

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

EXPLORATIONS IN INTRAPARTY FACTIONALISM

Howard L. Reiter, The University of Connecticut

One of the most common simplifying assumptions that parties scholars make is that parties can be treated as monolithic. Whether we start from Burke's classic definition of party as "a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed," or Downs's as "a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election," most theoretical works start from this assumption. That it conflicts with reality is illustrated by the currency of such terms as Southern Democrats, Supply-Side Republicans, New Democrats, Moderate Republicans, and the various factions identified with individual party leaders.

With the significant exception of legislative roll-call analysts, most scholars of party have done little to measure empirically whether factions exist, and if so, what characterizes them. We speak in sweeping terms about such groups as those mentioned in the previous paragraph, and yet we know little more than lay observers whether we are describing phenomena that withstand the kinds of empirical tests that we apply to other concepts.

In an attempt to identify factions of national major parties in the United States, I have been analyzing roll-call data at all the major-party national conventions in American history, and supplementing my findings with whatever national committee roll-call data I have been able to locate, and with the literature on Congressional voting. My research has had three overriding purposes: (1) To ascertain the extent to which we can identify within each party factional patterns that persisted over time; (2) To test a three-part typology of party consisting of parties of factional persistence, parties whose form and re-form in kaleidoscopic fashion because they are characterized by machine politics, and parties with kaleidoscopic factions within a broad ideological consensus; and (3) To test a developmental model that posits that kaleidoscopic factionalism will occur in a party's middle period, after its early social-movement fervor has abated by before the decline of the machine that we have witnessed since the middle of the twentieth century. These findings can shed light on the nature of the presidential nominating pro-

cess, the chances for "responsible party government," party development, and the nature of party cohesion. There is not enough space here to discuss my methodology in detail or to explain why I consider national convention and national committee roll-call data to be superior to Congressional roll-call for my purposes. Interested readers are referred to any of my pieces cited at the end of this essay. However, suffice it to state that for each national convention, I have selected a single roll-call vote as the "key vote" representing the most important factional division within that convention. In most cases, this was the peak vote for the front-runner for the presidential nomination before bandwagon effects set in.

I am currently in the midst of intensive examinations of specific historical periods. Nevertheless I have selected key votes for the conventions and examined correlations among them. Here I shall briefly summarize the results for each period, and conclude with some possible explanations for the trends I have found. During the Second Party System, the Whigs demonstrated the highest level

(continued on page 2)

THEME: Party Factions

From Headquarters	3 & 7
From the Field	4 & 8
Scholarly Precincts	5
Special Interests	3

Chair: John Bibby, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Secretary-Treasurer: Diana Dwyre, University of Maryland
Baltimore County

Program Chair: Barbara Burrell, University of Wisconsin-Madison

VOX POP Editor: John Green, The University of Akron

Executive Council: Everett Ladd, University of Connecticut; Jerome Mileur, University of Massachusetts; Maureen Moakley, University of Rhode Island; James Reichley, Georgetown University; John Jackson, III, Southern Illinois University; Ruth S. Jones, Arizona State University; Candice J. Nelson, American University; Daniel S. Ward, Rice University

Explorations (continued from page 1)

of factional persistence for any party in history; it took the form of North versus South. During the same period, the Democrats experienced a multi-dimensional factionalism that was partly North-South, partly East-West, and much less stable than the Whigs". I argue that their lower level of North-South polarization helps explain why the Democrats survived the 1850s, unlike the Whigs (Reiter 1996c). After the Civil War came a very long period of kaleidoscopic factionalism for both Democrats and Republicans. Neither the Stalwart/Half-Breed/Reform split in the GOP during the Gilded Age, nor the advent of Populism in the 1890s, nor the rise of Progressivism after 1900 created any ongoing patterns of factionalism that lasted beyond two or three conventions in either party. Indeed, my research confirms the multidimensionality of Progressivism that other empirical research has shown (Reiter 1996a)

