

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

WOMEN WERE POLITICIANS BEFORE THEY COULD VOTE by Jo Freeman

Dinkin, Robert J., *Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. \$49.95 cloth. 176 pages, Oct. 1995.

This monograph on women's partisan activities is an exploratory study of what women did to effect electoral politics before universal suffrage. Although just a skeleton needing to be fleshed out with further investigations, it is a ready antidote to the prevalent idea that women's political activities occupied a separate sphere from those of men, focusing on lobbying and moral reform rather than fighting in the trenches of campaigns for public office. On the contrary, women did not let the fact that they couldn't vote in every state for the same offices as men stop them from doing many of the other things men did to win campaigns. The party spirit mobilized women as well as men. As early as 1840 the Whig party encouraged women to "march in parades, organize picnics and cheer at rallies". "In fact, throughout the decade of the 1840's the Whigs proved more successful in enlisting women's support than the Democrats" (pp. 31, 33). Women began writing partisan tracts in the 1850's and stump speaking in the 1860s. By the 1870s some women were paid respectable sums to speak on behalf of men running for office.

Women's partisan activity notably increased after the Civil War, "but they were still acting mainly on the periphery". (p. 83). However, there were some elections in which women were particularly active. In 1872 the two main suffrage associations actively supported the reelection of President Grant, whose Democratic opponent, Horace Greeley, was an "ardent suffrage foe." In doing this, suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone opposed the candidacy of Victoria Woodhull, running at the head of the newly formed Equal Rights party. With

funds from the Republican National Committee, at least "forty notable women . . . went on the stump" for Grant. (p. 69).

There was a new surge of partisan activity in the late 1880's and early 1890's. Women formed their own campaign clubs, often named for the wife of their party's Presidential candidate. In 1896 when McKinley faced off against Bryan, women were active in "practically every state". By then the Republican Party had created the Women's National Republican Association, headed by J. Ellen Foster. She organized women's Republican Clubs in northern and western states, including states where women could not vote, to influence the men who could. The WNRA's contribution to McKinley's success in 1896 was sufficient for it to be given its own permanent headquarters.

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THEME: Party Factions

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Chair: John Bibby, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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Women Were (continued from page 1)

The impetus behind the WNRA was the proliferation of third parties in the 1880's and 1890's, who often wooed women by giving them delegate and speaking spots at their conventions. The Greenback, the Prohibitionist and particularly the Populist parties boosted women's political participation. While the latter sometimes won elections, it only occasionally rewarded women for their support. After winning the Colorado legislature in 1892, the Populists voted full suffrage for women in 1893. But in Kansas, where they also (temporarily) captured the government, the Populists remained cool to the issue and women remained unenfranchised. In the 1890s women entered vigorously into municipal reform, particularly in New York and Chicago. Jane Addams personally organized a campaign to defeat a local Chicago Democratic Party boss, who she blamed for the deplorable conditions of her ward. In New York the West End Women's Republican Association worked with the non-partisan Women's Municipal League to defeat Tammany Hall. While these efforts had only limited success they both trained women in practical politics and demonstrated their capacities. Women acquired reputations for being far better canvassers than men, as they were willing to visit all the individual households in their districts and listen to the women as well as urge the men to vote.

The Progressive movement, like the Populist movement, brought women into politics, involving them in campaigns as well as in lobbying for legislative change. Theodore Roosevelt's 1912 campaign mobilized women at all levels, as delegates, platform writers, speakers and organizers. Many of the women who would become notable partisans after suffrage -- Ruth Hanna McCormick, Florence "Daisy" Harriman, Frances Kellor -- emerged in this campaign. By 1916 women could vote for President in twelve states and the parties had special units to solicit their votes. Thus the Nineteenth Amendment which gave full suffrage to women in all states did not instigate a revolution in their political participation. It was a giant step, but only a step, in a very long process.

While Dinkin illuminates portions of women's political history previously unknown or at least unrecognized, he leaves unanswered many questions for political scientists to explore. For example, throughout this period the minor parties led in involving women, followed by the Republican Party and last, when at all, the Democratic Party. Why the delay? Why were women just as involved in electoral politics in New York, where they could not vote at all, as in Illinois, where they could vote in some elections, as in Colorado, where women had full suffrage since 1893? What, if any, did the presence of party machines have on women's political

activities. A region's political culture? The different electoral systems through which officials were elected? The number and type of ethnic and religious groups in each state? The historical record of women's party activities, checkered as it is, presents a small laboratory in which to test out many hypotheses on the workings of democracy. Dinkin has opened a door to a vast array of studies waiting to be done.

