

V O X

P O P

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Parties

A Continuing Subfield of the American Political Science Association

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From the President

Dear Fellow Members:

The business meeting of POP at the Annual APSA Meeting in New Orleans will be held Friday, August 30th, at 5:30 P.M. The room location will be published in the Convention's final program.

The business meeting this year will be unusually important. We have on the agenda:

First, the election of a new president. My two-year term is up and we will need to choose a new president who can give visibility and direction to POP in what are turning out to be its critical formative years.

Second, we will need to elect a new Executive Committee. At this point, we might want to consider whether we want to continue with an expanded Executive Committee (now 12 members) or reduce it to something closer to the size original envisioned (5 or so members).

Third, we will be electing a new secretary to replace Andy Nathan. We might want to clarify this position or distribute its duties to members of the Executive Committee.

Two members of the Executive Committee have been particularly active this past year. Alan Gitelson has taken responsibility for organizing POP's APSA Program, including the Business Meeting, panels, and the workshop sessions. Frank Sorauf will chair one of the panels and has helped in solidifying and clarifying relations with the APSA.

On reflection, I believe the major achievements of the past two years would include:

First, the creation of an independent editorship (Sandy Maisel and Ann Elder) to develop an academically presentable and substantively noteworthy VOX POP. This newsletter could well be the key to a robust development for our subfield through the intellectual exchanges it facilitates or sets in motion. It might eventually serve as a precursor of a journal, although this is another matter (see below).

Second, the creation of an independent position (Alan Gitelson) to develop the APSA programs and workshops. I am particularly partial to the workshop concept and believe that this can be fruitfully developed in coming years. Alan has done an excellent job in insuring that we begin in style.

Third, the subfield's relationship with the American Political Science Association and its Executive Director, Tom Mann, has been further clarified and strengthened. There are still some kinks in the process, but the general direction is clear and the working relationship with the APSA I consider most positive. In large part, we have Tom Mann to thank for this.

Frank Sorauf, Alan Gitleson and I met with Tom at the Midwest Meeting in Chicago in April to review the relationship and chart a future course. The APSA now collects and disburses to us our subfield dues. We coordinate with the APSA in relation to our program at the Annual Meeting. In this regard, the APSA staff and Gary Jacobson, the 1985 APSA Convention field coordinator, have been most cooperative. In the future, the POP subfield may expand its activities to the point it takes over principal responsibilities for developing the APSA program in fields of interest to us. Since I will be the APSA coordinator for the 1986 Annual Meeting (Mathew Holden is Chair-Designate for the overall program) for "Political Parties, Elections, and Electoral Behavior," the process may be accelerated.

Fourth, we continue on a sound and healthy financial footing. In fact, our formal association with the APSA has strengthened our financial picture and simplified our dues collection.

Fifth, the issue of a journal has been temporarily resolved. Further discussion and efforts to inaugurate a journal were suspended for three years pending reconsideration of POP's position at that time. At this point, this strikes me as unwise. I would like to see our efforts put towards development of the newsletter and the workshops and the strengthening of our position within the APSA.

In general, I would say it has been a good two years. The torch will be passed at the September Business meeting and it is worth giving serious thought to who should serve as the next president.

Sincerely,

Bill Crotty

From the Editors:

This second edition of the expanded VoxPop has met some, but not all of our early goals. We hope that you all see the potential in this newsletter as a communications medium and that you will help us to improve future numbers.

In addition to a letter from Bill Crotty and a convention preview, we have included a fairly lengthy Abstracts section. The journals which we reviewed are listed in the last VoxPop. We hope that the authors find our abstracts--which are most often their own--adequate.

We would very much like to expand both the Bulletin Board and the Early Returns sections in future editions. Correspondence relating to either of these sections can be sent to either one of us; we hope to hear from many of you. We would also like to list relevant convention papers in a section in future issues. We will also be asking for your help in that endeavor.