Even the coming of the New Deal did not immediately structure intraparty factionalism. Only in the 1940s did the parties begin to show rising factional persistence, which peaked for both parties in the 1960s and 1970s. The form that each party's factionalism took should surprise no observer of the party system. For the Democrats, it was the South against the rest of the nation, with states voted more with the South than others did. For the Republicans, it was the Northeast at one extreme, the South and Far West at the other. Multiple regression analysis revealed that the typical conservative Republican state was one where the party had run well, and had, in Elazar's (1972) terms, a traditionalistic or individualistic culture. In the 1980s the patterns are interrupted, in the Democratic case because factionalism again became somewhat more fluid, and in the Republican case because the GOP stopped taking divided roll-call votes at their national conventions. To summarize: With the exception of the Whigs, factionalism was evanescent in both parties until the 1940s, when it became highly persistent in both parties. In several respects, these findings are striking. First, the fact that they parallel each other in both major parties suggests that the texture of factionalism is attributable to forces affecting the party system as a whole, rather than to intraparty phenomena. Second, the major change that began in the 1940s did not coincide with our usual candidates for changes in the party system, (1) realignments or (2) major changes in the nominating process such as the rise and decline of primaries in the early twentieth century, and the massive changes after 1968. The 1940s and 1950s are commonly seen as a stable era of partisanship, and yet they marked a major transformation in intraparty factionalism. I shall conclude with some speculation as to why the change occurred when it did. While my developmental theory failed to predict that the Democrats would demonstrate a low level of factional persistence in their earliest days, it did suggest that such persistence would rise during an era of organizational decay, such as the party machinery began to experience in the middle

of the twentieth century. Here Milkis's (1993) deft analysis of how Roosevelt's attempts to circumvent his party helped undermine that party is suggestive. However, party decline merely sets the conditions in which persistent factionalism can emerge. Needed is a catalyst to spark that emergence.

It seems clear that the catalyst was the factor that has shaped so much of American party development, and American history as a whole -- race. How Roosevelt's program began to undermine the Democrats' modus vivendi and alienate southern conservatives is an oft-told story. Until the 1940s, southern Democrats voted like their northern co-partisans on most key national convention votes. The national party's increasing reliance on the votes of African-Americans in the north, the nationalizing implications of the New Deal, the abolition of the national convention's two-thirds rule, and finally the Truman civil rights program created a new regime within the party from which southern conservatives felt increasingly alienated. While the emergence of the new right in the Republican party had numerous roots, from militant anti-Communism to religious fundamentalism to petroleum and aerospace industries in the south and west, there is no doubt that new electoral opportunities in the south created by Democratic divisions over race played a major role. The diminution of intersectional Democratic divisions in the 1980s can be attributed in part to the exodus of the most conservative members, as well as to the increasingly biracial composition of the Democratic party in the south. For the Republicans, those same trends helped give the new right hegemony.

Whatever the strengths and shortcomings of my methodology, findings and analysis, I hope I have made a case that rigorous empirical study of intraparty factionalism should be high on our research agenda.

References

- Elazar, Daniel J. (1972) *American Federalism: The View from the States*. 2nd ed.: New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- Milkis, Sidney M. (1993) "The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal." New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reiter, Howard L. (1996a) *The Bases of Progressivism Within the Major Parties: Evidence From the National Conventions*. 1996 annual meeting, Social Science History Association, New Orleans.
- (1996b) "Inequalities, Factions, and the American Party System in Historical Perspective." 1996 annual meeting, American Political Science Association, San Francisco.
- (1996c) "Why Did the Whigs Die (And Why Didn't the Democrats?): Evidence From National Nominating Conventions." *Studies In American Political Development* 10 (Fall 1996), 185-222.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

Workshop Materials to be Published

Papers associated with the POP workshop on minor parties held in conjunction with the 1997 APSA annual meeting will be published this year by Rowman and Littlefield. The tentative contents is listed below.

Multi-Party Politics and American Democracy: Possibilities, Performance, and Prospects

Paul Herrnson
John Green

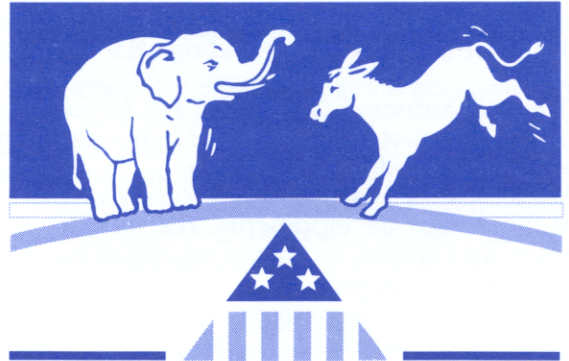
Forward: Is the Party Over?