FROM HEADQUARTERS

1997 POP Awards

Robert Salisbury, winner of the Samuel Eldersveld Award for a lifetime of distinguished scholarly and professional contributions to the field.

David B. Truman, winner of the Leon Epstein Award for a book that has made a distinguished contribution to the field for the *Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion* (New York: Knopf, 1951).

James Lenge and Byron E. Shafer, winner of the Jack Walker Award for an article of unusual importance and significance to the field for "Primary Rules, Political Power and Social Change," *American Political Science Review*, (March 1970), 24-40.

John Coleman, winner of the Emerging Scholars Award.

The Epstein and Walker Awards Committee was composed of:

William Keefe, Chair, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Robert Salisbury, Washington Univ.
Robert J. Huckshorn, Florida Atlantic University

NOMINATIONS

Report of the Nomination Committee:

The nominating committee offers the following recommendation for POP officers:

Chair: Ruth S. Jones, Arizona State University

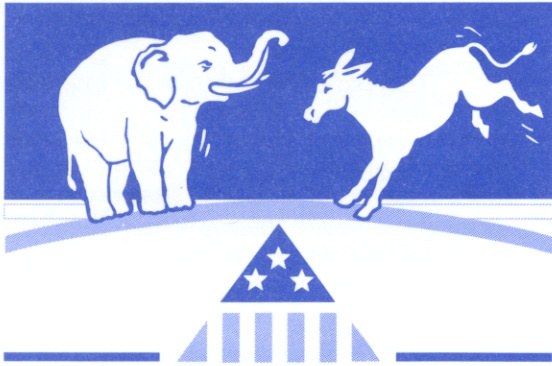
Council Members

Robin Kolodny, Temple University
Debra Dodson, Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University
John S. Shockley, III, Western Illinois University
Barbara Burrell, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Bruce Caswell, Rowan College of New Jersey

The nominating committee was composed of:

William Crotty, Chair, Northeastern University
Sarah Morehouse, University of Connecticut
Jerome Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The State of the Parties: 1996 & BEYOND



Draft Program The State of the Parties: 1996 and Beyond

Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics
The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio
October 9-10, 1997

The Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at The University of Akron will sponsor a conference on American Political Parties October 9-10, 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 & Littlefield in 1998.

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

Thursday, October 9, 1997

Panel 1: The State of the Parties:

Papers by: L. Sandy Maisel, John H. Aldrich, John F. Bibby, Paul A. Beck, A. James Reichley

Nuts and Bolts in 1996: Practitioner Roundtable

Keynot Speakers: Hal Bruno, Donald Fowler

Friday, October 10, 1997

Panel 2: Party Values:

Papers by: Richard P. Barberio, John J. Coleman, John S. Jackson, Nancy Clayton, Robin Kolodny

Panel 3: Parties and Governing:

Papers by: Samuel C. Patterson, Roger M. Scully, Gerald Pomper, Lawrence S. Rothenberg, Nolan McCarty, Jeff Stonecash

Panel 4a: National Activities in 1996:

Papers by: Laura Berkowitz, Connie Krauss, Daniel M. Shea, Anthony Corrado, Paul Herrnson, Diana Dwyre, David Ryden

Panel 4b: State and local Activities in 1996:

Papers by: Melanie J. Blumberg, William C. Binning, John C. Green, Alan R. Gitelson, John Frenndreis, Malcolm E. Jewell, Sarah Morehouse, Thomas H. Little

Panel 5a: Minor Parties:

Papers by: John C. Berg, Walter J. Stone, Ron B. Rapoport, Lori M. Weber, Martin P. Wattenberg, Christian Collet

Panel 5b: Gender, Race, and Party Politics:

Papers by: Barbara C. Burrell, Laurel Elder, Jason Pigg, Terri Susan Fine, Peter W. Wielhouwer

FROM HEADQUARTERS

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15	Sci Tech & Env	304	31	Dom Srces of For Pol	275
16	Woman & Pol	509	32	Electns/Elec Behav	594
17	Fndtn Pol Theo.	489	33	Race & Ethnicity	396
18	Computer	230			

How Membership is Counted

APSA renewals occur at the end of December, March, June, and September. Members who do not renew are retained until the middle of the month in which the next quarterly renewal occurs: i.e. a member expiring in October is not "cancelled" from membership until mid-December. Thus, membership on mailing lists increases monthly until the cancellation point. The membership reported here is in the midst of a renewal cycle.

