

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

New Books of Interest

Beginning with this fall issue, *Vox Pop* will print a list of new scholarly books of interest to POP members on an annual basis. For inaugural effort, we consulted amazon.com and considered books published in 2002/2003. We hope to make this a regular fall feature in the newsletter. Although there is a fine line between scholarly books and texts, we plan on reviewing textbooks as a separate feature. If by chance, we miss a book you think would be of interest to POP members, please send the citation and a short description of the book to John Green, green@uakron.edu.

Webb, Paul, David Farrell, and Ian Holiday. 2002. eds. *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford).

How relevant and vital are political parties in contemporary democracies, and do they fulfill the functions typically assigned to them? This collection of essays seeks to answer this question by systematic review of political parties in Western European democracies and their first cousins in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. The essays consider the same basic set of questions and bring similar data to bear on the answers. The editors conclude that parties are highly functional institutions in terms of popular choice and control of government, and less so in items of fully articulating interests and instilling civic orientations among citizens.

Diamond, Larry, and Richard Gunther. eds. 2002 *Political Parties Democracy* (Johns Hopkins).

Political parties are one of the core institutions of democracy. But in democracies around the world—rich and poor, Western and non-Western—there is growing evidence of low or declining public confidence in parties. The contributors to this volume cover many regions of the world, including the changing character of parties and party systems in post-communist Europe, Latin America, and five individual countries that have witnessed significant change: Italy, Japan, Taiwan, India, and Turkey. As the authors show, political parties are now only one of many vehicles for the representation of interests, but they remain essential for recruiting leaders, structuring electoral choice, and organizing government. To the extent that parties are weak and discredited, the health of democracy will be seriously impaired.

McGerr, Michael. 2003. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (Free Press).

Indiana University historian McGerr (*The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928*) examines the social, cultural and political currents of a movement that, through its early successes and ultimate failure, has defined today's "disappointing" political climate. From the late 19th century until the Great Depression, American

progressives undertook a vast array of reforms that shook the nation to its core, from class and labor issues to vice, immigration, women's rights, and the thorny issues of race.

Sifry, Micah. 2003. *Spoiling for a Fight: Third Party Politics in America* (Routledge).

Focusing on Ralph Nader's highly publicized but unsuccessful bid for the presidency, Sifry, a former editor at *The Nation*, charts the history and potential of third-party politics in the United States. Casting a wide political and sociological net, he explicates the rise of "I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it anymore politics;" explains how third-party candidates can circumvent the lack of federal funding (Ross Perot and his Reform Party had other sources of funding), and a party's lack of profile (Jesse Ventura's American Reform Party relied on the former wrestler's name recognition and an appeal to a working-class constituency).

Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America* (Cambridge).

Why did some Latin American labor-based political parties adapt successfully to contemporary political and economic challenges, while others did not? Drawing on a detailed study of Argentine Peronism, this book offers an organizational approach to addressing this question. The author argues that loosely structured party organizations are often better equipped to respond to rapid environmental change than are more bureaucratic labor-based parties. In this case, weakly routinized Peronist party was able to survive, and even prosper, in the neoliberal era.

Schneider, Jerrold. 2002. *Campaign Finance Reform and the Future of the Democratic Party* (Routledge).

This book offers a new interpretation of the dynamics of the American
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Chair: Frank Baumgartner, Penn State University
Secretary-Treasurer: John Bruce, University of Mississippi
VOX POP Editor: John Green, The University of Akron
Program Chair: Scott James, University of California, LA
Website Coordinator: Kyle Saunders, Northern Illinois University

Executive Council: Jonathan Bernstein, University of Texas at San Antonio; Pradeep Chhibber, University of California at Berkeley; Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University; David Lowery, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Larry Bartels, Princeton University; Holly Brasher, George Washington University; Thomas Ferguson, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Mark Smith, University of Washington.

(Continued from page 1)

political system. Focusing on the decline of the Democratic Party, Schneider explains how campaign finance reform would help Democrats to reverse the decades-long decline in their voter base by funding popular programs. The constant chase for campaign cash has forced Democratic politicians to concentrate on the needs of myriad special interest groups, scattering their attention across a number of small issues of limited interest to most citizens. Schneider argues that this keeps them from uniting behind the kinds of broad, widely supported progressive plans that have always energized the Democratic base and won over support from middle and working class voters.

Gould, Lewis. 2003. *The Grand Old Party: A History of the Republicans* (Random House).

Just in time for the Republican Party's 150th anniversary next year, Gould, professor emeritus of American history at the University of Texas at Austin, nimbly portrays the almost 180-degree shifts in GOP policy through the decades, making it possible to understand how the Republican Platform of 2000 could so closely mirror the Democrats' platform of a century ago.

Witcover, Jules. 2003. *Party of the People: A History of the Democrats* (Random House).

The Democrats are the oldest political party in the world, with a legacy stretching back to the infighting among members of George Washington's administration. A political journalist, Witcover's thick history devotes significant space to the party's perpetual struggle to define itself, with detailed accounts of intraparty rivalries and convention intrigues between geographical and ideological factions, as well as efforts throughout the 20th century to create a "brain trust" leadership.

