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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

Party Systems and Country Governance

(Paradigm Publishers, Boulder CO, 2011)

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University, with Jin-Young Kwak, Konkuk University

ur title, *Party Systems and Country Governance*, deserves some discussion. *VOX POP* readers understand "Party Systems," of course, but they (and most others) may be unclear about the meaning of "Country Governance." In Chapter 1, we define country governance as *the extent to which a state delivers to its citizens the desired benefits of government at acceptable costs*. We then address the question, "Does the nature of a country's political party system affect the quality of its governance?"

A leading authority, on democratization and governance, thinks parties do have significant effects, although the governmental role they perform is far from clear. Thomas Carothers describes "the standard lament" about political parties as follows: they are corrupt, self-interested, do not stand for anything except winning elections, squabble with one another, and are ill-prepared for governing. In fact, he calls political parties the "weakest link" in establishing popular control of government in new or struggling democracies. Nevertheless, Carothers believes that parties "are necessary, even inevitable" for workable democratic pluralism.

International organizations and non-governmental organizations agree. They have poured millions of dollars into party development under the rubric of democratic assistance. These expensive party aid efforts have generated mixed results. According to one scholar, African leaders have "only grudgingly permitted multiparty politics under donor pressure" against "a current of underlying skepticism," arguing that parties breed conflict, represent urban elites not the grassroots, and are themselves corrupt. 4 Another scholar sees the same skepticism in Asia. 5

In truth, people across the world have a love-hate relationship with political parties. Parties are highly valued by most scholars for enabling popular control of government but are mistrusted by many leaders and citizens. Our book proposes and tests a theory of party system effects on country governance explicitly designed to pin down the contributions of political parties.

Normative or Empirical Theory?

Most western comparative scholars, U.N. officials, and others engaged in promoting democratic government in developing countries are guided by a normative theory: It is good to have political parties competing to control government in open elections. Normative theory that values political parties, however, also assumes the existence of an empirical relationship: Countries with competitive party systems perform better than those without competitive party systems. In practice, that assumption has been accepted as true without testing to see whether it is false. By and large, international efforts to promote party politics in developing countries have been guided by normative judgments relying on assumptions that have not been adequately tested through empirical research, if they are tested at all. They often go untested for three major reasons.

One stems from the value commitment to political parties in normative theory. Those who value political parties may think it *obvious* that countries are governed better when a reasonable number of stable political parties compete for votes in free elections—compared with countries that hold no elections, or countries that have elections but no parties, or those that have only one party. Why document the obvious?

Another reason flows from the difficulty in settling on research rules for acceptable answers. What evidence might show that democratic party systems

"perform better" than non-democratic systems? What do you mean by performance? How can performance be measured? One might even ask: What do you mean by a competitive party system? How can one identify and measure the characteristics of political party systems?

Yet a third reason has prevented determining whether countries with competitive party systems perform better than those without competitive party systems. Even if scholars could settle on an acceptable research design, the research might be blocked because of difficulties in collecting the necessary data. One might find adequate party system data on about thirty established democracies and on a like number of developing countries, but what about the more than one hundred remaining countries whose party systems are rarely studied systematically? And where would one find the matching country data on government performance?

The Theory to Be Tested

This study converts the underlying empirical assumption about the performance of political parties into an empirical political theory of party system effects on country governance. The full theory, which consists of conditions assumed to be true and propositions to be tested, is formally presented in Chapter 6. From a set of seven assumptions, we deduce four broad empirical propositions about party system effects on country governance.

Countries with popularly elected non-partisan parliaments score higher on governance than those with unelected parliaments without political parties. The more competitive the party system, the better the country governance. The more aggregative the party system, the better the country governance. The more stable the party system, the better the country governance.

That is the *theory*. It is an empirical theory with origins in normative theory. Whether or not the observable facts conform to the theory remains to be determined. That is the task of our book.

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| From The Field | |
| Scholarly Precincts | • |

Chair: Paul Herrnson, University of Maryland **Secretary-Treasurer:**

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The Challenge of Country Governance

People generally recognize that country governments differ in their ability to deliver ordinary goods and services to their citizens. They see that some governments fare much better than others. Most people suspect that public rule is notoriously bad under dictators. Regardless of how nasty their autocratic rule, all dictators head governments that keep some degree of order and control over civil life. Some countries, like Somalia, have no dictator but little or no government either.

Somalia qualifies as a "failed state"—one whose central government had little practical control over much of its territory. In contrast to dictatorship and failed states, consider Costa Rica, which abandoned its standing army in 1948 and entered a sustained period of democratic elections. Or consider the tiny land-locked nation of Bhutan, tucked between India and China in the Himalayan mountains. Bhutan had been an absolute monarchy, where kings functioned as dictators, but in 2005, Bhutan's king announced that he would transform his country into a democracy.

Or take the island nation of Iceland, small like Bhutan. Whereas Bhutan had been an absolute monarchy, Iceland claims the world's oldest continuous parliament, a history of multiparty politics, and competent democratic government. Until 2008, Icelanders enjoyed one of the highest incomes per capita in the world and also one of the most egalitarian distributions of wealth. Iceland, however, suffered heavily in the 2008 global financial meltdown, and in 2009, Iceland's voters ousted the free-market Independence Party that had governed the country for two decades and replaced it with a governing coalition of the Social Democratic Alliance and the Left-Green Movement.

Finally consider the enormous country of China. Under one-party dictatorial rule, the Chinese government depended on substantial annual growth in GNP to satisfy the material needs of over one billion citizens. Confronted with the 2008 collapse in the world economy, its government launched a huge stimulus program in early 2009. In contrast, the U.S. government operated under a vigorous two-party system and faced more constraints in devising its stimulus plan. After both programs had operated for six months in 2009, the U.S. economy remained flat with rising unemployment while the Chinese economy grew by nearly eight percent.

Clearly, governmental dictatorships differ from the failed government of Somalia—and both sets of countries differ from the democratic governments of Costa Rica and from the monarchical government of Bhutan. Although Iceland, China, and the United States all pursued economic growth, they did so under very different party systems. Iceland operated under a multiparty system that decisively punished economic failure. China's one-party government could concentrate its resources on economic recovery without fear of losing power. The United States' two-party system forced the government to balance competing interests while trying to craft its economic policy.

Is it possible to meaningfully compare such diverse nations concerning how well they deliver the benefits of government? We think so. This book uses country governance as a criterion for determining the effects of country party systems. Although we identify and explain the effects of two other major factors (country size and country wealth) on selected measures of governance, we do not claim to represent the complex relationships among all the variables that account for all the cross-country variance in governance. Our focus is on the independent effects of party systems (after controlling for country size and wealth) on country governance. In the language of research, party systems traits are our independent variables, and country governance is our dependent variable.

Overview of Research Design

Studies that compare politics in different countries usually employ either the "most similar systems" design, matching countries on shared characteristics. We follow the "most different systems" research design, comparing a large number of very different countries (ideally, every country) with maximally different party systems: competitive and noncompetitive, fragmented and aggregative, volatile and stable, and even countries without political parties. It focuses on a common set of dependent variables (measures of country governance) and independent variables (measures of party systems) and ignores most of the countless other variables on which the countries differ.