FROM THE FIELD

1997 Political Organizations and Parties Workshop Political Parties and Political Consultants: Allies or Adversaries?

Organizer: Robin Kolodny, Temple University (215-204-7709)

Panel Meeting Time: Wednesday, August 27, 1997, 1-5 p.m.

Panel Meeting Place: Virginia C, Sheraton Washington Hotel

Panel I: Consultants, Parties, and the Conduct of American Elections
Wednesday, August 27, 1997, 1:00-2:45 p.m.

Purpose: The panel will address the general connection between parties and consultants and address the specific issue of the party-as-apprenticeship connection.

Chair: John Kenneth White, Catholic University of America

Paper Presenters:

"Political Consultants and the Extension of Party Goals" Angela Logan and Robin Kolodny, Temple University

"Party Support and Consultant Use in Congressional Elections" Stephen Medvic, Old Dominion University

"The Latest Merger: State Legislative Campaign Committees and Independent Consulting Firms" Daniel M. Shea, Lafayette College

Practitioner Presenters:

Marty Stone, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (and former political consultant)

Paul Curcio, Stevens, Read, Curcio & Company (and former NRSC employee)

Discussant: Mark Petracca, University of California - Irvine

Panel II: Consultant Activities in Other Settings and their Effect on the Parties
Wednesday, August 27, 1997, 3:15-5:00 p.m.

Purpose: This panel will address the international activities of political consultants and the growth of the referenda business for consultants.

Chair: Susan Tolchin, George Washington University

Paper Presenters:

"The Internationalization of Political Consultancy" David Farrell, University of Manchester

"Consultants and Direct Democracy" David Magleby and Kelly Patterson, Brigham Young University

Practitioner Presenters:

Bill Hamilton, Hamilton & Staff (Pollster - Democrat)

Frank Luntz, Luntz Research & Companies (Pollster - Republican)

Discussant: Ron Faucheaux, Campaigns and Elections Magazine

Reception: Wednesday, August 27, 1997, 5-7 p.m.
Virginia B, Sheraton Washington Hotel

Sponsored by the Graduate School of Political Management, Georgetown University, in honor of their tenth anniversary.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

Papers of Interest 1997 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting

"Organized Interests and Regulatory Forbearance." Loree Bykerk, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

"A Test Of Olson's Thesis: A Fifteen Year Study of Interest Group Influence." Kenneth Hunter, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Greg Brunk, University of Oklahoma and Laura Ann Wilson, University of Baltimore.

"Local Organized Interests and the 1996 Cincinnati Stadium Tax Referendum." Clyde Brown, and David Paul, Miami University.

"The NAFTA Vote: Testing for Principle - Agent Slack." Stuart B. Schneiderman, Florida State University.

"Environmental Interest Groups and the Promotion of Environmental Values: The Resounding Success and Failure of Earth Day." Amy Fried, Colgate University and Shari Garber

Bax, University of Tennessee.

"The Polarizing Impact of Group Mobilization on Political Parties: The Christian Right and the Republican Party." Steven Yonish, University of Wisconsin.

"Elite Support for Intraparty Affirmative Action: The Case of Labour M.P.s." Michael Levy, Southeast Missouri State University.

"Cleavages in American Postmaterialist Groups: A Case Study of the Log Cabin Republicans." Amy Lauren Suker, University of Texas.

"The Christian Right and the 1996 Republican Convention: State Party Rules and Levels of Influence." Douglas Usher, Cornell University.

