@stanford.edu) and Shanto Iyengar, Stanford University (siyengar@stanford.edu)

"Information, Campaigns, and the Dynamics of Political Interest." Matthew Holleque, University of Wisconsin, Madison (holleque@wisc.edu)

"The Changing Impact of Religious Attendance on Political Participation." Philip E. Jones, University of Delaware

"Is This Heaven? No, It's Iowa: Simulating Outcomes in the Iowa Caucuses." Michael Tofias, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (tofias@uwm.edu) and

Clayton Clouse, University of Wisconsin (ceclouse@uwm.edu)

"Subsidized Democracies? The Effect of Public Funding to Political Parties in Electoral Competitiveness." Francisco Javier Aparicio, CIDE (Javier.aparicio@cide.edu) and Jacaranda Maria Perez, IFE (jacaranda.perez@gmail.com)

"The Vanishing Sexist Voter? Voter Roll-Off When Women Run for Congress, 1980-2008." Michael G. Miller, Cornell University (mgm44@cornell.edu)

"The Different Ways People Construct their Identities: American Identity, Out-Group Evaluations and Political Tolerance." Shawn W. Rosenberg, University of California, Irvine (swr@uci.edu) and Ted Wrigley, University of California, Irvine (twrigley@uci.edu)

"For Whom Hard Times Befall: Group Coding and the Plight of the Uninsured." Harwood K. McClerking, Ohio State University (mcclerking.1@osu.edu)

"Fighting Words: Mobilizing Aggression in Public Opinion." Nathan P. Kalmoe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (kalmoe@umich.edu)

"Political Knowledge and the Public's Response to Changing Economic Conditions." Christopher N. Lawrence, Texas A&M International University (c.n.lawrence@gmail.com) and Christopher David Johnston, SUNY, Stony Brook (johncd1@gmail.com)

"Transforming Domestic Policy Venues: Legislative and Organizational Dimensions of Implementing Environmental Treaties." Betsi Beem, University of Sydney (betsi.beem@sydney.edu.au)

"Making Technology Transfers into Threats or Opportunities: Sectoral Cultures and the Control of Aircraft and Space Technology Transfers between the U.S. and China." Alanna Krolkowski, University of Toronto (alanna.krolkowski@gmail.com)

"Fishing for Ballots: Special Interest Politics and the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization." Andrew Kirkpatrick, Emory University (abkirkp@emory.edu)

"Environmental Concern and Popular 'Mobilization' in Kyrgyzstan: Identifying and Mapping Hot Spots and Measuring the Public-Expert Opinion Gap." Amanda Wooden, Bucknell University (amanda.wooden@bucknell.edu)

"Of Early Birds and Copycats: A Comparative Analysis of Different Types of Regulatory Change in Environmental Policy." Thomas Sommerer, Stockholm University (thomas.sommerer@statsvet.su.se)

"Party Identification, Values and Public Opinion on Climate Change." Jacob Sohlberg, Stony Brook University (jacobsohlberg@gmail.com)

"Rationality of Electronic Voting." Meelis Kitsing, University of Massachusetts, Amherst (mkitsing@polsci.umass.edu)

"Blogging Inequalities: Contextualizing the Political Meaning of Blogs." Andrea Calderaro, European University Institute (andrea.calderaro@eui.eu)

"Elephants Go Online: The Rise of the Rightroots." Diana Tracy Cohen, Central Connecticut State University (cohendit@ccsu.edu)

"Political Communication and Engagement in the 21st Century." Philip E. Jones, University of Delaware, Julio F. Carrion, University of Delaware, Dannagal G. Young, University of Delaware (dgyoung@udel.edu) and David C. Wilson, University of Delaware (dcwilson@udel.edu)

"Open Source Parties?": How Far Does the 'Obama E-Campaign Model' Work Outside the U.S. and What Are its Implications for Party Organizational Renewal and Increasing Inter-Party." Rachel K. Gibson, University of Manchester (rachel.gibson@manchester.ac.uk)

"Information and Communications Technologies vs. R & D Technologies in Combating Counterfeit Drug: Assessing Competing Technologies and Regulations." Cheryl L. Brown, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (cbrown@uncc.edu)

"BBC Question Time and Twitter: Communicating Hate Across Platforms." Nick Anstead, University of East Anglia (nick.anstead@gmail.com) and Ben O'Loughlin, University of London, Royal Holloway (Ben.O'Loughlin@rhul.ac.uk)

(Continued on page 7)

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 6)

"How Leadership Contributes to Collective Action Online: Real-Time Public Good Experiments in the Lab and Field." Stephane Reissfelder, University of Oxford (stephane.reissfelder@nuffield.ox.ac.uk), Helen Zerlina Margetts, Oxford University (helen.margetts@oii.ox.ac.uk) and Peter C. John, University of Manchester (peter.john@manchester.ac.uk)

