

# 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

### Interest Group Studies: Some Reflections on the Past Fifty Years

Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska Juneau

While several Academic works on interest groups were published before the 1950s, David Truman's *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion* (1951), was a landmark from which we often date the modern study of interest groups. So what have we seen in the development of this subfield since this seminal work and who have been the major scholars? This essay offers some thoughts on these questions and on the voluminous research and writing on interest groups produced in the past fifty years or so.

To begin, however, I need to explain a little about my background because (maybe) this has influenced my perspective. First, I have taught in the U.S. for over thirty years but I am originally from England and did most of my higher education there; plus I have taught and researched for extended periods in Europe (West and East), Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Malaysia. Second, although I am firmly rooted in academic political science and have published a fair amount in the field, I have kept closely in touch with the world of practical politics and done consulting (especially on interest group organization and lobbying) plus newspaper, radio and TV commentary. Third, I have been married to two attorneys (though not at the same time!) who have also been lobbyists. Fourth, from time to time I have worked as a volunteer lobbyist myself. With all this in mind here are my reflections.

#### THE IRONY OF THE INTEREST GROUP PUBLICATION EXPLOSION

In editing a *Research Guide to U.S. and International Interest Groups* (Praeger, 2004) I was astonished to find how much research has been done on interest groups since Truman's time. I knew there'd been a lot but not as much as I found. Books, chapters in books, and articles alone fill over a hundred pages (in a small type-face) in that *Guide* (conference papers would likely fill an additional five hundred pages or more). Everything from the various aspects of the internal organization of groups to angles on their role in public policy in specific areas, across policy areas, within countries, states and provinces, comparatively across countries, and in international politics have been worked and reworked and reworked again. Yet, in most aspects of interest group studies there is little definitive knowledge. What characterizes the study of interest groups most, as in other areas of political science and the social sciences in general, is not definitive knowledge but various interpretations and perspectives.

Because of the obvious strictures of time and money, the major category of interest group research remains the case-study. These can often be very useful; but they have their limitations too, even when they apply some general theory of group activity. We are still very short on broad explanation, let alone close to a so-called "grand theory" of interest groups. Not only that, there is still a long way to go to understand central concepts such as interest group power (or is it influence?) let alone agreeing on the use of terms like *interest group* (should we use a broad or narrow definition?), and *power* and *influence* (what's the difference between the two?).

There are certainly no easy solutions to these shortcomings. The observations in the following two sections, however, might just edge us in the right direction.

#### U.S. VERSUS EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES ON AND APPROACHES TO INTEREST GROUP STUDIES

When editing the *Research Guide* I also discovered that a major portion, maybe as much as two-thirds, of all publications in English on interest groups have been authored by scholars residing in the United States. Obviously, this is likely due to the large number of interest group scholars in the U.S. plus the long-time recognition of the prominence of interest groups in the U.S. System. Another thing has struck me over the years about many U.S. interest group scholars, though certainly not all of them. This is that they are often very U.S.-centric—not knowledgeable about other interest group systems and often don't care to study them.

Three of my experiences illustrate this. Once, when asked by a very prominent American interest group scholar what I could contribute to his new edited book, I replied: "something comparing the U.S. pluralist system with the neo-corporatist (and semi-neocorporatist) systems of Europe." His response: "No one cares about that neo-corporatist stuff, do something on the U.S.!" Then at a conference a few years back I was in a panel audience when another audience member (who sounded European) asked how the various papers on group power on the panel might have implications for understanding group influence in the executive-dominated systems of Western Europe. Everyone on the panel had a blank look on their face and the chair embarrassingly apologized for the silence and went on to the next question. Third, a listing that appeared a few years ago of the top ten academics who have contributed most to interest group

(Continued on page 2)

Interest Group Studies .....	1, 2
From Headquarters .....	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Scholarly Precincts .....	3
From The Field .....	7, 8

**Chair:** John Aldrich, Duke University

**Secretary-Treasurer:** Holly Brasher, University of Alabama at Birmingham

**VOX POP Editor:** John Green, The University of Akron

**Program Chair:** Phil Paolino, University of North Texas

**Website Coordinator:** Michael Brady, Duke University

**EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:** Barry Burden, Harvard University; Marjorie Hershey, Indiana University; Ken Kollman, University of Michigan; Beth Leech, Rutgers University; Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia; Lonna Rae Atkeson, University of New Mexico; Tom Carsey, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill; and Kira Sanbonmatsu, Ohio State University.

## INTEREST GROUP STUDIES (Continued from page 1)

studies included only scholars residing in and writing on the U.S.

Certainly, the pluralist system in the U.S. does not lend itself easily to corporatist analysis. But is that any reason why we should not study and acquaint our students with other systems? Think of it this way: the uniqueness of the separation of powers system in America leads to the U.S. interest group system being an *aberration* and *not* the *norm* among liberal democracies let alone non-democratic and transitional regimes. Understanding more about interest groups in other societies (democratic and otherwise) might just help us inch toward a more comprehensive understanding of groups as political organizations if not enable us to develop a “grand theory.”

### AN INCREASING GULF BETWEEN THE PRACTICAL REALITY OF INTEREST GROUP ACTIVITY AND SCHOLARSHIP

There has likely always been a little tension, in some cases some disdain, between many (though not all) political practitioners and many (though, again, not all) political scientists. After all, the focus and goals of the practitioner and the academic are different. The former deal in compromise and power, operates in a “here and now” environment that is usually short-term based on election cycles; and they likely know little beyond their own political system. In contrast, the political scientist deals in systematic analysis and the application of scientific method to develop theories to explain broader, longer-range and, in essence, a comparative view of various political phenomena. This broader, academic view is what we all went to college to learn and it has great value and can (and here I emphasize *can*) add dimensions to our understanding of politics that political practitioners cannot generally provide. And I am firmly of the opinion that this is ultimately the purpose of political science.

