

**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

**Bringing 75 Years of Public Opinion Data into the Classroom (co-sponsored by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research)**

Thursday, Aug 28, 10:15 AM

Political scientists George Marcus of Williams College and Greg Shaw of Illinois Wesleyan discuss their use of the Roper Center's resources when teaching undergraduates. Center senior staff, Marc Maynard and Lois Timms-Ferrara, describe the data sources and demonstrate the unique research tools. This will be an informative session for anyone teaching political behavior, research methods, or any course that uses public opinion data.

Attendees who are not already members will benefit from an extended trial for their school.

opinion polling field to study partisanship, political attitudes, and the major issues of the era. Responding to their work will be David Mayhew and Suzanne Mettler.

Attendees interested in looking more closely at these data will be given an opportunity to do so with an extended trial membership to the Roper Center's collections.

The *Financing the 2012 Election* book published by Brookings Institution Press is now available for purchase at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/books/2013/financing-the-2012-election>. Order now!

The new *State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties, 7<sup>th</sup> ed.* book has been published! If you would like to buy a copy, you may do so at <https://rowman.com/ISBN/978-1-4422-2560-2>.

**Using Archived Data to Study Public Opinion and American Political Development (co-sponsored by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research)**

Please join us for a panel that looks at public opinion at a decisive time in American politics: the 1930s and 1940s. The joint scholarly work of Adam Berinsky of MIT and Erick Schickler of UC Berkeley involves the study of the American mass public from the 1930s through the early 1950s. Learn about how the team reworked the data collected by Elmo Roper and George Gallup, the two pioneers in the

**From Headquarters.....2**  
**Scholarly Precincts.....2,3,4,5,6**  
**Chair:** Marc Hetherington, Vanderbilt University  
**Secretary-Treasurer:** Holly Brasher, University of Alabama at Birmingham  
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## FROM HEADQUARTERS

### POP Business Meeting

Thursday, August 28, 2014, 12:15 – 1:15 p.m.

## SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

### APSA 2014 Annual Meeting

#### Division 35

#### Political Organizations and Parties

August, 2014

#### 35-1 The Regulation of Organizational Life in Advanced Democracies: Between State Support and State Encroachment

Thursday, Aug 28, 2014, 10:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Chair(s): Elizabeth Bloodgood, Concordia University and Nicole Bolleyer, University of Exeter

Papers: “The Regulation of Organizational Life in Advanced Democracies: Driven by Organizational Type or State Tradition?” Nicole Bolleyer, University of Exeter and Mariana Skirmuntt, University of Exeter.

“Assessing the Transformation of Advocacy Groups and Their Democratic Contribution.” Darren R. Halpin, Australian National University.

“Regulating ‘Third Parties’ as Political and Electoral Actors: Comparative Insights and Questions for Democracy.” Anika Gauja, University of Sydney and Graeme Orr, University of Queensland.

“The Regulation of Political Parties and Interest Groups Compared: Evidence from Modern European Constitutions,” Gabriela Borz, University of Strathclyde.

“Explaining Non-governmental Organizations in the OECD: The Role of Political Parties.” Elizabeth Bloodgood, Concordia University, Joannie Tremblay-Boire, University of Washington, and Richard S. Katz, Johns Hopkins University.

Disc: Sarah S. Stroup, Middlebury College.

#### 35-2 Campaign Fundraising, Spending, and Reform

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 8:00 – 9:45 a.m.

Chair: John Green, University of Akron

Papers: “Do we Know the Cost of Campaigns in the U.S.?” Robin Kolodny, Temple University.

“Anonymous Money in Congressional Campaigns: Is Sunlight the Best Disinfectant?” Daniel E. Chand, New Mexico State University.

“Are Internet Donors Different?: Presidential Donor Modes of Solicitation and Contribution in 2008 and

2012.” Jay Goodliffe, Brigham Young University, David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University and Joseph A. Olsen, Brigham Young University.

“Super PAC Spending Strategies in the 2012 Federal Elections.” Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico and Evelyn Elizabeth Braz.

“Blacklisted Benefactors: The Political Contestation of Nonmarket Strategy.” Timothy Werner, University of Texas at Austin, and Mary Hunter-McDonnell, Georgetown University.

Disc: Michael J. Malbin, SUNY, University at Albany

#### 35-3 Party Polarization

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 10:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Chair: Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University

“Explaining Party Polarization Given Voters with Convergent Preferences: A Marketing Model of Branding.” Robert Bruhl, University of Illinois, Chicago.

“The Tea Party in Local Politics.” Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University and Kent E. Portney, Tufts University.

“Party Polarization and the Political Representation of the Poor: Evidence from the U.S. House.” Christopher R. Ellis, Bucknell University.

