VOLUME 22
ISSUE 3

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

Throwing a Better Party? Local Party Efforts to Mobilization the Young

Daniel M. Shea
Center for Political Participation, Allegheny College

Measured by a range of indicators, a shrinking number of Americans seem interested in electoral politics. The withdrawal is especially pronounced among the younger generations, a problem that has attracted considerable attention. Most of this work has centered on attitudinal changes. Here apathy, cynicism, and alienation are oft-cited culprits. A less common approach has been to focus on political elites, arguing that the problem lies with behavior of public officials and election practitioners. The main culprit, many assume, is the new style of political campaigns, with its focus on negative campaigning, extensive fundraising, and precise targeting of voters. Media coverage of politics, too, has received its share of blame.

These are important areas of research and show great promise. Yet, a neglected dimension has been the role of local political parties. Indeed, even a cursory review of American history underscores the critical role of local parties as *mobilizing institutions* — that is, organizations dedicated to engaging citizens in the political process and turning out the vote. A possible explanation for declining level of participation, then, may be a change in the effectiveness of local party organizations. Such a trend may be especially relevant to younger citizens. If this diagnosis is correct, one way to remedy the lack of political engagement is to improve local party youth outreach efforts.

Complicating matters, one strain of research suggests local parties have declined compared to the "golden age of parties" in the late 19th century and show no signs of recovering their former place in politics. As I have suggested elsewhere, the system may now appear "baseless," with state and national organizations focusing their efforts on candidate services (Shea 1999). Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Don Peck suggests a somewhat different perspective: "In recent decades parties have moved away from grassroots mobilization efforts, which reach out to nonvoters, to focus on 'switching' independents who have a strong history of voting (2002, 48). Of course, John Coleman has argued much the same (1994, 1996). But other research finds that local parties still play a critical role in elections, serving as the conduits for the increased resources of state and national party organizations. Local parties appear to be especially effective when it comes to registering voters and turning out the vote (see, for instance, Frendreis and Gitelson 1999).

The Study

A grant was received from the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) to investigate the local party connection. John C. Green, of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, has worked with me on the project. The first part of the study was a telephone survey of a random sample of local party leaders from the 1,000 most populous counties in the United States (accounting for 87 percent of the population). Conducted between October 1 and November 10, 2003, a total of 403 Democratic and 402 Republican local county chairs were interviewed. Each interview lasted roughly 30 minutes and asked numerous questions on youth engagement, local party activities, and politics more generally. The survey was supplemented with interviews with national party officials.

Preliminary Findings

Additional work will be done to sift through the data to add numerous aggregate measures. But a few preliminary findings do stand out as noteworthy.

Perceptions of the Problem

Overall, the local party chairs shared the common perception of the problem of youth disengagement from politics. Overall, almost 90 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement "The lack of political engagement by young people is a serious problem." In addition, 52 percent strongly agreed. Just 8 percent disagreed with the statement (and the remaining 3 percent had no opinion).

In this regard, there was a significant difference by party. Democrats were 14 percentage points more likely to agree that the lack of youth participation is a problem (96 to 82 percent) and they were more likely to "strongly agree" with the statement than their GOP counterparts (65 to 39 percent). *(Continued on page 2)*

(Continued from page 1)

Causes of the Problem

A series of questions probed what the local party leaders saw as the root of the problem. First, the local leaders overwhelmingly agreed with some of the common criticism of political elites. For example, 70 percent agreed that negative campaigning turned off young voters, 65 percent agreed that the media is partly at fault, and 59 percent agreed that candidates tend to ignore young voters. Some party differences appear here as well: Democratic leaders were more likely than the Republicans to single out negative campaigns (75 to 66 percent) and candidates (65 to 54 percent), while the Republicans were especially critical of the media (73 to 58 percent). Interestingly, a majority of the local leaders disagreed that money in politics turned off young voters, an opinion held more strongly by Republicans (59 to 46 percent).

The respondents tended to agree with emphasis on the attitudes of young people. For instance, 58 percent agreed with the statement "people become interested in politics when they reach middle age and have responsibilities." And 71 percent disagreed that high schools were doing a good job inculcating civil values in young people (here the Republicans were more forceful, 76 to 66 percent). The answers to both these questions strongly imply that young citizens tend not to have the interests and values conducive to a high level of civic engagement.

Possible Solutions

First, nearly nine of ten respondents agreed with the statement that "young people will respond to the right candidates and issues." In important respects, this perception is an antidote to the major causes of youth disengagement discussed above: better campaigns will attract young citizens. Put another way, better behavior on the part of political elites can overcome young citizen's lack on interest in politics.