However, much scholarship on interest groups (as in much of political science and the social sciences) in the past fifty years and particularly since the late 1980s, can only be described as completely divorced from practical reality and adds very little, if anything, to our understanding of the practical phenomena of interest groups and lobbying. Not only that, some of it is so arcane and often so poorly written that even extensively published specialists can't understand it! Several of us who are regularly asked to review interest group manuscripts for major journals and publishers have bemoaned such scholarship when we've gotten together at conferences. There's a consensus among many of us that this work is written by people not living on earth! Anyone who's ever been involved with an interest group, has lobbied, or interviewed lobbyists and those who are lobbied, will come up empty handed when trying to find even a glimmer of practical application in much of this literature. And if seasoned specialists in interest groups can't understand it, who can even if it ends up published in the *American Political Science Review (APSR)*?

The explanations for this divorcing of interest group scholarship from reality reflect, in many ways, the general trend in political science that produce the “revolt” against the very narrow focus of the *APSR*. It is a clear indication of the use of political science for science sake alone, not for what it can tell us—a move to be scientific at all costs. In addition, there are pressures on Ph.D. departments to turn out graduates, the need for students to find a manageable (usually meaning very narrow) dissertation topic, and as more and more purely scientific political scientists earn Ph.Ds and get jobs (and want to mimic their demi-god supervisors) this widens the gulf. Plus, there is little accountability in the fiercely guarded intellectual freedom of the academy: no one can tell anyone, let alone insist, that *their* work should have at least some relevance to the real world.

### THREE IMPORTANT SCHOLARS

I'll move now from a lambasting critique to a positive note. Since Truman's day, who have been the major contributors to interest group studies? Such an assessment may land me in much hotter water than I was in with my comments above. Naming names is a judgment call and those not mentioned may feel slighted, even offended. Nevertheless, I'm sticking out my neck based upon what I think are important criteria. These criteria include: the general overall contribution (not just to the U.S. system) to advancing an understanding of interest groups academically and as practicing political organizations; the waves that these academics sent across the interest group scholarly community in terms of generating a reaction and publications—pro and con—by others; and, combining the first two points, that they have moved us toward a better overall understanding of interest groups and maybe made a small contribution toward a “grand theory.”

I'll single out only three of these scholars: the late Mancur Olson, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Robert H. Salisbury. Olson, who was an economist not an interest group guru, fits into the internal organization aspect of interest group studies; Schmitter fits mostly into the public policy aspect of the subfield; and Salisbury straddles the fence between the two, though he has done more work on groups in the policy arena.

Olson's 1965 classic, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* advanced our understanding of group membership and internal capacity (and lack of capacity) of groups in a way that we had not understood before. His work created a small factory industry in testing, advancing and critiquing his work that continues today. His 1982 book, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation and Economic Rigidities* did not have the same impact on the subfield. It is, nevertheless, a masterful analysis of the affects of how entrenched interests and the developments of, in effect, hyperpluralism impacted western democracies from the late 1960s onwards.

Schmitter, a prolific writer to say the least, is mainly known for his work on neo-corporatism and in particular his 1974 article, “Still the Century of Corporatism?” While this piece did not exactly start the surge of work on neo-corporatist studies (some Scandinavian scholars had been toying with this before) it did launch a small factory industry pro and con that rivaled that generated by Olson. But more than that, Schmitter helped give momentum to scholars in European and other parliamentary systems to begin to look at interest groups as part of their political systems and not simply see such organizations as a purely U.S. phenomenon. Before the 1970s few books on the politics of countries from Britain to Germany to Japan to Australia included much, if anything, on interest groups (or pressure groups as scholars outside the U.S. tended to refer to them and often still do). Try to find the term in an index of those early books including books on Canadian politics. Today, however, there is a vibrant, if often small, group of interest group scholars in all Western democracies.

Although Salisbury has done the bulk of his work on the U.S. system, his research has general comparative application. His 1969 article, “An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups,” advanced our understanding of the entrepreneurial element in group organization and leadership. He was one of the first (in conjunction with several collaborators) to paint a fuller picture of Washington, D.C. lobbyists; he helped alert us to the fact that institutions (including governments of all types) and not groups as such dominate the number of interests represented in the policy arena; and he helped identify the development and consequences of hyperpluralism. Salisbury also had a comparative dimension to his scholarship as evidenced in his 1979 chapter in a collection of essays, “Why No Corporatism in America?”

### THE NEED FOR A SYNTHESIS OF EXISTING WORK

Most of us can't be Olsons, Schmitters or Salisburys, but those who teach and research in the field plus present and future grad students can glean a major lesson from studying their work. This is that they not only made a major contribution to the academic study of interest groups they also helped us understand the practical operation of groups and lobbyists.

What we need in the next fifty years—or earlier, we can only hope—is someone to synthesize the mountain of work that's been created since Truman's in such a way as to advance our understanding of interest groups in some integrated way, maybe even come close to a “grand theory.” What we need is another Truman to spark such a focus and to legitimize it as a worthwhile academic exercise.

## FROM HEADQUARTERS

**POP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING**  
Thursday, August 30, 12:00 p.m.

**POP BUSINESS MEETING**  
Friday, August 31, 12:00 p.m.  
Hyatt San Francisco Room

## FROM HEADQUARTERS

### Letter from the Chair June 2007

I write as my term in office winds toward an end - hard to believe how quickly that went. What I want to focus on here is the new leadership for POP. Assuming the nominated slate is elected, we have a particularly strong set of leaders for the coming year, and I want to take this opportunity to explain why I think so.

