

**PROGRAM**

**50TH ANNUAL MEETING**

***1992 AND WORLD CHANGE***

**John R. Hibbing  
University of Nebraska**

**Program Chair**

**Program Begins: April 9, 11 am**

**Program Concludes: April 11, 3:45 pm**

**Pi Sigma Alpha Lecture:  
April 9, 5:30 pm  
Grand Ballroom**

**Plenary Session:  
April 10, 4:00 pm  
Red Lacquer Room**

**Awards Ceremony:  
April 10, 5:30 pm  
Red Lacquer Room**

## Thursday, April 9

Thursday, 9:00-3:15 pm

**APSA RESEARCH SUPPORT COMMITTEE MEETING**

**BURNHAM 3**

Thursday, 10:00 am

**MPSA COUNCIL MEETING**

**CRESTHILL 11**

Thursday, April 9, 11:00-12:45 pm

Panel 1 - 5

**MONTROSE 7**

### **POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**

Chair: T. Philip Wolf, Indiana University-Southeast

Papers: "Explaining a European Anomaly: Politics and Culture in the Republic of Ireland." Timothy J. White, Xavier University

"Bridging the Gap in Social Movement Research: The Canadian Dimension." Jeffrey M. Ayres, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Social Democrats and Political Culture: Party Responsiveness to Social Change." Michael K. LeRoy, Vanderbilt University

"Political Values and Political Culture: Canada and the United States." Mary Ann Steger, Northern Arizona University; John C. Pierce, Washington State University; Nicholas P. Lovrich, Washington State University; and Brent S. Steel, Oregon State University

Discussant: T. Philip Wolf, Indiana University-Southeast

Panel 2 - 1

**SANDBURG 8**

### **DEMOCRACY IN THE THIRD WORLD: POLITICAL MODERNIZATION RECONSIDERED**

Chair: Stephen Chilton, University of Minnesota-Duluth

Papers: "Religious Resurgence in the Middle East and North Africa: A Challenge to Political Development." Maqsood A. Choudary, Southeast Missouri State

"The Pursuit of Social Pacts in Nascent Democracies: A Critical View." Chris Blake, Duke University

"Guyana: Establishing and Maintaining Representative Democracy in a Multi-Ethnic Polity." David H. Carwell, Eastern Illinois University

"The Socioeconomic Basis for Political Participation in Africa: Some Evidence from Women in Liberia." Michael Anda, University of Arkansas at Little Rock

Discussant: Louay M. Safi, Wayne State University

Panel 3 - 1

**BURNHAM 2**

### **REALISM REBORN: POWER POLITICS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA**

**THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 11:00-12:45 PM**                      **27**

Chair:                      George Hudson, Wittenberg University

Papers: "National Interests and Foreign Policy Direction: A Realist Prescription." Bryan Ward, Ohio State University

"Measures of National Power in the Post-Cold War Era." Mark Wayda, Ohio State University

"Obstacles to Defense Cooperation: Realism in European Defense Planning." Simon Duke, Pennsylvania State University

"Paradigms in Transition: International Law as an Agent of Power." Thomas K. Plofchan, Jr.

Discussant:              George Hudson, Wittenberg University

Panel 4 - 2

**BURNHAM 4**

**MODELS OF THE CANDIDATE EVALUATION PROCESS**

Chair:                      Milton Lodge, SUNY at Stony Brook

Papers: "A Cognitive Model of Candidate Trait Impressions." Patrick K. Stroh, Carnegie-Mellon University

"Computational Modeling of Candidate Evaluation Processes." G. R. Boynton, University of Iowa

"A Simulated Comparison of Models of Electoral Decision Making." Charles Taber and Marco Steenbergen, SUNY at Stony Brook

"The Stability of Affective Reactions to Political Candidates." John M. Bruce, Harvard University