Of course, local party leaders are not the only actors in campaigns, where candidates, campaign consultants, and interest groups often play a larger role. Thus, the second solution is more relevant: 93 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement "local parties can make a big difference getting young people involved in politics." Here 39 percent "strongly agreed" and 54 percent "agreed." Just 5 percent disagreed with the statement (and the remaining 3 percent had no opinion). These figures certainly support the core premise of this study.

Prioritizing the Youth Vote

Thus, local party leaders perceive youth disengagement to be a problem, believe they can remedy it, and specialize in voter mobilization efforts. But what exactly are they doing with regard to the youth vote?

We attempted to answer this question with a three-part strategy. First, we attempted to measure the extent to which young voters were on the minds of local party leaders—are they on the radar, so to speak. Near the beginning of the survey we asked an open-ended question: "Are there demographic grounds of voters that are currently important to the long-term success of your local party." We recorded the first and second most important groups mentioned, and then allowed the respondents to list up to three additional groups of voters. Second, we asked all the respondents if their organizations had developed special voter registration or GOTV programs for the youth. Third, we asked those who reported such programs to describe them to us.

As one might imagine, the initial question generated an enormous variety of responses, with over 100 different groups mentioned as important to the long-term success of the local party. Using a generous definition of youth (basically any mention of voters 25 years old or less), we developed a measure of the priority the youth vote based on the three opportunities to identify young voters as important to the local party's long-term success.

Overall, just 8 percent of the respondents mentioned youth as the most important group for the long-term success of the local party. Another 12 percent mentioned youth second, and yet another 18 percent eventually mentioned young voters. Thus, a total of 38 percent of these local party leaders gave some priority to the youth vote.

Here there were some differences by party. Democrats were modestly more likely to give priority to the youth vote (41 to 34 percent), but Republicans actually had more first mentions (9 to 7 percent). Interestingly, Democrats held a much larger margin over the Republicans in giving priority to seniors (58 to 40 percent), although the gap was much smaller in terms of first mentions as well (23 to 19 percent).

Special Programs for Youth

The survey asked respondents if they have developed specific get-out-the-vote programs for young voters. Here, just 41 percent of the party leaders said yes. A follow-up question asked them to describe their program. On closer inspection we find that a vast majority of these programs might be dubbed "modest" and "traditional." For example, a common response was "Some people in our party have spoken at area schools" or "Our people set up booths as fairs and malls." Only a handful of party chairs mentioned what we might call significant activities, programs that require a significant amount of time or resources. Roughly one-half seem limited to college programs—such as working with the College Republicans or Young Democrats. "We make contacts with campus College Republicans," noted one, and another said that "we work with Young Democrats organizations on college campuses." Moreover, many of the respondents who mentioned that they had programs and were unable to provide much specificity. While it is fair to say that these efforts might make a difference, college students are already much more likely to vote than noncollege students, and about one-half of this age group does not attend college.

Why would so many party chairs suggest youth engagement is a serious problem and that their efforts have the potential to make a difference, but at the same time be unable to outline significant, specific programs for young voters? Clearly, a local party might consider numerous groups to be of critical importance to their efforts. Minority voters, union members, and women, for example, were frequently mentioned by Democratic leaders, and blue-collar workers and middle-class citizens were often noted by Republic leaders—just to mention a few. Given the census estimates are that younger voters make up only 14 percent of the electorate, we might expect political operatives to pay a limited amount of attention to this group. Indeed, perhaps they are giving this group enough attention.

On the other hand, the question speaks to the long-term success of the local party. Given the importance of political socialization—that is, early-in-life connections to a party and the election process—party operatives' lack of attention to young voters seems puzzling. One of the criticisms leveled against contemporary parties is that they are increasingly short-sighted; winning the election at hand has become more important than developing a long-term, broad-based following. Our survey asked which of the following should be given priority by local political parties, "helping candidates win elections or helping voters develop attachments to the parties." A sizable majority—some 63 percent—suggested helping candidates is more important than building loyal supporters. This was true for 59 percent of the Democrats and 62 percent of the Republicans. Moreover, we asked the chairs how much effort they put into nonelectoral activities—that is, programs that occur during off-election periods. A full 70 percent of respondents report that their county committees spend less than 10 percent of their time on such activities.

Conclusion: Local Parties Need to Get Hip

Again, a great deal of work remains to sort out the data. Of course, we will want to merge this attitudinal material with actual turnout statistics, as well as numerous other county-specific measures. Are there certain types of counties, in particular parts of the country, for example, that seem more interested and active in connecting with young voters? For the time being, however, we are inclined to make the following observations/recommendations:

The Need for Innovation

The problem that many local party committees confront in effectively reaching out to young voters seems to stem from lack of innovation. Simply put, traditional approaches to getting-out-the-vote are ineffective with the new generation. It does not appear to be enough simply to "hand-out voter registration cards at the high schools" or to

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

"make calls before election day," as suggested by two of our respondents. The national parties seem to have gotten the message: in order to truly connect with young voters, the parties must develop novel approaches. It is time for local parties to step outside the box.

