

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

The Future of American Political Parties A View from the Classroom

Robert Boatright, Clark University

The Spring of 2008 proved to be a difficult semester to teach a course on American political parties. In the past, I had worked with students to understand party decline and resurgence arguments, the consequences of declining voter turnout, or the way in which the Republican Party had upended standard theories of how parties matter in Congress. For a variety of reasons, none of these topics appeared all that relevant in the spring of 2008. In my class, as I suspect was the case in many other political parties courses this year, we frequently had to put the assigned topics aside in order to try to make sense of the latest developments in the Democratic presidential primaries. By the end of the semester, it had become apparent that this might well be a transitional year to which a course of political parties taught four to six years down the road would bear little resemblance.

Throughout the course, we read several articles from John Green and Daniel Coffey's edited volume, *The State of the Parties, 5th ed.* Because this book comes out shortly after every presidential election (and the most recent, therefore, discusses the 2004 election) some of the articles must have struck my students as particularly prescient, while others must have struck them as being about an entirely different political world than the one they were looking at in this election cycle.

In a burst of last-minute improvisation, I asked my students to compose an introduction and table of contents for *The State of the Parties 2016*. They were to explain, in their introduction, the consequences of the 2008, 2012, and 2016 elections, and how the McCain/Obama/Clinton presidency played out. John Green graciously agreed to provide feedback for the students on the plausibility of their predictions and to choose a winning entry. The winner received a copy of Morris Udall's classic book of political jokes, a prize which certainly made for heated competition.

The top four products of this exercise are reprinted in this issue of *Vox Pop*, including the opening paragraph of the introduction, followed by the table of contents. (For reference purposes, similar material from the fifth edition of *The State of the Parties* follows.)

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The article appearing in Volume 26, Issue 2 by Charles O. Jones and Kathryn Dunn Tempas, "Shaping the 44th Presidency," was reprinted with permission from a longer paper published in The Brookings Institution "Issues in Governance Studies," Volume 9.

POP Syllabi Project

Do you have a creative way to teach political organizations or parties? We are currently updating the POP syllabus project website to include current and innovative syllabi in the field. You can find the syllabus project website at http://www.apsanet.org/~pop/syllabus_archive.htm.

The syllabi are organized into four broad topical categories: Political Parties, Parties & Elections, Political Organizations and Interest Groups, and Other Related Topics. The list includes both undergraduate (UG) and graduate (G) courses.

Contributing your syllabi to this collection: If you would like your syllabi to be included in this collection, please forward an electronic copy (in WORD, Wordperfect or PDF format) via email to Amy Alexander (alexanda@uci.edu). Prior to posting, all syllabi will be saved in a PDF format that will allow easy downloading.

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STATE OF THE PARTIES *Continued From Page 1*

As edited by Kenyon Hayes

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION: Maintain the (slight) Republican Advantage

Contrary to expectations, the 2012 Presidential campaign unfolded more predictably than 2008, and while hard fought, was comparatively sedate. Pitting, as it did, incumbent President John McCain in a rematch against 2008 Democratic nominee Sen. Barack Obama, the election had been expected to be as nasty as their meeting four years previous. Weakened by primary challenges from both the left and the right (whom he dispatched) and burdened by the ongoing (and unpopular) War in Iraq, it was clear by the spring of 2012 that President McCain faced a sharply uphill battle to re-election. Thus McCain's re-election reveals much about the changes in politics since 2008 . . .

PART I The Party System

2. America's Political Parties: Healthy or Hobbling?
3. Party Factions in the 2012 Elections: Fraying Coalitions
4. National Convention Delegates as Party Elites: Grassroots and Astroturf
5. State and Local Party Activism Since 2008: A reflection of, or Driving Force Behind Partisan Polarization?

PART II Party Resources

6. Rolling in the Dough: Financing Campaigns in the BCRA II World
7. State Party Finance in 2012: The Levin Fund Explosion
8. PACs, 527s, 501 (c)(4)s, and Many Others: Interest Group Activity in 2012 and BCRA II's Attempt at Regulation
9. Obama's Army: The Limits of Political Activism

PART III Party Activities

10. Webs, Social Networks, Blogs and (You)Tubes: The Internet's Impact on Political Parties Since 2004
11. Coordination among Parties, Candidates and Interest Groups in a Changing Regulatory Environment: The Battle for Fairfax County, Virginia
12. Finance, Professionalism and Organization Strength in State and Local Parties: Soft Money's Impact
13. Voting and More: State and Local Parties' Mobilization of Young Citizens in 2012

PART IV Minor Parties

14. Independents and Unity: Public Support for the Idea of a Third Major Party
15. Not Just Ron Paul: Libertarians as a Beneficiary of the Fracturing Conservative Movement

PART V Partisanship and the Public

16. No End in Sight: Polarization, America's Voters and the Right/Left Divide
17. Wedge Issues: The 2012 Election and the Decline of Morality Politics
18. Changes in Partisan Identification: A Shrinking Republican Party
19. The Rise of the Middle: More Moderates or More Desire to be Called Moderate?