This is the second VoxPop this year. If the members of the subsection feel that this newsletter is worth continuing in this format, we hope to put out three or four a year in the future. We look forward to seeing you in New Orleans and hearing your reactions to these issues. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the help of John Beaudoin of Colby College, whose hard work is reflected throughout this newsletter.

Sandy Maisel
Ann Elder

Convention Preview

As was mentioned in the last issue of VOX POP, Alan Gitelson has arranged for the subfield to co-sponsor with the APSA Program Committee Section on Parties, Campaigns, and Interest Groups, two panels at the August Convention in New Orleans. The first, chaired by Alan Gitelson, is Roundtable: Research on Party Organizations. Participants include Bill Crotty (Northwestern), Ken Janda (Northwestern), Kay Lawson (San Fransisco State), Charles Longley (Bucknell), Gerry Pomper (Rutgers), and Joesph Schlesinger (Michigan State). The second panel, Interest Groups and Political Action Committees, will be chaired by Frank Sorauf. Papers to be presented were still unknown at our deadline.

Other panel discussions of interest to our subfield include those organized by Gary Jacobson under the heading "Parties, Campaigns, and Interest Groups." They are:

11-1. Political Action Committees.....	Thurs., August 29,	8:45 a.m.
11-2. State and Local Election Campaigns.....	Sat., August 31,	3:30 p.m.
11-3. Presidential Primaries.....	Fri., August 30,	10:45 a.m.
11-4. Party Activists.....	Sun., September 1,	10:45 a.m.
11-5. Consequences of Party Reform.....	Thurs., August 29,	10:45 a.m.
11-6. Political Ambition and Electoral Politics.....	Sun., September 1,	8:45 a.m.
11-7. Interest Group Politics.....	Fri., August 30,	8:45 a.m.
11-8. Topics in Campaign Finance.....	Thurs., August 29,	10:45 a.m.
11-9. Party Deserters and Switchers.....	Thurs., August 29,	3:30 p.m.
11-10. Third-Party and Non-Party Politics.....	Sat., August 31,	8:45 a.m.
11-11. Roundtable on Research on Party Organizations.....	Fri., August 30,	1:30 p.m.
11-12. The Media's Role in Elections--U.S.A. ..	Sat., August 31,	10:45 a.m.
11-13. The Media's Role in Elections--International.....	Sat., August 31,	1:30 p.m.
11-14. Interest Groups in the American States: Changing Patterns of Power and Strategy	Fri., August 30,	3:30 p.m.
11-15. Interest Groups and PACs.....	Thurs., August 29,	1:30 p.m.

The Committee for Party Renewal will also be sponsoring two panels at the Annual Meeting. They are Party Nationalization or Federalization? Intergovernmental Relations Perspectives on Party Renewal, chaired by Leon D. Epstein (Wisconsin), and Congress and Strategies for Party Renewal, chaired by Jerome M. Mileur (UMass at Amherst).

A full listing of the Convention's programs and panels is found in the Spring 1985 issue of PS.

Bulletin Board

Michael L. Vasu, Executive Editor of the "Social Science Micro-computer Review," has informed VOX POP of the availability of an electronic communications medium known as "PoliNet." It is a nationwide computer network devoted to professional communications among political scientists and public administrators. Applications of "PoliNet" include posting information, sending personal electronic mail to other subscribers, and conducting discussions on present research. For further information please contact Michael Vasu, North Carolina State University, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Social Science Research and Instructional Computing Lab, Box 8101, Raleigh, N.C., 27695-8101. He may also be reached at his office by telephone at (919) 737-2481 or 737-3791.

Stuart Nagel, on behalf of the Policy Studies Organization, has notified VOX POP about the availability of a special discount for the subsection on all PSO symposia. Covering a great variety of topics, the symposia, which in all number better than 70, would be offered to our subsection members at 25% off the regular price of \$4 per symposium. For a list of titles please contact Stuart Nagel, Policy Studies Organization, 361 Lincoln Hall, 702 S. Wright Street, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana Illinois, 61801-3696.