In keeping with this design, we analyze the data on six different indicators of country governance created by scholars at the World Bank for 212 countries in 2007. We determine whether party system traits have any statistically significant effects on country governance across all countries. Although we draw heavily on quantitative data, we present relatively few tables. Instead, we display data graphically in reporting our findings. Moreover, we explain in simple terms alternative methods for scoring data, the meaning of a correlation coefficient, how to interpret a regression equation, and the gist of statistical significance. We think that our presentation is digestible for undergraduate students, even those who never had a course in statistics.

We supplement our quantitative analysis by noting where five countries score in the distribution of a summary measure of country governance, from top to bottom:

Iceland—the nation at the top of the 2007 World Bank mean governance scores

United States—a nation scoring high on governance but not at the top. (It is #23.)

Korea—a nation scoring near the 25th percentile, toward the top (#50).
Russia—a nation scoring near the 75th percentile, toward the bottom (#164).

Somalia—the nation scoring at the bottom of the World Bank scores (#212).

Our book consists of twelve chapters grouped under three parts. Part I, "The Nature of Country Governance," inquires in some detail into the origin and development of the term, "governance," discusses issues in conceptualizing and measuring country governance, and describes the Worldwide Governance Indicators.

Part II, "Environmental Effects on Country Governance," begins by considering whether the quality of country governance is a cause or an effect of environmental conditions. It contends that country governance is clearly affected by country size, which is usually determined long before any particular government is in place. It also argues that country wealth is a cause of country governance, especially in the short term. To assess the relative effects of country size and wealth on country governance, we conduct elementary statistical analysis. To explain the analysis to readers unfamiliar with correlation and regression analysis, we proceed slowly, describing with few formulas (but numerous boxes and graphs) the meanings of essential terms: correlation, statistical significance, a regression coefficient, and explained variance. Understanding these terms is essential to understanding the data analysis, which shows strong and consistent effects of country size and wealth on country governance.

Part III, "Party System Effects on Country Governance," addresses the main topic in a series of chapters. This section explains the normative and empirical theory underlying the study. It also describes the data collected to test the theory and various ways to measure party systems. Relying on the statistical knowledge conveyed in Part II, a set of chapters assesses the effects of party systems on country governance, beginning with the twenty-three countries that have no parties. For the other 189 countries, the chapters assess the effects of party system competitiveness, aggregation, and stability. The final chapter reviews the theory and research. It concludes that party systems have significant and mostly consistent effects on improving country governance. The findings should hearten those in international agencies who have spent millions of dollars to strengthen political parties in developing countries on the normative assumption that strong competitive, stable party systems promote countries' ability to deliver to citizens the benefits of government.

END NOTES

- ¹ Thomas Carothers, *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006), p. 4.
- ^½ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.
- ⁴ Edward R. McMahon, "Catching the 'Third Wave' of Democratization? Debating Political Party Effectiveness in Africa since 1980," *African and Asian Studies*, 3 (2004), 295-320, at pp. 295, 300-303.
- ⁵ Allen Hicken, "Stuck in the Mud: Parties and Party Systems in Democratic Southeast Asia," *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 2 (December, 2006), 23-46, at p. 25.

Nominations for President and Executive Council 2011-2012

President: Marc J. Hetherington

Executive Council: David Dulio, Oakland University

Michael McDonald, Binghamton

University

Paul Frymer, Princeton University Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

The Weidenbaum Center of Washington University in St. Louis announces the creation of The American Panel Survey (TAPS)

TAPS is a panel survey in which a national probability sample of about 2,000 panelists will be reinterviewed online each month, beginning in the fall of 2011. Initial plans for TAPS extend surveys for five years. Among the many virtues of the TAPS survey is the accumulation of substantial amounts of information on each respondent, the ability to analyze individual-level change, the possibility of conducting randomized experiments within the survey, including using audio and video interventions – all within the context of a state-of-art, nationally representative sample. A wide variety of social science research – not just limited to law and politics – can be conducted using TAPS.

Scholars are welcome to propose questionnaire modules to be placed on *TAPS*, including survey experiments. Details on the panel, pricing, and application process are available at http://wc.wustl.edu/node/511. Inquiries are welcome at taps@wustl.edu.

TAPS is co-directed by James L. Gibson and Steven S. Smith, both professors of political science at Washington University in St. Louis. Initial funding is provided by the Weidenbaum Center. TAPS is conducted in collaboration with Knowledge Networks, the leading online survey research firm.

Kay Lawson would like overseas readers of POP to know there is now a way to order the five volumes of *Political Parties and Democracy* (published by Praeger, which is now owned by ABC-CLIO) without paying high shipping costs. The website to use is http://www.abc-clio.com/aboutus/default.aspx?id=70447#UK.

At that site, buyers will find an email to write to depending on country or continent, for ordering either the full set (\$214) or a copy of a single volume (\$45). For U.S. buyers, the website is www.abc-clio.com/product.aspx?id=52943.

The books are also sold via Amazon and Barnes and Noble. The latter site gives all endorsements. Please also see the review in the April 2011 issue of *Choice*.

FROM HEADQUARTERS

POP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING Thursday, September 1, 12:15 p.m.

POP BUSINESS **M**EETING Friday, September 2, 12:15 p.m.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

New Website for Vox Pop Archives

Please note that the University of Akron has changed their website and therefore the Archive page for previous Vox Pop articles has changed its web address. The new address is: www.uakron.edu/bliss/vox-pop.dot.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

APSA 2011 Annual Meeting Division 35 Political Organizations and Parties

September 1-4, 2011

Title: Presidents, Parties, and Elections

Thursday, Sept. 1, 2:00 p.m. **Co-sponsored by 23-6**

Title: Mama Grizzlies, The Tea Party, and the Process of Representation

Friday, Sept. 2, 2:00 p.m. Co-sponsored by 31-15

Title: Women's Movement Dynamics: Strategic and Institutional Underpinnings

Saturday, Sept. 3, 8:00 a.m. **Co-sponsored by 31-16**

Title: Dynamics of Campaign Fundraising

Saturday, Sept. 3, 2:00 p.m.

Co-sponsored by Campaign Finance Research Group, Panel 1

Chair: Paul Allen Beck, Ohio State University (beck.9@osu.edu)

Papers: "Do Caps on Donations Work?" Eric McGhee, Public Policy Institute of California (mcghee@ppic.org)

"Where Does the Money Come From: The Timing and Geography of Campaign Contributions to Presidential Candidates in the 2000 and 2008 Primaries." Andrew J. Dowdle, University of Arkansas (adowdle@uark.edu), Karen Sebold, University of Arkansas (ksebold@uark.edu), and Scott Limbocker, University of Arkansas (slimbock@uark.edu)

"After Citizens United and SpeechNow.org: Considering the Consequences of New Campaign Finance Activities." Diana Dwyre, California State University, Chico (ddwyre@csuchico.edu)

"National Political Conditions and the Intertwining of Incumbent and Party Fundraising in the U.S. House." Bruce A. Larson, Gettysburg College (blarson@gettysburg.edu) and Eric S. Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte (esheberl@uncc.edu)

"Understanding the Impact of the Internet and First-time Donors in the 2008 Election Cycle." David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University (david_magleby@byu.edu), Jay Goodliffe, Brigham Young University (goodliffe@byu.edu) and Joseph A. Olsen, Brigham Young University (joseph_olsen@byu.edu)

Disc(s): Paul Allen Beck, Ohio State University (beck.9@osu.edu) and Robert G. Boatright, Clark University (rboatright@clarku.edu)

Title: Party and Interest Group Responses to Campaign Finance Reform

Saturday, Sept. 3, 4:15 p.m.