First, Russ Dalton, presumed successor to the presidency, is an obvious choice under any circumstances. He has long achieved a position of intellectual leadership in the field. But I wanted to point out that he combines an unusual mixture of strengths. He works on political parties, on social movements, and on political groups, just the right combination for leading this new team. But I also wanted to point especially to his work as a scholar of comparative politics. Clearly, it is not that POP has failed to engage comparative politics, but it has probably not been the core of our image to the academic public. I am pleased that he, like others on the new slate such as Mick Laver, strengthen our profile in comparative considerably.

Second, I am equally pleased that last year's and this year's slates will continue to develop leadership among our younger scholars. A look through the records of POP indicate that leadership has quite naturally gravitated toward the more senior and well known POP scholars. We are now developing a cadre of young scholars gaining experience in the ways of the Association, but with new energy and ideas that should serve our section well for years to come.

I want to point especially to Seth Masket and Jennifer Victor as our new co-chairs for the 2008 program. It is hard to tell from the records, but I could not find another instance of co-chairs. It is particularly appropriate for them to serve as first co-chairs, if that they actually be. It permits us to take advantage of their new views and perspectives, just as the APSA revises its program structure, without (I hope) unduly burdening younger scholars with administration commitments. And it provides our diverse membership with program committee representation that is broader than any one individual, especially one among our more junior scholars, could provide.

Please take the opportunity to meet all of our leadership at our business meeting this fall, and please work with them and offer them not only help but suggestions of how to strengthen the section.

John Aldrich  
Pfizer-Pratt University  
Duke University  
[Aldrich@duke.edu](mailto:Aldrich@duke.edu)

## SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

### VOX POP Archive Gets a Face Lift *Janet Bolois, Bliss Institute*

The archive for the monthly newsletter located on the website of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics has been given a new look. The web page had originally contained each of the issues in PDF format with the volume and issue number being the link to the file.

After the revision of the website, now each of the newsletters can be accessed in a more understandable way—by the quarter and year of the issue. Also, all issues that have been published are now accessible on the website. With these changes, hopefully all who want to access a particular issue will be able to in a timely and efficient manner. The website can be accessed at [www.uakron.edu/bliss/VoxPop.php](http://www.uakron.edu/bliss/VoxPop.php)

### SAVE THE DATE

#### American Association of Political Consultants Academic Outreach Conference “Making Democracy Happen”

October 11-12, 2007

Radisson Akron City Center  
Akron, Ohio

The AAPC Academic Outreach Conference, hosted by the University of Akron Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, provides a forum for students, academics, and consultants to discuss professional political consulting and public affairs. Career trends, technical expertise, and ethical issues are explored throughout the conference.

A mentoring program will be established at the conference to connect students with professionals who will provide career advice and guidance.

Academic travel packages are available.  
For more information and on-line registration, visit:  
[www.WinningPolitics.com](http://www.WinningPolitics.com)

## American Political Science Association Organized Section on Political Organizations & Parties (POP)

### List of Officers, 2007-2008

**Chair:** Russ Dalton (University of California, Irvine)

**Secretary / Treasurer:**

Holly Brasher (University of Alabama)

**Executive Council Members:**

Scott Ainsworth (University of Georgia)  
Lonna Rae Atkeson (University of New Mexico)  
Tom Carsey (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)  
Kira Sanbonmatsu (Rutgers University)  
Maryann Barakso (American University)  
Geoffrey Layman (University of Maryland)  
Michael Laver (New York University)  
Miki Kittilson (Arizona State University)

**Editor, VOX POP:**

John Green (University of Akron)

**2008 Program Co-Chairs:**

Seth Masket (University of Denver)  
Jennifer Victor (University of Pittsburgh)

**Webmaster:**

Michael Brady (Duke University)

# FROM HEADQUARTERS

## Division 35: Political Organizations and Parties

### American Political Science Association

### Annual Meeting 2007

#### PANELS

#### Thursday, August 30, 2007

##### 4:15 pm 35-2 Spatial Models of European Politics

- Chair: Michael J. Laver (New York University)
- Authors: James Adams (University of California, Davis, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu (University of California, Davis)  
"The Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-2002"  
Jane Green (University of Manchester)  
"The Benefits of Moderation but the Costs of Convergence: Quantifying a Trade-Off in the Downsian Model"  
Erica Elizabeth Edwards (University of North Carolina), Catherine E. De Vries (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Lawrence Ezrow (University of Essex), and Marco R. Steenbergen (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)  
"Dynamic Correspondence versus Dynamic Representation: Do Parties Respond to their Supporters or to the Median Voter?"  
Anthony J. McGann (University of California, Irvine)  
"Why Unidimensionality? How Parties Create the Policy Space in Multiparty Systems"
- Discussants: Bonnie M. Meguid (University of Rochester) and Michael D. McDonald, SUNY, Binghamton)

##### 4:15 pm 35-3 Party Evolution and Realignment

- Chair: Brian J. Brox (Tulane University)
- Authors: Stephen Marcus Engel (Yale University) and Julia Rezazadeh Azari (Marquette University)  
"Platforms, Internal Factions, and the Sources of Ideological Change in American Political Parties"  
John M. Bruce (University of Mississippi) and Robert D. Brown (University of Mississippi)  
"Considering a Motivation for Party Change in the South"  
Eric Schickler (University of California, Berkeley) and Brian Feinstein (Harvard University)  
"State Party Platforms and Civil Rights Policy, 1920-1968"  
David A. Hopkins (University of California, Berkeley)  
"A 'Solid North'?: Social Issues and the Rise of the Democratic Party in Northern Suburbs, 1988-2006"
- Discussant: David Karol (University of California, Berkeley)