Getting Hip

Moreover, it would seem that on-going social activities might be effective in connecting with young voters as well. "We have to be more inviting to young voters," says Sanchez. "We have to be more social, more entertaining, and yes, more hip." Ryan echoed this comment: "Innovation will be critical. Right now there is a generational gap on how to reach young voters. We'll need to bridge that gap and of course, ongoing programs that capture their interest, programs that are entertaining, will help." Indeed, we suspect that somewhere along the line young voters have come to believe that politics is not cool and even boring. Political parties can do much to change this misconception.

Getting Connected

Can Internet-centered activities save the day? Probably not, but perhaps reaching young voters through the Web will be increasingly effective—as Howard Dean's current campaign seems to suggest. Sanchez, in particular, noted that reaching young voters through new technologies will be increasingly important. Perhaps illustrative of the generational gap noted by Ryan, when our survey asked how many local party committees had their own Web pages, nearly one-half of our respondents said they did not. At a minimum, a Web page would seem an appropriate place to list upcoming programs and social events

* * * * * * * * * *

The local party leaders interviewed for this research are correct: mobilizing young voters is a difficult chore—likely to become even harder in the years ahead. Yet, astute political operatives will look at this group of potential voters with a keen eye—especially if they are interested in the long-term success of their party. Young voters, it would seem, are increasingly up for grabs. Perhaps the necessity to mobilize young voters in order to win elections will also lead to a more healthy democracy. Local parties can make a difference in youth participation, but they may also be the link to a more vibrant political process overall. We hope they will seize the moment.

FROM THE FIELD

APSA Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs Visiting Scholars Program

The American Political Science Association recently opened the Centennial Center for Political Science & Public Affairs in its headquarters building in Washington. As part of its programs, the Centennial Center assists scholars from the United States and abroad whose research and teaching would benefit from a stay in and access to the incomparable resources available in the nation's capital. The Center provides Visiting Scholars the infrastructure needed to conduct their work, including furnished work space with computer, phone, fax, conference space, and library access.

The Center has space to host 10 scholars for extended periods of time, ranging from weeks to months. Space for shorter "drop-in" stays is also available. Scholars are expected to pursue their own research and teaching projects and contribute to the intellectual life of the residential community by sharing their work with Center colleagues in occasional informal seminars.

Eligibility is limited to APSA members. Senior or junior faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, and advanced graduate students are strongly encouraged to apply. A short application form is required and submissions will be reviewed on a rolling basis. Positions are awarded based on space availability and relevant Center programming.

For more information and an application, please visit the Centennial Center website: www.apsanet.org/centennialcenter or call Sean Twombly at 202.483.2512.

FROM HEADQUARTERS

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

List of Awards & Committees Assignments, October 2003

Program Organizer: Kevin Esterling, UC-Riverside.

Short Course Organizer (optional): TBA

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."

Marie Hojnacki, Penn State University (Chair)
Tony Nownes, University of Tennessee
John A. Clark, Western Michigan University

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."

David Lowery, University of North Carolina (Chair)
Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame
Fred Boehmke, University of Iowa

Samuel J. Eldersveld Award

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

Larry Bartels, Princeton University (Chair)
Beth Leech, Rutgers University
Richard Johnston, University of British Columbia

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.

Mark Smith, University of Washington (Chair)
Dan Tichenor, Rutgers University
Ken Kollman, University of Michigan

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*.

Holly Brasher, University of Alabama (Chair)
John Geer, Vanderbilt University
Tom Ferguson, University of Massachusetts, Boston

FROM THE FIELD

JOURNAL SCAN

Labour Party: Saved by the modernisers or modernised to be saved? Rantavellas, Christos. *Journal of Public Affairs* (Henry Stewart); August 2003, Volume 3, Issue 3.

The paper treats politics as a complex process that embraces actual or potential interactions among constructed meanings of different social actors through various symbolic forms drawing on the specific socio-historical political context. It is suggested that there is a strong interrelationship between image and political discourse and their symbolic value grows as long as they come from consistent communication among all the social actors participating in the political process inside and outside of the political organization. To help distinguish the line between image and political discourse the author draws on two examples—the Labour election defeat in 1987 and the Labour leadership election in 1994.

Politicians and Voters in Post-Communist Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Kreuzer, Marcus, Pettai, Vello. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Summer 2003, Volume 38, Issue 2.