Co-sponsored by Campaign Finance Research Group-2

Chair: Rick D. Farmer, Oklahoma Insurance Department (rick@rickfarmer.net)

Papers: "Citizens United, States Divided? The Interaction of Transparency and Spending in State Elections." Douglas Spencer, University of California, Berkeley (dspencer@berkeley.edu) and Abby Wood, University of California, Berkeley (abbywood@gmail.com)

"The Value of Majority Party Status Reconsidered." Jonathan Wand, Stanford University (wand@stanford.edu)

"The Politics of American Business." Jonathan S. Krasno, SUNY, Binghamton (jkrasno@binghamton.edu) and Gregory Robinson, SUNY, Binghamton (grobinso@binghamton.edu)

"Special Interest Partisanship: The Transformation of American Political Parties in Government." Katherine Krimmel, Columbia University (klk2118@columbia.edu)

Disc(s): Allan J. Cigler, University of Kansas (acigler@ku.edu) and Timothy Werner, Grinnell College (wernert@grinnell.edu)

Title: Religion and Political Group Activism

Thursday, Sept. 1, 8:00 a.m. Co-sponsored by 33-11

Chair: Allen D. Hertzke, University of Oklahoma (ahertzke@ou.edu)

Papers: "Party Activism and Religion, 1960-2008." Ryan Claassen, Kent State University

"Solidarity and Discord in Interest Group Memberships: How the Social Context of Religious Congregations Affects Interest Group Involvement." Andrew R. Lewis, American University (andy.lewis@american.edu) and Paul A. Djupe, Denison University (djupe@denison.edu)

(Continued on page 4)

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 3)

"Party Pressure on Religious and Moral Issues in Congress." Lilliana Hall Mason, SUNY, Stony Brook (lillianahall@gmail.com) and Naser Javaid, Roosevelt University

"Effectual Reasoning and the Decision to Become Politically Active: Moving Beyond Citizen Characteristics and 'The Ask'." Kimberly H. Conger, Colorado State University (Kimberly.Conger@colostate.edu)

Allen D. Hertzke, University of Oklahoma (ahertzke@ou.edu)

Title: Party Change on Rights Issues

Thursday, Sept. 1, 10:15 a.m.

Co-sponsored by 7-24

Chair: Joseph Quin Monson, Brigham Young University (Quin.Monson@byu.edu)

Papers: "Party Position Change and the Politics of Gay Rights in the U.S. Congress." David Karol, American University (karol@american.edu)

"Two Roads Diverged: Abortion, Modernization and the GOP in the 1974 Election." Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas (bloomis@ku.edu)

"In Search of American Populism: Alternative Dimensions of Public Opinion." Byron E. Shafer, University of Wisconsin, Madison (bshafer@polisci.wisc.edu) and William J.M. Claggett, Florida State University (wjclaggett@fsu.edu)

"First to the Party: The Interest Group Origins of the Partisan Realignment on Civil Rights." Christopher Baylor, University of California, Los Angeles (cbaylor@ucla.edu)

Disc(s): Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University (wilcoxc@georgetown.edu) and John J. Coleman, University of Wisconsin, Madison (coleman@polisci.wisc.edu)

Party Distancing and Party Polarization in America

Saturday, Sept. 3, 10:15 a.m.

Co-sponsored by 36-7

Chair: William J. Crotty, Northeastern University (w.crotty@neu.edu)

Papers: "Structural Barriers to Political Consensus." Gerald M. Pomper, Rutgers University, New Brunswick (gpomper@rci.rutgers.edu) and Marc D. Weiner, Rutgers University (mdw@ejb.rutgers.edu)

"The Dynamics of Internal Party Coalition-Building." Howard L. Reiter, University of Connecticut (howard.reiter@uconn.edu)

"Party, Ideology and Programmatic Commitment." William J. Crotty, Northeastern University (w.crotty@neu.edu)

"Hispanics as an Emergent Force in Party Politics." Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Columbia University (rod2001@columbia.edu)

Disc(s): John H. Aldrich, Duke University (aldrich@duke.edu) and Marc J. Hetherington, Vanderbilt University (marc.j.hetherington@vanderbilt.edu)

Panel to Honor the Scholarship of Gerald M. Pomper

Friday, Sept. 2, 8:00 a.m.

Chair: Kathleen A. Frankovic, CBS News (kfrankovic@yahoo.com)

Papers: "Building on Pomper: Party Platform and Issue Positioning, 1980-2008." William J. Crotty, Northeastern University (w.crotty@neu.edu)

"Party Activists, Ideological Extremism, and Party Polarization: Should We Be Generalizing about 'Party Activists'?" Marjorie R. Hershey, Indiana University, Bloomington (hershey@indiana.edu) and Beth Easter, Indiana University, Bloomington (baeaster@indiana.edu)

"Party Realignment in New England." Maureen Moakley, University of Rhode Island (Moakley@uri.edu) and William G. Mayer, Northeastern University (w.mayer@neu.edu)

John Hart, Australian National University (J.Hart@anu.edu.au) Disc:

Title: Lobbying and Public Policy

Saturday, Sept. 3, 8:00 a.m.

Co-sponsored by 22-22

Chair: Thomas T. Holyoke, California State University, Fresno (tholyoke@csufresno.edu)

"Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda?" David C. Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis (kimballd@msx.umsl.edu), Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University (leech@polisci.rutgers.edu), Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University (marieh@psu.edu), Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University (jeffrey.berry@tufts.edu) and Frank R. Baumgartner, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (frankb@unc.edu)

"The Rise of the New Asian Lobbies in Washington, D.C.: China, India and Korea." Ronald J. Hrebenar, University of Utah (ron.hrebenar@poli-sci.utah.edu)

"Who Does Not Lobby: Representation of Interests in Health Care Politics." Amy Melissa McKay, Georgia State University (amckay@gsu.edu)

"Citizen and Lobbvist Access to Members of Congress: Who Gets It and Who Gives It?" Matthew T. Harrigan, University of Florida (matthewtharrigan@ufl.edu)

Disc(s): Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas (bloomis@ku.edu) and Ruth S. Jones, Arizona State University (ruth.jones@asu.edu)

Social Movements and Political Mobilization: New Approaches

Thursday, Sept. 1, 10:15 a.m.

Co-sponsored by 11-70

Chair: Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities (dzs@umn.edu)

Papers: "Meaning Making and Mobilization: Reconceptualizing the Role of Grievances in Social Movement Theory." Erica Simmons, University of Chicago (ericas@uchicago.edu)

"An Identity-Based Theory of the Partisan Dimensions of Social Movements." Michael T. Heaney, University of Michigan (mheaney@umich.edu)

"Plutocrats, Populists, and the Tea Party." David S. Meyer, University of California, Irvine (dmeyer@uci.edu)

"Contagious Contention: A Network Approach to Collective Action on Climate Change." Jennifer Hadden, Cornell University (jlh242@cornell.edu)

Disc: Sidney Tarrow, Cornell University (sgt2@cornell.edu)

Title: Reciprocal Influences of Partisanship and Issue Attitudes: The U.S. and Europe

Friday, Sept. 2, 8:00 a.m.

