

# VOX

# POP

*The Newsletter of . . . . .*

Political  
Organizations &  
Parties

*A Continuing Subfield of the American Political Science Association*

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### Results of Survey on APSA Affiliation

The Fall issue of VOX POP reported that the APSA Council decided at the 1982 Convention to recognize subfield interest groups, such as POP, as Official Sections of the APSA, providing they meet certain criteria and petition for section status. This matter was discussed at the POP Business meeting later at the Convention. Although the 25 members of POP attending the meeting showed considerable sentiment for affiliating with the APSA, we decided to put the decision to the full membership via our newsletter. A number of questions concerning membership were raised in the last issue, and members were invited to fill out a questionnaire expressing their views on these questions and on affiliation in general. A review of the 49 responses to the survey may prove helpful before members vote on affiliation using the ballot on the last page of this issue.

There would be several benefits from affiliation with the APSA. As an Official Section, POP activities would be covered in a special section of PS and its panels would be given preferential treatment in the Convention Program, rather than being relegated to an "unaffiliated groups" section. Indeed, there is no guarantee that the APSA will continue to publish a courtesy listing of unaffiliated groups. Similarly, Official Sections would be guaranteed meeting rooms at the Convention, and they may not be continued for unaffiliated groups.

Affiliation with the APSA would require that POP members also be members of the APSA. The APSA would charge \$3.00 extra for membership in each Official Section and would take on the maintenance of membership lists and membership mailings. Any extra dues beyond \$3 would be retained by POP to finance other activities--e.g., publishing a membership directory, producing a separate newsletter, paying for long-distance calls, or other expenses that attend operating a section.

The main question on the membership survey inquired whether the respondent

was also a member of the APSA. Nearly all (45 of 49) checked that they currently belonged to the APSA. When asked how much beyond the APSA dues of \$3 they would be willing to pay to belong to POP, only 3 replied nothing more, 5 said \$2, 22 said \$3, and 14 big spenders pledged to pay anything required to belong to beloved POP. Only 4 current members indicated that they did not belong to the APSA and would not join to continue in POP.

Three points came out of the survey. First, most POP members are already APSA members, and we do not stand to lose many members from affiliation. Second, most members would be willing to pay at least \$6 annually to belong to POP--\$3 to the APSA and \$3 extra to POP for additional services. Because not all respondents were willing to continue in POP if they had to join the APSA (and pay its high dues), it seems important to press the Association for some sort of "associate" membership (particularly for foreign members), should we vote to affiliate. Finally, most members seemed to favor the principle of affiliation by their survey responses and by comments returned with the form.

Alan Gitelson (Loyola University) wrote an especially thoughtful letter on the issue of Official Sections. He saw parallels with the American Psychological Association, which "has for some time used a division-type grouping of specialties for organizational purposes and for grouping papers at their annual conference" and "also sponsors a variety of specialized journals." He expressed concern, however, that the move toward specialized divisions has fractionalized the APA, leaving little sense of the "whole." On the other hand, he noted that the very existence of groups like POP reflects specialization within our discipline. In sum, Gitelson supports formal affiliation with the APSA though he expects that he may have to join other groups that focus on his other interests in political science.

Please cast your vote on affiliating with the APSA using the ballot on the last page. Because the APSA requires that groups wishing to affiliate submit a petition signed by 100 members, please sign your name on the ballot should you choose to vote in favor. The signed ballots will constitute a petition. It is much more important to return this ballot than to have responded to the fall questionnaire. We need a high level of participation to demonstrate the breadth of members' opinions on this matter, and we also need the positive votes of at least 100 APSA members to affiliate. Do your duty and vote, now.

#### POP Panel at the 1983 APSA Convention

"Political Organizations in Comparative Perspective" is the title of the annual convention panel sponsored by POP. Andrew Nathan, POP Secretary, organized and will chair the panel. Kenneth Janda, POP Chair, will serve as discussant. Three papers will be presented:

Walter K. Anderson, Department of State

"Recruitment and Organizational Control in the Bharitiya Janata Party"

Christine M. Sadowski, Hoover Institution

"The Structure and Organization of Solidarity: Strategic Determinants"

Arturo Valenzuela, Duke University

"Party Organization under an Authoritarian Regime: Chile, 1973-82"

The tradition of POP panels at the annual meeting seems to be firmly established, and Andrew Nathan has contributed to that tradition by assembling an intriguing set of papers for this year's convention.

### The Legislative Studies Group

POP members might be interested in the Legislative Studies Group, which is an informal network of scholars interested in legislative studies. Now in its sixth year, the L.S.G. annually sponsors panels at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, publishes a quarterly newsletter reporting on professional conferences and activities, and issues annual a directory of scholars active in legislative studies. (L.S.G. has already decided to petition for APSA affiliation.)

Membership in the Legislative Studies Group runs from fall to fall of each year and entitles legislative scholars to participation in the professional activities of the group, receipt of the L.S.G. newsletter, and listing in the annual directory. Membership costs \$3. Those interested in joining may contact Lawrence D. Longley, Secretary/Treasurer; Legislative Studies Group; Department; of Government; Lawrence University; Appleton, Wisconsin 54912.

### Call for Research on Congressional Political Parties by Kenneth C. Martis

The national Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is sponsoring a project of significance to historians, political scientists, geographers and others interested in American political parties, state and local history, and the history of the United States Congress. The Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress: 1789-1987 will illustrate for the first time the geographical distribution of political parties represented in the United States Congress for each of the ninety-nine congresses. The centerpiece of this work will be color national-scale maps for each Congress, showing political party representation for each congressional district in the House and for every state in the Senate. The series of maps will illustrate the birth, growth, decline, and trends of congressional political parties for every two-year period in United States history.

The above publication will necessitate the first systematic research effort to identify the political party membership/affiliation, from a wide variety of sources, for every individual who ever served in the United States Congress. Often party membership/affiliation is ambiguous, particularly pre-1870 and for such items as local and state party labels, dual and fusion tickets, and minor party influence or dominance. Therefore, a national panel of contributors is being assembled for the accurate evaluation of the party membership/affiliation of individual representatives and senators. It is presently envisioned that these researchers will be either specialists on particular areas, eras, or parties. Specific examples of expertise might include: New York City 1820-1840, the state of Kansas, the midwest during the Populist era, the Jefferson Congresses, the 58th Congress, the Greenback Party, the Republican Party 1912-1920, or the Free Soil Whig movement. All contributors will be acknowledged. Present research indicates most contributors will be responsible

for identifying only a few key individuals. Those researchers making significant contributions will be formally recognized on the title page of the atlas.

The Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress, 1789-1987 will be published as Volume II of a series of works titled the "United States Congressional Bicentennial Atlas Project." The initial volume of this series, The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789-1983, will be published in October 1982 by the Free Press division of Macmillan. Any individual wishing to participate in this project please write or telephone (304) 293-5603, Kenneth C. Martis, Associate Professor of Geography, Department of Geology and Geography, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV 26506.

Predicting Midterm Elections: CQ's Amazing Performance  
by Kenneth Janda

Evans Witt, an Associated Press reporter, reviewed political scientists' predictions of the 1982 congressional elections in "A Model Election?" [Public Opinion (December/January, 1983)] Witt summarized four prominent political science models, those of Edward Tufte, Gary Jacobson and Samuel Kernell, Douglas Hibbs, and Richard Brody--all of which relied on macro-level explanations of the two-party seat distribution following the election. Tufte's model was based on Reagan's job rating before election and the percent change in disposable income in the year before the election. The Jacobson-Kernell model utilized past congressional elections and allowed for candidates' pre-primary judgments of their likelihood of winning with strong Republican organizational help in 1982. Hibbs relied only on economic growth to predict voting percentages. Finally, Brody looked at changes in the President's popularity as shown in Gallup poll data.