J. Zvi Namenwirth of the University of Connecticut and Bob Weber of Harvard University have studied the texts of party platforms in American political campaigns 1844-1864. Recently, they archived the texts of these platforms in machine-readable format at two major data archives, the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut and the Zentralarchiv fuer Empirische Sozialforschung at the University of Cologne. The text of these platforms is now available to scholars at a nominal fee. Contact Bob Weber, Ph.D., Statistical Consultant, Harvard University, Office for Information Technology, 1730 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass., 02138.

VOX POP has received a letter from Dr. Eze Ogueri II, from Nigeria. Dr. Ogueri is interested in a visiting Professorship in the United States for a year or so, and may be contacted at the following address: Dr. Eze Ogueri II, P.O. Box 1340, Owerri, Imo State, Nigeria.

Early Returns: Research in Progress

Kay Lawson (San Fransisco State) and Peter Merkl (U. C. Santa Barbara) will soon publish a volume of studies they have edited called When Parties Fail: Emerging Political Organizations. The volume includes studies of Solidarity, the German Greens, the Japanese Narita Airport Movement, American P.A.C.'s, the SDP in Great Britain, etc., with contributors including David Apter, Frank Sorauf, Zvi Gitelman, and others. Kay Lawson has also been studying the party renewal movement in detail, and will be publishing several articles on the subject this year.

The newsletter "Party Line," published by the Committee for Party Renewal, at the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, has served as a bipartisan exchange for political scientists and practitioners. In the Spring 1985 edition, articles of interest include "Renewing the Democratic Party: A Position Paper for the Party's Fairness Commission," and "Regulation of Political Parties" (written by the ACLU Free Speech Association Committee).

ABSTRACTS

Below are brief abstracts of articles culled from a wide array of journals dated January, 1985 to present, and are listed alphabetically by author.

Abney, Glenn, Georgia State University, and Thomas P. Lauth, University of Georgia, "Interest Group Influence in City Policy-Making: The Views of Administrators," The Western Political Quarterly, vol. 38, number 1, pp. 148-160, March 1985.

Using the perceptions of municipal department heads, this article examines the influence of interest groups in policy-making, the factors which affect that influence, and the consequences of such influence on administration. Interest groups were perceived to be important in the formulation of public policy. City characteristics were not found to be related to interest group influence, but the routes of access for the groups were related to influence. Groups were found to be attracted to agencies with significant discretionary authority. Most department heads perceived the activities of groups as benign, but they were likely to regard influence on policy through the city council as threatening to neutrality in administration.

Andres, Gary J., "Business Involvement in Campaign Finance: Factors Influencing the Decision to Form a Corporate PAC," PS, vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 213-220.

Consideration of factors such as firm size, relevant regulation, and market concentration as factors influencing PAC formation.

Arrington, Theodore S., University of North Carolina, Charlotte, and Gerald L. Ingalls, "Race and Campaign Finance in Charlotte, N.C.," Western Political Quarterly, vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 578-83, Dec. 1984.

Although blacks give as frequently as white, they give smaller amounts per capita and concentrate their giving on the relatively small number of black candidates.

Brady, David W., Rice University, and Patricia A. Hurley, Rice University, "The Prospects of Contemporary Partisan Realignment," PS, vol. XVIII, No. 1, pp. 63-68, Winter, 1985.

An examination of the party in government, in the electorate, and as organization, concluding the evidence for partisan realignment is minimal.

Conover, Pamela Johnston, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "The Impact of Group Economic Interests on Political Evaluations," American Politics Quarterly, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 139-166, April 1985.

This article explores the role of group economic interests in performance evaluations and finds that group economic interests are perceived to overlap relatively little with personal, and especially national, interests. It also finds that these group economic interests have a significant independent affect on performance evaluations.

Cotter, Patrick R., University of Alabama, "The Decline in Partisanship: A Test of Four Explanations," American Politics Quarterly, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 51-78, Jan. 1985.