PART VI Party in Government

20. The Post Partisan Presidency
21. Party Leadership in the House of Representatives: The Changing Role of Leaders
22. Ten Years after the Revolution: 2006 and Partisan Control of Government
23. The Courts and the Political System: Is a Level Playing Field for Candidates an Ideal Worthy of Consideration?

STATE OF THE PARTIES

As edited by Kerry Dolan

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION: Will the Republicans Finally Get Back in the Game?

A lot has certainly happened in the last eight years. Going back to the election of 2008, it is astounding to look at the gains Democrats made. In the intervening years we've seen a struggling Republican Party as elements within the party grappled for control. The 2010 midterm elections saw turnover of old school Republicans in favor of more moderate Republicans, yet the party leadership has drifted further to the right. The 2012 Democratic gains were made possible in part because of the lack of any sort of message consensus. Democrats cashed in on the lack of a party platform, but in the past few years we've seen resurgence among Republican candidates rejecting interventionist activities, big government and returning to the roots of the party. This message has played well in the past and may once again . . .

PART I The Party System

2. Where did Reichley go Wrong? The Two Party System in the Twenty First Century
3. New Party Factions in 2012
4. States and Parties: Lessons from Michigan and Florida in 2008
5. Activists and Whacktivists: 3rd Parties within Prominent Parties

PART II Party Resources

6. National Party Finance in the Wake of the Disastrous Lieberman-Graham Bill
7. It's All About the Benjamins: State vs. National Parties and the Race for Money
8. The Lasting Effect of Obama: On-line Donating

PART III Party Activities

9. Machine Politics: Effective and Quick Mobilization
10. Coordinated Campaigns and Successful Organizing in Virginia, 2008 & 2012
11. Putting "Volunteer" Back into Volunteers: The End of Street Money
12. Protracted Primaries and Campaign Staff Burnout before the General Election

PART IV Partisanship and the Public

13. Polarization: Who Says it is a Bad Thing?
14. No, You're Wrong: Growing Acceptance of Polarization
15. It's About Ideology, Stupid: Why Barack Obama Failed to Unify
16. Republican Mastery of Wedge Issues and Framing
17. Media Bias and the 2008 Elections

PART V Party in Government

18. Party Leadership at the State Level
19. 10 Years of Democratic Control of Congress

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FROM HEADQUARTERS

POP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Thursday, August 28, 12:15 p.m.

POP BUSINESS MEETING

Friday, August 29, 12:15 p.m.

STATE OF THE PARTIES

Continued From Page 2

As edited by Peter C. Kusk

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION: The Minor Party Surge

The 2008 Presidential election proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. Though in this case, it wasn't the camel: it was the donkey and the elephant. The 2008 election, with its hard-edged rhetoric, fluid positioning and frivolous, inconsequential issues (such as lapel pins and comely lobbyists), created a wedge in both the Democratic and the Republican parties. The economy was tanking, the country was at war, and the drawn out election came down to invective and gutter politics, with surrogates slugging it out while their candidates muttered platitudes and switched positions like pieces on a chess board. This dynamic ultimately created a wave of Republican and Democratic refugees who sought sanctuary in the new, grassroots parties we see today . . .

PART I The Party System

2. Mending Broken Parties after 2008
3. Tribal Functions in a Shattered Party System
4. The New Wave of Party Elites
5. Grassroots Activists and Diminishing National Parties

PART II Party Resources

6. Harnessing the Internet Cash Flow
7. Regulating the Arms Race of Cash
8. The Increasing Interest Group Factor in Campaigns
9. On Seeking and Organizing Grassroots Support

PART III Minor Parties

10. Third Parties as Sanctuaries for the Disenfranchised
11. The Great Splits and the Rise of Third Parties
12. Mending of the Major Parties from Outside

PART IV Partisanship and the Public

13. Increasing Polarization and Its Effect on Voters
14. Coalitions and Bridging the Polarization Gap
15. Ideological Voters as the Wedge that Divided the Major Parties
16. Right of the Right & Left of the Left: The End of the Center