Discussant:              Milton Lodge, SUNY at Stony Brook

Panel 5 - 1

**DEARBORN 1**

**PUBLIC OPINION, FOREIGN POLICY, AND WARS**

Chair:                      David C. Leege, University of Notre Dame

Papers: "The Influence of Foreign Policy Issues in the American Elections of the Early Cold War." Richard W. Boyd and Adam Berinsky, Wesleyan University

"American Public Opinion and the Gulf War." John Mueller, University of Rochester

"The Gender Gap and Attitudes toward War." Lisa Brandes, Tufts University

Discussant:              Robert Y. Shapiro, Columbia University

Panel 5 - 10

**CLARK 5**

**THE ELECTORAL PROCESS**

Chair:                      Kenneth S. Sherrill, Hunter College, CUNY

Papers: "Incumbency and Candidate Entry in Multiparty Competition: Electoral Evidence from India." Shrikant Dash, Vanderbilt University

"The Possibilities and Dilemmas of Campaign Reform." Tim L. Murphy, University of Cincinnati

"Seeking the Source of the Money Stream: Strategic Behavior of Individual Contributors in Federal Elections." Robert Biersack, Federal Election Commission, Paul Herrnson, University of Maryland, Lynda Powell, University of Rochester, and Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University

"Tinkering with the Costs of Voting: Would the National Voter Registration Act Increase Turnout?" Steve Knack, George Mason University

Discussant: Kenneth S. Sherrill, Hunter College, CUNY

Panel 6 - 4

**DEARBORN 2**

**GENDER, RACE AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE**

Chair: Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Papers: "The Culture of Single Motherhood: The New American Poverty Paradigm." Susan Thomas, Oakland University

"Ethics and Ideology in the Debate Over Transracial Adoption." Peter Hayes, Iowa State University

"Race, Gender and Social Welfare." Zelma Mosley, University of Delaware

Discussant: Martha T. Zingo, Oakland University

Panel 6 - 7

**SANDBURG 3**

**UNDERGRADUATE PERSPECTIVES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS: A STUDY OF THE CHICAGO ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT"**

Chair: Peter J. Schraeder, Loyola University of Chicago

Papers: "The Evolution of Chicago's Anti-Apartheid Legislation." Theresa Emperado, Loyola University of Chicago

"Factors Contributing to Success and Failure." Shobhana Kasturi, Loyola University of Chicago

"The Interview Process and Variations in Response." Shannon McNeil, Loyola University of Chicago

Discussant: Prexie Nesbitt, Mozambique Solidarity Office

Panel 7 - 1

**PARLOR C**

**DEMOCRATIC DELIBERATION AND LIBERAL DISCOURSE**

Chair: Edward Cohen, Buena Vista College

Papers: "Democratic Deliberation in the Liberal State." Pamela Johnston Conover and Donald D. Searing, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

"Enthusiasm Shared: Toward a Post-Kantian Account of Democratic Discourse." Patrick F.

McKinlay, University of Notre Dame

"Boundary Conversations." William R. Caspary, Washington University

"Lockean Philosophy, Liberal Democracy, and the Legitimate Speaker." Mark G. Robeck, University of Chicago

Discussant: R. Michael Smith, Marietta College

Panel 8 - 2

**MONTROSE 3**

**ALLIANCES AND CONFLICT**

Chair: James Morrow, Stanford University

Papers: "Congress and Arms Control Bargaining." James Morrow, Stanford University

"The Balance of Power and the Likelihood of War." James Fearon, University of Chicago

"Alliance Formation." Gerry Sorokin, University of Iowa

"The Second Image Reversed in Two-Level Games." Keisuke Iida, Princeton University

Discussant: James M. Lindsay, University of Iowa

Panel 10 - 1

**MONTROSE 1**

**DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY**

Chair: Norman C. Thomas, University of Cincinnati

Papers: "Determinants of Congressional Overrides of Presidential Vetoes." Dennis W. Gleiber and Steven A. Shull, University of New Orleans, and Albert C. Ringelstein, East Carolina University