None of these models performed very well in predicting Republican losses of 26 seats. Tufte, Jacobson and Kernell, and Hibbs all overestimated the Democratic gains by about 15 to 20 seats, while Richard Brody underestimated them by nearly 10 seats. Although Witt concluded that political science models "remain a fascinating method for examining and perhaps explaining" balloting in congressional elections, he couldn't help noting that pre-election estimates of "party professionals were right and the academic models were wrong."

Witt neglected evaluating one especially well-known source of congressional election prognostication: the "Special Report" on the 1982 Elections by Congressional Quarterly, which appeared as a supplement to the October 9 CQ Weekly Report. Based on a canvass of all 435 district races by CQ field reporters, Alan Ehrenhalt, one of the editors of this Special Report, wrote:

A month before Election Day, it is still plausible to argue that Democrats will gain 30 or more House seats for the 98th Congress. ...

But weeks of checking and rechecking by Congressional Quarterly in every state offers scarcely any clue to just where all these vulnerable Republican seats might be. ...

A district-by-district analysis does turn up some likely Democratic House gains -- 10 to 15 is a reasonable estimate -- but most of them are more the result of favorable redistricting than of any national mood.

In retrospect, CQ's forecast of the overall election outcome, based on the individual district predictions, seems little better than the political scientists' macro-models based on broad economic and political forces. But on closer examination, the CQ "micro" predictions are amazingly accurate.

The micro-macro distinction between CQ's predictions and the political scientists' deserves to be emphasized. None of the models that Witt reviewed actually made predictions about individual races; they only predicted results in the aggregate. CQ, on the other hand, actually classified all congressional districts in one of seven categories: "Safe Democratic," "Democrat Favored," "Leans Democratic," "No Clear Favorite," "Leans Republican," "Republican Favored," and "Safe Republican." Rarely do political scientists possess information that would allow such microscopic predictions. If a political scientist had the data, he or she would certainly raise the question left unanswered in the CQ Report: Precisely how did the 435 districts distribute across the seven CQ categories a month before the election?

Inexplicably (to a political scientist), CQ did not summarize its classifications for publication and apparently did not employ its district ratings in any systematic pre- or post-election analyses. Explicably (as a political scientist), I followed my natural tendency to translate classifications into rating scales and evaluated CQ's prediction record immediately after the election. The results are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: CQ Pre-Election Predictions for 435 districts by Outcome

Winner:	Safe Demo	Democrat Favored	Leans Demo	No Clear Favorite	Leans Repub	Repub Favored	Safe Repub	TOTALS
Democrat	164	44	27	21	8	4	1	269
Republican	0	0	2	12	15	29	108	166
TOTALS	164	44	29	33	23	33	109	

To learn just what CQ predicted, let us look first at the totals by category at the bottom of Table 1. CQ classified 237 seats as "leaning to safe" Democratic, and 165 seats as "leaning" to "safe" Republican. CQ rated only 33 districts as "No Clear Favorite" and made no predictions in these cases. Dividing these close seats about evenly between the parties (17 to Democrats and 16 to Republicans) would give the Republicans 181 seats -- a loss of only 11 from the 192 they held in the 97th Congress. Apparently, this sort of calculation formed the basis of CQ's estimate of a GOP loss of from 10 to 15 seats.

CQ's low estimate of Republican losses before the election was at variance

with other predictions, but, according to a phone conversation with Ehrenhalt after the election, he had confidence in his individual district judgments. We see from Table 1 that his confidence was well-placed. Out of 237 judgments of probable Democratic victories one month before the election, CQ was wrong on only 2. Its record on Republicans was not quite as good, getting 13 wrong out of 165. The overall average of correct predictions is an eye-popping 96% right. (For those more statistically inclined, the simple correlation between the dichotomous party outcome and the CQ ranking, converted to a scale from 1 to 7, was a robust .89.)

How did CQ do it? Not through sophisticated quantitative models, according to Ehrenhalt. Instead, CQ's field reporters made judgments of the quality and previous experience of the candidates, how well they were suited to their districts, how their campaigns were financed and managed, how the candidates fared in polls (when available), and, of course, how the districts voted in the past. (This last factor must have played a lesser role in 1982 due to redistricting.) This information was distilled by knowledgeable political observers who emerged with the district estimates.

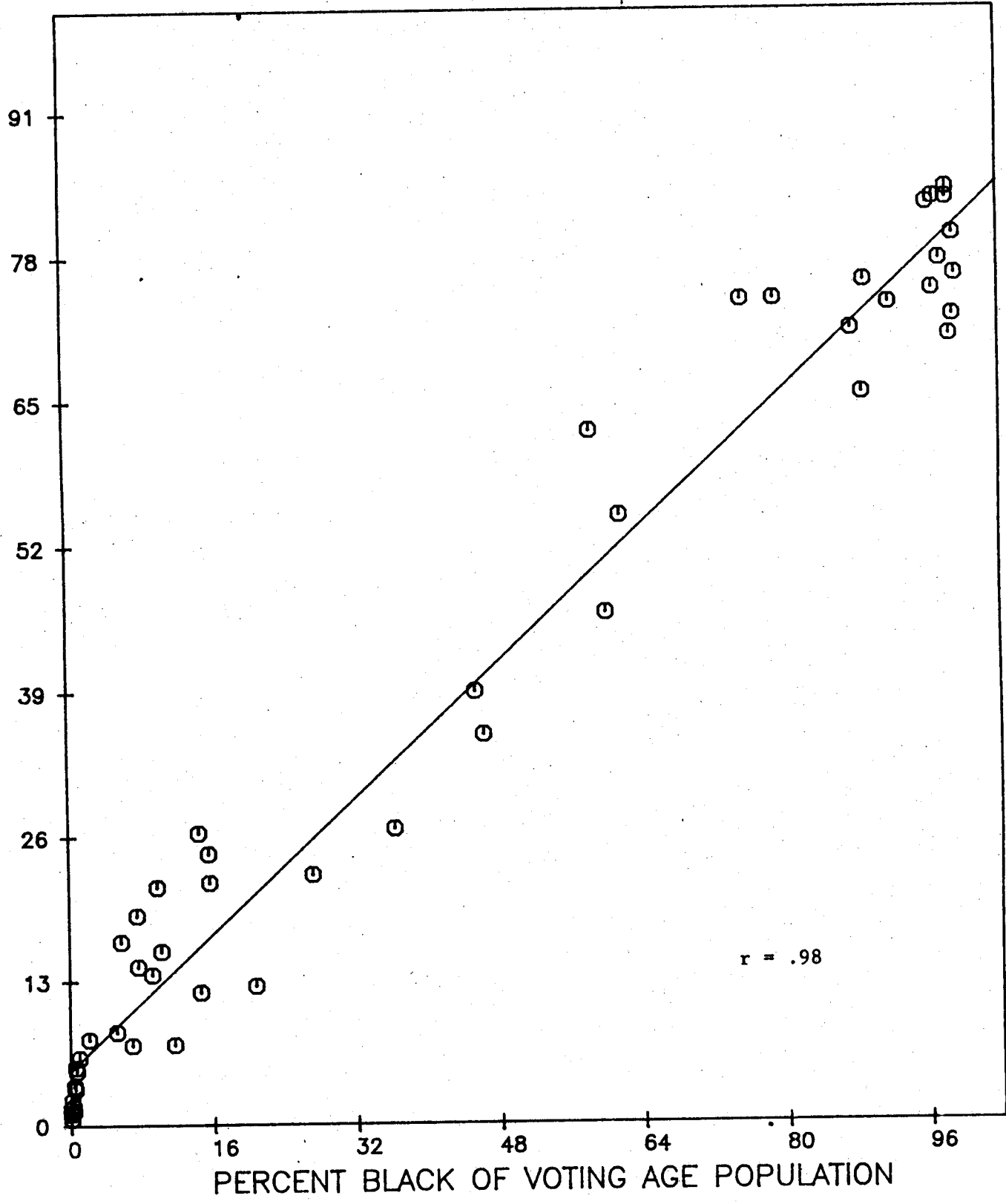
CQ's success in predicting the election outcomes seems phenomenal, and indeed it is impressive. But one should be aware of two decision rules that would make even a casual observer of politics look like a wizard at predicting the outcomes of congressional elections. The first rule is AWARD ALL ONE-PARTY RACES TO THE PARTY WHOSE CANDIDATE IS RUNNING. There were 51 uncontested races in 1982, and one could claim 51 hits in 51 at bats by following that rule alone. The second rule is AWARD ALL RACES PITTING AN INCUMBENT AGAINST A CHALLENGER TO THE INCUMBENT. There were 322 such races in 1982, and the incumbents won 93 percent of them. (Democratic incumbents won 169 out of 170 and Republican incumbents 130 out of 152.) Alone, these two rules would have enabled one to predict 94 percent of 373 congressional races in 1982.