PART V Party in Government

17. The Partisan White House Endures
18. New Era of Party Leadership in Congress
19. After the Schism: Post-Partisan Leadership?
20. Partisanship on the Bench

STATE OF THE PARTIES

As edited by Mike Smith

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION: New Party Politics

The election of 2008 shaped what the political climate is today. The election of the first nonwhite man, Barack Obama, as President fundamentally altered the methods and issues relevant to party politics. The Obama campaign revolutionized the way presidential candidates campaign: Obama's ability to raise money from individual donors in small amounts showed the power of the Internet and his perfection of grassroots campaigns institutionalized this old school tactic. In addition, DNC Chair Howard Dean's initiative to put money into all 50 state Democratic Party Organizations blurred the distinction between Red and Blue states. This edition explores the impact of these major developments . . .

PART I The Party System

2. The De-Polarization of the Parties
3. Red v. Blue States — Do They Still Exist?
4. The Effect of New Ethics / Finance Laws in the 2016 Presidential Elections

PART II Party Resources

5. Grassroots Campaigns: A "Must Have" in Presidential Politics
6. Dean's "Every State Strategy:" 10 Years Later
7. The Importance of Internet Fundraising and Small Donors

PART III Party Conventions and Platforms

8. Have Party Conventions Regained their Importance?
9. Party Platforms and the Economy
10. Parties and Immigration: The Debate that Never Ends
11. America's New Presence in the World

PART IV Party and Government

12. Can the GOP Take Back the House of Representatives?
13. How the 2008 Election Reshaped the Presidency
14. The "Long Campaign" and General Election Viability

PART V Parties and the Public

15. The Legacy of the 2008 Democratic Primary Battle
16. The Declining Clout of Christian Evangelicals
17. The Desensitized Public: The Impact of the 24 News Networks

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ENDOWING THE EPSTEIN BOOK AWARD

POP's annual award for the best book in political organizations and parties is named after the first winner of this award, and one of the major figures in this field: Leon Epstein. POP has solicited contributions from its members to endow a cash gift to accompany the award. Contributions exceeded our expectations, and we want to thank all of the following individuals for their contributions.

John Aldrich
Mary Ann Barakso
Paul Beck
Jeff Berry
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POP is pleased to accept additional donations to the Epstein Endowment. Tax-deductible contributions should be made out to POP-Epstein Fund and mailed to Russell Dalton, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, CA 92697-5100.

Contents**1. The State of the Parties in a Polarized Nation**

The 2004 campaign was among the mostly hotly contested in American history. Following the bitter 2000 election, both of the major political parties expected another close battle. In some respects, each party returned to older forms of campaigning, focusing on grassroots mobilization, but with new methods. The Democrats, stung by the events that took place in Florida in 2000, conducted nationwide get-out-the-vote drives with special help from interest group allies. Meanwhile the Republicans organized a voter canvass that reached down to the precincts using modern targeting and communication techniques. On election night, 60 percent of Americans turned out to vote, the highest percentage since 1968. This surge in participation produced a closely divided result, with a very narrow majority for the Republicans . . .

PART I The Party System

2. The Future of the American Two-Party System in the Twenty-First Century
3. Party Factions in 2004
4. The State of the Party Elites: National Convention Delegates, 1992-2004
5. State Party Activists and State Party Polarization

PART II Party Resources

6. Committees and Candidates: National Party Finance after BCRA
7. Surviving BCRA: State Party Finance in 2004
8. Rally 'round the Flag: When Interest Groups Invite Themselves to the Party
9. Deaniacs and Democrats: Howard Dean's Campaign Activists

PART III Party Activities

10. Machine Politics for the Twenty-First Century? Multilevel Marketing and Party Organizations
11. The [Un]coordinated Campaign: The Battle for Mahoning County, Ohio
12. Organizational Strength and Campaign Professionalism in State Parties
13. Local Parties and Mobilizing the Vote: The Case of Young Citizens

PART IV Minor Parties

14. The Dynamic of Third Parties and the Perot Constituency: Twelve Years and Counting
15. The Declining Significance of Ralph

PART V Partisanship and the Public

16. The Growing Polarization of American Voters
17. Party Coalitions in the American Public: Morality Politics, Issue Agendas, and the 2004 Election
18. The Rise of the Ideological Voter: The Changing Bases of Partisanship in the American Electorate
19. The Rise of the Right: More Conservatives or More Concentrated Conservatism?