David S. Broder

1. Making or Repeating History? American Party Politics at The Dawn of a New Century, *Paul Herrnson and John Green*
- I. Possibilities
 2. Two-Party Dominance and Minor-Party Forays in American Politics, *Paul Herrnson*
 3. The Impact of New Parties on Party Systems: Lessons for America from European Multi-Party Systems
Robert Harmel
 4. The Case for a Multi-Party System, *Kay Lawson*
 5. In Defense of the Two-Party System, *John Bibby*
- II. Performance
 6. Surviving Perot: The Origins and Future of the Reform Party
John Green and William Binning
 7. Taking the "Abnormal" Route: Backgrounds, Beliefs, and Political Activities, *Christian Collet*
 8. Multi-Party Politics in New York, *Robert Spitzer*
- III. Prospects
 9. The Libertarian Party: A Pragmatic Approach to Party Building, *Terry Savage*
 10. The Reform Party: An Issue-Driven Awakening
Justin Roberts
 11. The Green Party: Global Politics at the Grassroots
Greg Jan
 12. Institutional Obstacles to a Multi-Party System
Richard Winger
 13. Barriers to Minor Parties and Prospects for Change
Diana Dwyre and Robin Kolodney

The State of the Parties:

1996 & BEYOND



The Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at The University of Akron will sponsor a conference on American political parties October 9-11, 1997 in Akron, Ohio. The purpose of the conference is to access changes in political parties resulting from the 1996 election. The conference will bring together scholars and practitioners for this purpose, and the best papers will be included in the 3rd edition of *The State of the Parties*, scheduled to be published by Rowman and Littlefield in 1998.

For further information and conference registration contact the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325-1904, (330) 972-5182, E-mail (harrisb@uakron.edu).

FROM HEADQUARTERS

APSA/POP Celebration

The year 2000 marks the centennial anniversary of APSA's founding and the fiftieth anniversary of the APSA Report, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System."

POP has been asked to help honor these occasions by setting up some special panels and other events at the APSA's annual meeting in 2000. POP will hold a number of planning meetings to help organize our contribution to the celebration.

For further information, contact Paul Herrnson, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.



The University of Akron is an Equal Education and Employment Institution

Ballot Access News

Did you know that the election laws concerning ballot access for minor political parties and independent candidates are constantly changing, sometimes drastically? In 1995 alone, bills to revise the laws on this subject were introduced in 20 states.

Furthermore, every election year, there are several dozen lawsuits filed, challenging the constitutionality of restrictive ballot access laws. Since these lawsuits are usually appealed to the appellate level, which can take years, there is never a day when several of these lawsuits aren't pending, year in and year out.

The U.S. Supreme Court itself has issued 15 full opinions on ballot access laws for minor parties and independent candidates.

For almost 12 years, *Ballot Access News* has covered these legal developments. The newsletter appears every 4 weeks, has never missed an issue, and only costs \$10 per year.

Ballot Access News covers more than just legal developments, however. It also includes election returns which are not reported in any other publication. For instance, the January 12, 1997 issue gives the vote, by party, for U.S. House of Representatives, documenting the otherwise unreported fact that more voters on November 5, 1996 voted "Democratic" than voted "Republican" for U.S. House. Also reported was the U.S. House vote totals for each minor party, including 695,540 votes for Libertarian candidates, and 565,315 votes for the little-known Natural Law Party candidates for the U.S. House.

Ballot Access News also reports on legal developments which affect the major political parties. The U.S. Supreme Court, since 1972, has been steadily expanding the constitutional protection for the major parties to run their organizations as they see fit, reducing the power of government to regulate the major parties. Some of the appellate courts have gone even further. *Ballot Access News* reported on the startling decision last year from the 11th circuit, which gave political parties the right to keep candidates off their primary ballots if the party leaders felt the candidates' views were at variance with party platforms.