Grossman, Gene, and Elhanan Helpman. 2003. *Interest Groups and Trade Policy* (Princeton).

Grossman and Helpman are widely acclaimed for their pioneering theoretical studies of how special interest groups seek to influence the policymaking process in democratic societies. This collection of eight of their previously published articles is a companion to their recent monograph, *Special Interest Politics* (2001). It clarifies the origins of some of the key ideas in their monograph and shows how their methods can be used to illuminate policymaking in a critical area.

Alexander, Robert. 2002. *Rolling the Dice with State Initiatives* (Praeger).

Alexander examines the role and impact of interest groups in gambling initiatives in California and Missouri. Attempting to build on current theories of interest group involvement in direct democracy, Alexander provides a compelling analysis of interest group lobbying in a non-legislative setting.

John, Steven. 2002. *The Persuaders: When Lobbyists Matter* (Palgrave).

The impact of political lobbyists remains highly controversial. This book tells readers when lobbyists count and analyzes the relationship between lobbying, policy outcomes and the impact of external factors to reveal the professional lobbyist's limited effect on policy. On most policy issues lobbyists simply do not matter. But, on rare occasions lobbyists can make a difference and this book explains when they matter and why.

Grofman, Bernad, and Arend Lijphardt. ed 2002. *The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries* (Agathon).

This collection offers a detailed review of the history and functioning of the party systems in Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The fourth in a series of collections on electoral systems originating in conferences on Political Economy at the University of California at Irvine, this volume considers the variety and impact of proportional representation on parties and elections. In addition to these theoretical concerns, the book offers comprehensive data on the Nordic democracies.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

CALL FOR PAPERS, 2004 APSA

"GLOBAL INEQUALITIES"

PROGRAM CHAIRS:

Atul Kohli-Princeton University

Anne Norton - University of Pennsylvania

Submit your proposal on-line via APSANet at www.apsanet.org

DEADLINE: November 14, 2003

Questions? Contact APSA at 202-483-2512 or meeting@apsanet.org

Divisions 35: Political Organizations and Parties:

Scott C. James, University of California, LA

Political scientists have long recognized the contributions of political parties, social movements, and formal group networks to the dismantling of social and political disparities, and to the fostering of a more inclusive and democratic politics. To be sure, a host of intervening variables critically condition the opportunity matrix within which these institutional actors pursue change—the breadth and form of political organization, the dynamics of interest intermediation systems, and the timing and sequence of discrete historical processes.

As always, this division invites all submissions that advance the study of political organizations and parties. Papers exploring the institutional attributes, systemic properties, and historical conjectures that shape the interplay of mass organization and democratic politics are particularly encouraged, especially those employing a comparative or temporal perspective. Finally, in an effort to square the thematic content of the 2004 APSA call with the substantive focus of this division, special consideration will be given to scholarly work that investigates the linkages between national and transnational political organization, especially those that investigate their impact on political efforts to address global power and wealth asymmetries and problems of political marginalization.

APSA ELECTION SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 2003

During the Annual Meeting in late August, there was a valid challenge to the slate of nominees for seats on the APSA Council. Consequently, APSA will hold an all-member vote beginning 5:00 PM EST on September 29th to determine the 2003-04 Council member seats. The election will be conducted on-line, managed by a third party service, and members will receive both postcard and email notifications on how to proceed to their ballot. The postcard will also include instructions on how members unable to vote on-line may receive a ballot. The election will run for 30 days. [Review the requirements for participation.](#)

There is one additional candidate: Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah; joining the eight candidates proposed by the APSA Nominating Committee: John Aldrich, Duke University; Manuel Avalos, Arizona State University West; Robert Axelrod, University of Michigan; Judith Baer, Texas A&M University; Shirley Geiger, Savannah State University; John Harbeson, CUNY-City College of New York; Marion Orr, Brown University; and Joanna Scott, Eastern Michigan University. APSA members will be entitled to vote for eight of the nine candidates, and those with pluralities will win.

Nominees for the offices were not challenged, and were declared elected at the Annual Business Meeting, and are introduced on page 5.

ELECTION PARTICIPATION REQUIREMENTS:

Individuals whose membership is current as of 5pm EST on Friday, September 26, 2003 may vote in the APSA Council Election. To verify that your membership will be current on this date and to renew, log into MyAPSA (<http://www.apsanet.org>).

FROM HEADQUARTERS

Dear POP Members:

Thanks to John Coleman of the University of Wisconsin for his dedicated service as Chair of POP over the past two years. Under John's leadership the Section has prospered. With 634 members we rank about 10th out of more than 40 sections of the Association: a very healthy group. I was pleased to see at the last business meeting not only a full room, but so many luminaries from the profession. I was tempted to ask for autographs! We have a strong group of scholars working in so many areas of the study of parties, groups, and organizations. In sum, attending our Business Meeting last August in Philadelphia left me with the impression not only of a successful group, but of a vibrant one with a strong history of impact in the profession and a healthy mix of generations among us.