PART VI Party in Government

20. The Partisan Presidency
21. Party Leadership in the House of Representatives
22. Ten Years after the Revolution: 1994 and Partisan Control of Government
23. The Courts and Party Systems in 2004: Representation without Competition?

**Letter from the Chair
June 2008**

The busy electoral system is also motivating more activity in our section.

First, we are very pleased to announce a very successful effort to create an endowment to accompany the Leon Epstein Award for the best book in the POP field. The main recognition of scholarship is the award itself, and we hope a modest check from the endowment will be the icing on the cake for future winners. An article on page 3 acknowledges those who generously contributed to the endowment.

Over the past six months, POP has continued its negotiations to establish *Party Politics* as the official journal of the section that we have described in prior issues of *VoxPop*. Sage and the journal editors have been very supportive of the association, and the POP Executive Committee voted unanimously in the Spring to establish this link. We have now submitted a proposal to the APSA Committee on Organized Sections for their review and hopefully their approval. We believe this will increase the visibility and membership of the POP Section, provide additional opportunities for publication by POP members, and provide POP members with an annual subscription to the journal at a greatly reduced rate. The annual individual subscription rate for the journal is \$90; bundled with POP membership it will be only \$24 (\$19 for graduate students). We hope the APSA Committee will support our proposal, so that the APSA Council can review it at the Boston meetings.

Speaking of the APSA meetings, we want to thank Jennifer Victor and Seth Masket for assembling a great lineup of POP panels for the 2008 APSA meetings. This is an extremely rich set of offerings, and we encourage you all to attend POP panels. *APSA uses counts of attendance to allocate the number of panels we receive in future years*—a big turnout means more opportunities for members to present at the next APSA. If you are looking ahead, Marie Hojnacki (marieh@psu.edu) and Christina Wolbrecht (Wolbrecht.1@nd.edu) will organize POP panels for the 2009 APSA meetings.

POP would also like to thank our four departing members of the Council for their two years of service to the section: Scott Ainsworth of the University of Georgia, Lonna Rae Atkinson of the University of New Mexico, Tom Carsey of the UNC Chapel Hill, and Kira Sanbonmatsu of Rutgers University. Service to the section and the profession does not always receive the recognition it deserves, but it is much appreciated by POP and its members.

Finally, if you are hosting an upcoming conference on POP themes, have a project website dealing with POP topics, or have other ideas to list under resources or news, please email our webmaster Amy Alexander (alexanda@uci.edu) and we will add them to the website.

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

Division 35: Political Organizations and Parties American Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2008

PANELS

For the most up-to-date information, you may also access the panels information at <http://www.apsnet.org/~pop/APSA2008.htm>.

Thursday, August 28, 2008

8:00 am 35-12 Parties and Polarization

Co-sponsored by 36-8

- Chair: William J. Crotty (Northeastern University)
Authors: David A. Hopkins (University of California, Berkeley)
"The Rebirth of Regionalism: Geographic Polarization in Federal and State Elections"
Hans Noel (Georgetown University)
"Using Referenda to Examine the Impact of Voters on Legislative Partisanship"
Eric McGhee (Public Policy Institute of California)
"Identifying the Causes of District Polarization"
Jeffrey M. Stonecash (Syracuse University) and
Howard L. Reiter (University of Connecticut)
"The Partisan Transformation of the Northeast"
Nicholas L. Pyeatt (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)
"Polarization and Candidate Entry: A Mismatch"
Discussants: Nolan M. McCarty (Princeton University) and
William J. Crotty (Northeastern University)

10:15 am 11-10 Party Switching in Comparative Perspective

Co-sponsored by 35-1

- Authors: Ethan Scheiner (University of California, Davis) and
Caitlin Milazzo (University of California, Davis)
"Follow the Leader: Party Switching by Subnational Legislators in Japan"
Gail McElroy (Trinity College, Dublin)
"Legislative Party Switching in the European Parliament: The Trans-National Experience"
Daniel J. Young (University of California, Los Angeles)
"Party Switching in Malawi: Loyalty Decisions Without Ideological Differentiation"
Daniela Giannetti (University of Bologna)
"Patterns of Party Switching in Italy, 1996-2006"
Discussants: Goldie Shabad (The Ohio State University)