#### Friday, August 31, 2007

##### 8:00 am 35-4 Political Organizations and the Money Channel

- Chair: Richard M. Skinner (Williams College)
- Authors: Robert C. Lowry (University of Texas at Dallas)  
"Mobilizing Money: Contributions by Individuals to Political Action Committees"  
Jonathan Wand (Stanford University)  
"Learning Over Repeated Elections: PACs and Campaign Contribution Decisions"  
Susan Clark Muntean (University of California, San Diego)  
"Ownership Structure of the Firm as a Predictor of Political Contributions"  
Casey Byrne Dominguez (University of San Diego)  
"The Democratic Party Coalition: A Social Network Analysis of Leadership PACs, Party Committees, and Interest Groups"

- Susan Scarrow (University of Houston)  
"Who Gives? Political Party Donations in Institutional and Cultural Context"

##### 2:00 pm 35-5 Interest Groups and Lobbying Activity

- Authors: Henry E. Brady (University of California, Berkeley); Lee Drutman (University of California); Sidney Verba (Harvard University); and Kay Lehman Schlozman (Boston College)  
"How Business Lobbying is Affected by the Policy Environment and Industry Characteristics"  
Ann C. Keller (University of California, Berkeley)  
"The Patient Interest Group Phenomenon: Politics, Research, and Expertise in Disease Advocacy"  
Nine Therese Kasniunas (Loyola University Chicago)  
"Impact of Interest Group Testimony on Lawmaking in Congress"  
John C. Scott (Cornell University)  
"The Social Embeddedness of Lobbying"  
Amy Melissa McKay (University of Iowa)  
"Do Amicus Briefs Advocating Decision Reversal Outweigh Those Advocating Affirmation?"
- Discussant: Frederick J. Boehmke (University of Michigan)

#### Saturday, September 1, 2007

##### 8:00 am 35-6 Party Positioning

- Chair: Emily Clough (University of North Texas)
- Authors: David Karol (University of California, Berkeley)  
"Why Flip-Flopping Works: The Limits of Reputational Constraints Explained"  
Jeannette Money (University of California, Davis) and Josephine T. Andrews (University of California, Davis)  
"Political Parties and Electoral Strategies: The Movement of Parties in Ideological Space"  
Josephine T. Andrews (University of California, Davis); Robert W. Jackman (University of California, Davis); and Zeynep Somer-Topcu (University of California, Davis)  
"Political Parties' Strategic Response to Electoral Loss"  
Antje V. Schwennicke (Indiana University)  
"Issue Change in Major Parties: The Dynamic Reciprocal Relationship Between Party Strategy and Public Opinion"  
Paul V. Warwick (Simon Fraser University)  
"Relative Extremism and Relative Moderation: Strategic Party Positioning in Democratic Systems"
- Discussants: Emily Clough (University of North Texas)

##### 10:15 am 35-8 New Directions for the Study of Political Parties in Third Wave Democracies

- Chair: Erik M. Kuhonta (McGill University)
- Authors: Joshua A. Tucker (New York University) and Radoslaw Markowski (Warsaw School of Social Psychology)  
"Political Representation in Poland: 1997-2005"  
Steven I. Wilkinson (University of Chicago)  
"Colonialism, Democracy and Governance"  
Raul L. Madrid (University of Texas, Austin)  
"The Emergence of Ethnic Parties in Latin America?"  
Rachel Beatty Riedl (Princeton University)  
"Authoritarian Legacies and Democratic Transitions: Enduring Effects for Africa's Political Party Systems"  
Erik M. Kuhonta (McGill University)  
"Party Institutionalization: A Conceptual Re-examination through Southeast Asian Lenses"
- Discussant: Jorge I. Dominguez (Harvard University)

## FROM HEADQUARTERS (Continued from page 4)

- 2:00 pm 35-7 Party Polarization: Causes and Consequences**  
Chair: Matthew Lebo (SUNY, Stony Brook)  
Authors: John D. Griffin (University of Notre Dame)  
“Party Polarization and Representation”  
Shang E. Ha (University of Chicago) and  
Jeffrey D. Grynawski (University of Chicago)  
“Party Activists and Party Polarization: A Dissenting View”  
Gerald C. Wright (Indiana University, Bloomington)  
“Party Polarization and Representation of the Poor  
in State Parties”  
Peter Hanson (University of California, Berkeley)  
“Polarization, Legislative Rules and Agenda Control in the  
United States Senate”  
Jeffrey W. Ladewig (University of Connecticut) and  
Stephen Napier (University of Connecticut)  
“Retrospective Voting in the U.S. House and  
Ideological Polarization”  
Discussant: David C. W. Parker (Indiana University, South Bend)

### Sunday, September 2, 2007

#### 10:15 am 35-1 Roundtable on the Making of the Presidential Candidates 2008

- Chair: William G. Mayer (Northeastern University)  
Participants: Marty Cohen (University of California, Los Angeles)  
David B. Magleby (Brigham Young University)  
Stephen J. Farnsworth (University of Mary Washington)  
Vincent L. Hutchings (University of Michigan)  
Travis N. Ridout (Washington State University)