You might wonder why there are so few POP panels considering this strength (though through Beth Leech's co-sponsoring initiatives we doubled our allocation this year in Philadelphia). As John has repeatedly reminded us, we are bad citizens when it comes to attending our sponsored panels at APSA, and Association rules punish us for that by allocating future panels partially to those sections that have sponsored the panels with the greatest attendance in the past. APSA's policies and formula make sense to me even if they work against us. So, as John did, let me urge you to attend early, attend often, and bring guests. They'll always be welcome.

I was honored to be elected Chair of POP especially considering our collective strengths. Thanks for giving me that opportunity. As you can probably already tell, I don't think the Section is broken, so I don't plan to take any initiatives to fix it. However, neither do I believe in standing still. I'll look forward to your ideas, and I will be calling on many of you to help me devise ways to move the Section forward and also to work with the APSA to provide more useful and better services to members. Among the orientations that I'll bring to this leadership group are the following foci: moving forward with mentoring and other initiatives designed to help younger scholars and graduate students get feedback on their work and to become more involved in the Section activities in general; enhancing the diversity of our membership with some attention to the many groups and organizational dynamics in politics that focus on race, gender, and ethnicity; encouraging the sharing and utilization of data sources; and thinking about ways to bring the study of groups and parties more into the mainstream of influence within the broader discipline.

I would also like to entertain ideas and foster an exchange of ideas about the format of panels at APSA. Why don't you attend? Are the panels not of interest or is the format not conducive to useful exchange of ideas? Are there better ways? We all know that demand for places on the APSA program increases steadily and now is so scarce that rejections are much more common than acceptances. Thinking creatively about the use and structure of panel times is an important long-term issue for the Association and for members of our Section in particular. Either we multiply the number of panels or we find ways for more people to participate. In any case, I welcome suggestions about one of our main activities: organizing panels at the annual meeting. Another main area of our work is in between conventions where we mostly communicate through our website and this occasional newsletter. Already we have improved services and archives related to our website. More ideas about services we can provide there are welcome. It may be a convenient place to locate shared data sources or links to data sources in the area of organizations and parties, for example. In any case, this is another potential area for greater services. I'll hope to hear suggestions on these and other topics from the membership and from those on the executive council as well.

More important than any of these particular areas is the following. We should think collectively about how we can use our

Organized Section to raise the visibility and impact of the work we do. As I've written in the past, 50 years ago one saw group and party scholars such as Key, Truman, Schattschneider, and Dahl addressing the key issues of American government, putting parties and groups squarely at the center of their analysis. I see no reason why we should be any different today. Members of our section should therefore be expressing the importance of our collective objects of study in ways that make their importance apparent to all political scientists. (I should note that my comments there relate to the study of American politics but my own background is from comparative politics and I believe the same tendencies are true more broadly in comparative analyses as well.) How to do this is something we should all be thinking about. I'll be glad to moderate that on-going discussion!

Finally, let me express my personal thanks as well as that of the entire Section membership to the following people who served as Officers of POP during 2002-03: John Coleman (Chair); John Bruce (Secretary/Treasurer); John Green (VOXPOP Editor); Beth Leech (Program Chair); and Kyle Saunders (Webmaster). Members of the Executive Council were: Jonathan Bernstein, Pradheep Chhibber; Linda Fowler; Marie Hojnacki; David Lowery; Sara Morehouse; Richard Neimi; and Jeffrey Stonecash. Thomas Poguntke organized a successful Short Course focusing on the study of political parties in Western Europe. In addition, 20 different individuals served on the various award committees last year, ending their work with the Business Meeting in Philadelphia. Their names are listed on the POP website: http://www.apsanet.org/~pop/org_info.htm. Thanks to all of these individuals for their time, efforts, and creativity.

Four new members of the Executive Council join me this year in the POP leadership: Larry Bartels (Princeton University), Holly Brasher (George Washington University), Thomas Ferguson (University of Massachusetts, Boston), and Mark Smith (University of Washington). Continuing members of the Executive Council are: Johnathan Bernstein, Pradheep Chhibber, Marie Hojnacki, and David Lowery. I am pleased to report that John Bruce will be continuing as Secretary/Treasurer; John Green has graciously agreed to continue editing VOXPOP; and Kyle Saunders continues as webmaster. We'll have a mix of old and new faces, therefore, in the leadership of POP.

In the weeks to come I'll be calling on many of you to serve in various capacities as we plan our activities for the 2004 APSA meeting in Chicago. Much of this work consists of serving on various award committees. Compared to other tasks the profession offers, these committees are relatively joyful, since the task at hand is celebrating excellence rather than doling out complaints or rejecting grant proposals or paper proposals due to limited funds or space. Please contact me if you have interests in serving in any capacity. Younger scholars particularly are welcome to be in touch. Further, ideas for a potential short course or other events to be organized in conjunction with the 2004 convention are certainly welcome and they are not too late at this point. Plans do firm up surprisingly quickly for the annual meeting, however, so please be in touch as soon as possible with any ideas or comments. And let me reassure: I am not one of those people who automatically gives the onerous committee assignment to the person who came up with the interesting idea. So take advantage: Give suggestions with impunity.