10:15 am 25-20 Lobbying and Policy Change

Co-sponsored by 35-6

- Chair: Sarah M. Morehouse (University of Connecticut)
Authors: Robert J. Duffy (Colorado State University) and
Charles E. Davis (Colorado State University)
"The Politics of 'Mountaintop Mining' for Coal in Appalachia"
Robin Phinney (University of Michigan)
"Diverse Coalitions and Social Welfare Policy in the United States"
Devashree Gupta (Carleton College)
"Small Victories in the Fight Against Capital Punishment: How Incremental Progress Affects Social Movement Organization and Strategy"
Melissa K. Merry (University of Washington)
"Characterizing Climate Change: Do Environmental Groups 'Dumb Down' Complex Issues for Public Consumption?"
Discussants: Burdett A. Loomis (University of Kansas)

2:00 pm 11-20 The Origins and Development of Citizen Mobilization

Co-sponsored by 35-2

- Chair: Maiah Jaskoski (Naval Postgraduate School)
Authors: Carsten Vala (University of California, Berkeley)
"Why Do Religious Organizations in Authoritarian Regimes Avoid Political Activism? Implicit Regime Criticism by Protestants in Reform Era Chinese Communist Party Regime"
Hector Perla (Ohio University)
"Si Nicaragua Venció, El Salvador Vencerá: Central American Agency In the Creation of the U.S. Central American Peace and Solidarity Movement"
Elizabeth Stein (University of New Orleans)
"Safety Cues and 'Common Knowledge': Opposition Movements' Reliance on the Media in Authoritarian Regimes"
Nandini Deo (Yale University)
"Institutions and Individuals: How Donors Shape Social Movements"
Discussant: Deborah J. Yashar (Princeton University)

4:15 pm 35-10 The 2008 Presidential Nomination Process: Resource Aggregation and Momentum Formation During the Pre-Primary Period, Iowa Caucus and New Hampshire Primary

Co-sponsored by 23-21

- Chair: Harold F. Bass (Ouachita Baptist University)
Authors: Randall E. Adkins (University of Nebraska, Omaha) and
Andrew J. Dowdle (University of Arkansas)
"Does the 'Money Primary' Still Matter: Change and/or Continuity in Pre-Primary Presidential Fundraising, 1980-2008"
Christopher C. Hull (Georgetown University)
"Why They Won Iowa: Inside the 2008 Caucus"
Dante J. Scala (University of New Hampshire) and
Andrew E. Smith (University of New Hampshire)
"What It Took: Resource Allocation and New Hampshire Momentum in the 2008 Primary"
Wayne P. Steger (DePaul University)
"Retrocasting and Forecasting: An Analysis of Presidential Nomination Predictive Models, 1980-2008"
Discussant: Barbara Norrander (University of Arizona)

Friday, August 29, 2008

8:00 am 35-16 Influencing Government

Co-sponsored by 22-28

- Chair: Stephen E. Frantzich (U.S. Naval Academy)
Authors: Virginia H. Gray (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and
David Lowery (University of Leiden)
"Linked Policy Agendas: State Influences on Congressional Policy Agendas"
Matt Grossman (Michigan State University) and
Casey Byrne Dominguez (University of San Diego)
"Polarizers or Consensus Builders? Interest Group Coalitions in Electoral and Legislative Networks"
Amy Melissa McKay (Georgia State University)
"The Role of Resources in the Choice of Lobbying Venue"
Henrik M. Schatzinger (University of Georgia)
"PAC Contributions in Non-Election Years: Do Congressional Committee Events Matter?"
Discussants: Matthew Jarvis (California State University, Fullerton) and
Vincent G. Moscardelli (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

10:15 am 35-8 Roundtable: What is a Party?

- Chair: David R. Mayhew (Yale University)
Participants: Jonathan Bernstein (University of Texas, San Antonio),
Casey Byrne Dominguez (University of San Diego),
Hans Noel (Georgetown University),
David Karol (University of California),
Martin Cohen (James Madison University) and
John H. Aldrich (Duke University)