This study examines four explanations associated with the rationalistic or cognitive model of party identification for the decline of partisanship and concludes that several factors affect the number of Independents within the electorate. Some factors having different effect on the partisanship of younger and older, and Northern and Southern citizens.

Crook, Sara Brandes and John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska, "Congressional Reform and Party Discipline: The Effects of Changes in the Seniority System on Party Loyalty in the U.S. House of Representatives," British Journal of Political Science, vol. 15, Part II, pp. 207-226, April, 1985.

Study of the changes in the seniority system that concludes that those nearing consideration for committee chairmanships have boosted their support for party substantially.

Devine, Joel A., Tulane University, and Timothy M. Stearns, University of Wisconsin-Madison, "Class, Party, and Electoral Mobilization; A Reappraisal of the British Experience," Social Science Quarterly, vol. 66, number 1, pp. 90-103, March 1985.

Two compelling perspectives concerning the relationship between social class and political party are analyzed. A political convergence perspective suggests that class-party linkages solidify with industrialization and subsequently erode with the diminution of traditional class identities. Alternatively, a political institutionalization perspective views the solidification of class and party as a permanent development within industrialized nations. The findings suggest that neither perspective is entirely accurate.

Gibson, James L., University of Houston, et al., "Whither the Local Parties? A Cross Sectional and Longitudinal Analysis of the Strength of Party Organizations," American Journal of Political Science, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 139-160, Feb. 1985.

Study showing that while the strength of local party organizations has not declined over the past two decades, strength does differ by region (not party) and is independent of state parties.

Giles, Micheal W., Emory University, and Arthur S. Evans, "External Threat, Perceived Threat, and Group Identity," Social Science Quarterly, vol. 66, no 1, pp. 50-66, March 1985.

Empirical Analysis of the two step theory of group solidarity reveals the relationship between external threat and perceived threat may be more complicated than recognized before.

Hansen, John Mark, "The Political Economy of Group Membership," American Political Science Review, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 79-96.

Examination of the incentives affecting group membership, concluding that collective political benefits are important, especially when groups are threatened. Also raised is the question of subsidies needed to underwrite the organization of large groups.

Jones, Ruth S., Arizona State University, and Thomas J. Borris, "Strategic Contributing in Legislative Campaigns: The Case of Minnesota," Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. X, no 1., pp. 89-106, Feb. 1985.

The contribution patterns of PACs and parties differ when competitiveness of state legislative races is taken into account, with parties being the more strategic givers.

Ladd, Everett Carl, University of Connecticut, "On Mandates, Realignments, and the 1984 Presidential Election," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 100, number 1, pp. 1-25, Spring 1985.

The author analyzes the 1984 presidential election as a massive endorsement of the incumbent arrived at early and firmly. Looking beneath the election's immediate context, Ladd sees a slowly unfolding contemporary realignment that differs fundamentally from its New Deal predecessor because of the prominent part played by dealignment--the weakening of voter ties to any party.

Maitland, Ian, University of Minnesota, "Interest Groups and Economic Growth Rates," Journal of Politics, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 44-58, Feb. 1985.

Empirical study supporting Olson's contention that encompassing interest organizations will pursue less growth defeating strategies.

McAllister, Ian, Australian National University, and Anthony Mughen, "Attitudes, Issues, and Labour Party Decline in England, 1947-1979," Comparative Political Studies, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 37-57, April 1985.

A study of Labour's electoral declines that concludes the party suffered a "backlash" from economic hard times not a decline in national support groups.

McGraw, Dickinson, Arizona State University, and Richard McCleary, University of Mexico,, "PAC Spending, Electioneering and Lobbying: A Vector ARIMA Time Series Analysis," Polity, vol. 17, number 3, pp. 574-585, Spring 1985.

Scholars normally treat political action committees (PACs) as electoral phenomena, arguing that interest groups solicit and make contributions primarily to influence election outcomes. Other scholars, however, argue that while PAC contributions function to elect favored candidates, they also function to influence specific, pending legislation. According to this interpretation, exchange relationships between PACs and incumbent candidates are more explicit, specific, and embedded in the legislative process than the first view assumes. The authors hypothesize that PACs contribute money to incumbent candidates not only to secure their re-election but also to influence their behavior in pending legislative decisions.