"Linked-Out: Transformative Effects of Social Media in Transnational NGO Collaboration." Ines A. Mergel, Syracuse University (iamergel@maxwell.syr.edu), Paloma Raggo, Syracuse University (pgraggo@maxwell.syr.edu) and Rachel Sigman, Syracuse University (rlsigman@maxwell.syr.edu)

"Between Everyday Marginalia and the Spectacular: Visual Productions of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." Matthew Leep, University of Connecticut (Matthew.leep@uconn.edu)

"Enforcement of the NVRA and Turnout of low-income Voters in Hard Times." Margaret Groarke, Manhattan College (margaret.groarke@manhattan.edu)

"A Moment for Rebuilding: The Public Sphere in Hard Times." Amy Lynn Buzby, Rutgers University (abuzby@eden.rutgers.edu)

"Hard Times for Who? Passing Violence Against Womens Legislation in Nigeria." Cheryl O'Brien, Purdue University (Cheryl.m.obrien@gmail.com)

"International Patronage and Political Survival: Russian Intervention in Georgian Political Conflicts." Jesse Dillon Savage, Northwestern University (jesse-savage@northwestern.edu)

"Spoiler States and Sanctions Regimes: Explaining Sanctions-Busting on Cuba's Behalf." Bryan Robert Early, SUNY, University at Albany (bearly@albany.edu)

"The Politics of Being First and the Policy Lessons Learned: The Recognition Crisis of the United States of America." Neal E. Coates, Abilene Christian University (coates@pols.acu.edu)

"Selection Bias? Political Process for the Governing Coalition Building during Military Occupation." Inhan Kim, University of Virginia (ik7z@virginia.edu)

"Policy Drift and Medicare Rule-making: Hard Times for Primary Care Physicians." Miriam J. Laugesen, Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health (ml3111@columbia.edu)

"Electronic Health Records vs. Personal Health Records: Trustworthy Privacy Regulations and Technologies When HIPAA is Not Enough." Cheryl L. Brown, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (cbrown@uncc.edu)

"Progressive Overreach: Why Health Care Reform Died (Again) Under the Obama Administration." Christopher J. Conover, Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy (conoverc@duke.edu)

"Same-Sex Marriage and Voting Decisions." John Barry Ryan, Florida State University (jryan2@fsu.edu)

"Rocking the State Vote: Explaining Youth Voting in the States, 1992-2008." Rachael Vanessa Cobb, Suffolk University (rcobb@suffolk.edu) and Brian M. Conley, Suffolk University (bconley@suffolk.edu)

"Keeping Up with the Neighbors? European Integration and Economic Voting." Erik R. Tillman, University of Nebraska (etillman2@unl.edu)

"Uncovering the Effects of High School Civic Education on Turnout." Jennifer Bachner, Harvard University (jbachner@fas.harvard.edu)

"The Economics of Local Politics: Patrimony, Electoral Outcomes, and Public Policies in France." Richard Nadeau, University of Montreal (richard.nadeau@umontreal.ca)

"National Versus Local Electoral Participation." Jefferey M. Sellers, University of Southern California (sellers@usc.edu)

"Personality and Strategic Voting Decisions in Value-Based Elections." Delia Dumitrescu, Universite de Montreal (delia.dumitrescu@umontreal.ca)

"'Shadow' Boxing in the Welsh National Assembly: Incumbency Advantage in Mixed Member Electoral Systems." Martin Battle, Murray State University (martin.battle@murraystate.edu)

"The Distrust Contagion." John E. McNulty, SUNY, Binghamton (jmcnulty@binghamton.edu) and Shanto Iyengar, Stanford University (siyengar@stanford.edu)

"Peasants with Pitchforks: Pivotal Politics and the Expansion of the Franchise." Justin Moeller, University of Georgia (moeller@uga.edu)

"Can Government Records Replace Survey Self-respects to Measure Voter Registration and Turnout?" Jon A. Krosnick, Stanford University (krosnick@stanford.edu)

"Can't We All Just Get Along? A Closer Look at Judicial Divisiveness on the Supreme Court." Danielle Harlan, Stanford University (dharlan@stanford.edu)

"The Betrayal of Liberal Constitutionalism: the Lost Quest for Constitutional Welfare Rights." Sung Wook Paik, University of Maryland (swpaik@gvpt.umd.edu)

"Attitudes of the White Majority and the Representation of Minority Constituents in the United States Senate." Jeffrey A. Fine, Clemson University (jfine@clemson.edu) and James M. Avery, Richard Stockton College (james.avery@stockton.edu)

"The 2006 Immigration Protests: How Context and Events Shape Identity." Heather Silber Mohamed, Brown University (heather_silber@brown.edu)