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A Decade of Election Results: Updating the International Almanac

*Tom Mackie and Richard Rose
Centre for the Study of Public Policy
University of Strathclyde*

This is the latest stage of an enterprise begun a quarter century ago. It updates the third edition of the *International Almanac of Electoral History* (London: Macmillan and Washington DC: CQ Press, 1991) with results of parliamentary and presidential elections in 25 Western democracies from July 1989 to July 1996. In order to ensure continuity with the *International Almanac* the last election recorded there is recorded here too.

Each country section follows a common format. Where important changes have been made in the electoral or party system these are reported first. There follows a list of the parties contesting elections since 1989 with their national as well as English-language names. The numerical code for each party is as in the *International Almanac*; new numbers are given for the 90 new parties which have appeared in the last seven years. There follow the dates of parliamentary elections and, for Austria, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Portugal and the United States, the dates and results of presidential elections. Elections for the lower house of the national parliament are presented in four tables reporting votes cast and seats won, and matching tables of percentages. The numbering of the tables match the tables reporting the most recent elections

in the *International Almanac* so that readers can conveniently trace the record of elections presented here through earlier decades.

As always we are grateful to national statistical offices, embassies and Commonwealth high commissions who provided prompt and courteous replies to request for information. Colleagues in many countries gave further advice and information. In particular we would like to thank Malcolm Mackerras, University of New South Wales, Jorgen Elklit, Aarhus University, Wolfgang Muller, University of Vienna, Asher Arian, University of Haifa and City University of New York, Stefano Bartolini, European University Institute and Alessandro Chiamonte, University of Florence, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, New University of Lisbon, and Andreas Ladner, University of Zurich. Dean Burnham, University of Texas at Austin provided data on US House of Representatives elections and estimates of the American citizen voting age population. In the Centre for the Study of Public Policy Evgeny Tikhomirov undertook the considerable task of turning a mass of raw data into tables and in the Department of Government, Margaret Leckie prepared the text for publication.

Playing with Fire? Social Movements and Electoral Politics: The Case of the National Organization for Women

*Maryann Barakso
Department of Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

The 1980s was a decade of transition for feminist political organizations. Whereas feminist political activists in the late 1960s and 1970s primarily employed direct action protest tactics such as demonstrations and rallies in addition to lobbying federal authorities, in the 1980s many of these groups shifted resources away from these strategies towards participation in electoral and party politics.

This paper focuses on an analysis of this strategic shift of the National Organization for Women (NOW). It shows that the increased involvement in electoral politics occurred in spite of the numerous difficulties involved in doing so for social movement organizations in general, and for NOW in particular. Dissension in NOW surrounding the use of the tactic existed since it was first employed, and continues today. Concerns expressed by activists included the following: the inherent tension between participation in the electoral arena and NOW's founding

principles, which commit the organization to remain non-partisan and to actively mobilize women; worries about the creation of an elite cadre who would pursue electoral influence at the expense of the membership and its goals; worries about wasting resources on fickle electoral candidates; and concern that inevitably some membership would be alienated due to endorsement practices.

I find that the active legitimization of the electoral strategy was a critical factor in allowing NOW to pursue this path, in spite of these concerns. One way NOW assuaged fears about co-optation and other worries about participating in mainstream political life was to maintain its commitment to a broad range of tactics in addition to electoral activism. Thus, institutionalized forms of activism did not necessarily crowd out more grass-roots oriented forms of activism in NOW.