## POSTERS

### Thursday, August 30, 2:00 pm

- Ed Fieldhouse (University of Manchester)  
“The Effectiveness of Local Party Campaigns in 2005: Combining Evidence  
from Campaign Spending and Agent Survey Data Using MIMIC Models”  
Won-Ho Park (University of Florida) and  
Michael J. Hanmer (Georgetown University)  
“Ecological Inference in Extreme Conditions: Straight and Split-Ticket  
Voting in Diverse Settings and in Small Samples”  
Joan Serra (University of Chicago)  
“Vote: Analyze Vote Behavior”  
Michael F. Meffert (Universität Mannheim) and  
Thomas Gschwend (University of Mannheim)  
“The Perception of Polls and Coalition Signals and Their Effect on Strategic  
Voting”  
Sonja Zmerli (Mannheimer Zentrum fuer Europäische Sozialforschung)  
“How the Concepts of Self-Categorization and Social Identification Can  
Enrich Social Capital Theory”

### Friday, August 31, 10:15 am

- Jennifer Jerit (Florida State University)  
“Issue Publics, News Interest, and the Information Environment”  
Kentaro Fukumoto (Gakushuin University)  
“An Incomplete Information Game of Bicameral Reconciliation and Party as  
Information Carrier”  
Alexander Victor Hirsch (Stanford Graduate School of Business)  
“Voting Error and Econometric Testing of Complete Information Theories of  
Lawmaking”  
Henry A. Kim (University of California) and  
Royce A. Carroll (University of California, San Diego)  
“The Majority Party and ‘The Cohesive Power of Public Plunder’”  
John P. Todsén (University of New Mexico)  
“When Presidents Attack: Rally Events in the Pre-Modern Era”

- Michael Tofias (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee), Jennifer L. Merolla  
(Claremont Graduate University), and Michael C. Munger (Duke University)  
“Popularity Contest: Strategy and Outcome Counterfactuals Without the  
Electoral College”  
Robert P. Saldin (University of Virginia)  
“Political Parties and Ideology: War as a Causal Factor”  
Sharon E. Jarvis (University of Texas, Austin) and  
Soo-Hye Han (University of Texas at Austin)  
“Casting the Ballot — II: Vote, Voter, and Voting in U.S. Newspapers,  
1948-2004”  
Jonathan McDonald Ladd (Georgetown University)  
“What Does Trust in the Media Measure?”  
Imme F. Petersen (University of Luneburg)  
“Media, Expertise, and Political Decisions”  
Amnon Cavari (University of Wisconsin)  
“Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Races”  
Karin MacDonald (University of California, Berkeley) and  
Bonnie E. Glaser (University of California, Berkeley)  
“Its Not ‘Who Votes’ - Its ‘Who GETS To Vote’ - The Effects of Poll  
Worker Training On Participation At The Polling Place”  
Joshua J. Dyck (University at Buffalo, SUNY)  
“Trust in Government and Direct Democracy”  
Caroline J. Tolbert (University of Iowa), Daniel Bowen (University of Iowa),  
and Daniel A. Smith (University of Florida)  
“Political Trust and Direct Democracy”  
Jill S. Greenlee (University of California, Berkeley)  
“Things Ain’t Like They Used to Be: Generational Differences in the  
Impact of Motherhood on Political Attitudes”  
Amanda Abigail Licht (University of Iowa)  
“Ensuring a Smooth Ride: Regional Powers and the Virtues of  
Bandwagoning Vs. Balancing Alliance Dynamics”  
Emile Lester (College of William and Mary)  
“Must Promoting Religious Tolerance Come at the Impermissible  
Price of Dishonesty?”  
Brian J. Brox (Tulane University)  
“Show Me The Money: Political Parties and the Strategic Allocation  
of Resources”  
Marvin P. King (University of Mississippi) and  
Richard G. Forgette (University of Mississippi)  
“Political-Racial Cycles? Assessing Evidence of Party-Based  
Racial Polarization”  
Heather Barton (Indiana University)  
“Vote Choice in the 2004 Presidential Election:  
The Impact of Issue Preference and Salience”  
Daniel J. Lee (Duke University)  
“Candidate Divergence from a Threat of Third Party Entry”  
Hani Zubida (Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya)  
“Comparative Outlook on Split-Voting: Socio-Demographic Analysis”  
Kyle Mattes (California Institute of Technology)  
“Attack Politics: Experimental Evidence on Going Negative”  
Israel S. Waismel-Manor (University of Haifa)  
“The Bald and the Beautiful: Physical Attractiveness and Electoral Success”  
Marc Meredith (Stanford GSB)  
“Can Where People Vote Influence How They Vote? The Influence of  
Polling Location Type on Voting Behavior”  
Quentin Kidd (Christopher Newport University) and  
Erin Phillips (Christopher Newport University)  
“Unraveling the Effects of the Internet on Youth Political Participation”  
Peter Esaiasson (Goteborg University)  
“Electoral Losers Revisited - Is There Really A Winner-Loser Gap?”

## FROM HEADQUARTERS (Continued from page 5)

William G. Mayer (Northeastern University)

“When the Candidate Becomes the Issue: Why It Is Rational for Voters to Take Candidate Characteristics into Account”

Stephen J. Stambough (California State University, Fullerton) and

Valerie R. O'Regan (California State University, Fullerton)

“Gender, Party, and Gubernatorial Elections: The Intersection of the Gender Gap and Gender Cue Voting for Democratic and Republican Female Gubernatorial Candidates”

John E. Transue (Duke University) and Ian McDonald (Duke University)

“Bond Markets, Prediction Markets, and Mayoral Elections: An Examination of Perceptions of New York City's 2001 Mayoral Election”

Antje V. Schwennicke (Indiana University)

“Issue Change in Major Parties: The Dynamic Reciprocal Relationship Between Party Strategy and Public Opinion”