Co-sponsored by 36-8

Chair: Thomas John Scotto, University of Essex (tscott@essex.ac.uk)

Papers: "Party Structuring of Policy Attitudes and Conflict Extension: An Experimental Assessment." Thomas M. Carsey, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (carsey@unc.edu) and Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Notre Dame (glayman@nd.edu)

"Beyond Endogeneity? Removing Political Conditioning from Economic Perceptions." Geoffrey Evans, Oxford University (geoffrey.evans@nuffield.ox.ac.uk) and Mark A. Pickup, University of Oxford (mark.pickup@gmail.com)

"Personal Values, Party Identification, and the Origins of Public Opinion." Paul N. Goren, University of Minnesota (pgoren@umn.edu)

"The Reciprocal Influences of Dutch Voters' Policy Beliefs and Party Evaluations." James Adams, University of California, Davis (¡fadams@ucdavis.edu), Catherine E. De Vries, University of Amsterdam (c.e.devries@uva.nl) and Debra Lynn Leiter, University of California, Davis (dlleiter@ucdavis.edu)

"The Development and Dynamics of Party Identification in New Democracies: A Comparative Cohort Analysis." Anja Neundorf, University of Oxford (anja.neundorf@nuffield.ox.ac.uk)

Disc(s): Thomas John Scotto, University of Essex (tscott@essex.ac.uk) and Logan Dancey, University of Pittsburgh (lmd80@pitt.edu)

Why People Contribute to Political Campaigns and Why Their Title: **Contributions Matter**

Saturday, Sept. 3, 4:15 p.m.

Co-sponsored by 36-9

Chair: Hans Hassell, University of California, San Diego (hhassell@ucsd.edu)

Papers: "Campaign Finance Reform and Polarization: Has the Individual-Donor Revolution Advantaged Ideologically Extreme Candidates?" Adam Bonica, New York University (abonica@princeton.edu)

"Social Campaign Giving." Betsy Sinclair, University of Chicago (betsy@uchicago.edu) and Erin Hartman, University of California, Berkeley

"The Effect of Redistricting on Individual Campaign Contributions." Jenna Bednar, University of Michigan (jbednar@umich.edu) and Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan (ergerber@umich.edu)

"Donating Money versus Time: Why People Donate Money to Some Candidates yet Donate Time to Others." Adam Seth Levine, Vanderbilt University (adam.levine@vanderbilt.edu) and Cindy D. Kam, Vanderbilt University (cindy.d.kam@vanderbilt.edu)

"Canvassing for Cash: The Effect on Campaign Contributions." Andra N. Gillespie, Emory University (andra.gillespie@emory.edu) and Joshua A. Berman, Emory University (jaberma@emory.edu)

Disc(s): Hans Hassell, University of California, San Diego (hhassell@ucsd.edu) and Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego (gjacobson@ucsd.edu)

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 4)

Title: Religion and Political Parties in Comparative Perspective

Sunday, Sept. 4, 10:15 a.m. Co-sponsored by 33-12

Chair: David A. Dulio, Oakland University (ddulio@oakland.edu)

Papers: "Islamist Party Success in the Arab World." Michael D. H. Robbins, University of Michigan (robbinmd@umich.edu)

"When Do Islamist Parties Impact Policy Outcomes? What Islamists in the Middle East Can Learn from Islamist Parties in Asia." Quinn Mecham, Middlebury College (qmecham@middlebury.edu)

"Friend or Foe: Muslim Immigrants and Left Political Parties in Western Europe." Janna Bray, University of Michigan (jpbray@umich.edu)

"Religious Parties in Secular States: Comparing Catholic and Sunni Political Activism in Mexico and Turkey." Luis F. Mantilla, Georgetown University (lfm5@georgetown.edu)

Disc: Ahmet T. Kuru, San Diego State University (akuru@mail.sdsu.edu)

Title: Nonprofit Advocacy and the Politics of Representation

Thursday, Sept. 1, 4:15 p.m. Co-sponsored by 25-25

Chair: Steven Rathgeb Smith, Georgetown University (srs83@georgetown.edu)

Papers: "Nonprofits, City Politics, and the Pursuit of Sustainability." Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University (jeffrey.berry@tufts.edu) and Kent E. Portney, Tufts University (kent.portney@tufts.edu)

"Whose Interests? Women's Organizations and National Policy Advocacy, 1880-2000." Kristin Goss, Duke University (kgoss@duke.edu)

"American Standards for American Children: A Century of Organizing for Child Well-Being." Doug Imig, University of Memphis (dimig@memphis.edu)

"When Bad Things Happen to Privileged People: Interest Groups, Representation, and the Construction of National Crises." Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities (dzs@umn.edu)

"Interest Group Advocacy When the Party in Power Changes." Yutaka Tsujinaka, University of Tsukuba (tsujinak@sakura.cc.tsukuba.ac.jp)

Disc: Robert J. Pekkanen, University of Washington

Title: Comparative Parties, Elections, and Representation

Friday, Sept. 2, 10:15 a.m.

Chair: Kenneth W. Kollman, University of Michigan (kkollman@umich.edu)

Papers: "Candidate Selection Procedures, Electoral Rules, and Legislative Party Cohesion in Mixed Electoral System Countries." Jessica Robinson Preece, Brigham Young University (jrp68@ucla.edu)

"Political Party Responses to European Parliamentary Election Results." Zeynep Somer-Topcu, Vanderbilt University and Michelle Elisa Zar, Vanderbilt University (michelle.e.zar@vanderbilt.edu)

"Do Voters Understand Party Promises? Mandate Responsiveness in East European Politics." Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University (tkostadinova@fiu.edu) and Petia A. Kostadinova, University of Florida (petiak@ufl.edu)

"Rethinking Party Membership: Towards a Functional Measurement Strategy." Susan Scarrow, University of Houston (sscarrow@uh.edu) and Aldo Fernando Ponce, University of Houston (afponce@mail.uh.edu)

Disc(s): Kenneth W. Kollman, University of Michigan (kkollman@umich.edu) and Brandon C. Zicha, Free University of Amsterdam

The Functions of Political Parties in New Democracies

Saturday, Sept. 3, 2:00 p.m. Co-sponsored by 44-14

POSTERS

Title: Poster Session: American Politics 2

Friday, Sept. 2, 2:00 p.m.