"Presidential Activities." Barbara Hinckley, New York University, and Paul Brace, University of Illinois-Chicago

"Presidential Rhetoric and Positional Consistency." Jeffrey E. Cohen, University of Houston-Clear Lake

Discussants: George Edwards, Texas A&M University  
Dennis Simon, Southern Methodist University

Panel 11 - 1

**BURNHAM 1**

**THE ROLE OF COMMITTEES IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**

Chair: Christopher J. Deering, George Washington University

Papers: "Jurisdictional Battles and Committee Bias in Congress." Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan Jones, and Jeffrey C. Talbert, Texas A&M University

"The Evolution of Specialization in State Legislative Committee Systems: A Multi-Level Exploration." Keith E. Hamm, Rice University, and Ronald D. Hedlund, University of Rhode Island

"Committee Workload and Passage of Legislation in the House of Representatives of the Indiana General Assembly: 1987-1991." Richard L. Balkema, Valparaiso University

"State Delegations and the U.S. House Committee System." Christopher J. Froke, Arkansas State University

Discussant: David C. King, University of Michigan

Panel 11 - 8

CLARK 10

**DISTRICT EFFECTS ON POLICY DECISIONS IN CONGRESS**

Chair: Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University

Papers: "The Impact of District Based Economic Conditions on Roll Call Voting in the United States Congress." Samantha L. Durst, American University

"In Defense of Constituent Benefit: Parochialism in Armed Services System Authorization Decisions." Harold M. Gregory, Ohio State University

"Policy and Pork: The Use of Pork Barrel Projects in Building Policy Coalitions in the House of Representatives." Diana Evans, Trinity College

"A Comparison of Individual Decision Making in U.S. House and Senate Committees." Daniel S. Ward, Rice University

Discussant: John B. Bader, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 12 - 4

PARLOR F

**NEW PERSPECTIVES ON JUDICIAL IMPACT**

Chair: Jeffrey Mondak, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: "Deciding Whether to Advertise Legal Services: A Test of Environmental Theory." Lauren Bowen, John Carroll University

"Beyond Instrumental Legal Rhetoric: The State Legislative Abortion Debate After Webster." Susan R. Burgess, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Lower Court Responses To Oklahoma v. Dowell (1991)." Augustus J. Jones, Jr., Miami University

"The Supreme Court, the Civil Rights Movement, and the African-American Press." Gerald N. Rosenberg and Tom Thress, University of Chicago

Discussant: Robin M. Wolpert, University of Chicago

Panel 14 - 1

SANDBURG 4

**DISTRICTING CONFLICTS IN URBAN AMERICA**

Chair: Richard L. Engstrom, University of New Orleans

Papers: "Councilmanic Redistricting in Dallas." Royce Hanson, University of Texas at Dallas

"Councilmanic Redistricting in Indianapolis." Gordon Henderson, Richmond, Indiana

"Councilmanic Redistricting in New York City." Alan Gartner, New York City Districting Commission

Discussants: Rudolfo de la Garza, Harvard University  
Ronald E. Weber, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Panel 15 - 4

**MONTROSE 2**

**THE POLITICS OF MACROECONOMIC POLICYMAKING**

Chair: Paul Whiteley, College of William and Mary

Papers: "Partisanship, Uncertainty, and Characteristic Mistakes in Macroeconomic Policymaking." William Keech, University of North Carolina, and Dean Lacy, Duke University

"Partisan Monetary Policies: Presidential Influences Through the Power of Appointment." Henry W. Chappell, Jr., University of South Carolina, Thomas M. Havrilesky, Duke University, and Rob Roy McGregor, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

"Political Control of Central Banking: Is There a Role for Bank Autonomy?" R. Michael Alvarez and Brian Lloyd, Duke University