“The Link between Women in the Workforce and Party Polarization.” Barry C. Burden, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

“Polarization and Moderation in Congress: Partisanship, District Sorting, and Partisan Tides.” Daniel J. Lee, Michigan State University and Jean-Francois Godbout, Princeton University.

Disc: Seth E. Masket, University of Denver

#### 35-4 Contextual Variation in Interest Group Activity

Friday, Aug 29, 2:00 – 3:45 p.m.

Chair: Laura R Woliver, University of South Carolina

Papers: “Politics, Parties, and Prosperity: The Impact of Party Competition on Policy Outcomes in 50 States.” Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester.

“Consider the Context: How State Policy Environments Shape Interest Group Advocacy.” Kathleen Marchetti, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

“Lobbying Opponents or Allies? On the Importance of Issue-Context, Group Type and Institutional Environment.” Jan Beyers, University of Antwerp and Marcel Hanegraaff, University of Antwerp.

“How Movements Matter: The Politics of Environmental Policy Change.” Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University.

Disc(s): Bryan S. McQuide, Grand View College and Laura R. Woliver, University of South Carolina.

### **35-5 The Coalitional Politics of U.S. Parties**

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 4:15 – 6:00 p.m.

Chair: Heath Brown, Seton Hall University

Papers: “Demanding Policy: Purposive Goals and American Party Elites.” Kimberly H. Conger, Colorado State University, Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Notre Dame, Rosalyn Cooperman, University of Mary Washington, John C. Green, University of Akron, Kerem Ozan Kalkan, Old Dominion University, and Richard Herrera, Arizona State University, and Gregory D. Shufeldt, University of Notre Dame.

“Women and the Parties: An Analysis of Republican and Democratic Strategies for Recruiting Women Candidates.” Laurel Elder, Hartwick College.

“Issue Convergence as a Persuasion Tool: Evidence from Senate and Presidential Elections.” Michael M. Franz, Bowdoin College.

“Lead, Follow, or Get Out of the Way: Elite Party Actor Endorsements in Presidential Nominating Contests, 2004-2012.” Christopher J. Galdieri, Saint Anselm College and Kevin Parsneau, Minnesota State University, Mankato.

“From Friends to Family: How Groups Decide to Ally with a Party.” Casey Byrne Dominguez, University of San Diego and Richard McGrath Skinner, American University.

Disc(s): Hans Noel, Georgetown University and Heath Brown, Seton Hall University.

### **35-6 Parties and Campaign Finance**

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 10:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Chair: R. Sam Garrett, Congressional Research Service

Papers: “How Participation in the Financing of Presidential Nomination Candidates is Changing: Elections, 2004-2012.” Karen Denice Sebold, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville and Joshua L. Mitchell, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

“Individual Party Donors: True Allies or Free Agents?” Anne E. Baker, Miami University.

“Who Comes Back to The Base? The Effect of Divisive Primaries on Campaign Contributions.” Sarah Niebler and Carly Jean Urban, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

“Why and Where the Money Flows: An ERGM Analysis of Shared Donors among Presidential Candidates.” Andrew J. Dowdle, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville and Song Yang, University of

Arkansas.

Disc: Robin Kolodny, Temple University

### **35-7 Party Development in the U.S.**

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 7:30 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Chair: Andrew J. Dowdle, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Papers: “The Costs of Party Reform.” Seth E. Masket, University of Denver.

“The Development of the American Party System in the Context of a Competitive Equilibrium.” Joshua N. Zingher, SUNY, Binghamton University.

“An Ecological Theory of Party Movement: Activist Resources, Incumbent Replacement, and the Dynamics of Abortion Politics in the United States.” Jacob M. Montgomery, Washington University in St. Louis.

“When Does a Faction Become a Splinter Group?” Marcos Menchaca, University of California, Los Angeles.

“What’s in a Name?: Exploring the Evolution of Party Brand; 1976-2012.” Justine G.M. Ross, University of California, Riverside.

Disc: David Karol, University of Maryland, College Park and Andrew J. Dowdle, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

### **35-8 Investigating Partisanship in the Electorate**

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 4:30 – 6:00 p.m.

Chair: Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona

Papers: “Occupation and the Attenuation of Income’s Effect on Party Voting.” Andrew J. Taylor, North Carolina State University.

“Do Independent Leaners Vote Differently for Congressional Candidates?” Zachary Folsom Cook, DePaul University.

“Partisan Splitters and Independent Loyalists: How Partisanship Can Promote Divided Ballots.” Jack Edelson, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

“The Rise of the Appalachian Republicans: Party Realignment and Unhyphenated Americans.” Brian K. Arbour, CUNY-John Jay College.

“The Tea Party Gap within the Republican Party.” Patrick I. Fisher, Seton Hall University.

Disc(s): Joshua N. Zingher, SUNY, Binghamton University and Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona.