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FROM THE FIELD

PAPERS OF INTEREST 2010 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting

- 'The Ideological Cohesion of Political Parties: An Analysis of Parliamentary Speeches in Austria and Germany.' Hanna Baeck, University of Mannheim and Marc Debus, University of Mannheim.
- 'Votes, Seats, and Policy: Party Positioning and Policy Responsiveness in Established Democracies.' Robin E. Best, Leiden University and Steve Bernard Lem, Kutztown University.
- 'Do Voters Have a Choice? Major Party Positioning and the Two-Party Vote Share, 1950-2003.' Robin E. Best, Leiden University.
- 'Party Nationalization and Democracy: The Case of Chile.' John Polga-Hecimovich, University of Pittsburgh, Scott Morgenstern, University of Pittsburgh and Peter M. Slavelis, Wake Forest University.
- 'Patterns of Party Electoral Change and Political Institutions in Latin America.' Yen-Pin Su, University of Pittsburgh.
- 'Party Positions and Issue Ownership.' Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Aarhus University and Peter Bjerre Mortensen, Aarhus University.
- 'Party Positions and Voter Preferences: Increasing Distance, Increasing Success.' Zeynep Somer-Topcu, Vanderbilt University and Kathleen Bawn, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 'Globalization, Party Positions, and the Median Voter: How the Median Voter Conditions the Effects of Globalization on Parties' Policy Positions.' Hugh D. Ward, University of Essex, Lawrence Joel Ezrow, University of Essex and Han Dorussen, University of Essex.
- 'Interests, Interest Groups and Power Groups in Consolidating and Developing Small Latin American Democracies: Comparing Uruguay and Costa Rica with Haiti and Paraguay.' Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau and Ronald J. Hrebennar, University of Utah.
- 'The Leader or the Party? Examining the Powerful Impact of Party Leaders in the 2009 Albanian Parliamentary Election.' Altin Ilirjani, University of North Carolina and Blendi Ceka, University of Tirana, Albania.
- 'The Factors Leading to the Electoral Success, Consolidation and Decline of the Moldovan Communists' Party During the Transition Period.' Ion Marandici, Rutgers University.
- 'What is the Opposition Doing in Russia? Opposition Party Strategies and Electoral Outcomes in the 2003 and 2007 Legislative Elections.' Allison

- Christine White, University of Texas, Austin, Andrey A. Meleshevich, National University of Kyiv, Mohyla Academy and Tatjana Rudi, GESIS, Mannheim.
- 'Independence Under Democratization and the United States: The "Third Party" Analytical Perspective.' Liang-chih Evans Chen, National Chung Cheng University.
- 'Issue Importance and Proximal Distance Between Self and Party Placement.' David Ciuk, Michigan State University.
- 'Agenda-Building: How Parties Influence Election News Coverage.' David Nicolas Hopmann, University of Southern Denmark, Rens Vliegthart, University of Amsterdam, Claes H. De Vreese, University of Amsterdam and Erik Albk, University of Southern Denmark.
- 'Policy Divergence with Post-Electoral Bargaining.' Sun Tak Kim, University of Pittsburgh.
- 'Integration Policies in Federal Settings: Accessing the Impact of Xenophobic Direct Democratic Decisions and Radical Right Parties on Sub-National Integration Policies.' Anita Manatschal, University of Berne.
- 'The Influence of the Programs of Far Right Parties on the Electoral System.' Steven Van Hauwaert, University of Vienna.
- 'Freedom Union: A Case Study of a Party Decline During Political Transformation in Poland.' Maria Winclawska, Nicolaus Copernicus University.
- 'Party Decline in Italy and Britain: When Do Parties Perish?' Stefan Wojcik, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- 'The Death of Deliberation: Popular Opinion, Party, and Policy in the Moderate United States Senate.' James Ian Wallner, Catholic University of America.
- 'Minority Party Obstructionism in the United States Congress.' Brian Webb, Georgia State University.
- 'Frame Analysis: Interest Groups and Environmental Rules.' Sara Rinfret, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay.
- 'Counting Parties: Different Measures for Different Purposes.' Benjamin Nyblade, University of British Columbia and Angela J. O'Mahony, University of British Columbia.
- 'Party Systems and Targeted Social Spending: Democracy Inequality Paradox.' Ekrem Karakoc, Pennsylvania State University.
- 'Party Politics and Contentious Elections in Nigeria.' Israel Chukwukelue Okoye, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Makodi Bieerenbu Nnabugwu, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka and Frank Collins Okafor, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.
- 'Ethnic Fractionalization and Party Nationalization.' Ignacio Arana, University of Pittsburgh and Miguel Carreras, University of Pittsburgh.

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