

# VOX POP

Newsletter of

Political  
Organizations/  
Parties

*Continuing Subfield of the American Political Science Association*

CHAIR, 1981- Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

SECRETARY, 1979- Kay Lawson, San Francisco State University

CHAIR, 1979-1981: John Bibby, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

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## Exit POPO, Enter POP

"Parties and Other Political Organizations" seemed like a perfectly good name for our subfield when it was formed at the 1979 APSA Convention. As an acronym, however, POPO drew some snickers from members and prospective members. To fashion a more sober short name for the group with a minimum of fuss, the Chair, Secretary, and past Chair agreed to change our title to "Political Organizations/Parties." This produced the new acronym, POP, and the new name for our Newsletter, VOX POP. Our trilateral action will be reviewable at our Annual Business Meeting at the 1982 APSA Convention in Denver. Friends of POPO will have their chance to undo our action, if they wish.

## New Numbering of Newsletters

There have been three previous issues of our subfield's Newsletter: Spring 1980, Spring 1981, and November 1981. With the change to VOX POP, future issues of the Newsletter will appear three times annually in volumes numbered by the calendar year. Thus this issue is Volume 1, Number 1 (Winter, 1982).

## POP-Related Panel at the IPSA World Congress in Rio

Kay Lawson (San Francisco State) has organized a panel on "Political Organizations and Linkage" for the XII World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 9-14, 1982. The participants are

### Papers:

"Have New Conditions Produced New Forms of Party Linkage in Contemporary Europe?" Rudolph Wildenmann, European University Institute, Florence, Italy



"Political Linkages Between Mass Organizations, Parties, and the State of Mexico," Lisa Fuentes, Stanford University, and Richard Harris, University of California at Santa Cruz

"Great Expectations vs. Cynical Practice: Party Linkages in South Asia," A. H. Somjee, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada

"Developing Linkage Theory: The Case of France," Roland Cayrol, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris

"Developing Linkage Theory: Political Parties, Linkage, and Change," Kay Lawson, San Francisco State University

Discussant: Leon Epstein, University of Wisconsin, Madison

European Research Project: A Report  
by Richard S. Katz, Johns Hopkins

Professor Rudolph Wildenmann has organized a project on "The Future of Party Government" at the European University Institute. Its primary concern is with the ability of political parties and party systems to adapt to the challenges posed by socio-economic-political changes in contemporary Europe. As currently constituted, the project consists of three subgroups. The first is concerned with the development of government institutions and the meaning, causes, and consequences of party government, the second with parties and political mobilization, and the third with policy making and policy effectiveness.

There was a general organizational and planning meeting of participants in Florence in July and a meeting of the project steering committee (Rudolph Wildenmann, Hans Daalder, Richard Katz, Karlheinz Reif, Gunnar Sjoblom, Manfred Schmidt, Gordon Smith) in November. A collateral workshop has been organized for the European Consortium for Political Research meeting in Aarhus in March, and there will be a full meeting of the project at which papers will be presented in June.

Twentieth Century Fund Study of PACs

Frank Sorauf of the University of Minnesota is serving this year as a consultant to the Twentieth Century Fund's study of political action committees. The Fund is at the moment organizing a task force of prominent citizens to review the growth of PACs in recent years, the consequences of that growth, and its policy implications. The composition of the task force will be announced shortly. In addition to meeting with the task force and offering it scholarly support, Professor Sorauf is preparing a background paper on PACs for use of the task force and for eventual publication of the report.

Call for Contributions to Book on Presidential Party Leadership

Robert Harmel of Texas A M is producing an edited volume of original works on "Presidents and Their Parties: Leadership or Neglect?" The book will include selections covering the historical development of the party leadership role, the limitations of the American environment on such a role, the performance of the role in relation to Congress, conventions, fundraising, and campaigning, and



other topics. He would appreciate learning of unpublished research on this topic, as well as current or planned projects. Please send such information, including proposals for possible chapters, to Professor Robert Harmel, Department of Political Science, Texas A M Univesity, College Station, Texas 77843.