Discussant: Paul Whiteley, William and Mary

Panel 16 - 1

**BURNHAM 5**

**TAX AND REVENUE SYSTEMS: COMPETING PERSPECTIVES**

Chair: Ron King, Tulane University

Papers: "Revenue Volatility in the States of the U.S." Mark Tompkins, University of South Carolina

"Citizens Take the Initiative: The Politics of State and Local Tax Reform." Caroline Tolbert, University of Colorado

"The Impact of Alternative Citizen Concepts of Redistributive Rationality on Policy Outcomes." Marcia Lynn Whicker, Rutgers University-Newark

"Economic Efficiency and the Classified Property Tax." John R. Bartle, SUNY-Binghamton

Discussant: Ron King, Tulane University

Panel 18 - 1

**DEARBORN 3**

**THE POLITICIZATION OF FAMILY LIFE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS  
SPONSORED BY THE MIDWEST WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Chair: Jean C. Robinson, Indiana University

Papers: "Women, Religion, and Political Participation in El Salvador and Nicaragua." Anna Peterson, St. Norbert's College

"Too Little Space, Too Much Work: The Politicization of Domestic Life in Poland and China." Jean C. Robinson, Indiana University

"Women, Family and the Democratic Transition: A Comparative Study of Female Participation in Andean Countries." Grazia Smeall, St. Norbert's College

"The Gender Factor in Soviet Mass Politics." Kent Tedin, University of Houston

Discussant: Vicki L. Hesli, University of Iowa

PLEASE VISIT THE  
MIDWEST COOPERATIVE  
BOOTH #40  
IN THE EXHIBIT HALL  
FEATURING FINE BOOKS FROM

Aldine Publishers  
Northwestern University Press  
University of Nebraska Press  
Duke University Press  
Northern Illinois University Press  
University of Oklahoma Press  
University of North Carolina Press  
Iowa State University Press  
University of New Mexico Press  
Foundation Press



## Thursday, April 9, 1:30-3:15 pm

Panel 1 - 1

MONTROSE 7

### **AFTER UNIFICATION: A DIFFERENT GERMANY?**

Chair: Melvin Croan, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Economic Aspects of German Unification." Daniel Hamilton, Carnegie Endowment for Peace

"Domestic Political Development and Change." Donald Hancock, Vanderbilt University

"Germany, Europe, and the Transatlantic Alliance." Gary Geipel, Hudson Institute

Discussants: Helga Welsh, University of Arizona  
Melvin Croan, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 2 - 2

SANDBURG 8

### **PERSPECTIVES ON PUBLIC POLICY IN LDCs**

Chair: Lawrence Howard, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: "Structural Adjustment Programs, Patterns of Politics, and Regime Change: Selected West African Cases, 1988-1992." Daniel Green, Indiana University

"Training Administrative Reform: The Bahamas." Lawrence Howard, University of Pittsburgh

"Developing Nations, Public Policy, and Super Optimum Solutions." Stuart S. Nagel, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"African Political Reform and International Assistance: What Can and Should Be Done." James S. Wunsch, Creighton University

Discussant: Anita Raturi, University of Cincinnati

Panel 3 - 2

BURNHAM 2

### **CONCEPTUALIZING WESTERN DEFENSE POSTURES IN A POST-COLD WAR SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

Chair: Richard J. Harknett, University of Cincinnati

Papers: "Look Before You Leap: The Case Against Reducing Reliance on Nuclear Deterrence." Richard J. Harknett, University of Cincinnati

"The Problem of Deterrence: A Metaphysical or Societal Paradigm." William C. Martel, Harvard University

"North-South Security Regimes and the Limits of Stable Security Structures in the Post-Cold War Era." David Mussington, Harvard University

"Deterrence After the Cold War." James J. Wirtz, Naval Postgraduate School

Discussant: John S. Mearsheimer, University of Chicago

Panel 4 - 1 BURNHAM 4

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### **PUBLIC OPINION AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE USSR**

Chair: Robert D. Grey, Grinnell College

Papers: "Regime Legitimacy and the Transition from Authoritarian Rule." Arthur H. Miller, Vicki L. Hesli, and William M. Reisinger, University of Iowa