I can be reached most easily by email at Frankb@psu.edu. I'll look forward to hearing from many of you. Even more, I'll look forward to asking many of you to get involved in our activities and to helping devise a new set of initiatives and activities that will help POP continue its successful ways from the past.

Frank R. Baumgartner,
Chair, POP
Professor and Head, Pennsylvania State University

FROM HEADQUARTERS

Minutes of Political Organizations and Parties (POP) Organized Section Business Meeting APSA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA August 29, 2003

John Coleman, Chair, called the meeting to order.

1. **Minutes and Treasurer's Report.** Minutes from the 2002 business meeting were approved unanimously. Secretary-Treasurer, John Bruce presented the Treasurer's report, which was approved unanimously.

FUNDS ON HAND JULY 1, 2002 \$ 11,057.88

REVENUE FOR PERIOD

APSA section dues \$1,335.00
Interest Income 25.41
Publication Sales 216.29

TOTAL REVENUE **\$ 1,576.70**

EXPENDITURES *

2002 Awards (461.84)
Putting VOXPOP on-line (500.00)
APSA Syllabi Collection (550.00)
Bank Fees (96.00)

TOTAL EXPENDITURES **\$ (1,607.84)**

NET ACTIVITY FOR THE PERIOD -31.14

FUNDS ON HAND JUNE 30, 2003 ** \$ 11,026.74

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** Bank of America funds on deposit divided between nonprofit checking (\$7,903.81) and nonprofit savings (\$3,122.93).

2. **Chair's Report.** Chairperson John Coleman made the following announcements:

- The new rules regarding POP awards (adopted for the 2003 cycle) seemed to work well. These primarily involved firm timelines for submission and consideration, as well as changing the timeline for the emerging scholar award from 5 to 7 years.
- Stipends of \$150 were provided to 8 graduate students to attend POP short courses in 2003. The plan is to repeat this next year.
- POP members are entitled to a discount subscription to *Party Politics*. Those interested in subscribing need to ask for the POP discount.
- The POP Proposal Review Service started during the 02-03 year. As of now, there are about 30 faculty signed up as potential readers, but the flow of proposals to review has been very slow. Members are encouraged to have students utilize this service.

3. **Report on Short Courses.** Thomas Poguntke reported on the short course entitled "Tools for Comparative Research on Parties-The Study of Political Parties in Western Europe." Quinn Monson reported on the POP co-sponsored short course entitled "A Methodology for Studying Congressional Elections." Both workshops went well, with a combined attendance of 30 or so.

4. **2003 APSA Program.** Beth Leech was the program chair for the section in 2003. She reported that POP was given 6 panels, but through co-sponsoring was able to have part of 12 panels. POP received approximately 200 submissions for those slots, making the section one of the most competitive in the Association. Beth reminded the meeting that attendance at panels each year is what determines the allocation of panels the following year, and encouraged attendance at POP panels

5. **2004 APSA Program.** Scott James is the program chair for the section in the 2004 meetings. He reminded the meeting that the program deadline is Nov. 14th. Scott said he wished to broadly serve the research interests of the section, with diversity on both substantive and methodological grounds. He indicated a special interest in proposals that were "self consciously theoretical."

6. **Report from the Executive Council.** John Coleman reported on the activities of the Executive Council:

- The POP website has seen an increase in traffic since last year. The primary destinations are the syllabus archive and the VOXPOP archive. Members with suggestions for the website should forward them to the section officers.
- The Short Course for 2004 is open for consideration. There were some good suggestions made at the Executive Council meeting, but additional suggestions are welcome. All members for POP are welcome to propose a short course.
- The Executive Council is considering a survey of section members to solicit views on what additional services should be desired from the section.
- John Green summarized the state of VOXPOP. He noted the newsletter is always looking for notices, information, or provocative articles. A popular new feature of VOXPOP is the Journal Scan, with the possibility of adding a list of POP-related dissertations and books.

7. **Awards**

- Jack Walker Best Article Award: Richard Harris and Daniel Tichenor, "Organized Interest and American Political Development," *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 2002-03.
- Leon Epstein Best Book Award: Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Rowman and Littlefield 2000).
- POP / *Party Politics* Best Paper Award: Richard Johnston and Byron Shafer, "Economic Development, Legal Desegregation, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South." Presented at a POP-Sponsored panel at the 2002 meeting.
- Emerging Scholar Award: Daniel Tichenor.
- Samuel Eldersveld Award Career Achievement: Kay Lawson

8. **Report from the Nominations Committee.** Jeffrey Stonecash presented the Nominations Committee slate of candidates:

Chair (2 year term)..... Frank Baumgartner, Penn State University

Executive Council (2 year term)..... 1) Larry Bartels, Princeton University

3) Thomas Ferguson, University of Massachusetts, Boston

2) Holly Brasher, George Washington University 4) Mark Smith, University of Washington

All candidates were elected unanimously.