Posters: "Measuring the Quality of Elections." Gary Bland, RTI International (gbland@rti.org), Davin Phoenix, University of Michigan (dphoenix@umich.edu) and Vincent L. Hutchings, University of Michigan (vincenth@umich.edu)

"Keep 'Em In or Take 'Em Out: A Simulation Analysis of the Impacts of the Changes to the New Zealand Electoral System." Alexander C. Tan, University of Canterbury (alex.tan@canterbury.ac.nz), Stephanie Borthwick, University of Canterbury (sfb39@uclive.ac.nz) and Monique Eade, University of Canterbury (Monique.eade@gmail.com)

"Is There a Winner Effect in American Elections? Evidence from a Natural Experiment." Michael Sances, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (mwsances@mit.edu)

"Responsiveness and Women's Substantive Representation within the Belgian Headscarf Debate." Eline Mariska Severs, University of Antwerp (Eline.Severs@ua.ac.be)

"Succeeding in Politics: Dynasties in Democracies." Daniel Markham Smith, University of California, San Diego (danielsmith@ucsd.edu)

"Can Citizens Perceive of Federalism? A Partisan Explanation." Srinivas Parinandi, University of Michigan (cparinan@umich.edu)

"Reciprocal Weighted Average Estimates of Congressional Partisanship and Polarization over Time." David B. Sparks, Duke University (d.sparks@duke.edu)

"Successor Party Regeneration After Democratization." Tatiana P. Rizova, Christopher Newport University (Tatiana.rizova@cnu.edu)

"Strategic Position Taking and Co-partisan Representation by Federal Political Parties in Canada." John R. McAndrews, University of British Columbia (mcandj@interchange.ubc.ca)

"Let Me Be Clear: Experiential Search, Informative Messages, and Membership Activity at Organizing for America." Jonathan Klingler, University of Rochester (jklingle@mail.rochester.edu) and Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota (kpearson@umn.edu)

"Ally or Perish? Party Financing as a Constraint on Party Behavior in Post-Communist Political Systems." Maria Spirova, Leiden University (mspirova@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

"The American Tea Party and the European Radical Right." Kimberly Twist, University of California, Berkeley

"A Network Analysis of State Party Committee Strength." Andrew S. Waugh, University of California, San Diego (aswaugh@ucsd.edu)

"The Party Edge: Consultant-Candidate Networks in American Political Parties." Brendan Nyhan, University of Michigan (bnyhan@umich.edu) and Jacob M. Montgomery, Duke University (jmm61@duke.edu)

"Candidate Characteristics and Voter Ambivalence." Matthew Buttice, University of California, Davis (mbuttice@ucdavis.edu)

"The Myth of the Mill Worker's Son: Candidate Social Class Origins as Faulty Heuristics." Nicholas Carnes, Princeton University (carnes@princeton.edu) and Meredith L. Sadin, Princeton University

"Voting Context and Vote Choice: The Impact of Voting Precinct Location on Voting for California Proposition 8." R. Steven Daniels, California State University, Bakersfield (rdaniels@csub.edu)

"Competing Claims: Finding the Political Effects of Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures in 2004." Jeremiah Garretson, SUNY, Stony Brook University (jeremiah.garretson@stonybrook.edu)

"Examining the Causal Mechanisms Linking Education and Political Participation." Mikael Persson (mikael.persson@pol.gu.se)

"The Effect of Controversial Ballot Measures on State Level Turnout during Midterm and Presidential Election Years 1990-2010." Shauna Reilly, Northern Kentucky University (reillys3@nku.edu) and Ryan M. Yonk, Utah State University (ryanyonk@yahoo.com)

"Campaigning with Class: The Impact of Candidate Social Class Origins on Voter Evaluations." Meredith L. Sadin, Princeton University (msadin@princeton.edu)

"Where You Vote Affects How You Vote." Jennifer A. Steen, Arizona State University (jasteen@asu.edu)

"Political Behavior in the Face of Environmental Threat: An Experimental Analysis." Travis Coan, Harvard University (tcoan@law.harvard.edu) and Mirya R. Holman, Florida Atlantic University (mholman5@fau.edu)

"Cues and Information: The Effect of the Tea Party Label on the Act of Voting." Bryan Gervais, University of Maryland (bgervais@gvpt.umd.edu) and Jeffrey A. Taylor, University of Maryland (jtaylor@gvpt.umd.edu)

"Competition Aversion and Candidate Entry." Kristin L. Kanthak, University of Pittsburgh (kanthak@pitt.edu) and Jonathan Woon, University of Pittsburgh (woon@pitt.edu)

"Electoral-System & Party-Competition Dynamics in Comparative Voter Turnout." Gregory Love, University of Mississippi (gilove@olemiss.edu)

"The Priming Effects and Polling Places: Analyzing of the Priming of Vote Choices in Direct Democracy." Rochdi A. Alloui, Georgia State University

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

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(ralloui1@student.gsu.edu) and Jeffrey Glas, Georgia State University (jglas1@student.gsu.edu)

"Local Age Distributions and Support for the Political Fringe in American Politics." Brittany Houtz Bramlett, University of Maryland (bbramlett@gvpt.umd.edu) and James G. Gimpel, University of Maryland, College Park (jgimpel@gvpt.umd.edu)

"More than Simply Whether to Vote – When, Where & How to Vote: Three Large Scale Field Experiments on Mobilization to Vote By Mail, Early in Person, and on Election Day." Christopher B. Mann, University of Miami (cmann@miami.edu) and Genevieve Mayhew, University of Miami (gennymayhew@hotmail.com)

"Gender and Candidate Experience: How Career Choice Contributes to Votes." Tabitha Bonilla Worsley, Stanford University (Tabitha@stanford.edu), Cecilia Hyunjung Mo, Stanford University (chmo@stanford.edu) and Wendy T. Gross, Stanford University (wtgross@stanford.edu)

"Coping with Electoral Defeat: An Analysis of Voting for a Losing Candidate and Subsequent Political Behavior." April Strickland, Stony Brook University (april.a.strickland@gmail.com), Ben Jordan Newman, SUNY Stony Brook University (bnewman@ic.sunysb.edu) and Christopher David Johnston, SUNY, Stony Brook (johncd1@gmail.com)

"The Importance of First Impressions: The Effects of Candidate Race and Gender on Information Search During Political Campaigns." Tessa M. Ditonto, Rutgers University, New Brunswick (tessa.ditonto@gmail.com)

"Isolating the Effects of Participation: Identifying Would-Be Non-Voters Who Are Mobilized to Participate by Election Campaigns." Victoria Anne Shineman, New York University (vas281@nyu.edu)

"Theory-Based Targeting: Assessing the Effects of Mobilization Messages on Habitual and Non-Habitual Voters." Matthew D. Cravens, University of Minnesota (crave043@umn.edu)

"A Matter of Taste or Partisan Bias? The Use of Character Traits in Candidate Evaluation." Geoffrey Sheagley, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities (shea0105@umn.edu)

"Identify Targeting: The Effects of Targeted Direct Mail." Monica C. Schneider, Miami University of Ohio (schneimc@muohio.edu)

"After the Election: Partisan Identity Threat Response in 2008." Melanie W. Freeze, Duke University (msw12@duke.edu)

"Income Volatility, Inequality and Vote Choice." Adrienne Hosek, University of California, Berkeley (Adrienne.hosek@gmail.com)

"What Came First? Political and Social Stability or Media Freedom of Speech? The Development of Media Politics in the State of Kuwait." Teflah Alajmi, Rutgers University

"The News Media and the Thermostatic Response." Mary Layton Atkinson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (mlatkins@email.unc.edu)

"To Know Democracy is to Love It: Cognitive Origin of Democratic Support." Youngho Cho, University of Missouri, Columbia (ycn62@missouri.edu)

"Framing Effects Experiment: The Impact of Conflicting Intra-Party Cues." Anne Cizmar, University of Maryland (acizmar@gvpt.umd.edu)

"Sovereign Nations or Minority Populations?: How Information and Ideology Shape Attitudes about Native American Policy." Thaddieus W. Conner, University of Oklahoma (conner03@ou.edu), Alisa Hicklin Fryar, University of Oklahoma (ahicklin@ou.edu) and Tyler Johnson, University of Oklahoma (tylerjohnson@ou.edu)