Report on the State Party Transformation Study  
by John Bibby, U. of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

With support from the National Science Foundation (Grant SOC 77-27020), Cornelius Cotter, John Bibby, James Gibson, and Robert Huckshorn have been engaged in a comparative study of party transformation in the American states. This study of changing levels and correlates of party organizational strength over time and cross-sectionally was prompted by the prevalent, but largely untested, assumption that American party organization were by the mid-1970s weaker and less effective than at any time in recent history. The data base includes interviews with nearly 200 major party leaders in 27 sample states, mail questionnaires to the state party chairs of the remaining 23 states, and mail questionnaires to 560 former state chairs and to the full universe of county-level chairs. Party rules for 98 state parties were analyzed, as were the election laws of all 50 states. Following a survey of state historical library resources on parties, relevant data was culled from party archival materials (principally in Texas and Minnesota), dissertations, published sources, and fugitive literature.

Party organizational strength has been conceptualized in terms of organizational complexity and programmatic capacity. Using a summary measure of party organizational strength derived from a factor analysis of fourteen items to measure change in the levels of strength of state party organizations over time, we find that state party organizations score substantially higher on such measures today than in the early 1960s. This pattern does not fit the thesis of party decline. Within this pattern, there are distinct differences between the parties, with Republican organizations on average substantially stronger than Democratic organizations, and within parties by region. There is also a general flattening of the growth curve after the early 1970s. Looking to the attributes of state party leaders over time, there has been little change in the role orientations (amateur, professional) of state party chairmen during the 20-year period, and state party organizations headed by "amateurs" are not distinctly different in the levels of bureaucratization and program, and vary only slightly in levels of integration with other party units and government, from those headed by "professionals." Both increasing amateurism among party leaders and the anticipated adverse consequences for party organization appear to have been overstated.

Cross-sectional analysis of the relationship between organizational strength and party electoral success reveals that both Democrats and Republicans had the strongest party organizations in the early 1960s in electorally competitive areas, but that in the 1970s competitiveness and organizational strength were unrelated. However, the relationship between organizational strength and electoral success varies for the parties. Greater electoral success is associated with weaker Democratic state party organizations, and organizational strength has little direct impact on the party's electoral success. For the Republicans, party organizational strength appears, under some



circumstances, to generate electoral success. Analysis of the relationship between the states' public policies of support and regulation of parties and party organizational strength in the late 1970s reveals no cross-sectional relationships between such policies and organizational strength. That is, in states in which public policy is more supportive and more regulatory of party, organizations are neither stronger nor weaker.

Data analysis and hypothesis-testing are not yet completed and we cannot therefore report on aspects of intra-party and party government integration, environmental factors affecting party organizational strength, and additional aspects of the possible interaction on organizational strength with electoral participation.

Another APSA Subfield: The Presidency Research Group  
by George Edwards, Texas A&M

Some members of POP may wish to become members of PRG, the Presidency Research Group. PRG is an organization of scholars interested in research on chief executives. Now in its fourth year, PRG regularly sponsors panels on chief executives at the annual meeting of the APSA. Professor Norman Thomas of the University of Cincinnati is organizing these panels for the 1982 meeting in Denver.

The principal activity of PRG is the publication of a 30 to 40 page semiannual newsletter. Each issue contains comprehensive bibliographies of recent books, articles, and convention papers on chief executives; bibliographies on relevant specialized topics; short "point of view" articles; current research activities of members; PRG organizational news and convention panels; and information on research funding and data availability. Membership in the Presidency Research Group costs only \$3.00 per year and includes the price of a subscription to the newsletter. You may join by sending a check to PRG's Secretary-Treasurer: Professor Martha Kumar; Department of Political Science; Towson State University; Baltimore, Maryland 21204.