Papers Of Interest

1996 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting

- "Reactionary Groups and Militia Movements." Christine G. Ludowise and George E. Richards, University of Tennessee.
- "They Can Take My Gun From Me When They Pry My Cold Dead Fingers Off the Trigger: An Analysis of the Militia Movement in the United States Today." William V. Moore, University of Charleston
- "The Impact of Corporate Interests on Campaign Finance Legislation." Jon Ellison, Sam Houston State University.
- "A Fading Cue? The Significance of Amicus Curiae Briefs in Supreme Court Agenda-Setting." Thomas G. Hansford, David Fl Damore, and James E. Beach, University of California-Davis.
- "Judicial Federalism and the Role of Interest Groups." Wartyyna L. Davis, Florida State University.
- "Has There Been A Growing Convergence Between Legal and Political Interests In Southern State Courts Between 1980 and 1995?" Garry Jennings, Delta State University.
- "Active and Committed: Ideological and Partisan Activism in the American Public, 1988-1992." Steven E. Schier, Carleton College.
- "Political Socialization Among Party Activists." Demaree K. Michelau, University of Colorado-Boulder.
- "Political Elites, Social Movements and Changing Political Opportunity Structures: The Three Waves of the Women's Movement." Alana S. Jeydel, American University.
- "Framing in the Battered Women's Movement." Sara J. Williams, University of South Carolina."Breaking with Orthodoxy and Staying the Course: Dilemmas, Philosophical Posturing and Uncertainties in the African American Community." D. Linnell Finley, University of Alabama.
- "Regional Manifestations of the Women's Movement in South Carolina." Ashlie Williams, University of South Carolina.
- "Elites and Activists in the Virginia GOP: Testing the 'Consequences of the Party Reform' Thesis." Mark J. Rozell, University of Virginia and Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University.
- "Leadership Task Forces and Policy Formulaton in the Post-Reform House of Representatives." Richard E. Dunn, University of Georgia.
- "Party Politics in the 104th Congress." Bill Hixon, University of Rochester.
- "Witnesses for the Revolution." William Gormley, Georgetown University.
- "The Republican Revolution and The House Appropriations Committee." John H. Aldrich, Duke University and David W. Rohde, Michigan State University.
- "Candidate Centered Sources of Partisan Change: The Case of Pat Robertson, 1988." Gregory Pastor, College of William and Mary.
- "Variations in Interest Group Strategy in State Politics." Shari Garber Bax, University of Tennessee.
- "Fertilizing the Grassroots: The Mobilization of Grassroots Activism by Labor Unions." Eric S. Heberlia, Ohio State University.
- "Judicial Federalism and the Role of Interest Groups." Wartyyna L. Davis, Florida State University.
- "Normative Perspectives of Lobbying." Frank R. Baumgartner and Nicole Canzoneri, Texas A&M University.
- "Electoral Proximity and Party Loyalty." Scott Nikolai, Texas Tech University.
- "Examining The Procedural and Substantive Dimensions of Party Unity Voting, 1949-1988." Samatha L. Durst and Mary Alice Nye, University of North Texas.
- "Conditional Party Government and Member Turnout on Senate Recorded Votes, 1973-1993." Brian R. Sala, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Richard Forgette, Miami University.
- "Class, Race and Party in U.S. House Elections." Jeff Stonecash and Nicole Lindstrom, Syracuse University.
- "Matrix Party Organizational Theory." Joseph A. Airstrup, Fort Hays State University.
- "The Iron Law of Oligarchy in the Era of Party Membership Decline." Alexander Tan, Texas A&M University.
- "Opposition Blues: Leadership, Faction and Organization in the Ontario Conservative Party, 1934-1943." Keith Brownsey, Mount Royal College.
- "The Resurgence of Party? A Critique of the Analysis of American Political Parties." J.P. Monroe, University of Miami.
- "The Religious Factor in Assessing Current Trends in Republican Party Strength." Steven Yonish, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- "Public Opinion, Party Policy Positions and Government Structure." Binjin Chen, University of Arizona.
- "The Effects of Divisive Primaries on Voter Participation." David Cantor, University of Maryland.
- "Organizational Strategy in Political Parties: An Ecological Approach." Douglas Perkins, Ohio State University.
- "Attitudes of American State Lobbyists." John J. Carroll, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth and Mark S. Hyde, Providence College.
- "The Effects of Social Factors on State Interest Group Diversity." Matthew Bax, University of Tennessee.
- "Lobbying for Legislative Term Limits in Louisiana and Mississippi." George Peery, National Conference of State Legislatures and David Rausch, Fairmont State University.
- "Gambling Policy in West Virginia: An Advocacy Coalition Approach." Andre Ray, West Virginia University.
- "Campaign Effects in State Legislative Elections." Robert E. Hogan, Rice University.
- "Voter Information Turnout, and Campaign Finance Reform." Todd Shields, University of Arkansas; Robert Goidel, Indiana State University; and Donald Gross, University of Kentucky.
- "PAC Giving and Party Strategy in Congressional Campaigns." Holly Brasher, University of Florida.
- "The Three 'Rs' of Mississippi Politics: Unraveling the Impact of Race, Region, and Republicanism." David A. Breaux and Don E. Slaback, Mississippi State University.