To subscribe, send a check made out to "Ballot Access News" in the amount of \$10 to B.A.N., Post Office Box 470296, San Francisco, CA 94147. Or e-mail (ban@igc.apc.org) or telephone (415-922-9779) to request a free sample copy.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Recruiting Possible Authors for Chapters in Forthcoming Volumes of the Parties of Asia, Africa and the Middle East

The Workgroup on Parties and Elections is a subgroup of the Committee for Political Sociology which is affiliated with both the International Political Science Association. Nearly 300 of the world's parties scholars are enrolled. The workgroup is presently sponsoring the publication of a series of volumes on contemporary political parties, with an emphasis on the internal life of parties. The first volume, *How Political Parties Work* (edited by Kay Lawson), was published by Praeger in 1994, and includes studies of parties from around the world. Subsequent volumes are devoted to the parties of a single region. *The Organization of Political Parties in Southern Europe* (edited by Piero Ignazi and Colette Ysmal) *Political Cleavages and Parties in Eastern and Central Europe* (edited by Kay Lawson, Andrea Rommele and Georgi Karasimeonov) are under contract to Praeger, and are expected to appear in late 1997. Planning for a fourth volume on parties in the Middle East is underway, as is that for a fifth, on Asian Parties. A sixth, on the new political party system in Africa, is planned for the more distant future.

A key feature of all the Workgroup volumes devoted to particular regions is that the scholars who write the individual chapters are themselves citizens and residents in the nations whose parties they cover. Each chapter is devoted to a single nation, but more than one party may be discussed in that chapter -- and there may be more than one chapter per nation. The organization and theme of each book is up to its editors to decide.

Indigenous parties scholars in the Middle East, Asia and Africa who are interested in exploring the possibility of taking part in this project are invited to write to the Workgroup Organizer, Kay Lawson, Department of Political Science, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, California 94132 (January through May: Department de Science Politique de la Sorbonne, 17, rue de la Sorbonne, 75005 Paris), or to the Newsletter Editor, Andrea Rommele, Mannheimer Zentrum fur Europaische Sozialforschung, Universitat Mannheim, Steubenstrasse 46, D-68131 Mannheim, Germany. Please enclose a vita and a letter saying which party or parties are of interest to you. We would also be pleased to hear from parties scholars from other regions who have names (and addresses, please!) to recommend.

Organized Labor's Electoral Mobilization

*Eric S. Heberlig
Ohio State University*

To the strategic group leader, members are a potentially valuable resource the organization can use to attempt to influence public policy. Electoral mobilization can place sympathetic candidates into office and help the group earn lobbying access thereafter. Yet we all know a little about the mechanics of interest group membership mobilization or to which members it is directed. Here I examine unions' contacts with members during electoral mobilization campaigns.

Dilemmas of Mobilization

Although we might assume that members would want to engage in activities that would help the organization produce benefits for themselves and their compatriots, the incentive to free ride on the contributions of others serves as a barrier to such collective efforts. Informational barriers also inhibit member's political participation in organizational political activities. There are a variety of details members must know in order to engage in group political action: how political events affect personal and organizational interests, what they can do about it, and how to get involved effectively. Contacts by group leaders not only provide the relevant information, but place social pressure on the member to accede to requests to join in the group effort. The AFL-CIO's pamphlet on COPE (Committee on Political Education) fund-raising argues emphatically: "Members will respond . . . there's proof of that. An AFL-CIO nation poll of union members showed 64 percent of members willing to contribute to their union PAC if they're approached."

Yet there are several obstacles that impede local officers from approaching their members with political requests. First, both local officers and members have competing demands on their time. Political action in one activity a local officer should shuffle. Furthermore, officers at times must request participation from members in non-political activities. Like their officers, members' time is limited and faces multiple demands of family, work, recreation, and other voluntary activities. Thus, local officers must decide when to ask members for additional contributions and for what purposes.

A second obstacle to local officer political mobilization is that union officers are elected by their members. A union officer explains: "Local leaders are afraid to ask their members to get politically involved . . . Talking about politics risks offending the members. Local leaders must stand for election and don't want to alienate their members."