Nice, David C., University of Georgia, "Party Realignment and Presidential Tenure: Some Implications for the Six Year Term Proposal," Policy Studies Journal, vol. 13, no 2., pp. 295-302, Dec. 1984.

Relates the probable impact of a six year presidential term to the age of the party system.

Patterson, Samuel C., and Gregory A. Caldeira, University of Iowa, "The Etiology Of Party Competition," American Political Science Review, vol. 78, no 3., Sept. 1984.

The authors focus upon the question, "Why are political parties more competitive in some states than in others?" After measuring state-level competitiveness and analyzing elections in the 1970's, taking into account regional differences, the authors present four lines of reasoning, including demographics, urbanization, diversity, and strength of party organizations.

Peskin, Allan, Cleveland State University, "Who Were the Stalwarts? Who Were Their Rivals? Republican Factions in the Gilded Age," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 99, number 4, pp. 703-716, Winter 1948-85.

The author takes a close look at Republican party factionalism in the late nineteenth century through a collective biography of the delegates to the Republican convention of 1880. He concludes that these factions were not held together solely by patronage, but instead exhibited striking demographic and other distinctions which accounted for their different views on issues and political strategy.

Rudig, Wolfgang, University of Manchester, "The Greens in Europe: Ecological Parties and the European Elections of 1984," Parliamentary Affairs, vol. 38, number 1, pp. 56-72, Winter 1985.

This review attempts to demonstrate the great diversity of green party politics throughout the European Community. While the complexity and variety of national cases makes it very difficult to categorize green parties, the review introduces a distinction between the "purist" approach to green politics (which shuns connections to the New Left and concentrates primarily on ecological issues) and the "rainbow" approach (which attempts to represent an alliance of ecological, youth, feminist, peace, minority and New Left groups).

Smith, V. Kerry, "A Theoretical Analysis of the 'Green Lobby'," American Political Science Review, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 132-147, Feb. 1985.

Development of a theoretical framework for the explanation of individuals' decisions to join public interest groups.

Sorauf, Frank J., University of Minnesota, "Who's in Charge? Accountability in Political Action Committees," Political Science Quarterly, pp. 591-614, Winter 1984-85.

The author asks to whom are political action committees (PACs) accountable for the resources they spend on American electoral politics. He finds that with some significant exceptions, the main line of accountability in a PAC is not to its donors, but to its parent organization, which makes the critical decisions on political choices and decisions.

Truman, David B., Mount Holyoke College, "Party Reform, Party Atrophy, and Constitutional Change: Some Reflections," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 99, number 4, pp. 637-655, Winter 1984-85.

The author argues that state Democratic parties essentially abdicated their power over the nomination of presidential candidates when presented with the McGovern-Fraser "reform" proposals of 1968-72 and explains that this abdication in terms of two long-term influences: the nationalization of legislative power in the 1930's and the system of nomination by direct primary. He also speculates on future prospects of the two major parties.

Williams, Philip, Nuffield College, Oxford, "Review Article: Party Realignment in the United States and Great Britain," British Journal of Political Science, vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 95-114, January 1985.

Examinations of the implications of increasing dealignment of voters with particular parties on the theories of party realignment.

Wolfe, Joel D., Georgetown University, "The British Labour Party and The Decline of Class Politics," Polity, vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 608-617, Spring, 1985.

A review article concluding that in this period of class dealignment and disorganization, it is too soon to believe that a new consensus is emerging in Britain.

Wood, David M. University of Missouri-Columbia, and William G. Jacoby, University of Missouri-Columbia, "Intra Party Cleavage in the British House of Commons: Evidence from the 1974-1979 Parliament," American Journal of Political Science, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 203-223, Feb. 1985.

Cumulative and proximity scaling models are used to support the contention that Labour is a party of factions while Conservatives exhibit tendencies.