Clearly, the challenge for the naive prognosticator lies in predicting the other 62 races that had no incumbents (57) or two incumbents (5) due to redistricting. Surprisingly, only 12 of of CQ's 33 "no clear favorite" contests involved no or dual incumbents. Of the remaining 50 contests that could not be decided by our two rules, CQ got 42 right. So CQ's amazing success cannot be explained away by the two prediction rules, although they do account for the bulk of correction predictions.

This analysis makes two major points about predicting congressional elections. The first is that it seems worthwhile to pay close attention to CQ's district-by-district election predictions when you are asked by the campus newspaper to predict the outcome of the next congressional elections. CQ's analysis will incorporate incumbency, quality of candidate, and campaign factors into election judgments grounded in local conditions. The second is that macroanalyses of congressional elections should realize that the task is not really to predict the outcome of all 435 separate races, for more than 75 percent (86 percent in 1982) are likely to be either uncontested or dominated by incumbents. Future macroanalytic models of congressional elections would do well to incorporate a bit of microanalysis in their predictions.

# 1983 DEMOCRATIC MAYORAL PRIMARY IN CHICAGO

PERCENT VOTE FOR HAROLD WASHINGTON BY WARD



(Interested??? -- See article on the next page)

Preliminary Analysis of the 1983 Chicago Mayoral Election  
by Kenneth Janda

On February 22, Congressman Harold Washington made political history in Chicago by defeating Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley in the Democratic mayoral primary, thus becoming the party's first black candidate for mayor in the nation's second largest city. Washington won the nomination with 36.5% of the vote to Byrne's 33.4% and Daley's 29.7%.

One does not need to be a political scientist to surmise that Washington did better in wards that were heavily black than in those heavily white. But being a political scientist helps to describe precisely the relationship between the percent of voting age blacks in a ward and the percent vote for Washington. The distribution of these two variables for all 50 wards is plotted on the preceding page. Political scientists are inclined to express such relationships succinctly in numbers. The correlation coefficient between these two variables is .98, a value rarely reached in social research for a simple bivariate analysis.

As is well known, ecological correlations between election returns and census data on groups cannot be translated directly into statements on voting behavior of individuals. The near-perfect correlation of .98 would seem to suggest that virtually all blacks voted for Washington and that no whites did. In fact, Washington received no more than 84% of the vote in wards that were virtually all black. The analysis does show, however, that the vote for Washington by ward was a direct function of the proportion of blacks, not just minorities. Washington's vote was actually negatively correlated at  $r = -.36$  with percent Hispanic. No doubt this election will be analyzed inside-out, upside-down, and sideways in the forthcoming months as scholars try to learn more about the changing nature of Chicago politics.

Index to Articles on Political Parties Listed in ABC POL SCI for 1982  
by Kenneth Janda and Eric Ellison

We continue in this issue a service offered in the first issue of VOX POP last Winter. ABC POL SCI publishes the tables of contents of current issues of hundreds of journals pertaining to political science and legal studies. Published in six issues annually, ABC POL SCI not only lists the titles by journals but also indexes the articles by topics. "Political Parties" had 143 entries in 1982 and "interest groups" had 9. This index includes only the 110 English-language titles under both headings. It is divided into two parts. Part I lists the titles alphabetized by keywords embedded in context. (Hence, this is called a keyword-in-context or "KWIC" index.) The average title is indexed by 5.3 keywords. Once can learn the complete citation by consulting the author list in the right-hand column and then turning to Part II, which is an author-alphabetized bibliography. This index should bring the reader up-to-date on journal articles published in English during the last half of 1981 and the first half of 1982 that dealt with parties and interest groups.