Third, even if local leaders are politically active, volunteer recruitment is not the highest priority in COPE electoral mobilizations. The "fundamental activities" of COPE are: endorsements of candidates, voter registration, political education, Get Out The Vote drives, and coordination with other community groups. A comment from A Political Director, whose union has the reputation of being on of the most politically active, is revealing: "The

primary activity we try to get rank-and-file members to do is talk to relatives about voting for endorsed candidates. Members are scared off if you ask them to do too much." Nevertheless, even if informing the members about endorsed candidates and getting them to the polls are higher priorities, union still are active and successful in producing campaign volunteers.

Explaining Mobilization: Who is Contacted?

If members are likely to respond positively when asked, yet local officers can be reluctant to ask members to participate politically, explaining which members are asked may be critical to explaining which members actually participate. I argue that elites have limited resources for mobilization and will use those resources strategically to contact individuals who are most likely to respond as the mobilizer desires. Indeed, the Ohio AFL-CIO Phone Bank Manual advises recruiting the members who are most accessible (and thus easiest to contact at low cost) and who are most likely to respond favorably to a union appeal for political activity due to their availability of time, political interest, or gratitude towards the union.

To examine which members are mobilized by their union, I use primarily two sources. First are telephone surveys of union members in Ohio conducted immediately following the 1994 elections. The samples were drawn from the membership lists of the Ohio AFL-CIO, the Ohio Education Association (OCSEA). The second source of data is a series of interviews conducted with officers of union interviews conducted with officers of union internationals in Ohio. The state central offices provided data on targeted legislative districts in Ohio.

Survey respondents were asked whether their union sponsored each of the following activities: phone banks; literature distribution; yard sign replacement; voter registration; candidates' nights or gate visits; PAC fund-raising; service at party headquarters. If the union had engaged in a given activity, we then inquired whether anyone in her union asked her to participate.

Using probit analysis, I analyzed whether or not the member was asked to participate in any political activities. Nearly one-half of Ohio union members, 46% (283), were asked to participate in at least one union electoral activity in 1994. I find that requests for political participation were significantly related to four member characteristics: the local union context, the member's accessibility, her likelihood of "hearing" mobilization appeals, and her likelihood of responding effectively.

First, a member's probability of being mobilized is dependent on her local union context. The traditional level of political mobilization of the member's international and the traditional level of union political mobilization in the respondent's geographic region were statistically significant (measured by interviews). Living in a targeted legislative district was not.

continued on page 6

Second, members who are most accessible to union officers, those who are active in the union, are more likely to be mobilized. Third, group leaders can send out general invitations to members to participate at a meeting or in a newsletter but members who are interested in politics were significantly more likely to "hear" (to notice) mobilization appeals. Nonsignificant "hearing - related variables included the member's level of reliance on their union for political information, her length of tenure in the union, and whether she joined voluntarily.

Finally, leaders are more likely to contact those who are able to contribute effectively to union political action. Those with greater "civic skills," higher level of education, were significantly more likely to be contacted. Education is basic to many skills important in politics: making decisions in group settings, planning, organizing, and so on. The member's perceived level of political agreement with union leaders was not significant. Officers do not seek out members most likely to deliver the desired political message.

To illustrate the results (displayed in Table 1), I calculated the probability of a member being asked to participate in union political activities based on hypothetical values of four statistically significant variables from the probit equation. With these four variables at their lowest value (and other independent variables at their means), the probability of a member being asked is extremely low - only 4%. Yet with all four taking at their highest values, the member would have an 85% probability of being recruited. The results demonstrate the substantial influence of the member's level of education and the level of political activity of a member's international in the mobilization process. A member of an extremely active union or with postgraduate education has a higher probability of being asked (59% and 68% respectively) than a member who is both active in her union and extremely interested in politics (56%). The highly educated member also has a higher probability of being contacted than an active member of a politically active union (65%). Given that a mean value for all variables in the model produce a 46% probability of being contacted, these estimated probabilities show the critical variables produce substantial increases in the likelihood of being asked to participate.