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS *Continued From Page 5*

- 10:15 am 35-18 Parties as Social Networks**
Chair: Gregory Koger (University of Miami)
Authors: David A. Dulio (Oakland University),
Richard M. Skinner (Allegheny College) and
Seth E. Masket (University of Denver)
“527 Committees and the Political Party Network”
Andrew Waugh (University of California, San Diego)
“Party Polarization in Congress: A Social Networking Approach”
Jessica Robinson Preece (University of California, Los Angeles)
“Multiple Affiliation and Ideological Consistency in Post-Reform Italy”
Discussant: Michael T. Heaney (University of Florida)
- 2:00 pm 35-14 Advertising a Candidate**
Co-sponsored by 36-9
Chair: Rick D. Farmer (Oklahoma House of Representatives)
Authors: Costas Panagopoulos (Fordham University) and
Donald P. Green (Yale University)
“The Impact of Spanish-Language Radio Advertisements on Latino Voter Turnout and Electoral Competition in the 2006 Congressional Elections: Field Experiment Evidence”
Jonathan S. Krasno (Binghamton University)
“TV or Not TV: Advertising in House Elections”
Michael G. Hagen (Temple University) and
Robin A. Kolodny (Temple University)
“Campaign Strategy and the Deployment of Television Advertising”
Ellen M. Key (SUNY, Stony Brook) and
Wendy T. Gross (Stanford University)
“A New Twist: Negative Campaigning and Split-Ticket Voting in Congressional and Gubernatorial Elections”
Discussants: Stephen K. Medvic (Franklin and Marshall College) and
Daniel J. Coffey (University of Akron)
- 2:00 pm 35-17 Party Survival in the EU**
Co-sponsored by 15-20
Chair: Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Iowa)
Authors: Jae-Jae Spoon (University of Iowa)
“Maximizing Resources: How Small Parties Use Second-Tier Elected Officials for First-Tier Elections, Evidence from France and Britain”
Rudy B. Andeweg (Leiden University) and
Jacques J. Thomassen (University of Twente)
“Pathways to Party Unity: Unanimity, Loyalty, Division of Labor or Party Discipline?”
Alice Siu (Stanford University),
James S. Fishkin (Stanford University),
Robert C. Luskin (University of Texas, Austin),
John Panaretos (Athens University of Economics & Business) and
Evdokia Xekalaki (Athens University of Economics & Business)
“Returning Deliberative Democracy to Athens: Deliverative Polling for Candidate Selection”
Jennifer Miller (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) and
Lars Peter Rensmann (University of Michigan)
“Ethnic Minority Outreach Among Conservative Parties in European Democracies: Comparing Germany, Great Britain and France”
Monika Nalepa (University of Notre Dame)
“Lustration and Survival of Parliamentary Parties”
Discussant: Nils Ringe (University of Wisconsin, Madison)
- 4:15 pm 25-19 Lobbying, Inequality, and Representation**
Co-sponsored by 35-5
Chair: Dara Z. Strolovitch (University of Minnesota, Twin Cities)
Authors: Marie Hojnacki (Pennsylvania State University),
Jeffrey M. Berry (Tufts University) and
Beth L. Leech (Rutgers University)
“Participation and Conflict in Policy Debates”

- Wendy L. Hansen (University of New Mexico) and
Kathleen Rehbein (Marquette University)
“When Do Firms Engage in Political Action?”
Richard L. Hall (University of Michigan)
“Advertising Issues and Lobbying Congress”
Kay Lehman Schlozman (Boston College),
Sidney Verba (Harvard University),
Henry E. Brady (University of California, Berkeley),
Philip Edward Jones (Harvard University) and
Traci Burch (Northwestern University)
“Who Sings in the Heavenly Chorus? Political Inequality and the Pressure System”
Discussant: Scott H. Ainsworth (University of Georgia)

- 4:15 pm T-2 Theme Panel: Parties, Groups and Inequality**
Co-sponsored by 35-11
Chair: Seth E. Masket (University of Denver)
Authors: Catherine Paden (Simmons College)
“National Advocacy on Behalf of the Poor: An Analysis of Organizational Decision-Making”
Rodney E. Hero (University of Notre Dame) and
Robert R. Preuhs (University of Colorado)
“Black-Latino Political Relationships: Examining Policy Voting In the U.S. House of Representatives”
Kristin Goss (Duke University) and
Michael T. Heaney (University of Florida)
“Women’s Organizing in the New Millennium: Beyond the Crisis of ‘Feminisms’”
John R. Petrocik (University of Missouri, Columbia) and
Adrian U-Jin Ang (University of Missouri, Columbia)
“Religion, Religiosity, and the Moral Divide in Canadian Politics”
Daniel Peter Klinghard (College of the Holy Cross)
“The Transformation of National Parties in the Late Nineteenth Century and the End of Southern Reconstruction”
Discussants: Robert C. Lowry (University of Texas, Dallas) and
John C. Berg (Suffolk University)

- 4:15 pm 35-15 House Party: Legislative Polarization Over Time**
Co-sponsored by 22-27
Chair: John E. Owens (University of Westminster)
Authors: Jennifer Hayes Clark (University of Houston)
“Stacking the Deck? Reconsidering the Impact of Institutions and Preferences on Legislative Party Polarization”
Royce A. Carroll (Rice University) and
Henry A. Kim (University of Arizona)
“The Organizational Decline of Party Government in the U.S. House, 1975-2006”
Eric Shickler (University of California, Berkeley),
Kathryn Pearson (University of Minnesota) and
Brian Feinstein (Harvard University)
“Congressional Parties and Civil Rights Politics from 1920-1972: A Reassessment”
Discussants: Jeff Lazarus (Georgia State University) and
Nicol C. Rae (Florida International University)