9. **Items from the Floor**

- Attendees were made aware of the Mentoring Program of the APSA.
- Thanks were offered to John Coleman for his term of outstanding service.
- The American Association of Political Consultants held their academic outreach conference on October 3rd-4th in Akron, Ohio. The conference is designed with a significant student focus.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
John M. Bruce, POP Secretary Treasurer

FROM HEADQUARTERS PROPOSAL REVIEW SERVICE

In 2003, POP instituted a Proposal Review Service (PRS). The PRS gives graduate students who are registered POP members an opportunity to receive feedback on a dissertation proposal from a faculty member outside their department. This is, obviously, intended not to replace evaluations from within a student's department, but to give the student a mechanism to have another set of scholarly eyes read and comment on the proposal. We hope this service provides valuable assistance to grad students in the POP community.

Interested grad students will send their proposal to POP. We will send the proposal to a faculty member who has agreed to be one of POP-PRS's reviewers. The faculty member will return the proposal to POP and it will then be returned to the student. This way, we will be able to monitor that proposals are in fact being evaluated in a timely manner. In addition, this process allows for complete anonymity if the two participants prefer that.

Instructions for grad students: Grad students who wish to have a proposal reviewed will mail a hardcopy of the proposal to Professor John M. Bruce, Department of Political Science, 302 Deupree Hall, P.O. Box 1848, University of Mississippi, University MS 38677-1848. If you wish to remain anonymous, do not put your name on the hardcopy (but, of course, supply your name and mailing address to John).

The following faculty members have volunteered to be readers in PRS. We are grateful of their support for this initiative.

Karen Beckwith	College of Wooster
Melanie Blumberg	California University of Pennsylvania
Robert Brown	University of Mississippi
Walton Brown-Foster	Central Connecticut State University
John Bruce	University of Mississippi
John Coleman	University of Wisconsin
Cynthia Daniels	Princeton University
Richard Devine	Bridgewater State University
Greg Domin	Mercer University
Kevin Esterling	University of California, Riverside
Thomas Ferguson	University of Massachusetts, Boston
Peter Galderisi	Utah State
Kenneth Grenne	University of Texas
Richard Herrera	Arizona State University
David Kimball	University of Missouri, St. Louis
Beth Leech	Rutgers University
Burdett Loomis	University of Kansas
Marie Hojnacki	Pennsylvania State University
Scott McClurg	Southern Illinois University
Milissa Michelson	California State University, Fresno
Robert Mickey	University of Michigan
Irfan Nooruddin	Ohio State University
Kelly Patterson	Brigham Young University
Dianne Pinderhughes	University of Illinois
Chapman Rackaway	Fort Hayes State University
J. David Singer	University of Michigan
Harold Stanley	Southern Methodist University
Jennifer Steen	Boston College
Jeffrey Stonecash	Syracuse University
David Stuligross	Colgate University
Steven Wuhs	University of Redlands

If you would be willing to serve as a reviewer for PRS, please let John Bruce know at jbruce@olemiss.edu. Provide your mailing address and indicate the areas in which you would be willing to consider proposals. John will do his best to match up proposals with the interests you have listed. We will send you at most one proposal a year, so that this does not become overly burdensome. After you have reviewed the proposal, return your evaluation to John, who will send it to the grad student. As with the grad student, you may choose to remain anonymous or not: it is up to you.

AWARD CITATIONS

Samuel Eldersveld Award, a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field.

The Samuel Eldersveld Award for 2003 is given to **Kay Lawson**, Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University for her outstanding career extending our knowledge of political party organizations and processes in the United States, but even more significantly, placing parties in comparative perspective, while developing worldwide networks of scholarship into political parties. She has been a devoted worker for the Committee on Party Renewal and Political Organizations and Parties as well as a leader in the International Political Science Association and other international scholarly bodies.

Lawson has advanced national and international scholarship. Her first book was *Political Parties and Democracy in the United States* in 1968. This was followed by *The Comparative Study of Political Parties* in 1976. The fifth edition of *The Human Polity*, a comparative introduction to political science, came out in 2002. She has authored many articles on parties, including several in French journals and books. She is currently editing two book series: *Political Parties in Context* for Praeger Greenwood and *Perspectives on Comparative Politics* for Palgrave with two new edited books coming along.

Lawson founded the APSA section, Political Organizations and Parties, in the late 1970's when the sections in their present form began. In her words she took the first steps and then the section moved on with surprising speed. She continued to devote her time to this organization. She was also a devoted worker for the Committee on Party Renewal and its California chapter. In 1982 the Northern California Committee voted to challenge the state legislature's excessive regulation of political parties, culminating in a 1989 United States Supreme Court decision in *March Fong Eu v. San Francisco County Democratic Central Committee* which freed the parties from a number of state controls which had limited party activity in partisan primaries and restricted the parties' ability to organize.