FOLLOWERS IN THE "IDEOLOGICAL CONSENSUS AND CONSTRAINT AMONG PARTY LEADERS AND F  
 WITHOUT A MANDATE: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN SCOTLAND  
 ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN SCOTLAND," A MANDAT  
 "ASSESSING CONSTITUENCY INVOLVEMENT: THE HEMEL HEMPSTEAD EXPE  
 POLICY AND CAMPAIGN COSTS IN A MULTI- CONSTITUENCY MODEL OF ELECTORAL COMPETITION,"  
 GROUPS: A PANEL STUDY OF ELIT CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES AND INTEREST G  
 "IDEOLOGICAL CONSENSUS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL  
 AND MASS VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY STUDY OF ELIT CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL  
 GROUPS IN A POLICY PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF THE CENTRAL CONVERSION HYPOTHESIS," "THE 1928-1936  
 CHECKBOOK DEMOCRATS AND THEIR COPARTISANS: CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS AND CALIFORNIA POLITICAL LEADERS, 196  
 PARTY POLICY AND CAMPAIGN CONTROL COMMISSION FOR INSPECTING DISCIPLINE,"  
 "DECLINE AND DIVISION IN THE WA CONVENTION DELEGATES AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL  
 "DECORUM AND COURTESY," "THE 1928-1936 CONVERSION HYPOTHESIS,"  
 PARTY WORKERS MATTER? THE EVIDENCE FROM COPARTISANS: CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS AND CALIFORNIA  
 GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UN COSTS IN A MULTI-CONSTITUENCY MODEL OF ELECTORAL C  
 "PARTY COHESION IN THE COUNTRY PARTY,"  
 AN PARTY SYSTEM: WOMEN'S POLITICS IN COURTESY," "DO P  
 CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY REFORM, AND CROSS-NATIONAL VALIDITY OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION I  
 THE ASSESSMENT," DANISH PARLIAMENT DURING THE 1970S,"  
 "CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELATELINE ATHENS: GREECE FOR THE GREEKS,"  
 MEDIARY GROUPS ON URBAN PUBLIC SERVICE DECADA OF TURMOLL," "EMINISM AND THE ITALI  
 ITY, AND MASS VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY DECLINE AND DIVISION IN THE WA COUNTRY PARTY,"  
 USE PARTY'S INNER PARTY DISCIPLINE AND DECLINE OF AMERICAN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS,"  
 T. MCCLOSKEY AND FRIENDS REVISITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC PARTY SYSTEMS IN EUROPE: DIMENSIONS, CH  
 AMGE, AND STABILITY," DEMOCRATIC STABILITY AND ETHNIC PARTIES,"  
 TJAS AND CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATS AND THEIR COPARTISANS: CAMPAIGN CONTRIBU  
 "THE 1979 EUROPEAN ELECTION IN DENMARK: AN ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION, CHOICE OF P  
 EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINANT OPPOSITION PARTY IN OR  
 EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINANT OPPOSITION PARTY IN OR  
 Y-STATE RELATIONS AND SOVIET POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT," "SED VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL E  
 ENCAPSULATION AND SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY DIFFERENTIATION IN TAIWAN: GROUP FORMATION WITHIN  
 THE RULING PARTY A DILEMMAS OF SINGLE-PARTY RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION,  
 "POLITICAL DIMENSION AND THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY,"  
 "FEDERALISM'S IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS," "WESTERN EUROPE  
 AN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS: A DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS," "DIMENSIONS, CHANGE, AND STABILITY,"  
 "DEMOCRATIC PARTY SYSTEMS IN EUROPE DIRECTORATES AND INTEREST GROUP FORMATION,"  
 "INTERLOCKING DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRACY: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATIO  
 CHINA: THE CHINESE PARTY'S INNER PARTY DISCIPLINE," "INARY EXAMINATION OF THE CEN  
 TRAL CONTROL COMMISSION FOR INSPECTING DISCONTENT,"  
 "THE HUNDRED FLOWERS OF DIVISION IN THE WA COUNTRY PARTY,"  
 "DECLINE AND DOMINANT OPPOSITION PARTY IN ORISSA,"  
 "EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DYNAMIC PROPERTIES OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION: A FOUR  
 -NATION COMPARISON," "THE DYNAMICS OF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD,"  
 N BARBADOS: ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES AND EASTERN CARIBBEAN'S NEWEST NATIONS,"  
 "PARTIES AND LEADERSHIP IN THE ECOLOGY PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE,"  
 "PROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC INTEREST GROUPS AND PATH ANALYSIS: TWO AP  
 THE BELGIAN ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1981: ECONOMIC POLARIZATION IN A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, 2  
 STATE POWER: SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC THEORIES OF PARTY COMPETITION,"  
 FIVE STATE ANALYSIS," "THE EFFECTS OF INITIATIVES ON VOTER TURNOUT: A COMPARA  
 "AFRICAN EXPERIENCE," "THE EFFECTS OF REFORM ON PARTY: SOME NOTES FROM THE AM  
 CHOICE OF "THE 1979 EUROPEAN ELECTION IN DENMARK: AN ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION,  
 A MULTI-PARTY "THE BELGIAN ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1981: ECONOMIC POLARIZATION I  
 ISRAEL LABOR PARTY IN THE WAKE OF THE ELECTION OF 1977," "MENT MOVEMENTS OF THE  
 "PARTY AND PRESIDENCY: THE FRENCH ELECTION OF 1981,"  
 "THE 1981 ELECTIONS AND PARTIES IN GREECE,"  
 "THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS AND THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF THE ISRAELI  
 SUPPORT IN WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS OF 1981,"  
 PARTY POLITICS IN JAPAN: THE JUNE 1980 ELECTIONS, 1974 AND 1977," "TERMS OF PARTY  
 PARTY LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS IN THE 1978 ELECTION,"  
 COSTS IN A MULTI-CONSTITUENCY MODEL OF ELIT CONSENSUS AND CONSTRAINT AMONG P  
 ORIENTATIONS AMONG POLITICA ICY AND CAMPAIGN  
 AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL STUDY OF ELECTORAL COMPETITION,"  
 1980 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY ELITE BELIEF SYSTEMS REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY  
 P-TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY ELITE SOCIALIZATION," "ONVENTION DELEGATES  
 WHY ENFRANCHISED VOTER? ORGANIZATIONAL ELITES COMPARED TO THE MASS PUBLIC," "ITED  
 E POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF THE NEWLY ENCAPSULATION AND SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY DEVELOPME  
 "MINOR PARTIES IN REALIGNING NFRANCHISED VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULATION A  
 "DEMOCRATIC STABILITY AND ETHNIC PARTIES,"  
 "WESTERN EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS: A DIMEN  
 CIPATION, CHOICE OF "THE 1979 EUROPEAN ELECTION IN DENMARK: AN ANALYSIS OF PARTI  
 "FACTIONALISM IN WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS,"  
 "ECOLOGY PARTIES IN WEST EUROPE,"  
 CHOICE OF PARTY, AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS EUROPE: DIMENSIONS, CHANGE, AND STABILITY,"  
 "DEMOCRATIC PARTY SYSTEMS IN EVIDENCE FROM CROSBY,"  
 "DO PARTY WORKERS MATTER? THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINANT OPPOSITI  
 IN PARTY IN ORISSA," "EXAMINATION OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION FOR  
 DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRACY: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA,"  
 "FROM PARTIES TO CANDIDATES: EXOGENOUS VOTER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH STATE  
 POWER: SOME INTERNAL PROBL EXPERIENCE," "ASSESSING CONSTIT  
 AGENCY INVOLVEMENT: THE HEMEL HEMPSTEAD "THE EFFECTS OF REFORM  
 IN PARTY: SOME NOTES FROM THE AM EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF 1981,"  
 "POLAND'S PARTY POLITICS: THE FACTIONAL STRIFE IN THE NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY, 19  
 18-1924," "FACTIONALISM IN WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES: A FRAMEWORK  
 FOR ANALYSIS," "FATE OF APPOINTED SENATORS,"  
 "TREAMILL TO OBLIVION: THE FEDERALISM'S IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION AND THE AUSTRAL  
 IAN LABOR PARTY," "FINER: THE CHANGING BRITISH PARTY SYSTEM, 1945-197  
 "S. E. FLOWERS OF DISCONTENT,"  
 "THE HUNDRED FOLLOWERS IN THE 1978 ELECTION," "NSSENSUS  
 AND CONSTRAINT AMONG PARTY LEADERS AND "IDEOLOGY, PARTIES, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA,"

BISHOP, GEORGE  
 MILLER, BILL, A  
 MILLER, BILL, A  
 CAIN, BRUCE F.,  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 BISHOP, GEORGE  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 COLARULLI, GUY  
 COSTANTINI, EDM  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 ERIKSON, ROBERT  
 COSTANTINI, EDM  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 LAYMAN, LENORE,  
 CHING-LI, CHANG  
 EDINBURGH UNIVE  
 HUGHAN, A.,  
 SVENSSON, PALLE  
 LARRABEE, F. I  
 ERGAS, YASMINE,  
 LAYMAN, LENORE,  
 WARE, ALAN,  
 PERLMUTTER, AND  
 CHING-LI, CHANG  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 JONES, BRYAN D.  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 JACKSON, JOHN S  
 ERSSON, SVANTE,  
 AMERSFOORT, HAN  
 COSTANTINI, EDM  
 WORRE, TORBEN,  
 ROUT, B. C.,  
 HILL, RONALD J.  
 WELLMOFER, E.  
 DONES, JURGEN,  
 VON BURCKE, AST  
 GALLIGAN, BRIAN,  
 FLANIGAN, WILLI  
 ERSSON, SVANTE,  
 MINTZ, BETH, AN  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 PRYBYLA, JAN S.,  
 LAYMAN, LENORE,  
 ROUT, B. C.,  
 LEOUX, LAWRENCE,  
 WILL, W. MARVIN  
 HENDRICKSON, EP  
 MULLER-RUMMEL, F  
 HAMMACK, DAVID  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 EVERSON, DAVID  
 DEBATS, DONALD  
 WORRE, TORBEN,  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR  
 SHERMAN, NEAL  
 HANLEY, DAVID,  
 FEATHERSTONE, KI  
 AZHON, YAEI,  
 BELL, DAVID, AN  
 HARRIS, PAUL,  
 QUO, F. QUEI,  
 BISHOP, GEORGE  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 KINGSLEY, ROGER  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 JACKSON, JOHN S.  
 JENNINGS, M. K.  
 WELLMOFER, E.  
 WELLMOFER, E.  
 FREIE, JOHN F.,  
 AMERSFOORT, HAN  
 FLANIGAN, WILLI  
 WORRE, TORBEN,  
 HINE, DAVID,  
 MULLER-RUMMEL, F  
 WORRE, TORBEN,  
 ERSSON, SVANTE,  
 EDINBURGH UNIVE  
 ROUT, B. C.,  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 WATTENBERG, MARY  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 CAIN, BRUCE F.,  
 DEBATS, DONALD  
 WIATR, JERZY J.,  
 NILSON, STEN SP  
 HINE, DAVID,  
 MORRIS, WILLIAM  
 GALLIGAN, BRIAN,  
 ERGAS, YASMINE,  
 DURAN, ESPERANZ  
 PRYBYLA, JAN S.,  
 BISHOP, GEORGE  
 RADU, MICHAEL,