Matt A. Barreto (University of Washington) and

Barry Pump (University of Washington)

“Closing the Polls: How Switching to All Vote-By-Mail Elections Effects Efficacy and Turnout”

Laura Kathryn Frey (University of California, Santa Barbara)

“The Role of Partisan Assessments in Presidential Approval Ratings: An Informational Approach to Presidential Approval”

Shana Kushner Gadarian (Princeton University)

“The Politics of Threat: The Effect of Media on Foreign Policy Attitudes”

Tyler Johnson (Texas A&M University)

“Covering Congress: Media Effects on Evaluations of the Legislative Branch”

Georgia Kernell (Columbia University)

“Party Organization and Partisanship”

Neil Malhotra (Stanford University) and Jon A. Krosnick (Stanford University)

“The Effects of Public Opinion Polls on Belief Updating, Candidate Preference, and Participation”

Justin Phillips (Columbia University) and Jeffrey R. Lax (Columbia University)

“Public Opinion and Policy Congruence: Gay Rights in the States”

Michael Parkin (Oberlin College)

“Congressional Campaigns in Cyberspace and the Impact of On-line Technology on Website Visitors”

Shannon Jenkins (University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth) and

Douglas D. Roscoe (University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth)

“Party Organizational Culture”

Sylvia Manzano (Texas A&M University)

“Do Latino Voters Represent Latino Non-Voters?”

John I. Hanley (University of California, Berkeley)

“New Wine in Old Bottles? Family Members, Incumbency Advantage, and Term Limits in State Legislative Elections”

Kaj Thomsson (Yale University)

“Interest Groups and Welfare State Development”

Jennifer Dodge (New York University)

“Discursive Practice and Environmental Politics: Enacting Democracy in Social Change Nonprofits”

Susanne Beechey (George Washington University)

“Interest Group Discourses of Gender, Race, and Class in the 2005 Social Security Debates”

Nathaniel Klemp (Princeton University)

“The Changing Family Values Spin: The Christian Right's Turn Toward Public Reason”

Paul A. Djupe (Denison University) and Jacob R. Neiheisel (Denison University)

“Religious Groups Are Different: How to Study and Learn from the Prophetic Impulse”

Matt Grossmann (University of California, Berkeley)

“Media Amplification of Interest Group Voices: The Supply Side of Expert Sourcing”

Daniel J. Coffey (University of Akron)

“The Coming Storm: Voter Polarization and the Rise of Environmentalism”

Tim Wegenast (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) and

Tobias Hofmann (Free University of Berlin)

“Voter's Information, Electoral Competition, and the Influence of Interest Groups in the United States”

Stefaan Walgrave (University of Antwerp) and

Joris Verhulst (University of Antwerp)

“Why Protest Supporters Don't (Always) Show Up. Mobilization deficit in a Comparative and Empirical Perspective”

### Saturday, September 1, 2:00 pm

Francesco Zucchini (Universita di Milano) and

Luigi Curini (University of Milano)

“Government Alternation and Party Discipline: A Roll Call Analysis of Italian Parliamentary Voting (1988-2006)”

Luis Raul Camara (University of Puerto Rico) and

William R. Shaffer (Purdue University)

“Party Coalitions in the Puerto Rican Legislature”

Alise Coen (University of Delaware)

“Revisiting Misperception: The Origins and Development of Anti-Americanism in the Middle East”

Ed Fieldhouse (University of Manchester)

“Marginalization or Mobilization: Concentration Effects on the Electoral Turnout of Asian Electors in Britain”

Airo Hino (Catholic University of Louvain)

“Public Party Funding and New Parties' Success: A Comparative Analysis of 15 Western European Democracies”

Eduardo L. Leoni (Columbia University)

“Income, Ideology, and Ticket Splitting Voting in Brazil”

Jennifer K. Smith (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee)

“Campaign Innovation on the Demand Side: Theory and Evidence from Western Europe”

Mark P. Shephard (University of Strathclyde) and

Robert Johns (University of Strathclyde)

“Ballot Paper Photographs and Voting in British Elections”

Frank C. S. Liu (National Sun Yat-Sen University, NSYSU)

“Political Discussion and Its Consequences: A Study of Taiwanese Voters in the 2006 Mayoral Election”

Byung-Kwon Song (Seoul National University)

“Explaining the Rise of Partisan Voting in Korea's Local Elections”

Kunle Owolabi (University of Notre Dame)

“Puerto Rican Exceptionalism? Explaining High Voter Turnout in Gubernatorial Elections”

Mary Fran T. Malone (University of New Hampshire)

“Public Support for Quota Systems in Nicaragua”

Francois Petry (Laval University) and

Christine Rothmayr Allison (University of Montreal)

“The Role of Polling in Healthcare Policy Making in Canada”

Youngmin Jo (Indiana University) and Noriko Hara (Indiana University)

“Political Use of the Internet: A Comparative Analysis of U.S. and South Korea Presidential Campaigns”

Manlio Cinalli (Sciences Po) and Foued Nasri (Sciences Po)

“The Multi-Organizational Field of Immigration Politics in France: The Impact of the Mobilization of 'Weak Immigrants'”

Oz Frankel (New School for Social Research)

“Importing American Radicalism: The Black Panthers Movement in 1970s Israel”

Birol Baskan (SUNY, Fredonia)

“Generals, Professors, Justices Go After Headscarf? What's at stake in headscarf ban in Turkey”