"Changing Values, Cognitive Mobilization, and Democratization in the Soviet Union." Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan

Changes in Democratic Values in the USSR: An Analysis of Panel Data, 1990-1991." James L. Gibson and Raymond M. Duch, University of Houston

Discussants: Thomas Remington, Emory University  
Robert D. Grey, Grinnell College

Panel 5 - 2

**DEARBORN 1**

### **BASES FOR RATIONAL VOTING**

Chair: Donald M. Freeman, University of Evansville

Papers: "I Voted for Old What's His Name: Americans' Knowledge of Candidates for the National Legislature, 1978-1990." Linda L. M. Bennett, Wittenberg University, and Stephen Earl Bennett, University of Cincinnati

"The Dynamics of Information Acquisition in Subpresidential Contests." Aage R. Clausen, Lawrence Baum, Paul Allen Beck, and Charles E. Smith, Jr., Ohio State University

"It Isn't What You Know, It's How You Know It: The Effects of Differential Media Usage on Voters' Responses to Campaign Messages." J. David Gopoian and Thom Yantek, Kent State University

"Concepts of Emotion in The American Voter: The Missing Dimension in Theories of Political Behavior." Carolyn Lewis, University of Houston

Discussant: Michael M. Gant, University of Tennessee at Knoxville

Panel 6 - 2

**DEARBORN 2**

### **THEORIES OF EQUALITY AND WOMEN**

Chair: Judith A. Baer, Texas A&M University

Papers: "Political Community, Embodied Characteristics and the Encumbered Self." Emily Gill, Bradley University

"Women and Political Violence." Tamara Waggoner, University of Texas at Austin

"Corporal Sovereignty and Abortion Rights: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Precedents Protecting Liberty." Eileen L. McDonagh, Northeastern University and Radcliffe College

"Analyzing Indicators: Supreme Court Decisional Factors Protecting Women in the Labor Force." Michelle Donaldson Deardorff, Millikin University

Discussant: Sally Kenney, University of Iowa  
Judith A. Baer, Texas A&M University

Panel 7 - 2

**PARLOR C**

### **REMEMBERING MADISON AND THE CONSTITUTION**

Chair: George J. Graham, Jr., Vanderbilt University

Papers: "James Madison and 'Praxis'." Bradley Kent Carter, Southern Methodist University

"The Problem of Federalism and the Framing of the Constitution." Francis Greene, Rutgers University

"Rituals of Rights: Constitutional Commemoration and Mass Media Displays." Daniel Levin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University

Panel 7 - 10

**PARLOR E**

**PUNISHMENT AND POLITICAL THEORY**

Chair: Larry W. Chappell, Mississippi Valley State University

Papers: "Bentham's Panopticon: The 'Great Subversive's' Greatest Attempted Subversion." Allison Dube, University of Calgary

"Letting Go: On Looking Without Watching." Larry W. Chappell, Mississippi Valley State University

"Power Questions: The Possibilities of Drawing Modes of Punishment into Question." Bernard Bray, Talladega College

"Frontiers and Inhabitants." Carle L. Jackson, Louisiana State University

Discussant: Daniel Skidmore-Hess, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 8 - 1

**MONTROSE 3**

**DOMESTIC POLITICS AND TRADE POLICY**

Chair: Ray Riezman, University of Iowa

Papers: "Delegation, Elections and International Trade Policy." Ray Riezman, University of Iowa and J. Wilson, University of Indiana

"Electoral Cycles and International Policy Coordination." Susanne Lohmann, Stanford University

"Delegation and Accommodation in U.S. Trade Policy." Sharyn O'Halloran and Susanne Lohmann, Stanford University

"Free Trade and Fast Track: Why Does Congress Delegate?" Elizabeth Martin, University of Iowa