IEW, " RECENT LITERATURE ON COMPARATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES: A REV  
 NS OF PARTY SUPPORT IN WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS, 1974 AND 1977," TER  
 POLANO, 19 "LUBLIN" VERSUS "LONDON"—THE PARTY AND THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IN  
 RICA, 1892-1902," "THE PARTY WE LORD RIPON AND LIBERAL PARTY POLICY IN SOUTHERN AF  
 UND MOVEMENT IN POLAND, 19 "LUBLIN" VERSUS "LONDON"—THE PARTY AND THE UNDERGRO LOVE,  
 RVATIVE "GOVERNMENT WITHOUT A MANDATE: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CONSE  
 OUS: ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES MASS POLITICAL PARTY INSTITUTIONALISATION IN BARBA  
 EPUBLICAN PARTY ELITES COMPARED TO THE MASS PUBLIC," ITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC AND R  
 RTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MASS VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES,"  
 OOD PARTY WORKERS "MATTER? THE EVIDENCE FROM CROSBY,"  
 D REPUBLICAN PARTY E "HERBERT MCCLOSKEY AND FRIENDS REVISITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC AN  
 CANDIDATES: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE MEASURING INTERESTS: GROUPS IN A POLICY CONTEXT,"  
 AFFILIATED TRADE UNIONIST AND BRANCH MEDIA," "FROM PARTIES TO  
 CT ISSUES FOR RATING VOTING RECORDS OF MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY,"  
 TICAL RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY ELITES," DUPS SELE  
 A NEW TYPOLOGY OF PARTY LIFESPANS AND MINOR PARTIES IN REALIGNING ERAS," AND POLI  
 NITED "PARTY ORGANIZATION AND MINORITY NATIONALISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE U  
 "FORTY-SECOND MINUS FORTY-FOURTH—SOME PLUS POINTS,"  
 "THE MITTERRAND CHALLENGE,"  
 43-PARTY SYSTEM," "MITTERRAND'S THORN: THE PCF,"  
 CAMPAIGN COSTS IN A MULTI-CONSTITUENCY MODEL FOR REAPPORTIONMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE T  
 MINATION OF THE STANDARD SOCIOECONOMIC MODEL OF ELECTORAL COMPETITION," ICY AND  
 "THE PROBLEM OF PARTY IN MODEL," POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A REEXA  
 "LONDON"—THE PARTY AND THE UNDERGROUND MODERN BRITISH HISTORY: 1725-1832,"  
 NT TO OPPOSITION: THE RURAL SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT IN POLAND, 1944-1945," I VERSUS  
 POLITICS HAS WHITHERED AWAY! THE CLUB MOVEMENTS OF THE ISRAEL LABOR PARTY IN THE WAKE OF  
 "PARTY POLICY AND CAMPAIGN COSTS IN A MOVEMENT, PARTY REFORM, AND THE DECLINE OF AMERICA  
 MBER 1981: ECONOMIC POLARIZATION IN A MULTI-CONSTITUENCY MODEL OF ELECTORAL COMPETITION,  
 RTIES OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION: A FOUR- MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, 2 GIAN ELECTION OF NOV  
 BRITAIN AND THE U "THE CROSS- NATION COMPARISON," "THE DYNAMIC PROPE  
 "PARTY ORGANIZATION AND MINORITY NATIONAL VALIDITY OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION: GREAT  
 "PARTY RECRUITMENT AND THE NATIONALISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE UNITED KIN  
 SHIP IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN'S NEXTEST NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR: A STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUB  
 "COMMENTARY: A NEW CENTRE PARTY,"  
 "THE ITALIAN RADICAL PARTY AND THE NEW POLITICS,"  
 "PROPOSAL FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE LEFT,"  
 "TOWARDS A NEW TYPOLOGY OF PARTY LIFESPANS AND MINOR PARTIES,  
 "PARTY RESEARCH UNITS IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT,"  
 LEADERSHIP IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN'S NEXTEST NATIONS,"  
 "THE POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF THE NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULA  
 "FACTIONAL STRIFE IN THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY, 1918-1924,"  
 RTY "THE BELGIAN ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1981: ECONOMIC POLARIZATION IN A MULTI-PA  
 "TREADHILL TU OBLIVION: THE FATE OF APPOINTED SENATORS,"  
 MATION WITHIN THE RULING PARTY AND THE OPPOSITION CIRCLES, 1979-1980," GROUP FOR  
 LUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOMINANT OPPOSITION PARTY IN ORISSA," "EVO  
 "THE ABSENT OPPOSITION,"  
 ISRAEL LA "FROM GOVERNMENT TO OPPOSITION: THE RURAL SETTLEMENT MOVEMENTS OF THE  
 VE STUDY IN THE UNITED ORGANIZATION AND MINORITY NATIONALISM: A COMPARATI  
 ATION OF THE NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULATION AND SOCIALIST LABOR P  
 ARM, AND THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS," CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY REF  
 F SYSTEMS REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS AMONG POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVISTS,"  
 NT OF THE DOMINANT OPPOSITION PARTY IN ORISSA," "EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPME  
 ARISON, "UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND OUTLAWED POLITICAL PARTIES: A GERMAN-AMERICAN COMP  
 TION DELEGATES AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL STUDY OF ELITE SOCIALIZATION," ONVE  
 "PARTY COHESION IN THE DANISH PARLIAMENT DURING THE 1970S,"  
 "POLITICAL PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT,"  
 ARTY RESEARCH UNITS IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT,"  
 AN ELECTION IN DENMARK: AN ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION, CHOICE OF PARTY, AND ATTITUDE TOWAR  
 D POLITICAL SYSTEM PERFORMANCE: VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MASS VIOL  
 "POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A REEXAMINATION OF THE STANDARD SOC  
 HYPOTHESIS," "THE 1928-1936 PARTISAN REALIGNMENT: THE CASE FOR THE CONVERSION  
 "ECONOMIC INTEREST GROUPS AND PATH ANALYSIS: TWO APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF PD  
 BODY ELECTIONS, 1974 AND 1 PATTERNS OF PARTY SUPPORT IN WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL  
 "MITTERRAND'S THORN: THE PCF," PERFORMANCE: VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT STAN  
 "PARTY SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL SYSTEM PERIOD," BARBADOS: ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES  
 AND DYNAMICS OF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE E LABOUR PARTIES OF THE BRITISH ISLES' INTER-PARTY COMPETITION IN COMPARATIVE  
 THE POLITICS OF PAY BEDS: LABOUR PARTY POLICY AND CAMPAIGN COSTS IN A MULTI-CONSTITUENCY  
 "MEASURING INTERESTS: GROUPS IN A POLICY AND LEGISLATION,"  
 "LORD RIPON AND LIBERAL PARTY POLICY CONTEXT,"  
 "IDEOLOGY, PARTIES, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1892-1902,"  
 E BELIEF SYSTEMS REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS AMONG POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVIST  
 "INTEREST GROUPS AND PUBLIC POLICY WITHIN A STATE LEGISLATIVE SETTING,"  
 RTY REFORM "WHY AMATEUR PARTY POLITICS HAS WHITHERED AWAY! THE CLUB MOVEMENT, PA  
 AND THE ITALIAN PARTY SYSTEM: WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL," EMINISM  
 "WOMEN AND PARTY POLITICS IN AUSTRALIA,"  
 SLATION," "PARTY POLITICS IN JAPAN: THE JUNE 1980 ELECTION,"  
 THE ITALIAN RADICAL PARTY AND THE "THE POLITICS OF PAY BEDS: LABOUR PARTY POLICY AND LEGT  
 "NEW POLITICS,"  
 "POLAND'S PARTY POLITICS: THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRES POLITICS,"  
 YSIS OF THE ISSUES AND DYNAMICS OF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD," BARBADOS: ANAL  
 YSIS: TWO APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF POWER," NIC INTEREST GROUPS AND PATH ANAL  
 TER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH STATE POWER: SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC THEORIES  
 ENAL PROBLE PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT,"  
 "EXOGENOUS VOTER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH STATE POWER: SOME INT  
 DECLINE OF THE ISRAELI LABOR PARTY: A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT," "THE  
 "INNER PARTY DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRACY: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL COM  
 "PARTY AND PRESIDENCY: THE FRENCH ELECTION OF 1981,"