"Race, Inequality, and Fragmentation: An Exploration of the Causes of Metropolitan Political Polarization in the 2000 Election." Katherine Levine Einstein, Harvard University (klevine@fas.harvard.edu)

"Tea Party Morality." Emily McClintock Ekins, University of California, Los Angeles (emilyekins@ucla.edu)

"The Theoretical Components of Presidential Approval: Why the Resistance to Media Priming Matters." Laura Kathryn Frey, University of California, Santa Barbara (laurakathrynfrey@comcast.net)

"From the Teflon President to the Velcro President: Changes in Public Opinion Coverage and the Effects of a Congress in Danger." Emiliana Inez Patlan, University of California, Santa Barbara (epatlan@umail.ucsb.edu)

"Does the Usage of Anxiety-Producing Rhetoric by the President Impact Public Issue Attention?" Christopher Olds, Texas A&M University (colds1@polisci.tamu.edu)

"Attitudes Toward Hispanics: Effects on Party Identification of Whites." Michael Rivera, University of California, San Diego (murivera@ucsd.edu)

"Keeping America Great: Support for the Status Quo and Patriotism." Nate Ramsey, -6-

University of Cincinnati (ramseynn@mail.uc.edu) and Stephen T. Mockabee, University of Cincinnati (Stephen.Mockabee@uc.edu)

"Revealed Preferences and the Measurement of Ideology." Jon Rogowski, University of Chicago (jrogowski@uchicago.edu) and Brendan Pablo Montagnes, Northwestern University (p-montagnes@kellogg.northwestern.edu)

"Citizen Consultation on Policy Proposals: Examining Differing Priorities Identified Through Deliberative Polling, Traditional Opinion Polling and Online Consultation." Sean Westwood, Stanford University (seanjw@stanford.edu), James S. Fishkin, Stanford University (jfishkin@stanford.edu), Alice Siu, Stanford University (asiu@stanford.edu) and Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas, Austin (rluskin@mail.utexas.edu)

"The Stability of U.S. Political Partisanship in Regions and Age Cohorts, 1937-2008." Arjun Wilkins, Stanford University (arjunw@stanford.edu)

"The Prevalence of Uncontested Elections and Citizen Confidence in State Government." Robert J. McGrath, University of Iowa (Robert-mcgrath@uiowa.edu) "Uninformed but Opinionated Voters." Peter Foley, California Institute of

"Local Environmental Quality, Environmental Attitudes, and Voting: An Examination of Context and Issue Salience." Bradford H. Bishop, Duke University (bhb11@duke.edu)

Technology (pwfoley@gmail.com)

"Applying Common-Pool Resource Theory to the Governance of Large-Scale Environmental Problems." Michael Schoon, Arizona State University (Michael.schoon@asu.edu) and Sergio Villamayor, Indiana University (sevillam@indiana.edu)

"Conservation as a Catalyst for Conflict: Message and Meaning in Policymaking." Deserai Anderson Crow, University of Colorado, Boulder (deserai.crow@colorado.edu) and Olga Anatoliivna Baysha, University of Colorado, Boulder (olya_baysha@yahoo.com)

"Public Relations to Energy Transmission Siting: The Role of Nimbyism." Juliet Carlisle, Idaho State University (Carlisle@isu.edu)

"Framing Disaster: Environmental Group Responses to the Gulf Oil Spill." Melissa K. Merry, University of Louisville (mkmerr01@louisville.edu)

"Rights through Policy Design: An Analysis of Aquaculture Policies." Saba Naseem Siddiki, University of Colorado, Denver (snsiddiki@gmail.com)

"Balancing the Rights of Citizens and Communities: Wind Power Siting Decisions." Wendy E. Scattergood, St. Norbert College (wendy.scattergood@snc.edu), Christopher P. Borick, Muhlenberg College (cborick@muhlenberg.edu), Angela High-Pippert, University of St. Thomas (ahighpippe@stthomas.edu), Steven M. Hoffman, University of St. Thomas (smhoffman@stthomas.edu) and David G. Wegge, St. Norbert College (dave.wegge@snc.edu)

"Greening Constitutions with Environmental Rights: Testing the Isomorphism Thesis." Joshua Chad Gellers, University of California, Irvine (jgellers@uci.edu)

"Paving the Way or Crowding Out? The Impact of the Rise of Climate Change on Environmental Issue Agendas." Jessica E. Boscarino, Marist College (Jessica.boscarino@marist.edu)

"Not on Planet Earth (NOPE): An Agent Based Model Simulating Energy Infrastructure Siting Dynamics." Nicholas Cain, Claremont Graduate University (Nicholas.cain@cgu.edu), Hal T. Nelson, Claremont Graduate University (hal.nelson@cgu.edu), Mark Abdollahian, Claremont Graduate University (mark.abdollahian@cgu.edu), Brett Close, Claremont Graduate University (brett.close@cgu.edu) and Jake Hoffman, Claremont Graduate University (jake.hoffman@cgu.edu)

"Dominion or Stewardship: Understanding the Role of Religiosity in Forming Attitudes about the Environment." Virgil Ian Stanford, George Mason University (vstanfor@gmu.edu) and Elizabeth Shaw Brewer, George Mason University (shawbrewer@gmail.com)

"The Changing State-Society Relations in China in the Internet Age: Case Study of the Deng Yujiao Incident." Chin-fu Hung, National Cheng Kung University (bcfhung@mail.ncku.edu.tw)

"Controlling the Surf? The Decentralization of Online Political Communication Activities." Ben Epstein, CUNY-Graduate Center (benepstein55@gmail.com)

"Gangster Government: Echo Chambers and the Blogosphere." Jennifer Fredette, SUNY, University at Albany (jfredette@albany.edu) and Holly Jarman, SUNY University at Albany (hjarman@albany.edu)

"News Feed: A Profile of News Use on Social Networking Sites." Lindsay Hoffman, University of Delaware (lindsayh@udel.edu), Carroll Glynn, Ohio State University

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS (Continued from page 6)

(glynn.14@osu.edu) and Michael Huge, Ohio State University (huge.8@osu.edu)

"The Italian Parliament: The Long Journey from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0." Sara Bentivegna, University of Rome (sara.bentivegna@uniroma1.it) and Marzia Antenore, Facoltá di Scienze Politiche (marzia.antenore@gmail.com)

"Selective Socialization: International Law and the Evolution of Chinese Legal Norms." Erin Ashley Baggott, Harvard University (ebaggott@fas.harvard.edu)

"Three Revolutions that Shape the World: How Respect for Human Rights Promotes Human Development." Walter C. Clemens, Boston University (wclemens@bu.edu)

"Economic Reforms for the Promotion of Democracy." Inhan Kim, University of Virginia (ik7z@virginia.edu)

"Illogics of Social Action: Pathological Behavior in International Relations." Christopher David LaRoche, University of Toronto (Christopher.laroche@utoronto.ca), Jamie Levin, University of Toronto (jamie@tenplusone.ca) and Joseph MacKay, University of Toronto (joseph.mackay@utoronto.ca)

"A Chinese Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective – The Rise of New Exceptionalism in the Twenty First Century World Politics." Bo Ma, CUNY-Graduate Center (bma@gc.cuny.edu)

"Organizing the International: Systems Redux." William Anthony Rivera, University of Delaware (warivera@udel.edu)