Lawson has worked tirelessly to advance national and international scholarship in the field. Every Spring, she was a Visiting Professor at the Sorbonne from 1992-2000, teaching about parties in both French and English, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. She served as President of the Research Committee on Sociology of the International Political Science Association/International Sociological Association (IPSA/ISA). She is now co-editor of the *International Political Science Review* which makes her also a member of the Executive Committee of IPSA. She is doing a major "relaunch" of IPSR and welcomes submissions from party and group scholars.

Jack Walker Award, honoring an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.

Daniel J. Tichenor and Richard A. Harris, "Organized Interests and American Political Development", *Political Science Quarterly* 117 (Winter 2002-03), 587-612.

Tichenor and Harris look at a big process, the conversion of latent interests into interest groups. They examine it over a long time-span from the Civil War to the present. They introduce a new and potentially powerful source of data on the mobilization of these groups, by way of the U.S. Congressional Committee Hearings Index of the Congressional

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FROM HEADQUARTERS *(Continued from page 5)*

Information Service. And they offer consequential new arguments about major turning points in American politics, privileging the Progressive Era over the New Deal Era or the Era of Divided Government. The product is a fresh interpretation of the place of political organizations in American politics, one that actually uses the work of Jack Walker as a touchstone. We are delighted to award them the Walker Prize for the best article on parties and political organizations from 2002/2003.

Leon Epstein Award, honoring a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.

***A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000) by Jo Freeman.**

Jo Freeman's *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics* provides a detailed and engaging history of "party women," a term she uses to describe those women who were involved in party organizations and helped build party support in the electorate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unlike more familiar female political activists, such as temperance reformers and suffragists, these women had as their primary ambition to work through the party apparatus and operate to the benefit of the parties.

One of the primary contributions of this historical study is the way it illustrates that parties, as organizations, can shape the activists that lend them service. In the case of party women, the parties gave them room to participate in ways that ensured both that the party apparatus was maintained, and that the party could compete electorally. In addition, Freeman makes a distinction between two routes through which women became influential in the parties: the individual route and the organized bloc route. The organized route was not an especially effective one for women because it required a "group consciousness" that was not encouraged by the party. Instead, individual women, who were either from political families or who had useful experience in non-political clubs, often had male sponsors who encouraged their involvement in the parties. These women were welcomed and seen as useful precisely because they were non-threatening; they were loyal to the party rather than to a cause. Yet despite the constraints placed on them by the male-dominated party organizations, the party women brought a different perspective to the political arena on a variety of issues and paved the way for the eventual acceptance of women as full participants in the political process. *A Room at a Time* demonstrates the numerous ways in which party women made distinctive and important contributions to the character and history of the political parties.

Emerging Scholar Award, honoring a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last five years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise.

The award committee for the POP Emerging Scholar award has selected **Daniel J. Tichenor** as this year's recipient.

Productivity is one measure of the emerging scholar of note. To date, Professor Tichenor has compiled an impressive catalogue of publications, consisting of one book and eighteen assorted journal articles and book chapters. A second book on the dynamics of interest group politics (co-authored with Richard Harris) is currently

under contract with Cambridge University Press. Finally, a volume of essays on the topic of equality and American political institutions, co-edited by Professor Tichenor, is under review with several major university presses.

Quality and scope of research is a second measure of the emerging scholar of note. In this regard, Professor Tichenor has written widely and with insight on the development of American interest group systems, presidential-interest group relations, social movements and political change, and even party politics in the Progressive Era. Perhaps most significantly, he is the author of several pieces on immigration politics and reform. The capstone here is his book, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton University Press, 2002). In this sweeping account, Tichenor uses the theoretical tools of historical institutionalism to chart the formation and transformation of immigration "policy regimes" in the United States from 1776 to 1996. What makes this book notable is its sensitivity to the complex constellation of political forces that have shaped (and reshaped) immigration control policy over two centuries: the shifting patterns of group and party interaction; the evolving institutional terrain in which these strategic actions have transpired; and the "feedback effects" of policies and state institutions upon the basic organizational infrastructure of immigration politics—and, therefore, upon the manner in which subsequent political conflict is channeled and defined. *Dividing Lines* is also notable for its eclectic methodological approach, combining close historical analysis, interviews with more than 120 participants in contemporary immigration politics, and the use of basic quantitative information.

In all, Daniel Tichenor is well deserving of the POP Emerging Scholar Award. His contributions to date give us every confidence that Professor Tichenor's extraordinary productivity will continue apace well into the future, that his scholarship will continue to mature, and that he will eventually take his place as a leader in his particular fields of endeavor.

POP/Party Politics Award, honoring the best paper presented at a POP-sponsored panel at the previous APSA meeting.

Byron Shafer and Richard Johnston, "Economic Development, Legal Desegregation, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South"

Professors Shafer and Johnston in "Economic Development, Legal Desegregation, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South" offer a new interpretation of 'Southern Politics.' The paper highlights the influence of the role of class, race, and institutional factors in determining the voting preferences of the white electorate. The paper shows that class reversal in the South with richer white Southerners more likely to vote Republican and poorer white Southerners voting Democratic. Class and race did not only influence the voting preferences of the white electorate in the South, but so did the institutional context of the election (Congressional or Presidential) and by the geographic origins of the Democratic candidate for President. The paper highlights the politically contingent nature of the electoral politics of race and class in the South. This is a useful corrective to current interpretations. The paper is well researched, nuanced, and original and will spark much debate among students of Southern Politics as well as those interested in partisan change more generally.