Education and Mobilization

Given that the context is organized labor, the finding that education is the predominant variable in explaining mobilization is quite striking. The question is why. Are union leaders more likely to recognize the "civic skills" of highly educated members? Or are highly educated members most likely to be mobilized by teachers unions rather than the more working class AFL-CIO?

Education may be highly related to political mobilization because the teachers' union is disproportionately likely to mobilize. Indeed, more members of the OEA were contacted than members of the AFL-CIO or the OCSEA (65%, 42%, 33% respectively) and OEA members have significantly higher levels of education than members of other unions. To test this in a multivariate model, I created an interaction term between level of education and OEA membership and entered this term into probit and poisson mobilization models. In the probit estimate, the interaction term is positively signed and statistically significant; the linear terms were not. This demonstrates that highly educated members are more likely to be mobilized if they are OEA members.

The results are different, however, in a poisson model estimating the number of times the member was asked to participate. The linear term for education achieves statistical significance, but OEA membership and the interaction term do not. Thus, education still plays an important role in explaining multiple requests for political participation even once OEA multiple requests for political participation even once OEA mobilization is controlled. Union leaders apparently seek out members with the appropriate civic skills necessary to engage in a wide variety of political activities.

Conclusions

A member's level of education is critical to explaining union political mobilization. The "bias" towards the more highly educated is found to be the result of two factors: the higher rates of contact by the teachers' union of its more highly educated membership for single activities and the AFL-CIO's contacting of more highly educated members for participation in a variety of political activities. The latter finding especially is evidence that union leaders attempt to involve those members with the "civic skills" necessary to participate effectively in politics, and education is the basic civic skill. This finding reveals that biases towards those with greater resources exist in mobilization even in organized labor, despite its traditional emphasis on the working class. It also suggests that the critical role that individual resources play in political participation may not only be due to the superior ability of individuals with greater resources to participate, but may also be the result of the propensity for these individuals to be sought out by others.

At the same time, the evidence suggests that union leaders have difficulty targeting their mobilization appeals. There was no relationship between mobilization and residence in targeted districts or the member's level of political agreement. This contrasts with the findings on educa-

Table 1. Predicted Probabilities of Being Asked to Participate in Union Political Activities Under Hypothetical Conditions.

Active Union	Active Member	Political Interest	Level of Education	Probability of Mobilization
Not	No	Low	Grade School	.041
Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	.460
Mean	Yes	Hi	Mean	.561
Most Active	Mean	Mean	Mean	.595
Most Active	Yes	Mean	Mean	.654
Mean	Mean	Mean	Post-Graduate	.682
Mean	Mean	Hi	Post-Graduate	.716
Most Active	Mean	Mean	Post-Graduate	.792
Most Active	Yes	Hi	Post-Graduate	.857

Note: Values are based on a Probit equation of whether or not the member was asked to engage in any electoral activities by her union. Independent Variables not listed were held at their respective mean values.

continued on page 7

FROM THE FIELD

Fulbright Scholar Awards For U.S. Faculty And Professionals: 1998-99 Competition

The competition for 1998-99 awards opens March 1, 1997. Opportunities for lecturing or advanced research in over 135 countries are available to college and university faculty and professionals outside academe. Awards range from two months to a full academic year, and many assignments are flexible to the needs of the grantee.

Virtually all disciplines participate: openings exist in almost every area of the arts and humanities, social sciences, natural and applied sciences, and professional fields such as business journalism and law.

The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright senior scholar award are U.S. citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications (for certain fields such as the fine arts of TESOL, the terminal degree in the field may be sufficient). For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Foreign language skills are needed for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English.

Applications are encouraged from professionals outside academe, as well as from faculty at all types of institutions. Every academe, as well as from faculty at all types of institutions. Every academic rank - from instructor to professor emeritus - is represented. Academic administrators regularly receive Fulbrights as do independent scholars, artists, and professionals from the private and public sectors.

The deadline for lecturing research grants 1998-99 is **August 1, 1997**. Other deadlines are in place for special programs: distinguished Fulbright chairs in Western Europe and Canada (May 1) and Fulbright seminars for international education and academic administrators (November 1).

Funding for the Fulbright Program is provided by the United States Information Agency, on behalf of the U.S. government, and by cooperating governments and host institutions abroad.