Discussant: James Rogers, University of Iowa

Panel 9 - 1

**DEARBORN 3**

**PARTISAN CHANGE**

Chair: Alan D. Monroe, Illinois State University

"Partisan Change During the 1920s and 1930s: A Review and Critique of Current Research." Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University, and Timothy Fackler, University of

Texas at Austin

"Changing Partisanship Among Voters of the Mountain West." Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Union College, and Kelly Patterson, Franklin and Marshall

"The New Parties of the Right: Variations in Type and Explanation." Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University, Lars Svasand, University of Bergen, and Rachel Gibson, Texas A&M University

"The Electoral Realignments of 1968 and 1996." Dale Hathaway, Butler University

Discussants: James Simmons, University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh  
Alan D. Monroe, Illinois State University

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Panel 10 - 2 **MONTROSE 1**

### **RACE AND GENDER, BUREAUCRACY AND POLITICS**

Chair: Joseph Stewart, Jr., Educational Testing Service

Papers: "Local Women's Rights Policy Networks and the New Federalism." Janet K. Boles, Marquette University

"Bureaucracy and Employment Equity: The Role of Administrators in Mexican American Municipal Employment." Robert D. Wrinkle and J.L. Pollinard, University of Texas-Pan American, and Tomas Longoria, Texas A&M University

"Motivations, Gender, and Organizational Change: Lessons from the Careers of State Administrators." Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College, and Cathy Marie Johnson, Williams College

"Asian Representation in the American Civil Service." Pan S. Kim, Old Dominion University

Discussant: Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

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Panel 11 - 2 **BURNHAM 1**

### **MONEY AND MEDIA IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS**

Chair: Ruth S. Jones, Arizona State University

Papers: "Strategic Politicians and Competition for Open Seat Races." Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University, and Richard Fleisher, Fordham University

"A Friend in Need: The Impact of Money on Competitive Congressional Campaigns." Joel A. Thompson, Appalachian State University, and R. Kirby Goidel and William E. Cassie, University of Kentucky

"Television Advertising in Senate Races." Darrell M. West, Brown University

Discussant: Jonathan Nagler, Texas A&M University  
Patrick J. Fett, Vanderbilt University

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Panel 12 - 8

**PARLOR F**

### **ROUNDTABLE WORKSHOP: AN AGENDA FOR JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH**

Chair: Stephen L. Wasby, SUNY at Albany

Panelists: Keith O. Boyum, Editor-in-Chief "The Justice System Journal", California State University, Fullerton  
Collins Fitzpatrick, Circuit Executive, Seventh U.S. Judicial Circuit  
Kenneth Gillis, First Assistant State's Attorney, Cook County State's Attorney

Rita M. Novak, Chief, Civil Appeals Division, Illinois Attorney General  
Frances Kahn Zemans, Executive Vice-President, American Judicature Society  
Judge Benjamin Mackoff, Chief Judge Domestic Relations Division, Cook County  
Circuit Court

Panel 13 - 1

**SANDBURG 3**

**HEALTH AND WELFARE POLICY IN THE STATES**

Chair: Glen Halva-Neubauer, Furman University

Papers: "Does Medicaid Crowd Out Welfare? Reconsidering the Politics of Welfare Financing." Sanford F. Schram and Margaret Schultz, Macalester College

"Implementation of the Disabilities Act of 1990." Augustus J. Jones, Jr. and Peter Bishop, Miami University

"Determinants of State Abortion Policies: A Post Webster Analysis." Michael Berkman and Robert O'Connor, Pennsylvania State University

Discussant: Carol Weissert, Michigan State University  
Peter Kobrak, Western Michigan University

Panel 14 - 4

**SANDBURG 4**

**NEIGHBORHOODS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICIES**

Chair: Fred Meyer, Ball State University

Papers: "Making a Difference: Variations in Interest Representation Modes and Local Development Policy Choices." Susan E. Clarke, University of Colorado at Boulder

"Community Controversy and the Adoption of Local Economic Development Policies." Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