ALAM, MUHAMMAD  
 HARRIS, PAUL  
 REYNOLDS, JAIMI  
 DENHOLM, A. F.  
 HOUGHTON, LORD  
 REYNOLDS, JAIMI  
 MILLER, BILL, A  
 WILL, W. HARVI  
 JACKSON, JOHN S  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 EDINBURGH UNIVE  
 JACKSON, JOHN S  
 COLARULLI, GUY  
 WATTENBERG, MA  
 MITCHELL, D.  
 FOWLER, LINDA L  
 JENNINGS, M. F  
 FREIE, JOHN F.  
 PEDERSEN, MOGEN  
 MCALLISTER, IAN  
 DHOLAKIA, H. C  
 WELLS, SAMUEL F  
 AUBIN, STEPHEN  
 NEIGHBOR, HOWAR  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 ZIPP, JOHN F.  
 O'GORMAN, FRANK  
 REYNOLDS, JAIMI  
 SHERMAN, NEAL  
 WARE, ALAN  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR  
 LEDUC, LAWRENCE  
 MUGHAM, A.  
 MCALLISTER, IAN  
 MCAULEY, MARY  
 HENDRICKSON, EM  
 ANONYMOUS,  
 HANNING, JAMES,  
 DOCUMENT,  
 PEDERSEN, MOGEN  
 WILSON, J. O.  
 HENDRICKSON, EM  
 WELHOFFER, E.  
 NILSON, STEN SP  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR  
 MORRIS, WILLIAM  
 DOMES, JURGEN  
 ROUT, B. C.  
 SORENSEN, THEOD  
 SHERMAN, NEAL  
 MCALLISTER, IAN  
 WELHOFFER, E.  
 WARE, ALAN  
 KINGSLEY, ROGER  
 ROUT, B. C.  
 FRANZ, PAUL  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 SVENSSON, PALLE  
 BEKKEP, J. C.  
 WILSON, J. O.  
 WORRE, TORBEN  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 ZIPP, JOHN F.  
 ERIKSON, ROBERT  
 HAMMACK, DAVID  
 HARRIS, PAUL  
 AUBIN, STEPHEN  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 WILL, W. HARVI  
 HATR, PETER, AN  
 PUNNETT, R. H.  
 CHEN-PANG, CHAN  
 DHOLAKIA, H. C  
 REYNOLDS, JAIMI  
 WIATR, JERZY J.  
 RAMEY, PEDRO  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR  
 COSTAIN, W. DO  
 AUSTEN-SMITH, D  
 BUTCHER, TONY,  
 COLARULLI, GUY  
 DENHOLM, A. F.  
 RADU, MICHAEL  
 KINGSLEY, ROGER  
 WIGGINS, CHARLE  
 WARE, ALAN  
 ERGAS, YASMINE  
 WHITE, KATE,  
 QUD, F. QUEI,  
 BUTCHER, TONY,  
 HANNING, JAMES,  
 WIATR, JERZY J.  
 WILL, W. HARVI  
 HAMMACK, DAVID  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 PERLMUTTER, AND  
 WANG, JAMES C.  
 HANLEY, DAVID,

"THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN WILDERNESS PROTECTION,"  
 "THE ARTIES WITH STATE POWER: SOME INTERNAL POLICY AGGREGATORS IN THE LEGISLATIVE COMPARISON,"  
 "THE DYNAMIC LIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN WILDERNESS ON,"  
 "THE INTEREST GROUPS AND LUENCE OF INTERMEDIARY GROUPS ON URRBAN ICAN PARTY ELITES COMPARED TO THE MASS "THE ITALIAN "HOW INTEREST GROUPS SELECT ISSUES FOR PARTY AND BUREAUCRACY: FROM KENNEDY TO S,"  
 "THE 1928-1936 PARTISAN SYSTEM,"  
 "TOWARD A MODEL FOR STATE PARTY COMPETITION GROUPS SELECT ISSUES FOR RATING VOTING STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUBLIC PARTIES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A ANCE,"  
 "THE IMPACT OF PARTY RIENCE,"  
 "THE EFFECTS OF ITHED AWAY: THE CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY "PARTY-STATE THE USSR: A STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUBLICAN "PARTY AND IDEOLOGY IN THE HOUSE OF TAL CHANGE AND PARTY ADAPTATION IN THE FRIENDS REVISITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC AND LITIES IN THE USSR: A STUDY IN CENTRE- "A ' TOWARDS A THEORY OF PARTY ALIGNMENT: A "PARTY "SOCIAL ROLES AND POLITICAL "RETHINKING " "POLITICAL RE ON COMPARATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES: A LITICAL "ELITE BELIEF SYSTEMS "HERBERT MCCLOSKEY AND FRIENDS "TOWARD A MODEL FOR REAPPOINTMENT: "PROPOSAL FOR A NEW 1892-1902," "LORD "PARTIES TO CANDIDATES: EXAMINING THE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN P "SOCIAL "WORKER-PARTY CONFLICT IN FORM ON PARTY SYSTEMS: THE CASE OF THE "DILEMMAS OF SINGLE-PARTY IN TAIWAN: GROUP FORMATION WITHIN THE "FROM GOVERNMENT TO OPPOSITION: THE Y, PARTIES, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN SUB-SEQUENCES FOR THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN OF THE "HOW INTEREST GROUPS ILL TO OBLIVION: THE FATE OF APPOINTED OF INTERMEDIARY GROUPS ON URBAN PUBLIC "THE SIXTH PLENARY BLIC POLICY WITHIN A STATE LEGISLATIVE ON GOVERNMENT TO OPPOSITION: THE RURAL "DILEMMAS OF STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN " " "OTHER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULATION AND "THE FRENCH NTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL STUDY OF ELITE IC OF IRELAND, 1960-1981," " "ATION: A REEXAMINATION OF THE STANDARD LOPD RIPON AND LIBERAL PARTY POLICY IN "PARTY-STATE RELATIONS AND "DILEMMAS OF SINGLE-PARTY RULE IN THE "DEMOCRATIC ANCE: VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT EMS IN EUROPE: DIMENSIONS, CHANGE, AND "OD FPCIM CLEAVAGE: EVER GO PARTICIPATION: A REEXAMINATION OF THE ATIVES ON VOTER TURNOUT: A COMPARATIVE REST GROUPS AND PUBLIC POLICY WITHIN A " "OUS VOTER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH "PARTY- ICATION: GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED INTERPARTY COMPETITION IN THE AMERICAN " "FACIONAL T AND THE NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR: A ND MINORITY NATIONALISM: A COMPARATIVE DELEGATES AND INTEREST GROUPS: A PANEL AND POLITICAL RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME EOLOGY, PARTIES, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN 974 AND 19 "PATTERNS OF PARTY "PARTY SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL ARTICIPATION, GOVERNME "PARTY TY," "DEMOCRATIC PARTY AMONG POLITICAL "ELITE BELIEF S OF THE CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN PARTY TERN EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PARTY "THE IMPACT OF PARTY REFORM ON PARTY E. FINER: THE CHANGING BRITISH PARTY ECONOMIC POLARIZATION IN A MULTI-PARTY