Presidents and Their Parties: A Bibliography  
by Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University

Editor's Note: This item appeared in the Fall, 1981 Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group Newsletter. It should interest members of POP and is reprinted here with permission of the author and PRG.

Although it is now commonplace to include the role of party leader in the list of the president's major responsibilities, relatively little recent research has been focused directly on the topic. One reason, no doubt, is that the role is so elusive. It is unofficial and malleable, yet it is a role that has been required of all recent presidents. It is a role that can be largely shaped by the occupant of the office, and over time each president has performed it according to his own style and philosophy. Yet the role has also become a constant in that all recent presidents have been expected to "lead" their parties' members in Congress, to campaign for their parties' candidates and star at their fund-raisers, and, more generally, to "head" the party. Of course, all these expectations run contrary to the lack of party discipline that seems so



firmly imbedded in American legislative politics and to the desires of many of those who aspire to the presidency to see themselves as "free agents" who depend little on party organization. The president's relationship to his party has thus become an interesting one, a complex one, and a very important one--for the parties and the presidency alike.

Studies of the president-party relationship take on a special importance in a period of dramatic party decline, when presidents could potentially play an important part in the rejuvenation of their parties. The literature that has developed on the president as party leader includes historical studies of the development of the party leader role (e.g., relations between the White House and the party organization or the party in Congress). Some of each are included in the following list of selections that are relevant to the study of the president as party leader.

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- BINKLEY, Wilfred E. (1956) "The President as Chief Legislator." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, pp. 92-105.
- BROWN, Roger G. (1980) "Party Leadership in the Contemporary Presidency: A Counter Assessment." Prepared for delivery at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta.
- BURNS, James MacGregor (1973) "The Presidential Politicians." Chapter Five of Presidential Government, pp. 155-191. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- CRONIN, Thomas E. (1980) "A Resurgent Congress and the Imperial Presidency." Political Science Quarterly, 95 (Summer), esp. 227-230.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980) "The Presidency and the Parties." In Gerald M. Pomper (ed.), Party Renewal in America, pp. 176-193. New York: Praeger.
- EGGER, Rowland (1972) The President of the United States, pp. 170-179. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- GOLDMAN, Ralph M. (1969) "Titular Leadership of the Presidential Parties." In Aaron Wildavsky (ed.), The Presidency, pp. 384-410. Boston: Little-Brown.
- GREENSTEIN, Fred I. (1979-1980) "Eisenhower as an Activist President: A Look at New Evidence." Political Science Quarterly, 94 (Winter), esp. pp. 579-580.
- KOENIG, Louis W. (1971) "More Power to the President (Not Less)." Chapter Four of Ronald Moe (ed.), Congress and the President, pp. 69-73. Pacific Palisades: Goodyear.
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- MILKIS, Sidney M. (1981) "Party Leadership and the Creation of the Modern Presidency." Prepared for delivery at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Cincinnati.
- ODEGARD, Peter H. (1956) "Presidential Leadership and Party Responsibility." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, pp. 66-81.
- PARKER, Joseph, and Edward N. KEARNEY. (1981) "The President and Political Parties." Chapter Four of Kearney (ed.), Dimensions of the Modern



- Presidency, pp. 81-96. St. Louis: Forum Press.
- REAGAN, Michael. (1963) "Toward Improving National Policy Planning." Public Administration Review, 22 (March), esp. pp. 16-19.
- RIPLEY, Randall B. (1969) "Party Leadership and Legislative Results," Chapter One of Majority Party Leadership in Congress, pp. 1-18. Boston: Little, Brown.
- ROBINSON, Donald Allen. (1974) "Presidents and Party Leadership: An Analysis of Relations Between Presidents, Presidential Candidates, and Their Parties' National Committee Headquarters Since 1952." Prepared for delivery at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago.
- ROSE, Richard. (1980) "Government against Sub-Governments: A European Perspective on Washington." Chapter Eight of Rose and Suleiman (eds.), Presidents and Prime Ministers, esp. pp. 312 ff. Washington: American Enterprise Institute.
- ROSSITER, Clinton. (1974) "The Presidency: Focus of Leadership." In Stanley Bach and George Sulzner (eds.), Perspectives on the Presidency, pp. 35-40. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company.
- SELIGMAN, Lester G. (1978) "The Presidential Office and the President as Party Leader (with a Postscript on the Kennedy-Nixon Era)." In Jeff Fishel (ed.), Parties and Elections in an Anti-Party Age, pp 295-302. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