FROM THE FIELD

PAPERS OF INTEREST

2011 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting

'Presidential Partisanship Reconsidered: Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, and the Rise of Polarized Politics.' Daniel Galvin, Northwestern University (galvin@northwestern.edu)

'Barack Obama, the Democratic Party, and the Evolution of the American Party System.' Sidney M. Milkis, University of Virginia (smm8e@virginia.edu) and Jesse Hessler Rhodes, University of Massachusetts, Amherst (jrhodes@polsci.umass.edu)

'Continuing and Change in Party Organizations.' Mildred A. Schwartz, New York University (mildred@uic.edu)

'The Presidential-House Election Connection, 1900-2010.' Jeff M. Stonecash, Syracuse University (jstoneca@syr.edu)

'Explaining the Electoral Emergence of Radical Parties: Contentious Coalitions and Bilateral Oppositions.' Lenka Bustikova-Siroky, Duke University (lbs11@duke.edu)

'Although International, Still Domestic: Transnational Activism of Czech Social Movement Organizations.' Ondrej Cisar, Masaryk University (cisar@fss.muni.cz) and Katerian Vrablikova, University of California, Irvine (kvrablik@uci.edu)

'This Party is Going Global: Transnational Party-Building in Croatia and Serbia.' Sara Elizabeth Garding, University of California, Berkeley (sgarding@berkeley.edu)

'Parties and Information Cues in Central and Eastern Europe.' Sebastian Adrian Popa, Central European University (popa_sebastian@ceu-budapest.edu)

'Vote Brokerage under the Secret Ballot: An Outcome Contingent Model of the Controlled Vote.' Daniel Willard Gingerich, University of Virginia (dwg4c@virginia.edu) and Luis Fernando Medina, University of Virginia (lfmedian@march.es)

'Presidential Influence on Partisan Discipline in Congress: Evidence from South Korea.' Sukjae Hur, Korea University (homework@korea.ac.kr)

'Splitting Alone or Together? Party Switches, Factions and Coalitions in Turkey, 1991-2002.'
Ozge Kemahlioglu, Sabanci University (ozgekemah@sabanciuniv.edu) and Sabri Sayari,
Sabanci University (sabris@sabanciuniv.edu)

'Party Responsiveness to the Collective Judgment of the Electorate: The Case of Presidential Popularity in Latin America.' Seonghui Lee, Rice University (seonghui.lee@rice.edu)

'Voter Demands and Personalistic Parties: Party Switching and Legislative Voting in the Philippine House of Representatives, 1987-2007.' Jae H. Shin, University of California, Los Angeles (jae.shin@ucla.edu)

'Machine Politics in Comparative Perspective: Argentina, Mexico and Peru.' Mariela Schwarzberg, University of Chicago (mariela@uchicago.edu)

'Pedigree and Presidential Patronage in Philippine Congressional Elections.' Luisita Margarita Cordero, University of California, Los Angeles (luicord@ucla.edu)

'What Issues Structure Party Competition in East Asian Democracies? A Comparative Study of Five Countries.' Willy Jou, University of California, Irvine (jouw@uci.edu)

'Partisan Effects of Voter Turnout in Korean Elections.' Junhan Lee, University of Incheon (junhanlee@hotmail.com) and Wonjae Hwang, University of Tennessee (whwang@utk.edu)

'Popular Elections and Political Rights: A Study of the Procedures and Outcomes of Community Elections in Urban China.' Diqing Lou, Rider University (dilou@rider.edu)

'Conflict Strategy and Rationality in Politicians' Party Switching Decisions: The Political Realignment in Japan.' Su Kyeong Yun, University of Tokyo (roann_vun@hotmail.com)

'Internet Salience in Presidential Nomination Campaigns.' Dino Christenson, Boston University (dinopc@bu.edu), Corwin D. Smidt, Michigan State University -7-

(smidtc@msu.edu) and Costas Panagopoulos, Fordham University (costas@post.harvard.edu)

'Why Obama and Huckabee Won the 2008 Iowa Caucuses: Lessons for the 2012 Presidential Nomination Contest.' Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown University (hullc@georgetown.edu)

'When Factions Decide: How Presidential Candidates Win Nominations Without Momentum.' Dante J. Scala, University of New Hampshire (dante.scala@unh.edu)

'Front Runners and Also Rans: Early Identification of New Hampshire Primary Winners.' Andrew E. Smith, University of New Hampshire (andrew.smith@unh.edu)

'Candidate Endorsements in Presidential Nominations: Centric Choices but Not Median Voters See Dante Scala and Chris Hull.' Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University (wsteger@depaul.edu)

'Discredited Politics and Party Identification.' Matias Andres Bargsted, University of Michigan (bargsted@umich.edu)

'Disappearing Intransitivities in the Party Identification Scale.' Drew Kurlowski, University of Missouri (dakurlowski@mail.missouri.edu)

'The Impact of Perceptions of Group Association and Influence on Partisan Attitudes.' Erin McAdams, College of Charleston (mcadamse@cofc.edu)

'Parties Cause Partisanship?' Scott Moser, University of Texas, Austin (smoser@austin.utexas.edu)

'Movement in Partisan Policy Mood: Party Mood Reaction to Economic Performance and Policy Enactments.' Gregory Joseph Wolf, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (gregwolf@email.unc.edu)

'Do Voters Have a Choice? Establishment-Party Polarization and Support for Non-Establishment-Parties in 13 Western Democracies.' Robin E. Best, University of Missouri (bestre@missouri.edu)

'Party Policy Positions in Newfoundland and Labrador: Expert Survey Results in the Buildup to the 2011 Provincial Election.' Matthew Kerby, Memorial University of Newfoundland (kerbym@mun.ca) and Kelly R. Blidook, McGill University (kblidook@mun.ca)

'Using Computer-Assisted Content Analysis to Estimate the Policy Ideal Points of Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.' William Craig Meddaugh, Rice University (meddaugh@rice.edu)

'Perceptions of Party Polarization: Explaining Individual-Level Variation.' Markus Wagner, University of Vienna (markus.wagner@univie.ac.at)

'Strategic Politicians, the Great Recession, and the Tea Party Movement: Evaluating the 2010 Midterm Elections,' Jamie L. Carson, University of Georgia (carson@uga.edu) and Stephen Pettigrew, University of Georgia (stephenp@uga.edu)

'Who Leads Whom? Interest Groups, Congress, and the Dynamics of Political Rhetoric.' Justin W. Holmes, University of Northern Iowa (justin.holmes@uni.edu) and Christopher James Galdieri, University of Minnesota (galdieri@umn.edu)

'Investing in Agreement: Party Organizations, Leadership Change, and Policy Positions.' Weiwei Hu, SUNY, Binghamton (whu2@binghamton.edu) and William B. Heller, SUNY, Binghamton (wbheller@gmail.com)

'Party Factions and Party Policy Positioning.' Weiwei Hu, SUNY, Binghamton (whu2@binghamton.edu)

'Accounting for Accountability: A Re-examination of Political Parties in the United States Congress.' James Ian Wallner, Catholic University of America (jameswallner@gmail.com)

'Organized Opposition: The Anti-Federalist Political Network.' Michael J. Faber, Duke University (m.faber@duke.edu) and Robi A. Ragan, Duke University (robi.ragan@gmail.com)