In contrast to established party systems, the transformation of post-communist party systems is not only shaped by shifts in electoral preferences but also by the changing organizational loyalties of politicians. The article develops an analytical framework, which incorporates politician-driven interparty mobility and voter induced electoral change. It uses this framework to show that the apparently inchoate party systems of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania actually follow definable modes of transformation. The author finds that distinct patterns of party system formation exist in post-communist countries, despite conditions of highly unstable party identification as well as organizational disloyalty among politicians. The analysis also showed a considerable degree of congruence between the shifts in these two levels of party system evolution. They argue that the key for detecting such patterns of change and transformation is to incorporate the organizational preference changes of politicians.

A Party of Workers or a Party of Intellectuals? Recruitment into Eastern European Communist Parties, 1945-1988. Hanley, Eric. *Social Forces*; June 2003, Volume 81, Issue 4.

This paper provides an event-history analysis of recruitment into the Communist Party between 1945 and 1988 in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics. Despite evidence that gender discrimination in Party recruitment processes eased in some of these countries, women remained significantly less likely than men to enter the political arena via the Communist Party across the region. The findings also indicate that class background and parents' political affiliation figured less prominently in Party recruitment processes in Eastern Europe over time. Prior incumbency in a position of authority, including that of supervisor, not only had a positive effect on the odds' of joining the Party but was greater than the effect of prior professional status, indicating that professionals were not especially likely to join the Party in Eastern Europe despite open efforts to recruit technically trained personnel.

The Breakdown of Class Politics. Clark, Terry Nichols 1. *American Sociologist*; Spring 2003, Volume 34, Issue 1-2.

This paper reviews debate in the 1990's over whether, why, and how much class is declining in its impact on politics. One position is the "null hypothesis" of many at Berkeley and Oxford: the impact of class has not changed. The other position is that "post-industrial society" is transforming politics and redefining class. To focus, the paper does not seek to inventory themes in abstract, but stresses core points made by actual proponents in the exchange. Over the decade many issues were resolved; others were not. Social inequality persists, and inequality of income has risen; but the motor of politics is less clearly jobs. Consumption and other post-industrial concerns have entered and transformed politics in many countries worldwide. How political parties have changed their appeals away from "class" is a key issue, as is the drop by about half in the size of the traditional working class in Western countries since 1945.

Party Finance and the Politics of Money in Southern Africa. Pottie, David. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*; January 2003, Volume 21, Issue 1.

This paper examines one aspect of the contemporary party system in southern Africa: party funding. The propensity for regulatory responses to the challenges of electoral conduct has meant that most countries in the region provide some form of public funding for represented political parties. In this sense the state has assumed some degree of responsibility for leveling the playing field. Interestingly, there is nearly a complete absence of rules for the disclosure of sources or uses of private donations. Because of this, there is very little readily available empirical data on how parties raise funds in practice. The paper thus aims to lay the groundwork for more detailed future research based on analysis of the structure of party resources in the region.

Elastic, Agonistic Publics: John Dewey's Call for a Third Party. Finnegan, Cara A. *Argumentation & Advocacy*; Winter 2003, Volume 39, Issue 3.

This article is a brief summary of John Dewey's call for a third party in the United States during the 1930's. Dewey began his series of writings by charging the two traditional parties with failing to develop a social vision sufficient to respond to the felt needs of Americans. He was also critical of both parties and their failure to adapt to the radically changing political atmosphere at the time. Furthermore, Dewey argues for a mode of communication that embraces rather than rejects, some features of the "bread and circuses" that Dewey decried in his more theoretical work on the public. Finally, Dewey made a simple call for the establishment of a new political party, but he was very ambivalent about the nature of what he sought to establish.

Mandates, Powers, and Policies. Johnson, Gregg B. Crisp, Brian F. *American Journal of Political Sciences*; January 2003, Volume 47, Issue 1.

Elections provide a mandate to pursue a set of policies. Party label provides a concise ideological cue for voters to choose among candidates, and research on industrial democracies verifies a link between the parties voters elect and subsequent policy outcomes. The combination of inchoate party systems and economic vulnerability elsewhere may weaken the link between voter choice and policy. When examining economic policies in Latin America, there is some controversy as to whether governments carried out "reform by surprise"—promising one thing during a campaign while implementing another in office. We test whether the ideological reputations of

(Continued from page 5)

executives' and legislators' parties explain whether they adopt market-oriented policies. We find that the future behavior of presidential candidates is difficult for voters to predict. However, the ideological reputation of legislators is a reliable predictor of policy outcomes, and the relationship is clarified by the prospects of collective action by legislative delegations.

Presidential Nominating Conventions in a Democracy. Fine, Terri Susan. *Perspectives on Political Science*; Winter 2003, Volume 23, Issue 1.