#### Revised Table of Contents to Janda's Comparative Parties Data

The ICPSR codebook for the Comparative Political Parties Data, 1950-1962 (Study 7534) has a very confusing list of variables on pages XVI to XXV that makes the data very difficult to use (even for Janda). I have prepared a much clearer guide to the variables that I will send on request. These data constitute the basis for Kenneth Janda, Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey (New York: The Free Press, 1980) and are analyzed in Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda, Parties and Their Environments: Limits to Reform? (New York: Longman, 1982). Write me at the Department of Political Science; Northwestern University; Evanston, Illinois 60201.

#### Membership Dues and the 1982 Membership Directory

Paid members of POP are entitled to receive its Membership Directory, which lists some 200 scholars of political organizations and parties by field of interest. We will use a new set of categories this year, so it is IMPORTANT that you complete the form on the last page and mail it promptly. If you have already paid your 1981-82 dues and submitted the new membership form, it will be so indicated on the form itself.







"SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE CHRISTCHURCH TIONAL PEOPLE'S 36-1876," "A DOCUMENT OF THE CCP'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE--CHUNG-FA (1980) NO. 66," "SU YU--VICE INTERPARTY," "A DOCUMENT OF THE CCP'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE--CHUNG-FA (1980) NO. 66," "CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONGRESS," "CHALLENGES OF INCUMBENT GOVERNORS AND SENATORS--1981," "CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN BRITISH PARTY POLITICS," "CHANGES IN STATE PARTY ORGANIZATION, 1980-1980: A CHANGING PARTISANSHIP," "CHANGING PARTISANSHIP," "CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP, AND THE TUNISIAN ONE PARTY CHINESE COMMUNIST CADRES," "PROGRAMMING TO DETERMINE INTER CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL BY-ELECTION," "CHUNG-FA (1980) NO. 66," "A DOC CITIZEN'S PARTY 1980..." "CITY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT," "G OF INTERES CLASS PARTIES AND CLASS VOTING IN THE SCANDINAVIAN CLASS TORIES: THE SEARCH FOR THEORY," "UPD CLASS VOTING IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES," "UPD CLASS, AND POWER IN BRITISH BURMA," "CLEAVAGES IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY," "CLEAVAGES IN THE 1979 SPANISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTI COHORT ANALYSIS," "THE RELATIONSHIP B COLLECTIVE ACTION AS A LOGICAL RESPONSE TO PROPOSI COLLECTIVE INTEREST POLICY-MAKING: CONSUMER PROTEC COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS," "COMMITTEE OF THE FIFTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, COMMITTEE--CHUNG-FA (1980) NO. 66," "COMMON WEAL... A THEORY OF EMERGENCE AND GROWTH COMMUNIST CADRES," "COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST AND GAULLIST PARTIES," "COMPARATIVE COURSE," "PARTIES AND MOVEMEN COMPARISON," "PROSPECTS FO COMPETITION IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS," "COMPETITION, AND POLITICAL EFFICACY IN THE AMERICA COMPETITION: A COMMENT ON WOLTERS' REVIEW," "COMPONENT OF CHANGING PARTISANSHIP," "CONCLUSIONS," "THE GREE CONFEDERATION," "CONFLICT