"Urban Developmental Conflict in the Neighborhood: A Test of Competing Explanations." David R. Elkins, Cleveland State University

"Community Participation in Urban Development Policy: Directions and Possibilities in the Post-Urban Renewal Age." Janice K. Tulloss, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Discussant: Roger K. Oden, Governors State University

Panel 15 - 2

**MONTROSE 2**

**MACROECONOMIC INFLUENCES ON POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**

Chair: Helmut Norpoth, SUNY at Stony Brook

Papers: "Economic Voting in Western Democracies: The Contextual Effects of Objective Economic Conditions." James C. Garand and Cynthia Hall, Louisiana State University

"The Dynamic of Voter Sophistication and Macroeconomic Policy Strategies." Clavin J. Mouw, University of Missouri-St. Louis, and Ronald E. Langlely, University of Kentucky

"Partisan Dealignment and the Dynamics of Independence in the American Electorate, 1953-88." Harold Clarke and Motoshi Suzuki, University of North Texas

Discussants: Helmut Norpoth, SUNY-Stony Brook  
Marianne C. Stewart, The University of Texas at Dallas

Panel 16 - 2

**BURNHAM 5**

**REGULATION AND DEREGULATION: STATE EXPERIENCES**

Chair: Roger Durand, University of Houston-Clear Lake

Papers: "The Death and Resurrection of Cal OSHA." Barbara Headrick, Texas A&M University

"The Politics of Intrastate Trucking Regulation." Paul Teske, Michael Minton, Sam Best and Clark Hubbard, SUNY at Stony Brook

"Cooperation in Deregulation of Interstate Banking." Andrew Skalaban, University of California, Davis, and Mark Somma, Texas Tech

Discussant: Roger Durand, University of Houston-Clear Lake

Panel 18 - 4

**CLARK 5**

**TARGETING THE WHITE HOUSE**

**SPONSORED BY POLITICAL SCIENTISTS FOR A PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Chair: James L. Hutter, Iowa State University

Papers: "Targeting the White House: The States Needed for Victory." James L. Hutter, Iowa State University

"Targeting the White House: Campaign Plan for Victory." John Fitzpatrick, American University

"Targeting the White House: The DNC and Nomination Reforms." Lawrence D. Longley, Lawrence University

Discussant: Fred R. Harris, University of New Mexico

## Thursday, April 9, 3:30-5:15 pm

Panel 1 - 2

**MONTROSE 7**

### **CHANGE IN EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

Chair: Donald Pienkos, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Papers: "The Disintegration of the Yugoslav State." Valerie J. Assetto, Colorado State University

"Privatization and Interest Articulation in Czechoslovakia." Josef Burger, University of Wisconsin-Waukesha

"The Emergence of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland." Donald Pienkos, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Institutional Change in Post-Revolutionary Romania." Trond Gilberg, Pennsylvania State University

Discussant: Roger Hamburg, Indiana University-South Bend

Panel 2 - 3

**SANDBURG 8**

### **GOVERNANCE AND AFRICAN POLITICAL CHANGE**

Chair: Louis A. Picard, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: "The Nature of Negotiations and the Politics of Transition in South Africa." Louis A. Picard, University of Pittsburgh

"Botswana: Model Democracy at a Crossroad." Marilyn E. Lashley, Washington State University

"The Tension Between Democracy and State Guided Development in Nigeria's Transition to Civilian Rule." William Reno, University of Wisconsin

"Impediments to Democracy in Nigeria." Agber Dimah, Aquinas College

Discussant: Tristan Borer, University of Notre Dame

Panel 3 - 3

**BURNHAM 2**

### **POSTMODERN READINGS OF GLOBAL CHANGE**

Chair: Diane Rubenstein, Purdue University

Papers: "Antidiplomacy: 1992 and After." James Der Derian, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Discourses of Disintegration/Texts of Transformation: Taking the Post-structuralist Road to Understanding Global Change." Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