### **35-9 Party Informational Cues**

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 9:30 – 11:00 a.m.

Chair: Patrick J. Egan, New York University

Papers: “Parties in Popular Initiatives: Involuntary Subjects or Skilful Puppeteers?” Marie-Catherine Gabrielle Wavreille, Université libre de Bruxelles and Elwin Ferdinand Reimink, Université libre de Bruxelles.

“The Dynamics of Party Re-Labeling.” Mi-son Kim, University of Iowa.

“Communicating Noise: Vague Partisan Policy Positions in Uncertain Environments.” Nick C.N. Lin, Rice University, Jason Eichorst, and Matthew W. Loftis, Rice University.

“A Comparison of Party Influence over Policy Preferences on High versus Low Salience Issues.” Jonathan M. Ladd, Georgetown University.

“The Electoral Consequences of Government Accountability.” Zachary David Greene, University of Mannheim, Shaun Bevan, University of Mannheim, and Caterina Froio, European University Institute.

Disc(s): John A. Henderson, Yale University and Patrick J. Egan, New York University

### **35-10 Lobbying and Campaign Contributions in U.S. Politics**

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Chair: Eric S. Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Papers: “The Interest Group One Percent: The Stability and Concentration of Congressional Lobbying and Campaign Contributing.” Matt Grossmann, Michigan State University, Lee Drutman, The Sunlight Foundation, and Timothy M. LaPira, James Madison University.

“The Social Side of Corporate Political Action: Unlocking the Role of Inter-Corporate Relations in Business Networks.” Michael S Kowal, University of Massachusetts.

“Rhetoric and Contributions on a Committee Level: A Bayesian Dynamic Model.” Iliyan Iliev, University of Texas at Dallas.

“Subsidizing Participation?: ‘Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy’ and the Incentives of Participation.” Jesse M. Crosson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

“Even More of the Same: Washington Lobbying in 1996 and 2012.” Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University, New Brunswick.

Disc: Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico

### **35-11 Party Campaigning**

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 2:30 – 4:00 p.m.

Chair: Rick D. Farmer, Oklahoma Insurance Department

Papers: “Candidates as Party Brokers: When Do Politicians Support their Team?” Lucas Novaes, University of California, Berkeley.

“Voter Reactions to Party Campaign Platforms. Survey-experimental Evidence.” Pablo Fernandez-Vazquez, New York University.

“Party Organizations’ Campaign Strategies and the Electoral Context.” Ozge Kemahlioglu, Sabanci University, Ali Carkoglu, and Selim Erdem Aytac, Yale University.

“Presidential Campaign Visits and Coalition Building. The Case of Democratic Mexico.” Joy Langston and Guillermo Rosas, Washington University in St. Louis.

Disc(s): Richard McGrath Skinner, American University and Rick D. Farmer, Oklahoma Insurance Department

### **35-12 Party Leadership**

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 4:15 – 6:00 p.m.

Chair: Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University

Papers: “Party Effectiveness in the U.S. Congress.” Jason M. Roberts, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill and Nathan W. Monroe, University of California, Merced.

“Is Change Always Good? The Electoral Consequences of Party Leadership Changes.” Hande Mutlu-Eren, London School of Economics and Zeynep Somer-Topcu, Vanderbilt University.

“How Do Citizens React to Legislative Success and Failure?” John R. McAndrews, University of British Columbia.

“Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies.” Diana Z. O'Brien, University of Southern California.

Disc(s): James M. Curry, University of Utah and Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University

### **35-13 Party Adaptation and Decline**

Sunday, Aug 31, 2014, 8:00 – 9:45 a.m.

Chair: Jennifer K. Smith, Deep Springs College

Papers: “The Stability in the Quality of Party Systems and Its Impact on the Level of Democracy.” Sebnem Yardimci Geyikci, TED University.

“When New Parties Grow Old. A Survival Analysis of Newly Elected Political Parties in Advanced Democracies.” Stefanie Beyens, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

“Intra-Party Politics and Public Opinion: How Selection Processes affect Citizens’ Views on Democracy.” Yael Shomer, Tel Aviv University, Einat Lavy, Tel-Aviv University, and Gert-Jan Put, University of Leuven.

“How Hegemonic Parties Decline: Evidence from the Sub-National Level in India.” Subhasish Ray, National University of Singapore.

Disc(s): Jennifer K. Smith, Deep Springs College and Ozge Kemahlioglu, Sabanci University

### 35-14 Party Outsiders

Thursday, Aug 28, 2014, 10:15 AM-12:00 PM

Chair(s): Yael Shomer, Tel Aviv University

Papers: “When Rebels become Politicians: the Political Transformation of Former Rebel Organizations.” Pellumb Kelmendi, Brown University.

“Does Economy Matter? Party Activists as Ideological Linkages in Developing Democracies.” Sejin Koo, Texas A&M University.