---

---

## FROM HEADQUARTERS

### Organized Section on Political Organizations and Parties (POP)

#### List of Awards for 2007

##### Jack L. Walker, Jr. Outstanding Article Award

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

Chair: Beth Leech, Rutgers, [leech@polisci.rutgers.edu](mailto:leech@polisci.rutgers.edu)  
Michael J. Laver, NYU, [michael.laver@nyu.edu](mailto:michael.laver@nyu.edu)  
Jeremy Pope, BYU, [jeremy.c.pope@gmail.com](mailto:jeremy.c.pope@gmail.com)

**WINNER(S):** Richard L. Hall (University of Michigan) and Alan V. Deardorff (University of Michigan) for “Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy”

##### Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award

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

Chair: Scott Ainsworth, Georgia, [sainswo@uga.edu](mailto:sainswo@uga.edu)  
Jeff Grynaviski, University of Chicago, [grynaviski@uchicago.edu](mailto:grynaviski@uchicago.edu)  
Susan Scarrow, University of Houston, [sscarrow@uh.edu](mailto:sscarrow@uh.edu)

**WINNER(S):** Henry Bale, *Why not Parties in Russia*  
Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy*

##### Samuel J. Eldersveld Award

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

Chair: Tom Carsey, UNC, CH, [carsey@unc.edu](mailto:carsey@unc.edu)  
Kira Sanbonmatsu, Rutgers, [sanbon@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:sanbon@rci.rutgers.edu)  
William B. Heller, [wbheller@gmail.com](mailto:wbheller@gmail.com),  
(Binghamton, at Harvard 2006-07)

**WINNER:** Paul A. Beck (Ohio State University)

##### Emerging Scholar Award

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

Chair: Lonnie Rae Atkeson, UNM, [atkeson@unm.edu](mailto:atkeson@unm.edu)  
Andrea Campbell, MIT, [acampbel@MIT.EDU](mailto:acampbel@MIT.EDU)  
Ken Kollman, UM, [kkollman@umich.edu](mailto:kkollman@umich.edu)

**WINNER:** Susan Webb Yackee (University of Wisconsin at Madison)

##### Party Politics Award

This award honors the best paper presented on a POP panel at the preceding APSA annual meeting. The award recipient is offered the opportunity to publish the paper in *Party Politics*.

Chair: Barry Burden, Wisconsin, [bcburden@wisc.edu](mailto:bcburden@wisc.edu)  
Hans Noel, Georgetown, [hcn4@georgetown.edu](mailto:hcn4@georgetown.edu)  
Bonnie Meguid, Rochester, [megu@mail.rochester.edu](mailto:megu@mail.rochester.edu)

**WINNER(S):** Georgia Kernell (Columbia University) for “Candidate Selection and Political Participation”

---

---

## FROM THE FIELD

### Papers of Interest

#### 2007 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting

“Following the Money: A Study of the Election Campaign Expenditures of Utah State Legislators.” Luke Earl Peterson, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard.

“Searching for Cures: Assessing Interest Group Influence in the Federal Grantmaking Process.” Michelle L. Chin, Arizona State University, Eric Lindquist, Texas A&M University, and Risto Karinen, Arizona State University.

“Racial Redistricting and Republican Representation in Louisiana.” R. Bruce Anderson, Baker University, Zachary Baumann, University of Mississippi, and Rhonda L. Wrzenski, Louisiana State University.

“Mountain Republicans in the Twenty-First Century.” Robert P. Steed, The Citadel, and Laurence W. Moreland, The Citadel.

“To Run or Not to Run: The Influence of Partisan Bias and Responsiveness on Party Competition in Southern State House Contests in the 1990s.” Joseph Aistrup, Kansas State University.

““I am a Southerner.” The Disconnect Between Regional Identity and Partisan Preferences.” Matthew Thomas Corrigan, University of North Florida.

“A Two Party South? Perspectives from Key.” Harold W. Stanley, Southern Methodist University.

“Gubernatorial Legislative Policy Success in a Weak Party State Legislature: The 2000 Louisiana House Special Session.” Trisha Mari Sandahl, Louisiana State University.

“Measuring the Electoral Value of Party Label in Developed Democracies under Different Electoral Rules.” Kenichi Ariga, University of Michigan.

“Candidate Centered Media Effects on Partisan Dealignment.” Amanda Louise Beal, Louisiana State University.

“Partisan-Ideological Divergence and Changing Party Fortunes in the States, 1968-2003.” Robert D. Brown, University of Mississippi, and John Bruce, University of Mississippi.

“The Institutional Sources of Party Reputation.” Jonathan E. Woon, Carnegie Mellon University, and Jeremy Pope, Brigham Young University.

“Moving Out of Babylon: Reaching a Consensus on Policy Networks.” Katherine Howard Barillas, University of Houston.

“Geography and Policy: How the Changing Location of Interest Altered Intellectual Property Policymaking.” Jesse Travis Richman, Old Dominion University, and William Keech, Carnegie Mellon University.

“Interest Groups, Federalism and Health Policy.” Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University, and William G. Weissert, Florida State University.

“House Leadership: Comparing Party Leaders and Committee Chairs, 1945-2005.” Marija Anna Bekafigo, University of Georgia.

“Minority Party Influence in the U.S. House.” C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary, Amanda M. Downing, College of William and Mary, and Keith B. Klovers, College of William and Mary.

“Vanishing Moderates: Party Discipline and Interest Group Influence in Polarized Congress.” Keiko Ono, University of Oklahoma.

“Moderates in the House of Representatives.” Joseph Michael Sempolinski, Yale University.

“The Rise of Party Government in the U.S. Senate.” Michael H. Crespin, The University of Georgia.

“Constituent Service and Party Competition in the Post-Civil War Congress.” Charles J. Finocchiaro, University of Buffalo — SUNY.