PRIVATE INTEREST IN WILDERNESS PROTECTION,"  
 PROBLEM OF PARTY IN MODERN BRITISH HISTORY: 1725-1  
 PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC THEORIES OF PARTY COMPETITION  
 PROCESS," "INTEREST GROUPS AS  
 PROPERTIES OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION: A FOUR-NATION  
 PROPOSAL FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE LEFT  
 PROTECTION," "THE PUB  
 PSYCHEDELICS: A TEST CASE FOR THE LIBERTARIAN,"  
 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN WILDERNESS PROTECTI  
 PUBLIC POLICY WITHIN A STATE LEGISLATIVE SETTING,"  
 PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY," "UCRACY: THE INF  
 PUBLIC," "ITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUB  
 RADICAL PARTY AND THE "NEW POLITICS","  
 RATING VOTING RECORDS OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONG  
 READING NOTES, WINTER 1982,"  
 REAGAN,"  
 REALIGNING EPAS,"  
 REALIGNMENT ON THE LEFT: AN INTRODUCTORY GUIDE,"  
 REALIGNMENT: THE CASE FOR THE CONVERSION HYPOTHESI  
 REAPPOINTMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE TWO-PARTY S  
 RECONSIDERED,"  
 RECORDS OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS,"  
 RECRUITMENT AND THE NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR: A S  
 REEXAMINATION OF THE STANDARD SOCIOECONOMIC MODEL,  
 REFORM ON PARTY SYSTEMS: THE CASE OF THE RPR IN FR  
 REFORM ON PARTY: SOME NOTES FROM THE AMERICAN EXPE  
 REFORM, AND THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN PARTY ORGANIZA  
 RELATIONS AND SOVIET POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT,"  
 RELATIONSHIPS," AND THE NATIONALITIES IN  
 REPRESENTATIVES,"  
 REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, 1960-1981," "SOCIE  
 REPUBLICAN PARTY ELITES COMPARED TO THE MASS PUBLI  
 REPUBLICAN RELATIONSHIPS," "ND THE NATIONA  
 REPUBLICAN' VIEW OF BOTH PARTIES,"  
 RESEARCH NOTE,"  
 RESEARCH UNITS IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT,"  
 RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN  
 RESPONSIBLE PARTIES,"  
 RETHINKING RESPONSIBLE PARTIES,"  
 REVIEW,"  
 REVIEW," "RECENT LITERATU  
 REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS AMONG PO  
 REVISITED: 1980 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY EL  
 REVITALIZATION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM,"  
 REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE LEFT,"  
 RIPON AND LIBERAL PARTY POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,  
 ROLE OF THE MEDIA," "FR  
 ROLES AND POLITICAL RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME STUDY  
 ROMANIA,"  
 RPR IN FRANCE," "THE IMPACT OF PARTY RE  
 RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION,"  
 RULING PARTY AND THE OPPOSITION CIRCLES, 1979-1980  
 RURAL SETTLEMENT MOVEMENTS OF THE ISRAEL LABOR PAR  
 SAHARAN AFRICA," "IDEOLOG  
 SCOTLAND," "A MANDATE: ITS CAUSES AND CONS  
 SELECT ISSUES FOR RATING VOTING RECORDS OF MEMBERS  
 SENATORS," "TREADM  
 SERVICE DELIVERY," "UCRACY: THE INFLUENCE  
 SESSION OF THE CCP'S ELEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE,"  
 SETTING," "INTEREST GROUPS AND PU  
 SETTLEMENT MOVEMENTS OF THE ISRAEL LABOR PARTY IN  
 SINGLE-PARTY RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION,"  
 SOCIAL ROLES AND POLITICAL RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME  
 SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVES: THE ITALIAN VARIANT,"  
 SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY DEVELOPMENT," "SED V  
 SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1981,"  
 SOCIALIZATION," "ONVENTION DELEGATES AND I  
 SOCIETAL CHANGE AND PARTY ADAPTATION IN THE REPUB  
 SOCIOECONOMIC MODEL," "POLITICAL PARTICIP  
 SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1892-1902,"  
 SOVIET POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT,"  
 SOVIET UNION,"  
 STABILITY AND ETHNIC PARTIES,"  
 STABILITY, AND MASS VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOC  
 STABILITY," "DEMOCRATIC PARTY SYST  
 STALE? THE BASES OF THE CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN PA  
 STANDARD SOCIOECONOMIC MODEL," "POLITICAL  
 STATE ANALYSIS," "THE EFFECTS OF INITI  
 STATE LEGISLATIVE SETTING," "INTE  
 STATE PARTY COMPETITION RECONSIDERED,"  
 STATE POWER: SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC TH  
 STATE RELATIONS AND SOVIET POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT,"  
 STATES COMPARED," "LIDITY OF PARTY IDENTIF  
 STATES: ONE MORE TIME,"  
 STRIFE IN THE NORWEGIAN LABOUR PARTY, 1918-1924,"  
 STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUBLICAN RELATIONSHIPS,"  
 STUDY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM," "ANIZATION A  
 STUDY OF ELITE SOCIALIZATION," "ONVENTION  
 STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY ELITES,"  
 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA," "ID  
 SUPPORT IN WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS, I  
 SYSTEM PERFORMANCE: VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNME  
 SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL SYSTEM PERFORMANCE: VOTING P  
 SYSTEMS IN EUROPE: DIMENSIONS, CHANGE, AND STABIL  
 SYSTEMS REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS  
 SYSTEMS," "EAVAGES EVER GO STALE? THE BASE  
 SYSTEMS: A DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS," "WES  
 SYSTEMS: THE CASE OF THE RPR IN FRANCE,"  
 SYSTEM, 1943-1979," "S.  
 SYSTEM, 2 "GIAN ELECTION OF NOVEMBER 1981:

DENNIS, WILLIAM  
 O'GORMAN, FRANK  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 COSTAIN, W. D.  
 LEUDC, LAWRENCE  
 DOCUMENT,  
 DENNIS, WILLIAM  
 HISHAN, E. J.,  
 DENNIS, WILLIAM  
 WIGGINS, CHARLE  
 JONES, BRYAN D.  
 JACKSON, JOHN S.  
 HANNING, JAMES,  
 FOWLER, LINDA L  
 IONESCU, GHITA,  
 BROWN, ROGER G.  
 FREIE, JOHN F.,  
 JONES, BILL,  
 ERIKSON, ROBERT  
 NEIGHBOR, HOWAR  
 GRYSKI, GERARD  
 FOWLER, LINDA L  
 MCAULEY, MARY,  
 ZIPP, JOHN F.,  
 LAWSON, KAY,  
 DEBATS, DONALD  
 WARE, ALAN,  
 HILL, RONALD J.  
 MCAULEY, MARY,  
 SHAFFER, WILLIA  
 GALLAGHER, MIC  
 JACKSON, JOHN S  
 MCAULEY, MARY,  
 ALSPITZ, JOSIA  
 HEARL, DEPEK,  
 WILSON, J. O.,  
 JENNINGS, M. K  
 WRAY J. HARRY,  
 WRAY J. HARRY,  
 WARHURST, JOHN,  
 ALAM, MUHAMMAD  
 KINGSLEY, ROGER  
 JACKSON, JOHN S  
 NEIGHBOR, HOWAR  
 DOCUMENT,  
 DENHOLM, A. F.  
 WATTENBERG, MA  
 JENNINGS, M. K  
 NELSON, DANIEL  
 LAWSON, KAY,  
 VON BORCKE, AST  
 DOMES, JURGEN  
 SHERMAN, NEAL,  
 RADU, MICHAEL,  
 MILLER, BILL, A  
 FOWLER, LINDA L  
 MORRIS, WILLIAM  
 JONES, BRYAN O.  
 CHEN-PANG, CHAN  
 WIGGINS, CHARLE  
 SHERMAN, NEAL,  
 VON BORCKE, AST  
 JENNINGS, M. K  
 LAPALOMBARA, JO  
 WELHOFER, E.  
 BELL, DAVID, AN  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 GALLAGHER, MIC  
 ZIPP, JOHN F.,  
 DENHOLM, A. F.  
 HILL, RONALD J.  
 VON BORCKE, AST  
 AMERSFOORT, HAN  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 ERSSON, SVANTE,  
 IRVINE, WILLIAM  
 ZIPP, JOHN F.,  
 EVERSON, DAVID  
 WIGGINS, CHARLE  
 GRYSKI, GERARD  
 DUNLEAVY, PATRI  
 HILL, RONALD J.  
 MUGHAN, A.,  
 TUCKER, HARVEY  
 NILSON, STEN SP  
 MCAULEY, MARY,  
 MCALLISTER, IAN,  
 MELONE, ALBERT  
 JENNINGS, M. K  
 RADU, MICHAEL,  
 HARRIS, PAUL,  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 POWELL, G. BIN  
 ERSSON, SVANTE,  
 KINGSLEY, ROGER  
 IRVINE, WILLIAM  
 FLANIGAN, WILLI  
 LAWSON, KAY,  
 DURAN, ESPERANZ  
 MACMULLEN, ANDR

- NMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, " TOWARD A MODEL FOR REAPPORTIONMENT: WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL, "
- 8-1979--FEMINISM AND THE ITALIAN PARTY SYSTEM? "WHAT SYSTEM?,"
- EVER IS HAPPENING TO THE BRITISH PARTY SYSTEM? TAIWANI: GROUP FORMATION WITHIN THE RULING PARTY AN
- "POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION IN TERRITORIAL VERSUS A CLASS APPEAL? THE LABOUR PART
- IES OF THE BRITISH ISLES? "A TEST CASE FOR THE LIBERTARIAN,"
- "PSYCHOJELIC: A THEORIES OF PARTY COMPETITION," STATE POW
- ER: SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC THEORY OF PARTY ALIGNMENT: A RESEARCH NOTE,"
- "TOWARDS A THORN: THE PCF,"
- "MITTERRAND'S TIME STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN IN PARTY ELITES,"
- OLES AND POLITICAL RESOURCES: AN OVER-TIME, "INTERPARTY COMPETITION IN THE AMERICAN STATES: ONE MORE TRADE UNIONIST AND BRANCH MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIA
- N LABOR PARTY," "AFFILIATED TREADMILL TO OBLIVION: THE FATE OF APPOINTED SENAT
- ORS," " TIME,"
- SYSTEM: WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND OUTLAWED POLITICAL PARTIES: A
- "THE EFFECTS OF INITIATIVES ON VOTER UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IN POLAND, 1944-1945,"
- MIC INTEREST GROUPS AND PATH ANALYSIS: TWO APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF POWER,"
- REAPPORTIONMENT: REVITALIZATION OF THE TWO PARTY BLUES?," TOWARD A MODEL FOR
- "TOWARDS A NEW TYPOLGY OF PARTY LIFESPANS AND MINOR PARTIES,"
- GERMAN-AMERICAN COMPARISON UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND OUTLAWED POLITICAL PARTIES: A
- LIN' VERSUS 'LONDON'-THE PARTY AND THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT IN POLAND, 1944-1945,"
- R PARTY," "AFFILIATED TRADE UNIONIST AND BRANCH MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABO
- MAS OF SINGLE-PARTY RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION," "DILEM
- ATIONALISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM," ANIZATION AND MINORITY N
- IDENTIFICATION: GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES COMPARED," LIDITY OF PARTY
- "PARTY RESEARCH UNITS IN THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT,"
- HE INFLUENCE OF INTERMEDIARY GROUPS ON URBAN PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY," UCRACY: T
- CRUITMENT AND THE NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR: A STUDY IN CENTRE-REPUBLICAN RELATIONSHIPS,"
- ND THE UN "THE CROSS-NATIONAL VALIDITY OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION: GREAT BRITAIN A
- "ELITE RELIEF SYSTEMS REVISITED: VALUES AND POLICY ORIENTATIONS AMONG POLITICAL PAR
- "SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVES: THE ITALIAN VARIANT,"
- "A TERRITORIAL VERSUS A CLASS APPEAL? THE LABOUR PARTIES OF THE B
- "LUBLIN" VIEW OF BOTH PARTIES,"
- "A 'REPUBLICAN' VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES," CI
- PATION, GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MASS VOTER PREFERENCES AND PARTIES WITH STATE POWER: SO
- "EXOGENOUS VOTER TURNOUT: A COMPARATIVE STATE ANALYSIS,"
- "THE EFFECTS OF INITIATIVES ON VOTER: ORGANIZATIONAL ENCAPSULATION AND SOCIALIST
- INCORPORATION OF THE NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTING PARTICIPATION, GOVERNMENT STABILITY, AND MA
- TEMS AND POLITICAL SYSTEM PERFORMANCE: VOTING RECORDS OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS,"
- TEREST GROUPS SELECT ISSUES FOR RATING "A COUNTRY PARTY,"
- "DECLINE AND DIVISION IN THE WAKE OF THE ELECTION OF 1977," MENT MOVE
- "PATTERNS OF PARTY SUPPORT IN WELLINGTON CITY LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS, 1974 AND 197
- "FACTUALISM IN WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS,"
- A DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS," WESTERN EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS:
- "ECOLOGY PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE,"
- "WHY AMATEUR PARTY POLITICS HAS WHITHERED AWAY? THE CLUB MOVEMENT, PARTY REFORM, A
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- "THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INTEREST IN WILDEPNESS PROTECTION,"
- "READING NOTES," WINTER 1982,"
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- FEMINISM AND THE ITALIAN PARTY SYSTEM? AND POLITICAL RE
- "DO PARTY WOMEN'S POLITICS IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL,"
- WORKER-PARTY CONFLICT IN ROMANIA," WORKERS MATTER? THE EVIDENCE FROM CROSSBY,"
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