OR CONSENSUS?," "POLICY P CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS," "CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS," "CONGRESS, 1789-1803," "CONGRESS, 1789-1803," "CE CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING CO CONSENSUS?," "POLICY PREFERENCES O CONSUMER PROTECTION IN NORWAY AND THE UNITED STATE CONTEXT OF THE GROWTH OF THE PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL P CONTINUING PARTY DECLINE?," "THE CONTINUITY IN BRITISH PARTY POLITICS," "CONVENTIONS IN THE NEW ERA," "CONVENTION," "POLITICAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN ZAMBIA," "COPING WITH THE NEW U.S. HOUSE," "MA COUNTRIES," "CLASS PARTIE COURSE," "PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS IN ITALY CREATONISM: A CASE STUDY," "CREDIT AND THE CHRISTCHURCH CENTRAL BY-ELECTION," "CRISIS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN SPAIN," "ENV CROSS NATIONAL ANALYSIS," "ENV CULTURE, INTERPARTY COMPETITION, AND POLITICAL EFF DATA," "HANGES IN STATE PARTY ORGANIZATION DECENTRALIZATION: A CROSS NATIONAL ANALYSIS," "DECLINE OF COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY IN AMERICAN P DECLINE?," "THE 1980 U.S. ELECTI DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES," "THE 1980 U.S. ELECTI DELEGATES," "THE DEMISE OF CANADA'S CONFEDERATION," "DEMOCRACY, AND THE NATIONAL FRONT," "DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LDP) IN TRANSITION: MASS MEMBERS DEMOCRATIC PARTY," "DEMOCRATS," "T DETERMINE INTEREST GROUP DISUTILITY FOR PUBLIC POL DEVIANT CASE ANALYSIS," "THE E DIALECTS BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL AND PARTY STRUCTURES DIFFERENCES IN PARTY PREFERENCE AND POLICY POSITIO DIMENSIONS OF FIANNA FAIL RULE IN IRELAND," "THE DIMENSIONS OF INTEREST GROUP EVALUATION OF THE U.S DISADVANTAGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY IN MIDTERN DISUTILITY FOR PUBLIC POLICY CHOICES," "P DOCUMENT OF THE CCP'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE--CHUNG-FA DOMINANCE IN LEGISLATURES," "DOMINANCE OF PARLIAMENT IN QUEENSLAND," "DREAMS OR REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS? THE GROUP OF SOC DUTCH PARTY DELEGATES," "DYNAMICS IN VENEZUELA AND THE OUTBREAK OF GUERRILL ECOLOGICAL POLITICS: THE RISE OF THE GREEN MOVEMEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE GROWTH OF TH EDUARD BERNSTEIN," "EDUCATIONAL INTEREST GROUPS: COLLECTIVE ACTION AS EFFECT ON THE PRESIDENCY," "EFFICACY IN THE AMERICAN STATES," "ULTURE, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN AUSTRA ELECTIONS IN IRELAND," "BROKERAGE AND P ELECTIONS, REFERENDUMS, AND PUBLIC GOODS," "ELECTIONS," "C ELECTIONS," "A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF ELECTIONS," "ENT DISADVANTAGE OF THE PRESI ELECTIONS: PARTY REVIVAL OR CONTINUING PARTY DECLI ELECTIONS: SOME CONCLUSIONS," "ELECTION," "SOCIAL C ELECTION," "RECIPROCITY, IMPERIAL SEN ELECTION," "ARTY STRATEGIES AND MASS CLEAV ELECTORAL BASE OF POLITICAL MACHINES: A DEVIANT CA ELECTORAL MOBILIZATION," "BABWE, 1980: POL ELITES AND MASSES: CONFLICT OR CONSENSUS?," "EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL PARTY," "EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN CONGRESS, 1789- EMPHASIS ON 'PERSISTENCE IN PARTY LEADERSHIP'," "ENVIRONMENT AND PARTY DECENTRALIZATION: A CROSS NA ERA," "PARTY FACTION