For further information and application materials, contact the USIA Fulbright Senior Scholar Program, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, NW, Suite 5M, Box GNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: 202/686-7877. Web Page (on-line materials): <http://www.cies.org> E-mail: cies1@ciesnet.cies.org (request for mailing of application materials only).

Organized Labor's *continued from page 6*

tion: leaders are most likely to contact members with the skills to participate effectively, but not those who are most likely to deliver the political message the union desires. The difficulties unions have had in targeting volunteer efforts have not gone unnoticed: in the 1996 elections, the AFL-CIO trained 2,500 grassroots organizers to recruit volunteers in targeted congressional districts.

The evidence in this study show important differences between members who are likely to be mobilized and those who are not -- that the process of making requests for participation introduces a critical intermediary step in generating individual participation. It is particularly noteworthy that local union context and the member's level of education are central to structuring the mobilization process. If interest groups play a role in generating the voices that are heard by public officials in American politics, understanding which voices they seek to induce to speak is critical to understanding how interest groups represent the American polity.

FROM HEADQUARTERS

1997 POP Workshop

Political Parties and Political Consultants:
Allies or Adversaries?
Wednesday, August 27, 1997
1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

This half-day session will be held the day before the annual meeting of the APSA in Washington DC. It will feature two panels with both academics and practitioners. The workshop will explore the connection between the political party organizations and the political consultancy industry. The central question is whether consultants damage parties by making candidates more independent of parties or if consultants enhance party goals by providing more professional services than parties can on their own. One important link that consultants have to the parties is that many of them were introduced to their current professions through work histories as employees of party organizations.

Panel I: Consultants, Parties, and the Conduct of American Elections will address the general connection between parties and consultants and address the specific issue of the party-as-apprenticeship connection.

Panel II: Consultant Activities in Other Settings and Their Effect on the Parties will address the international activities of political consultants and the growth of the referenda business for consultants.

For more information contact:

Robin Kolodny
Department of Political Science
Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122
(215) 204-7709
email: KOLODNY@VM.TEMPLE.EDU.

The Party Politics Prize, 1998

Party Politics is committed to publishing research of the highest quality, and is keen to provide a forum within which innovative work can be debated. It welcomes leading research papers from all scholars of party politics. To mark its commitment to promoting the work of young scholars, the journal awards an annual Party Politics Prize of \$250 for the best work submitted to the journal by a graduate student. The winning article is published in the report section of the journal in the year of the award being made.

The rules of the competition are as follows:

1. Only graduate students are eligible to enter for the Party Politics Prize. Because this is a difficult category of individual to define on a cross-national basis, the editors of the journal require each entrant to explain briefly why he or she should be considered to be a graduate student. The editors reserve the right to request further information about current status, and to disqualify entrants who do not satisfactorily demonstrate their graduate status.
2. Research papers entered for the competition must fall within the broad area of interest of the journal. They must be written in English, and must not exceed 4000 words (or word-equivalents), including figures, tables, notes and references. The editors reserve the right to disqualify any paper which does not meet this condition.
3. The deadline for submission of papers for the 1998

award is 1 November 1997. Entrants must supply four identical copies of the paper, written in conformity with the journal's house style, and address to Dr. David M. Farrell and Dr. Ian Holiday at the University of Manchester. Papers received after the deadline will not be considered for the 1998 Party Politics Prize.

4. The jury which awards the Party Politics Prize comprises a rotating panel of three judges drawn from the journal's editorial board. The decision of the jury, in consultation with the editors of the journal, will be final.
5. The decision of the jury will be communicated to all entrants to the competition by 1 April 1998. The paper itself will then be published in the October 1998 issue of Party Politics.
6. The editors of Party Politics reserve the right not to award a prize in any given year if, in consultation with the jury, they decide that no paper entered for the competition reaches the publication standard required by the journal.

Address for submissions:

Dr David M Farrell/Dr Ian Holiday
Party Politics Prize
Department of Government
University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL
United Kingdom



Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics
Akron, OH 44325-1904

FIRST CLASS
U.S. Postage Paid
Akron, Ohio
Permit Number 222