Recent changes in party nominating convention rules, as well as key changes in the political environment in which parties and party conventions function, have meant that parties are far less deliberative in their nomination functions than they were a half century ago. In this article, she discusses the ways in which party conventions serve democratic goals and how those goals have gone unmet because of structural changes in the nominating process. These changes have resulted in a diminished deliberative function for party elites in the nomination process. One means to help restore that diminished function is to incorporate further changes that focus on the value of deliberation coupled with, rather than at the expense of, democratization. One main argument is that the nomination is decided very early on in the process. Also, party efforts to democratize the nominations process have created more participation opportunities for the public and candidates.

Political Competition and the Politicization of the State in East Central Europe. Grzymala-Busse, Anna. *Comparative Political Studies*, December 2003, Volume 36, Issue 10.

The expansion and politicization of the post-communist state, even among the reform leaders of Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, has confounded early expectations that the state would shrink and grow autonomous once the communist regime collapsed. The variation in these patterns is function of the distribution of party power in parliament, both over time (turnover) and among parties (fragmentation and effective opposition). Where several strong parties competed for governance, the resulting electoral uncertainty led them to constrain each other through formal regulations and informal practices. In contrast, where one party dominated political competition, lax (or nonexistent) regulations allowed the informal extraction of resources from state firms, the procurement of favorable privatization deals, and the accumulation of positions in public administration. This explanation contrasts with existing accounts, which emphasize either broad communist regime legacies or the functional need for state growth in newly independent states.

The Death and Rebirth of a Party System, Peru 1978-2001. Kenney, Charles D. *Comparative Political Studies*, December 2003, Volume 36, Issue 10.

This article evaluates structural, institutional, and actor-centered explanations of the collapse of the Peruvian party system around 1990 and its surprising partial recovery in 2001. It begins by describing the changes in the dependent variable, the emergence, collapse, and partial resurrection of the 1980's Peruvian party system. The next section examines the argument that the large size and rapid growth of the informal sector undermined the party system and led to its collapse. The author shows that the evidence does not support this argument. The article then examines changes in the electoral system. The author demonstrates that, contrary to theoretical expectations, the changes in the electoral system do not correlate with the observed changes in the party system. The final section shows that performance failure by political elites, including corruption in government, was more important than social cleavages or electoral institutions in the collapse and partial recovery of the party system.

Explaining Populist Part Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. Burgess, Katrina; Levitsky, Steven. *Comparative Political Studies*. October 2003, Volume 36, Issue 8.

Presents a study which examined variation in mass populist party adaptation in Latin American countries during the 1980's and 1990's neoliberal era. Assessment of the environmental factors which shape the incentives to adapt; Discussion on the organization capacity of the populist parties to adapt; Degree of economic reform in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela from 1985 to 1995.

Electoral Systems and Party Formation in Russia: A Cross-Regional Analysis. Golosov, Grigorii V. *Comparative Political Studies*, October 2003, Volume 36, Issue 8.

Presents a study which examined the influence of individual candidacy-based plurality or majority rules on formation of political parties in Russia during the 1990's. Overview of previous studies on the relationship between electoral systems and party systems; Information on the structure of electoral systems in Russian regions; Theoretical discussion on the effects of different electoral systems on party formation.

Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. Golder, Matt. *Comparative Political Studies*. May 2003, Volume 36, Issue 4.

Examines the effect of electoral institutions, immigration and unemployment on extreme right parties in Western Europe. Interaction between electoral thresholds and the effective number of parties; Success of populist and neofascist parties in the region from 1970 to 2000; List of populist and neofascist parties.

Rising From the Ashes? Langston, Joy. *Comparative Political Studies*. April 2003, Volume 36, Issue 3.

Examines why certain state Party of the Institutional Revolution (PRI) affiliates in Mexico are able to rebuild their organizations and why others are not. List of states in which the PRI has lost the governorship; Role of PRI governors in the state from 1930 to 1980; Factors that indicate whether a PRI state-level party organization is united.

Renew and Reorganize: Party Structures and the Politics of Reinvention. Kelly, R. *Political Quarterly*. January 2003, Volume 74, Issue 1.

Focuses on the politics of reinvention in Great Britain. Reason behind the Labour Party's decision to revise the political group's policies and procedures; Problems facing the country's top political parties; Solutions to the problems.

Sex and The Grand Old Party. King, David C.; Matland, Richard E. *American Politics Research*. November 2003, Volume 31, Issue 6.