- Saturday, August 30, 2008**
8:00 am 14-4 Partisan Politics in the European Union
Co-sponsored by 35-3
Authors: Anne Rasmussen (European University Institute)
Andreas Warntjen (University of Twente)
“Party Politics as Usual? The Role of Parties in EU Legislative Decision-Making”
Jonas Tallberg (Stockholm University) and
Karl Magnus Johansson (Södertörn University College)
“Party Politics in the European Council”
Anne Rasmussen (European University Institute)
“Parties and Committees in the European Parliament”
Daniel Naurin (Gothenburg University)

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS *Continued From Page 6*

“Conflict Dimensions in the Council of Ministers”

Discussant: Joseph Jupille (University of Colorado)

8:00 am 35-20 Comparative Party Polarization

Chair: Laura Stephenson (University of Western Ontario)

Authors: Nobuhiro Hiwatari (University of Tokyo)

“Rising Economic Inequality and Partisan Polarization: Testing and Extending the Argument Beyond the United States ... Even to Japan”

Bonnie N. Field (Bentley College)

“Political Party Discipline in a New Democracy: The Case of Democratic Spain, 1977-1979”

Hironori Sasada (University of Washington) and

Satoshi Machidori (Kyoto University)

“The Dividing Effect of Primary Elections: A Comparative Study of Party Polarization”

Bonnie M. Meuid (University of Rochester)

“Decentralization: An Institutional Strategy of Appeasement in Party Competition”

Shane Martin (Dublin City University)

“Constituency-Legislator Congruence with Strong Parties”

Discussant: Laura Stephenson (University of Western Ontario)

10:15 am 35-9 The 2008 Election in Long-Term Perspective

Chair: William J. Crotty (Northeastern University)

Authors: Walter Dean Burnham (University of Texas, Austin)

“Electoral Coalitions in Perspective and Their Policy Consequences”

James E. Campbell (SUNY, Buffalo)

“The 2008 Presidential Election in the Realigned Party System”

Thomas Ferguson (University of Massachusetts, Boston)

“Industrial Structure and Party Competition in the 2008 Election”

Arthur C. Paulson (Southern Connecticut State University)

“Social Change and Its Consequences for a Representative Electoral Process”

William J. Crotty (Northeastern University)

“Choosing the Winners: The Continuing Redesign of Presidential Nominating Processes”

Discussants: Lara Michelle Brown (Villanova University) and

Garrison Nelson (University of Vermont)

2:00 pm 35-13 Party Games: Formal Models of Party Competition

Co-sponsored by 4-12

Chair: Gina Yannitell Reinhardt (Texas A&M University)

Authors: James Adams (University of California, Davis) and

Alex Mayer (University of California, Davis)

“The Dynamics of Party Policy Positions: An Agent-Based Spatial Model Based on Insights from Empirical Research”

Brian Roberson (Miami University) and

Dan Kovenock (Purdue University)

“Is the 50-State Strategy Optimal?”

Kathleen Bawn (University of California, Los Angeles)

“Who Parties? Groups, Discourses and Formation of Party Coalitions”

Darin DeWitt (University of California, Los Angeles) and

Thomas Schwartz (University of California, Los Angeles)

“Achieving Social Ideals on One-Dimension”

David A. Siegel (Florida State University)

“Party Motivations and Platform Choice Under Proportional Representation Electoral Rules”

Discussant: Seok-ju Cho (Yale University)

Sunday, August 31, 2008

8:00 am 25-18 Comparative Studies of Interest Groups, Lobbying and Public Policy

Co-sponsored by 35-4

Chair: Christine Mahoney (Syracuse University)

Authors: John W. Hogan (Dublin Institute of Technology),

Gary Murphy (Dublin City University) and

Raj S. Chari (Trinity College)

“Next Door they have Regulation, but Not Here...’: Assessing the Opinions of Actors in the Opaque World of Unregulated Lobbying”

Craig B. Holman (*Public Citizen*)

“Lobbying Reform in the United States and European Union: Progress On Two Continents”

Darren R. Halpin (The Robert Gordon University)

“Is There a ‘Tartan’ Policy Bandwagon? Mapping Organized Interests in Public Policy”