“Partisanship, Agency Loss, and Agenda Construction in Contemporary Lame Duck Sessions of Congress, 1933-2004.” Jeffrey A. Jenkins, Northwestern University, and Tim Nokken, University of Houston.

“The Representation of Women in Political Parties in Central and Eastern Europe.” Richard E. Matland, Loyola University Chicago, and Denitza Bojinova, University of Houston.

“The Formation of Issue Concepts and Partisan Change.” William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University.

“Perceptions of the Parties and Candidates.” Helmut Norpoth, State University of New York, Stony Brook.

“Can I Play Too? A Look at Third Party Entrance and Success in U.S. Gubernatorial Elections.” Jay Ducote, Louisiana State University.



## FROM THE FIELD *(Continued from page 7)*

- “Redistricting Commissions and Partisan Bias.” Richard Neal Engstrom, Georgia State University, and Jeffrey Lazarus, Georgia State University.
- “Christian Right Strength in State Republican Parties: The Role of ‘Religious Threat’.” John Michael McTague, University of Maryland.
- “The Protestant Left and the Democratic Party.” Laura R. Olson, Clemson University.
- “Doctrine, Discussion, and Disagreement: Evangelicals and Catholics Together in the Christian Right.” Carin Leigh Robinson, Georgetown University.
- “Legislative Elections and Southern Realignment: Conversion or Competition.” Richard Forgette, University of Mississippi, John Winkle, University of Mississippi, and Andrew D. Garner, University of Mississippi.
- “Winning without Legislative Victory: Strategies and Impact of Anti-Abortion Advocacy in New Jersey.” Wairimu Njoya, Rutgers University.
- “A Two-Stage Model of Campaign Mobilization by Parties.” David Carl Kershaw, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- “Lobbying for Peace: The Politics of Transition from Social Movement to Interest Group.” Michael T. Heaney, University of Florida, and Fabio Rojas, Indiana University—Bloomington.
- “Exploring Interest Groups Maintenance of Police Unions.” Miles A. Cooper, Georgia Southwestern State University.
- “Charter School Interest and the Choice to Engage in Collective Action.” Thomas T. Holyoke, California State University, Fresno.
- “Decisive Housewives: Conservative Women in American Politics.” Kathryn Lindsay Oates, University of Florida, and Jamie Pamela Pimlott, University of Florida.
- “Women Organized Interests, Women Voters and Their Effects on Supreme Court Confirmations.” Ehud N. Sommer, Stony Brook University.
- “Social Movement Interest Groups, Political Parties, and Policy Change.” Victoria Heavey Allen, City University of New York Graduate Center.
- “Impact of 1890 Disenfranchisement of African American on North Carolina Political Party Development.” Laura R. Woliver, University of South Carolina, Joseph F. Steelman, Eastern Carolina University, and Lala Carr Steelman, University of South Carolina.
- “Democracy Within Parties: Comparative Perspectives on its Causes and Consequences.” Denitza Antonova Bojinova, University of Houston.
- “The Minority Party Blues: The Present and Future of the Democratic Party.” Brian J. Brox, Tulane University.

- “The Concept of ‘Political Party’ in Comparative Perspective: Ontology and Taxonomy.” Jennifer Smith, UW — Milwaukee.
- “Policy, Media, and Public Agendas: What Influences the Timing of PAC Contributions?” Henrik M. Schatzinger, University of Georgia.
- “Institutional Determinants of Party System Fragmentation in Western Democracies.” Robin E. Best, Binghamton University.
- “Party System Europeanization: Exploring Convergence in Party Families.” Michael Malecki, Washington University in St. Louis.
- “Parties in Action: Evaluating Policy-Seeking Behavior.” Michelle Hale Williams, University of West Florida.
- “The Influence of Bill Characteristics on Interest Group Activity in the U.S. Congress.” Holly Brasher, University of Alabama at Birmingham.
- “Does Firm Size Matter? Analyzing Business Lobbying in the United States.” Jeffrey Drope, University of Miami, and Wendy L. Hansen, University of New Mexico.
- “Interest Group Access to Congressional Hearings.” Nina Therese Kasniunas, Loyola University.
- “Interest Groups, Divided Government and Venue Shopping: Does Party Control Matter in Lobbying Strategies?” Bryan Scott McQuide, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- “Political Parties and the Politics of Administrative Decentralization Exploring Subnational Variance in Ecuador.” Imke Harbers, Leiden University, and Jorg Faust, German Development Institute.
- “Organizational and Territorial Strategies: The Success and Failure of Right-wing Political Parties in Argentina and Mexico.” Juan Cruz Olmeda, Northwestern University, and Julieta Suarez-Cao, Northwestern University.
- The Expansion of Interest Power: Religious Interest Groups, the Courts, and Media Attention.” Kathryn Lindsay Oates, University of Florida.
- “Do Women Still Vote for Women?: The Effects of Partisanship and Caucus Membership.” Kate Elizabeth Carney, University of Oklahoma, and Leslie Joe Bracy, University of Oklahoma.
- “Volatility in Party Identification: Generation and Gender.” John Bing, Heidelberg College.
- “Voting Green: Correlates of Environmental Initiative Voting.” Mirya Rose Holman, Claremont Graduate University, and Travis Coan, Claremont Graduate University.
- “Equilibria in the Spatial Stochastic Model with Party Activists.” Norman Schofield, Washington University.
- “Dimensionality and the Determinants of Party Preference Orderings in Australia.” Shane Paul Singh, Michigan State University.

**The  
University  
of Akron**

**Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics  
Akron, OH 44325-1914**

FIRST CLASS  
U.S. POSTAGE PAID  
THE UNIVERSITY OF  
AKRON