We report the results of an experiment involving 820 randomly sampled adults. Half heard about a female Republican candidate for Congress. The other half learned of an otherwise identical male candidate. Democrat and Independent voters were more likely to trust, think qualified, view as a leader, and vote for the female Republican (contrasted with the male Republican). On the other hand, being female

(Continued on page 6)

FROM THE FIELD *(Continued from page 5)*

led to associations that hurt Republican women within their own party. We augment our experimental results by providing evidence that Republican women have done significantly worse than Democratic women in winning nominations in open-seat congressional districts.

In Search of Lincoln's Perfect List. Wielhouwer, Peter W. *American Politics Research.* November 2003, Volume 31, Issue 6.

A key element in winning elections, according to many practitioners, is successfully identifying citizens for targeted campaign communications, and a central tactic for implementing that strategy is through personal-contact campaigning. This article first integrates academic and practitioner perspectives into theoretical arguments about targeted campaigning. Then, using the 1956 to 1998 National Election Studies, the analysis shows that voter registration and age have become increasingly important as criteria for campaign contacts, that contacting rates among urban, suburban, and rural areas have equalized, and that campaigns continue to target party regulars, people predisposed to vote, and those who are more socially and economically integrated into their communities. The analysis also compares major party grassroots strategies and their changes over time. The results suggest that recent patterns in personal-contact campaigning may no longer exacerbate American participatory inequalities to the degree found in earlier periods.

Ideological Congruence Versus Electoral Success: Distribution of Party Organization and Contributions in Senate Elections, 1990-2000. Nokken, Timothy P. *American Politics Research.* January 2003, Volume 31, Issue 1.

Examines the distribution of party committee funds in senatorial elections in the U.S. from 1990 to 2000. Importance of money in congressional elections; Analysis on the patterns of party donations to Senate candidates; Institutional differences between the House and the Senate.

Congressional Parties, Fund-raising, and Committee Ambition. Heberlig, Eris S. *Political Research Quarterly.* June 2003, Volume 56, Issue 2.

Congressional party leaders are hypothesized to use desirable committee assignments as a selective incentive to entice incumbent members of Congress to contribute the collective good of the party's campaign efforts. Financial contributions to the party are an effective measure of party loyalty, particularly in an era of high levels of party loyalty on roll call votes. This article analyzes committee transfers in the U.S. Congress from the 102nd through the 107th Congresses. The evidence shows that the greater the amount an incumbent contributes to party committees or party candidates, the more likely he or she will transfer to prestige committees. It also demonstrates that fundraising has become more closely related to prestige committee transfers when margins of party control in the House became very close after the Republican takeover.

An Institutional View of Congressional Elections: The Impact of Congressional Image on Seat Change in the House. Finocchiaro, Charles J. *Political Research Quarterly.* March 2003, Volume 56, Issue 1.

The literature on seat change in U.S. House elections abounds with explanations regarding the factors contributing to the biennial change in the partisan balance of the body. While a number of theoretically and empirically appealing models have been presented, many base their explanations around presidential politics and a variety of factors independent of Congress. In this article, I argue that in developing models of congressional seat change, it is worthwhile to consider how the public image of the institution impacts the electoral success of its members. I describe and test a model that captures the influence of the public's perception of Congress on party seat change. Encompassing tests suggest that this framework significantly improves upon existing models. The results underscore the importance of endogenous, Congress-specific factors in explaining aggregate seat change in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Presidential Success in the Realm of Foreign Affairs: Institutional Reform and the Role of House Committees. Marshall, Bryan W. *Social Science Quarterly.* September 2003, Volume 84, Issue 3.

Objective: This analysis focuses on institutional reform and the House foreign policy committees to assess the resurgent-Congress explanation of presidential success in international affairs between 1953-1998. Method: Logit models are used to determine the changing effects on presidential success resulting from the support of chairmen and the president's co-partisans on the foreign policy committees due to the 1970's congressional reforms. Results: The analysis illustrates differences in the effects of committee leaders and committee co-partisans on roll-call success before and after the reforms. Also, contrasts are found in the effects of the foreign policy panels that differentially influence presidential success. Conclusion: The article offers evidence that the institutional reforms that changed the House policy process from one dominated by committee chairs to one responsive to political parties significantly altered presidential success. These findings emphasize the importance of the changing congressional environment in explaining presidential success in foreign policy.

FROM THE FIELD

Life with Term Limits Conference
Akron, Ohio
April 29-30, 2004

Term Limits are changing the face of the legislature. April 29-30, 2004 the Bliss Institute will host a conference examining these changes. The conference is entitled, "Life With Term Limits." Top national scholars will gather in Akron to present their research on the effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures around the country.

The conference will hear reports from the Joint Project on Term Limits. These include: case studies of several term limited states, case studies from non-term limited (control states), and data from a national survey of legislators. Participants at "Life With Term Limits" are encouraged to ask questions and offer feedback at each presentation.