- "Organizational Development and Institutional Change: Business Association and Governance in China." Kenneth W. Foster, University of British Columbia.
- "Weapons of the Strong: Business-State Relations in Post-Reform India." Aseema Sinha, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- "Consciousness, Collective Action and Institutional Outcomes: Patterns of Business Mobilization in Morocco and Tunisia." Melanie Cammett, Brown University.
- "Business Unions: The Limits to Collective Action in Russia." Barbara Lehbruch
- "Campaign Effects in France: A National Panel Study in the 2002 Presidential and Legislative Elections." Bruno Cautres, CNRS.
- "Campaign Effects in Mexico: Evidence from the 2000-2002 National Panel Study and the 2003 Election." Alejandro Moreno, ITAM.
- "Media Use and Elections in the Netherlands: A Long-Term Panel Study." Kees Arts, University of Twente, Holli A. Semetko, Emory University.
- "Campaign Effects in Central Europe: Examples from Recent Elections." Gabor A. Toka, Central European University, Marina Popsescu, University of Essex.
- "Campaign Effects in New Zealand: Evidence from Recent Elections." Joseph B. Atkison, University of Auckland, Jack Vowles, University of Auckland.
- "The Challenges of American Politics in John Ford's 'The Searchers.'" David Alvis, Fordham University.
- "Subversion and Satire in the 'Manchurian Candidate: Aligning Political Context and Historical Reception.'" Elisabeth R. Anker, University of California, Berkeley.
- "On Infinite Justice and Anticipatory Self-Defense: Minority Report on the Bush Administration's New 'National Security Strategy of the United States.'" Gerard Huskamp, Wheaton College.
- "Heroes and Democratic Leaders." Gladys Louise Tyler, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- "Popularity Elected President in Latvia: An Assessment of Constitutional Reform Proposals." Janis Ikstens, Vidzeme University College.
- "Rule-Making by the President: Policy Implications of the Presidential Decree Powers in Ukraine and Russia." Oleh Protysk, University of Ottawa.
- "Explaining Party System Development: A Cross-National Comparison of Post Communist Party Finance." Steven D. Roper, Eastern Illinois University.
- "Party Funding and Corruption in Eastern Europe." Daniel Smilov, Central European University.
- "The Product is Political: Stocks, Bonds, Investment Funds, and the West African Zone." Kathryn C. Lavelle, Case Western Reserve University.
- "Varieties of Capitalism in Africa: Contrasting Trajectories of Financial Sector Reform." Catherine Boone, University of Texas, Austin.
- "An Asset-Class/Financial-Position Analysis of Securities Market Development in India and China." Matthew Rudolph, Cornell University.
- "Credit and Capital: Shifting Financial Services in Post-Soviet States." Kelly M. McMann, Case Western Reserve University.
- "From Here to There and Back Again: The Changing Impact of Issues on Political Parties and Elections in the Post WWII Era." Hahrie C. Han, Stanford University, David W. Bradey, Stanford University.
- "The Partisan Consequences of Congressional Redistricting in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries." Erik J. Engstrom, University of Southern Maine.
- "Vote Choice and Vote Change in the Antebellum House: Evidence for the Gag Rule, 1835-1845." Scott R. Meike, Bucknell University.
- "When Just Voting No Is Not Enough: Interest Group Strategies and Legal Challenges to Initiatives in Pacific Northwest." Rorie L. Spill, Oregon State University.
- "Smoke Screen: Measuring the Impact of Court Decisions." Jeffrey R. Lax, University of California, San Diego.
- "From Bakke to Gratz and Grutter: The Rise of Rights-Based Conservatism." Thomas M. Keck, Syracuse University.
- "The Politics of Obscenity Revisited: Group Litigations in Sexually Explicit Speech Cases in the Internet Era." Courtenay W. Daum, Georgetown University, Kevin R. Den Dulk, Grand Valley State University, Stephen S. Meinhold, University of North Carolina, Wilmington.
- "Can Party Change Theories Explain Political Suicide? The Case of the Austrian Freedom Party." Wolfgang C. Mueller, University of Vienna.
- "Party Membership, Party Democracy, and Party Responsiveness: Implications of Party Change." Piero Ignazi, University of Bologna.
- "Parties' Presidential Style: The Changing Nature of German Parties as Campaign Organizations." Thomas Poguntke, Keele University.
- "Parties Change: So What?" Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University.
- "American Environmentalism: Interest Representation in the Federal System." Jennifer L. Anderson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- "Environmental Groups in National Elections: Much Ado About Nothing?" Robert J. Duff, Colorado State University.
- "How the Case of Tiger Preservation in India Helps Us to Understand and Measure the Influence of Interest Groups on State Policy." Cynthia A. Botteron, Shippensburg University.
- "Interest Group Pressure and Northern Sustainability: The Science and Politics of Natural Resource Policies." Amy Lovecraft, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- "Party Switching in Italian Regional Legislature, 1996-2001." William B. Heller, SUNY, Binghamton, Carol A. Mershon, University of Virginia.
- "The Impact of Party Switching on Representation in Brazil." Scott W. Desposato, University of Arizona.
- "The Calculus of Party Affiliation in Post-Communist Democracies." Marcus Kreuzer, Villanova University.
- "Party Switching and Political Accountability in New Democracies of Eastern Europe." Goldie Shebad, Ohio State University, Jakub Zielinski, Ohio State University.
- "Party Switching in the European Parliament: Why Bother Defect? Gail McElroy, Trinity College.
- "Between Consultation and Competition: Ethnic Activism in France." Britt Ashton Cartrite, University of Colorado.
- "Informal Networks of Influence: Freemasons and Policy Outcomes in the Late 20th Century France." John R. Heilbrunn, Colorado School of Mines.
- "Pressing for Change in Western Europe: Effects of Right-Wing Radical Parties." Michelle Hale Williams, University of West Florida.
- "Ethnic Lobbying in France: Maghrebis and Jews." William Safran, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- "The Structure of Citizens' Abortion Attitudes." Craig Leonard Brian's, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Steven H. Green, North Carolina State University.
- "What did Newspapers Do Before and After their Endorsements of the School Vouchers?" Mary D. Clark, Wayne State University.
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- "New Media and Democracy Past and Present." Diane Johnson, University of California, San Diego.
- "Rationalizing Betrayal: Journalistic Ethics, Reputations, and Institutional Incentives." Martin Johnson, University of California, Riverside.