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- "The Christian Right and the Republican Party: Excluding the Establishment." Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas.
- "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Explanations for Changes in the Republican Takeover in the House of Representatives." James Cox, Iowa State University.
- "Political Discontent in the 1994 Congressional Elections." Eric Tiritilli and John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska Lincoln.
- "Negative Voting in Congressional Elections: Does Representation Really Matter?" Chris S. Hadjiharalambous, University of Northern Iowa.
- "Midterm Elections and Divided Government: An Information-Driven Theory of Electoral Volatility." Stephen P. Nicholson, University of California-Davis and Gary Segura, Claremont Graduate School.
- "Racial and Partisan Voting in a Tri-ethnic City: The 1996 Dade County Mayoral Election." Kevin A. Hill, Florida International University.
- "Ethnicity and Voting: The Case of the 1996 Senate Election in Texas." Jongho Lee and Scott Graves, University of Texas at Austin.
- "Enhancing the Contribution of Group Identities to Democratic Politics in Post World War II United States: Is Tolerance Multiculturalism or Assimilation?" Kate McGuire Wesley, University of Maryland.
- "Religious and Ethnic Groups, Network Density, and Electoral Cohesion and Division: Testing and Challenging Some Structural Propositions." Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, Brown University.
- "Dynamic Models of Interest Group Recruiting." Paul E. Johnson, University of Kansas.
- "Answering the Call to Action: Interest Group Member Participation in Grassroots Mobilization." Eric S. Heberlig, Ohio State University.
- "Citizen Activism in a Cynical Age: From Passion to Organization." Steve Frantzich, US Naval Academy.
- "Discount Drugs and Volunteering: How the AARP Produces Social Capital." Eric Uslaner, University of Maryland.
- "Party Building in the 104th Congress." Vicent G. Moscardeli, Moshe Haspel, and Richard S. Wike, Emory University.
- "Political Parties and Competitive Congressional Elections." Patrick Donnay, Bemidji State University and Graham Ramsden, Creighton University.
- "Invisible Politics: Congressional Challengers and Issue Politics." Robert G. Boatright, University of Chicago.
- "Explaining Candidate Success in the Iowa Precinct Caucuses." Barbara Trish Grinnell College.
- "Participatory Motives and Orientation Among Political Party Activists." Charles Prysby, University of North Carolina, Greensboro.
- "How Convention Delegates View the Political World." Steven Greene, Ohio State University.
- "Ideological Change Among Partisan Activists: The Impact of Attitudinal Conversion." Thomas M. Carsey, University of Illinois-Chicago and Geoffrey C. Layman, Vanderbilt University.
- "Immoderate Politics: Activists in Candidate-Centered Campaigns." Russell L. Lightfoot and Susan A. Kay, Miami University of Ohio.
- "Reelection of Freshman Republicans of the 104th Congress." Sunil Ahuja, University of Southwestern Louisiana.
- "Incumbency and Electoral Competition in the U.S. House 1952-1996: The Continuing Saga of the Vanishing Marginals." Beverly Busch, University of Nebraska Lincoln.
- "Under What Conditions Do Incumbents Face Effective Challenges." Stephen Hanna, Texas A&M University and Richard Fleisher, Fordham University.
- "The Backlash Against Modernity: The Rise and Resurrection of Christian Right Parties in Hungary." Jeffery S. Murer, University of Illinois, Chicago.
- "Post-communist Politics and Party Organizational Type." John Ishiyama, Truman State University.
- "The Weight of the Past? Previous History of the Post-communist Parties." Barbara Chotiner, University of Alabama.
- "The Evolution of the German Expellees." Anthony Nownes, University of Tennessee and Emil Nagengast, Juniata College.
- "Civil Society and Movements: The Case of South Tyrol, Italy." Jean E. Abshire, Indiana University.
- "Collective Knowledge and the Spread of Mass Conflict." Stuart Hill, Conald Rothchild, and Colin Cameron, University of California-Davis.
- "Taking European Interaction to the Streets: A Comparative Analysis of European Protest in Selected Countries, 1985-95." Uwe Reising, University of Kansas.
- "The Unconventional Conventions? Media Coverage of the 1996 Presidential Nominating Conventions." John A. Clark, University of Georgia.
- "Breaking the Cycle: Electoral Reform in American Politics." Dean D. Schloyer, Northwestern University.
- "Representational Distortion In Congressional and Administrative Legislative Processes." Wesley Y. Joe, Georgetown University.
- "Congressional Partnership Under Fiscal Constraint." Neal D. Woods, University of Kentucky.
- "Interest Groups, Rights Claims, and Judicial Federalism: Obscenity Litigation in Five States." Donald J. Farole, Jr. University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- "Witnesses at the Confirmations?: The Appearance of Organized Interests at Senate Hearings on Federal Judicial Appointments, 1945-1992." Roy B. Flemming, Michael Rosenstiehl, Texas A&M University, and Jeffery Talbert, University of Kentucky.
- "Interest Group Lobbying in Right to Die Cases." Suzanne Samuels, Seton Hall University.
- "Do More Friends Mean More Wins?: Republican Justices and the Interests of State Government Since 1968." Bill Swinford, University of Richmond and Eric N. Waltenburg, Purdue University.
- "Party Activists' Perspectives on Public Opinion and Representation: Evidence from the 1996 National Conventions." Robert M. Eisinger, Lewis and Clark College.
- "Lobbying, Coalitions, and the Black Budget: Interest Representation and Intelligence Policy." Kevin Hula, Loyola College of Maryland.
- "Lessons Learned: The Impact of Learning, Issues, and Structures on the Political Behavior of Business." Sandra L. Suarez, Temple University.
- "Organized Interests' Lobbying Strategies in Committee." Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University and David Kimball, Ohio State University.
- "The Environmental and Democratic Consequences of Liberal Hegemonic Discourse: Theorizing About the North American Trade Agreement." Wendy Scattergood, Purdue University.
- "Lobbying Governmental Allies and Foes." Frank Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech, Texas A&M University.