Lee Leonard, Capital Reporter for the *Columbus Dispatch*, will be the keynote speaker on April 29, 2004. Two sessions will involve legislative leaders from several states. Conference topics, speakers, and schedules are available at WinningPolitics.com/TermLimits.

"Life With Term Limits" is being coordinated with the State Politics and Policy Conference at Kent State, April 30 -May 2, 2004. Attendees are invited to participate in both meetings.

FROM THE FIELD

Papers of Interest
Southern Political Science Association
Meeting, 2004

"Good Money and Bad Money: Do Fundraising Sources Influence Electoral Outcomes?" Brad Alexander, Emory University.

"Two Guys for Every Girl: The Gender Gap Among Presidential Campaign Contributors." Alexandra Copper, Lafayette College.

"Modern Campaign Behavior and Voter Participation." Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University.

"State Parties and State Party Delegation to National Party Conventions." John Green, University of Akron, Richard Herrera, Arizona State University, Geoffrey Layman, Vanderbilt University and Thomas Carsey, Florida State University.

"The Progressive Ambition of State Legislators Who Switch Parties." Antoine Yoshinaka, University of Rochester.

"Testing Party Theories: Adaptation in a Changing State Legislature." James Battista, University of North Texas.

"Conditional Party Government in the State Legislature." Walter Forrest, Florida State University.

"Choosing a Biased Agent: The Influence of Resources on the Composition of State Legislative Committees." Sara Poggione, University of Georgia.

"Party Structuring of Roll Call Votes: A Three Chamber Comparison." Bruce Anderson, University of the South, Rhonda Wrzenski, Louisiana State University, Malcolm Jewell, University of Kentucky, and Jerome Maddox, University of Pennsylvania.

"The Historical Development of Parties in Latin America." Barbara Geddes, University of California at Los Angeles.

"The Transition from Revolutionary Politics to Electoral Politics in Central America." Michael Allison, Florida State University.

"The Formation of Amicus Coalitions at the U.S. Supreme Court." Thomas Hansford, University of South Carolina.

"Follow the Law: Organized Interests from the Courts to Congress." J. Mitchell Pickerill, Washington University of St. Louis, and Kevin den Dulk, Grand Valley State University.

"The Success of Organizational Defendants in Federal Criminal Courts." Isaac Unah, University of North Carolina.

"With All Deliberate Ignorance? The Role of Political Science in the Supreme Court's Political Party Cases." Kyle Kreider, Temple University.

"Political Instability, Partisan Politics and the Emergence of the Slavery Issue: The Riker Thesis Reconsidered." Randall Strahan, Emory University and Steven Kautz, Michigan State University.

"Turn of the Century Politics and Party Realignment: The Case of William McKinley and George W. Bush." Daniel Klinghard, College of Charleston.

"The George Wallace Movement: A Different Vision of the New Deal Regime." Donald Zinman, University of Texas.

"The Life and Death of Political Parties: Institutions, Incentives, and Ambition in New York State." Richard Skinner, Hamilton College.

"The Effects of a Nonpartisan and Partisan Legislature on Legislative Output: The Case of Minnesota." Eric Manning, University of Iowa.

"Constituency and Party in State Legislatures." Gerald Wright, Indiana University.

"Ideological Polarization and State Parties." Daniel Coffey, University of Virginia.

"Interest Group Participation and Judicial Decision-making: Examining the Influence of Amicus Curiae Participation in the U.S. Supreme Court." Paul Collins, Binghamton University.

"The Impact of State Amicus Briefs on U.S. Supreme Court Decisions." Clifford Carrubba, and Christopher Zorn, Emory University.

"The Legal Strategy of Charities in Their Court-based Advocacy Efforts." Nancy Basinger, University of Utah.

"Forecasting the 2004 Democratic Presidential Primary Vote." Wayne Steger, DePaul University.

"Overcoming the Pitfalls of Forecasting Presidential Nominations." Andrew Dowdle, University of Arkansas and Randall Adkins, University of Nebraska.

"Presidential Party Building in the United States." Daniel Galvin, Yale University.

"Fiscal Policy, Economic Performance, and Vote Getting-Efficiency: A Data Envelopment Analysis Ranking of Presidents, 1880-2000." William Tankersley, University of West Florida and Alfred Cuzan, University of West Florida.

"Core Groups, Fringe Groups, and the Non-Aligned." William Crotty, Northeastern University.

"Realignment as Reality Politics. Thomas Ferguson, University of Massachusetts.

"Updating Contemporary Party Coalitions." John Petrocik, University of Missouri.

"Political Values as a Driving Force in Contemporary Alignment." John White, Catholic University of America.

"Examining Realignment From a Historical Perspective?" Arthur Paulson, Southern Connecticut State University.