ANONYMOUS, SKENE, GEOFF. ANONYMOUS. ANONYMOUS. NEWITT, ANDREW D., AND JI GRIBB, JOHN. COTTER, CORNELIUS, JOHN F HOWELL, SUSAN E. VANDEWALLE, DIRK. WEI-MEN, CHUNG. SMITH, CLIFFORD J. SKENE, GEOFF. ANONYMOUS. THOMASBON, W.A. STEELE, DONALD J., JR., R WORRE, TORBEN. TAPPER, TED, AND NIGEL BD WORRE, TORBEN. TAYLOR, ROBERT H. REITER, HOWARD L. GUNTHER, RICHARD, GIACOMO SHIVELY, W. PHILLIPS. KIRST, MICHAEL M., AND ST ROSE, LAWRENCE E. FIGORINA, MORRIS. ANONYMOUS. ANONYMOUS. DE VREE, JOHAN K. WEI-MEN, CHUNG. SCHONFELD, WILLIAM R. KRAUSS, ELLIS S. CRENE, IVOR. RAY, DAVID, AND JOHN HAVI HANSON, RUSSELL. BUDGE, IAN, AND DENNIS FA HOWELL, SUSAN E. BRIDGFORD, JEFFREY. NUCHTERLEIN, DONALD E. MONTJOY, ROBERT S., WILLI MANN, THOMAS E., AND RAYM CALVERT, RANDALL L., AND HOADLEY, JOHN F. ANONYMOUS. MONTJOY, ROBERT S., WILLI ROSE, LAWRENCE E. HACKLAND, BRIAN. WARE, ALAN. GRIGG, JOHN. REITER, HOWARD L. BARBER, KATHLEEN L. SCOTT, IAN. SINCLAIR, BARBARA. WORRE, TORBEN. KRAUSS, ELLIS S. PIPHO, CHRIS. SKENE, GEOFF. COTARELO, RAMON GARCIA. HARMEL, ROBERT. HANSON, RUSSELL. COTTER, CORNELIUS, JOHN F HARMEL, ROBERT. FORINA, MORRIS. WARE, ALAN. ANONYMOUS. MIDDEL, BERT P., AND WIJB NUCHTERLEIN, DONALD E. FIELDING, NIGEL. TSURUTANI, TAKESUGU. JACKSON, JOHN S., III, AN RUSTIN, MICHAEL. SMITH, CLIFFORD J. WALD, KENNETH D. HARRANE, MARKU. GOOT, MURRAY. GALLAGHER, TOM. FOLEY, KIETH T. CALVERT, RANDALL L., AND SMITH, CLIFFORD J. ANONYMOUS. SPRAGUE, JOHN. COALDRAKE, PETER. WARD, JAMES J. MIDDEL, BERT P., AND WIJB ELLNER, STEVE. BLAT, J.F. HACKLAND, BRIAN. PACHTER, HENRY. KIRST, MICHAEL M., AND ST BURTON, AGNES ROSE. HANSON, RUSSELL. LANGE, W.K. CARTY, R.K. NILSON, STEN SPARRE. MANN, THOMAS E., AND RAYM RAY, DAVID, AND JOHN HAVI CALVERT, RANDALL L., AND WARE, ALAN. BRIDGFORD, JEFFREY. SKENE, GEOFF. JOHNSTON, RICHARD, AND MI GUNTHER, RICHARD, GIACOMO WALD, KENNETH D. GREGORY, MARTYN. MONTJOY, ROBERT S., WILLI DE VREE, JOHAN K. HOADLEY, JOHN F. CHEN-PANG, CHANG. HARMEL, ROBERT. REITER, HOWARD L.

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| <input type="checkbox"/> 23 Anti-organization attitudes               | <input type="checkbox"/> 74 Black/Hispanic politics           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 24 Community groups                          | <input type="checkbox"/> 75 Political Action Committees       |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> 33 Legislative participation                 | <input type="checkbox"/> 83 Non-communist Authoritarian       |
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