“From the Bush to Parliament: The Emergence of Rebel Parties Following Negotiated Settlements.” Michael Christopher Marshall, University of North Texas.

“Resilience in Rebellion: Modeling Rebel-to-Party Transformations with Organizational Theory.” Sherry Zaks, University of California, Berkeley.

“Issues versus Ideology in Party Competition Racial Intolerance and the Right in 19 Democracies,” Paula Daniela Ganga, Georgetown University and Hans Noel, Georgetown University.

Disc: Sejin Koo, Texas A&M University

### 35-15 Electoral Rules and Party Diversity

Sunday, Aug 31, 2014, 10:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Chair: Cynthia S. Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara

Papers: Shaping Party Systems: The Effects of Runoff Rules.” Aldo Fernando Ponce, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) and Cynthia McClintock, George Washington University.

“Political Parties and the Election of Ethnic Minorities.” Stephanie S. Holmsten, University of Texas, Austin and Melanie M. Hughes, University of Pittsburgh.

“Party Competition and Efficient Distribution of Public Goods.” Sayan Banerjee, Georgia State University and Charles R. Hankla, Georgia State University.

“The Impacts of Candidate Selection Methods on Inter- and Intra- party Competitions: A Comparison between Taiwan and Japan.” Eric Chen-hua Yu, National

Chengchi University and Kaori Shoji, Gakushuin University.

“A Test of the Causal Effect of Electoral Reform on Party Systems: the Cases of Italy and New Zealand.” Dalston G. Ward, Washington University in St. Louis.

Disc(s): Robin E. Best, SUNY, Binghamton University and Cynthia S. Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara

### 35-16 Theme Panel: Party Campaigning in a Digital Age

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 8:00 a.m. – 9:45 a.m.

Chair: Stephen K. Medvic, Franklin & Marshall College

Papers: “Politics As Usual or Transformation? Mobile & Internet-Enabled Political Participation in Emerging East Asia and Latin American Democracies - Comparative Study.” Wilneida Negron, CUNY Graduate Center.

“Right-populist Parties in the Digital Age: Emergence, Electoral Success and Organisational Characteristics in the Australian Case.” Zareh Ghazarian, Monash University.

“Why Not Parties During Arab Spring?” Anton Sobolev, University of California, Los Angeles, Dmitry Dagaev, Higher School of Economics, Natalia Lamberova, University of Maryland and Konstantin Sonin, New Economic School/CEFIR.

“Why do Parties use Internet during Electoral Campaigns? The Case of 2009 EU Parliamentary Elections.” Javier Lorenzo-Rodriguez, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Disc(s): Hans J.G. Hassell, Cornell College and Stephen K. Medvic, Franklin & Marshall College

### 35-17 Geography, Political Behavior, and the Psychology of Place

Saturday, Aug 30, 2014, 4:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.

Chair: Eitan D. Hersh, Yale University

Papers: “All Politics is National: An Analysis of Gubernatorial Elections, 1930-2010.” Daniel J. Hopkins, Georgetown University.

“Why Partisans Don’t Sort: How Neighborhood Quality Concerns Limit Americans’ Pursuit of Like-Minded Neighbors.” Clayton M. Nall, Stanford University and Jonathan Mummolo, Georgetown University.

“Diversity is in the Eye of the Beholder: The Political Effects of Perceptions of Geography.” Cara Wong, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Jacob Bowers, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

“Voter Mobility Across Time and Space at Multiple Scales of Observation.” James G. Gimpel, University of

Maryland, College Park, Wendy K. Tam Cho, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Caroline Carlson, University of Maryland, College Park.

“Measuring the Impact of Neighborhood Context on Political Participation Using an Online Marketplace.” Ryan D. Enos, Harvard University and Aaron Russell Kaufman, Harvard University.

Disc: Rocio Titunik, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**35-18 Theme Panel: Election Campaigns After the Digital Revolution**

Friday, Aug 29, 2014, 8:00 a.m. – 9:45 a.m.

Chair: Archon Fung, Harvard University

Papers: “Looking at the Man Behind the Curtain: Analytics and the Organizational Logics of Distributed Petition Sites.” David A. Karpf.

“Cultivating Activism in the Modern Era: Field Experiments on the Use of Technology to Engage Activists.” Hahrie C. Han, Wellesley College.

“Networked Ward Politics: The Personalization of Campaign Communication.” Daniel Kreiss, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

“Market Activism and the Creation of Consensual Politics.” Patricia Strach, SUNY, University at Albany and Meredith L. Weiss, Johns Hopkins University.

“Logics of Political Campaigns in the Digital Age: A Socio-Technical Perspective.” Jennifer Stromer-Galley, University at Albany, SUNY.

Disc: Archon Fung, Harvard University