"Top Down or Bottom Up: The Development of the Republican Parties in the South in the 1980's." Joseph Aistrup, Kansas State University.

"Causes and Effects of Motivational Incentives: A Multivariate Analysis of Grassroots Party Activists in the Modern South." James A. Newman, Stephen Shaffer, and David A. Breaux, Mississippi State University.

"Good, Bad, or Ugly? Religious Right Republican Candidates and Southern Elections." Mark Smith, Calvin College.

"When Losers Work Together: Opposition Party Unity Across Time." Jason Seitz, University of Georgia.

"Polarized Politics and Midterm Elections: An Electoral Connection." Keiko Ono, Georgetown University.

"Party Ideology and Party Factionalism: A Case of the Senate New Democrat Coalition During the 107th Congress." Jungkun Seo, University of Texas.

"Beyond the Beltway: Organized Interests, Public Affairs, and the Permanent Campaign." Burdett Loomis, University of Kansas.

"Interest Groups and the Party Networks: Views from Inside the Beltway." Richard Skinner, Hamilton College.

"The Evolution of Lobbying." Jesse Menning, University of Michigan.

"Party Politics Since Democratization: Cartleizatin of Party System in South Korea." EuiSuok Han, University of Southern California.

"The Role of Political Parties in Creating an Electoral Cleavage: The Case of Regional Voting in Canada and South Korea." Jung Hwa Lee, University of Michigan.

"Party Rooting, Political Operators, and Instability in Indonesia: A Consideration of Party Institutionalization in a Community Charged Society." Paige Johnson Tan, UNC at Wilmington.

"Partisan Inducements and Constraints and the Composition of Sub-National Government Spending." Alejandro Arnesto, University of Notre Dame.

"Political Party Activity in the 2002 Colorado Elections." Daniel Smith, University of Florida.

"Congressional Campaigns and Crisis Management." R. Sam Garrett, American University.

"Party Soft Money Spending in the 2002 Elections." Raymond La Raja, University of Massachusetts.

"A Comprehensive Account of Media Flows in the 2002 Election." Kenneth Goldstein, University of Wisconsin.

"Being In the Crosshairs: The Impact of Public Confidence in Elections and Democracy of High Levels of Party and Interest Group Spending." David Magleby, and J. Quin Monson, Brigham Young University.

"Limousine Liberals and Corporate Conservatives: The Financial Constituencies of the Democratic and Republican Parties." Peter Francia, University of Maryland.

"Moral Traditionalism and Recent Partisan Change in the American Electorate." Jonathan Knuckey, University of Central Florida.

"The Epicenter of Change: The Role of Political Parties in Critical Realignments." Jason Sides, University of Tennessee.

"Race, Ideology, and Party Affiliation: A Contextual Analysis of

FROM THE FIELD *(Continued from page 7)*

Attitudinal Differences." Stacie Hanynie, and Kimberly White, Louisiana State University.

"Party Competition Across Time and Electoral Content." John Bruce, Mississippi State University and Robert Brown, University of Mississippi.

"The Dimensionality of State Lobbying." Adam Newmark, Wake Forest University.

"Negotiating Newsworthiness: Organized Interests and Journalists in the States." Christopher Cooper, Western Carolina University and Anthony Nownes, University of Tennessee.

"Does Direct Legislation Require Direct Citizen Involvement?" Christopher Larimer, University of Nebraska.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government

Barry Burden and David C. Kimball
University of Michigan Press, 2002

Why do some voters split their ballots, selecting a Republican for one office and a Democrat for another? Based on an empirical analysis of ticket splitting in American national elections from 1952 to 2000, this book rejects the explanation that voters act strategically to produce divided government. Instead, the authors argue that ticket splitting and divided government are the unintentional by-products of lopsided campaigns and the blurring of ideological differences between the major parties. Furthermore, the sharpening policy differences between the parties during the last twenty (20) years triggered a substantial decline in ticket splitting.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

CONTRIBUTORS SOUGHT
Encyclopedia of American Parties and Elections (Facts on File)

Larry Sabato and Howard Ernst, co-editors of the Encyclopedia of American Parties and Elections (Facts on File), are currently recruiting contributors for their project. The single volume, A-Z encyclopedia will include 450-550 entries, providing numerous opportunities for emerging scholars to publish on topics in their areas of expertise. Entries will be original works provided by graduate students and Ph.D.s in relevant fields of study. more information regarding the project is available at their website, www.partieselections.com.

CONTACT:
HOWARD ERNST, Ph.D.
UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT
589 McNAIR ROAD
ANNAPOLIS, MD 21402-5030
WORK: (410) 293-6872
HOME: (410) 349-8188
www.chesapeakebayblues.com.

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