'The Formation of Collaboration Networks in Different Policy Sectors.' Manuel Fischer, University of Geneva (manuel.fischer@unige.ch)

'Network Methods for the Discovery of Advocacy Coalitions.' Adam Douglas Henry, West Virginia University (adam.henry@mail.wvu.edu) and Karin Ingold, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (kingold@ethz.ch)

'Strategic Spending in Voting Competitions With Social Networks.' Carlos R. Lever, Banco de México (carloslever@gmail.com)

'Behavioral Implications of Group Interlock Among Interest Groups in Manufacturing-Related Issues,' Dana Kelley Whippo, Indiana University (dlkelley@indiana.edu)

'Explaining the Perpetuation of Weakly Institutionalized Party-Systems With Evidence from Peru.' Craig Allen Garcia, University of Notre Dame (cgarcia6@nd.edu)

'Partisan Ties in Local and Legislative Elections: A Comparison of Chile and Turkey.' Ozge Kemahlioglu, Sabanci University (ozgekemah@sabanciuniv.edu)

'The Effect of Partisanship on Citizen-Politician Linkages in sub-Saharan Africa.' Nicholas Nathan Kerr, Michigan State University (kerrnich@msu.edu) and Danielle Carter, Michigan State University (carte165@msu.edu)

'The Impact of Party Law on Political Competition and Representation in South Asia.' Mariam Mufti, Johns Hopkins University (mariam_mufti@hotmail.com)

'Criminality and the Incumbency (Dis)Advantage to Incumbent Candidates and Parties.' Devesh K. Tiwari, University of California, San Diego (devesh.tiwari@gmail.com)

'Redistricting Institutions, Partisan Tides, and Congressional Turnover.' Nicholas Michael Goedert, Princeton University (ngoedert@princeton.edu)

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- 'Measuring Partisan Bias in Single-Member District Electoral Systems.' Eric M. McGhee, Public Policy Institute of California (mcghee@ppic.org)
- 'Redistricting and Turnout in Black and White.' Seth C. McKee, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg (scmckee@mail.usf.edu), M. V. Hood, University of Georgia (th@uga.edu) and Danny Hayes, American University (dhayes@american.edu)
- 'The 17th Amendment and the Partisan Composition of the U.S. Senate.' Charles H. Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (cstewart@mit.edu) and Wendy J. Schiller, Brown University (wendy schiller@brown.edu)
- 'Pockets of Power: An Assessment of Contemporary Party Regionalization.' John M. Bruce, University of Mississippi (jbruce@olemiss.edu)
- Parties, Ideology, and Geography in the 2010 Congressional Elections.' David A. Hopkins, Boston College (david.hopkins@bc.edu)
- 'The Effects of Party Polarization on Political Civility, Evaluation of Politicians, and Judgment of the Tone of Campaigns.' Michael Raymond Wolf, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne (wolfm@ipfw.edu), Dan Shea, Allegheny College (dan.shea@allegheny.edu) and J. Cherie Strachan, Central Michigan University (strac1jc@cmich.edu)
- 'Victorious Rebels and the Lost Revolution: The Establishment of the Semi-Authoritarian PRI Regime in Mexico.' Vasabjit Banerjee, Indiana University, Bloomington (vbanerje@indiana.edu) and Trish Ann Gibson, Indiana University (tagibson@indiana.edu)
- 'The Nature of Partisanship in Dominant Party Systems: Evidence from Botswana.' Stephanie M. Burchard, Rice University (smburchard@rice.edu)
- 'Uninvited Guests?: Subnational Party Formation in Traditionally Closed National Systems.'
 Matthew Cairns Ingram, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth (mingram@umassd.edu)
 and Imke Harbers, University of Amsterdam (i.harbers@uva.nl)
- 'The Regime Party as an Instrument of Authoritarian Co-optation and Control.' Milan Svolik, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (msvolik@illinois.edu)
- 'Explaining Party "Comebacks": Federalism, Ideological Diversity and Candidate Recruitment in American Party Competition.' Charles Doriean, University of Michigan (cdoriean@umich.edu)
- 'Breaking in or Shaking Things Up? Studying the Dynamics of Outsider Political Parties in Contemporary Democracies.' Verónica Hoyo, University of California, San Diego (vhoyo@ucsd.edu)
- 'The Size of Electoral Districts and the Importance of Party Labels.' Tetsuya Matsubayashi, University of North Texas (tmatsubayashi@unt.edu), Takayoshi Uekami, University of Kochi (uekamit@kochi-u.ac.jp) and Michiko Ueda, California Institute of Technology (michiko@caltech.edu)

- 'National Party Strategies in Local Elections: A Theory and Some Evidence From the Israeli Case.' David Nachmias, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya (davidna@idc.ac.il), Maoz Rosenthal, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya (mrosenthal@idc.ac.il) and Hani Zubida, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya (hzubida@idc.ac.il)
- 'How Do Social Networks Affect the Development of Party Identification?' Elif Erisen, California Polytechnic State University (eerisen@calpoly.edu)
- 'The Cleavages Do Matter: The (different) Rating of Political Parties on the Left-Right Axis.' Hila Federer-Shtayer, Leiden University (hshtayer@fsw.leidenuniv.nl) and Huib Pellikaan, Leiden University (pellikaan@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)
- 'Does Party Instability Undermine Democratic Representation?' Dani Marinova, Indiana University (dmarinov@indiana.edu)
- Party Systems and Mass Partisanship in New and Old Democracies: Evidence from Europe.' Guillem Rico, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (guillem.rico@upf.edu)
- 'The Cycle of Ideological Competition: How Established Parties Adapt.' Sean McGraw, University of Notre Dame (mcgraw.4@nd.edu)
- 'Changes in Image and Identity in Outsider Party Manifestos: The Case of the Italian Extreme Right.' Joan Hillebrand Neumiller, University of Minnesota (jneumill@umn.edu) 'The Future of the Successful Far Right in Western Europe: Victims of their Own Success?'
- Steven Van Hauwaert, University of Vienna (steven.vanhauwaert@univie.ac.at)
- 'Populism in Seven Small European Welfare-States: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on Populism in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.' Koen Vossen, Leiden University (kvossen@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)
- 'The Origins and Mobilization of the Tea Party Movement.' Emily Ekins, University of California, Los Angeles (emilyekins@ucla.edu)
- 'The Importance of Partisan Identity for Motivating Political Participation.' Lilliana Hall Mason, Stony Brook University (Ihmason@ic.sunysb.edu), Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University (Leonie.Huddy@sunysb.edu) and Lene Aaroe, Aarhus University (LeneAAroe@ps.au.dk)
- 'The Concealed Inequality: The Heterogeneity in Turnout Rates Across Regions and the Nationalization of Party Systems.' Pablo Simon, Pompeu Fabra University (Pablo.simon@upf.edu)
- 'Waking the Sleeping Giant: The Emergence of the Latino Electorate.' Joshua N. Zingher, SUNY, Binghamton (jzinghe1@binghamton.edu)
- 'Independent-minded or Opportunist? Perceptions of Arlen Specter and His Party Switch.' Kevin Andrew Evans, University of California, Davis (kaevans@ucdavis.edu), Rolfe D. Peterson, University of California, Davis (rdpeterson@ucdavis.edu) and Nathan Hadley, University of California, Davis (njhadley@ucdavis.edu)

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