Grant Jordan (University of Aberdeen),

John D. McCarthy (Catholic University),

Shaun Bevan (Pennsylvania State University) and

Jamie Greenan (University of Aberdeen)

“The Growth of Interest Group Population in the U.S. and UK”

Emily Olivia Matthews (University of California, San Diego)

“The Impact of Political Institutions on Lobbying Behavior: A Comparison of Forestry Interest Groups in the United States and France”

8:00 am 35-19 Party Systems in Latin America

Chair: Felipe Botero (Universidad de los Andes)

Authors: Miguel Centellas (Dickinson College)

“Bolivian Political Parties After October 2003: Where Did All the Politicians Go?”

Hirokazu Kikuchi (University of Pittsburgh) and

German Jorge Lodola (University of Pittsburgh)

“Political Careerism and Legislative Behavior: The Case of the Argentine Senate”

Lucio R. Renno (University of Brasilia)

“Voting in Legislative Elections Under Complex Electoral Environments”

Stephan Kuster (University of Fribourg) and

Felipe Botero (Universidad de los Andes)

“How Many is Too Many? Assessing Measures of Party System Fragmentation”

Discussants: Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon (Texas A&M University) and

Claudia N. Avellaneda (Texas A&M University)

POSTERS

GROUP 1

Discussant: *Georgia Kernell*, Columbia University

Authors: *Jeannette Money*, “Party Characteristics and Policy Movement: Sorting Among Types of Parties”

Olesya Tkacheva, “Incumbents vs. Businessmen in 2007 Russia’s Legislative Elections”

Robert McIlveen, “Should I Stay or Should I Go? The British Conservative Party, Party Discipline, and Local Campaigning”

Gilles Serra, “A Theory of Party Democratization as a Strategic Choice: The Case of Mexico’s PRI”

GROUP 2

Discussant: *John McNulty*, Binghamton University - SUNY

Authors: *Robert G. Boatright*, “Getting ‘Primaried’: A New Worry for Incumbents, or a New Name for an Old Worry?”

Martin Elff, “Dimensions of Political Positions: A Latent Trait Model for Electoral Platforms of Political Parties”

Arthur Sanders, “Money, Parties, Interest Groups and Policy: The Iowa State Legislative Session, 2008”

David Prince, “Session Limits and Contributor Strategies in State Legislatures”

GROUP 3

Discussant: *Daniel Klinghard*, Holy Cross

Authors: *Melanie Goodrich*, “Priorities and Partisanship”

Napp Nazworth, “Donkeys Finding Religion: How the Christian Right Influenced the Democratic Party”

Susan Scarrow, “Assessing the Impact of Candidate Selection Rules”

Shlomit Barnea, “Out With the Old, in With the New - What Constitutes a New Party?”

**Organized Section On
Political Organizations and Parties (POP)
List of Award Recipients and Committees for 2008**

JACK J. WALKER, JR. OUTSTANDING ARTICLE AWARD

This award “honors an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.”

Chair: Kira Sanbonmatsu, Rutgers University
Kristin Goss, Duke University
Pradeep Chhibber, University of California, Berkeley

WINNERS: James Adams and Samuel Merrill III. 2006. “Why Small, Centrist Third Parties Motivate Policy Divergence by Major Parties.” *American Political Science Review* 100 (August).

LEON D. EPSTEIN OUTSTANDING BOOK AWARD

This award “honors a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.”

Chair: Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University
Jeffrey Berry, Tufts University
Marjorie Hershey, Indiana University

WINNER: Dara Strolovitch, *Affirmative Advocacy, Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics* (Chicago, 2007).

SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD AWARD

This award “honors a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field.”

Chair: Frank Baumgartner, Penn State University
Paul A. Beck, Ohio State University
Kevin Esterling, UC Riverside

WINNER: John Aldrich, (Duke University)

EMERGING SCHOLAR AWARD

This honor is awarded to a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last seven years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise.

Chair: Geoffrey Layman, University of Maryland
Susan Yackee, University of Wisconsin
Marc Hetherington, Vanderbilt University

WINNERS: Scott Desposato, UCSD and
Seth Masket, University of Denver

BEST POP PAPER AWARD

This award “honors the best paper presented on a POP panel at the preceding APSA Annual Meeting.”

Chair: Maryann Barakso, University of Massachusetts
Georgia Kernell, University of Michigan
Dorian Warren, Columbia University

WINNERS: Brian Feinstein and Eric Shickler, “State Party Platforms and Civil Rights Policy, 1920-1968.”



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