FROM THE FIELD *(Continued from page 7)*

- "Political Learning, Identity, and Institutional Information Flows: Competition for 'Mindshare' Among Parties, Interest Groups and the Press." Christopher Jay Mackie, Princeton University.
- "The Political Correlates of Television Reliance: A Controlled Analysis." Valerie M. Sue, California State University, Hayward.
- "Engineering the Machine: Causes and Consequences of a Biased Electoral Arena." Jessica Luce Trounstein Hills, University of California.
- "Social Cleavages and Presidential Elections: A Hundred Year Assessment." Quentin Kidd, Christopher Newport University, Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, Christopher Newport University.
- "To Reform or not to Reform? Explaining Citizen Attitudes about Political Campaigns." Keena Lipsitz, University of California, Berkeley.
- "Election Year Lawmaking." David Radwin, University of California, Berkeley.
- "Tippecanoe and Hanoi Hiltons Too: Changes in Presidential Campaign use of Candidates' Military Service." Jeremy Michael Teigan, University of Texas, Austin.
- "The Impact of Party and Candidates on Interest Group Donations: Explaining Patterns of PAC Contributions." Thomas L. Brunell, Binghamton University.
- "Outside Money' After BCRA: An Analysis of the Candidates and Campaigns Targeted by Interest Group Independent Expenditures." Margaret Carne, University of California, Berkeley.
- "Recruitment and Retention of PAC Contributors." Christine L. Day, University of New Orleans, Charles D. Hadley, University of New Orleans.
- "The Importance of Taking It Personally: A Comparison of Professional versus Volunteer Phone Banks." David W. Nickerson, Yale University.
- "Could You Spare a Dime? Better Make it \$10,000. . . Contributions to the Clinton Legal Expense Trust." Israel S. Waismel-Manor, Cornell University, Shelley Conroy, Cornell University.

- "Strange Bedfellows? A Look at Interest Group Coalitions in Amicus Curiae Briefs, 1999-2002." Richard A. Almeida, Southeast-Missouri State University.
- "Presidential Management of Internet Group Participation in Federal Advisory Committees." Michelle L. Chin, Arizona State University.
- "The Strategic Construction of Interest Group Identities." Michael T. Heaney, University of Chicago.
- "Activists Versus Legislator: The Battle for Party Control." Seth E. Masket, University of California, Los Angeles.
- "More Spinned Against Than Spinning? Representations of Political Lobbyists in Friction." Connor McGrath, University of Ulster.
- "Conflict Expansion A Methodological Analysis of the Endogeneity of Interest Group Media Strategies." Suzanne M. Robbins, Morehead State University.
- "The Development of Party Organizational Strength." Brian J. Brox, University of Texas, Austin.
- "The Social and Institutional Determinants of the Number of Parties: An Improved Empirical Analysis." Matt Golder, New York University, Williams Roberts Clark, New York University.
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- "Passing Partisan Defection in the US House, 1946-1988." Daniel Liam Singer, University of Oxford.
- "Political Party System Collapse in Peru and Venezuela: An Institutional-Behavioral Approach." Henry A. Dietz, University of Texas, Austin; David J. Myers, Pennsylvania State University.
- "Economic Change, Political Organization, Party System Collapse: Comparing Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela." Jason Seawright, University of California, Berkeley.
- "Political Parties, Federalism, and Legislator Behavior." Mark P. Jones, Michigan State University.



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