1997 Midwest *continued from page 7*

- "Organizing Interests and Grassroots Communications to Congress: Astroturf vs. the Real Thing." Larry Evans, John Gilmour, and William T. Murphy, Jr., College of William and Mary.
- "The Institutional Basis of Party Organization: Explaining Differences of Japanese, French, British, Austrian, and German Conservative Parties." Marcus Kreuzer, Columbia University.
- "The Relationship Between Party Competition at the State and National Levels." Robert D. Brown and John M. Bruce, University of Mississippi.
- "A Reconceptualization of Party: Some New Thoughts on an Old Argument." James P. Monroe, University of Miami.
- "Ideological Parties, the Economy, and the Treatment of Rationality." Andres Rius, Notre Dame University.
- "Structure, Stability, Change: The Fundamental Undercurrents of the Minnesota Party System." Paul Djupe, Washington University, St. Louis.
- "The Grass Roots Connection: Local Party Effort and Voter Response in the 1992 Presidential Contest." Paul A. Beck, Ohio State University and Russell J. Dalton, University of California-Irvine.
- "Party Mobilization of Ethnic Minorities." Jan Leighley, Texas A&M University.
- "Money, Mobilization and the Dynamics of Campaign Contributions." William Claggett, Florida State University and Paul Abramson, Michigan State University.
- "The Impact of Ideology and Political Pragmatism on Partisanship, 1972-1994." Franklin C. Niles, University of Houston.
- "Partisanship and Its Meaning: Regional Differences Across the United States." William D. Schreckhise, James Giordano and Robert Jackson, Washington State University.
- "Congressional Partisanship Under Fiscal Constraint." Neal D. Woods, University of Kentucky.
- "Party Switchers vs. Non-switchers in Congress: The Case of 1996." Anadree' E. Reeves, University of Alabama in Huntsville and Mavis Mann Reeves, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- "The Effects of Political Alienation on Party Identification." Dave Zehner, University of Illinois-Chicago.
- "The Evolution of the Republican Party Coalition.: Brett M. Clifton, Brown University.
- "Interest Group Access to House Subcommittees in the 104th Congress." William Gormley, Georgetown University.
- "Investment in Politicians? Response to the 1994 Congressional Election." Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester and Nolan McCarty, Columbia University.
- "Competing for Home Field Advantage: How Senators from

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