"Reading Interventions and Spheres of Influence: Policing Panama." Cynthia Weber, Purdue University

Discussant: R.B.J. Walker, University of Victoria

Panel 4 - 3

**BURNHAM 4**

### **POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION**

Chair: Leonie Huddy, SUNY at Stony Brook

Papers: "Is a 'Revolution' a Critical Life Event? The Salience of Politics." Meredith Watts, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Political Trust, Efficacy, and Optimism Among Japanese and American Pre-Adults." Jack Dennis, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Toshikazu Aiuchi, Hokkaido University; and Jungil Gill, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Defining and Understanding Politics: A Re-examination of Adolescent Attitude Dimensions." Lynne E. Ford, College of Charleston, and Kathleen Dolan, Library of Congress

"Young vs. Old: Intergenerational Conflict in the Sunbelt." James Button and Walter Rosenbaum, University of Florida

Discussant: Leonie Huddy, SUNY at Stony Brook

Panel 4 - 10 **CLARK 10**

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### MODELING PUBLIC OPINION

Chair: William G. Jacoby, University of South Carolina

Papers: "Public Attitudes Toward Government Spending." William G. Jacoby, University of South Carolina

"A LISREL Model of Public Opinion on Abortion." Matthew E. Wetstein, Northern Illinois University

"From Outputs to Inputs: The Feedback of Budgetary Policy on Public Opinion." Christopher Wlezien, University of Houston

"The Impact of Partisanship and Metropolitan-Outstate Residence on Missouri Public Issue Votes During the 20th Century." David Leuthold, University of Missouri-Columbia, and William J. Ball, Trenton State College

Discussant: Kenneth A. Rasinksi, National Opinion Research Center

Panel 5 - 5

**DEARBORN 1**

### PATTERNS OF VOTER TURNOUT

Chair: Alan D. Monroe, Illinois State University

Papers: "Voter Turnout in U. S. Gubernatorial Elections, 1978-1990: A Pooled Analysis." Ronald E. Weber, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"The Effect of Registration Laws on Voting Participation: 1788-1988." Jerrold G. Rusk, William J. Dixon, University of Arizona

"The Impact of Candidate Variables on Voter Turnout in Louisiana's Judicial Elections." Olethia Davis, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"A Cultural Theory of Voting Turnout: A New Answer for an Old Problem." Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University

Discussant: Michael A. Maggiotto, Bowling Green State University

Panel 6 - 3 **DEARBORN 2**

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### THE STATE AND REPRODUCTIVE ISSUES

Chair: Ira Carmen, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Papers: "Reproductive 'Rights': Decisions Under Uncertainty in the Lottery of Life, The Case of the Self-



Obstructing Prerogative." Virgilio Rodriguez

"The Politics of Abortion in Louisiana After the Webster Decision." Christine L. Day, University of New Orleans

"What if Abortion were Illegal: Would the Public Support State Funded Alternatives?" Ellen M. Dran, Northern Illinois University, and James R. Bowers, St. John Fisher College

"The Impact of Gender: State Legislators and Abortion Policy." Patricia Bayer Richard, Ohio University

Discussant: Doris Jean Burton, Indiana University

Panel 7 - 3

PARLOR C

**CONTEMPORARY CITIZENSHIP AND THE THEORETICAL RESOURCES OF THE PAST**

Chair: William J. Meyer, University of Michigan-Flint

Papers: "Citizenship as a Discourse Between the Public and the Private: Hegel's Reading of 'Antigone'." Mary Wong, Drake University

"Liberal Citizenship and Ethnic Identity." Jeff Spinner, University of Michigan

"Thoreau's Theory of Individual Moral Obligation." Eric Olive, Indiana University

"Theoretical Issues in the Transformation of the Nation-State." William J. Meyer, University of Michigan-Flint

Discussant: Adolf Kirst-Gundersen, Texas A&M University

Panel 8 - 3

MONTROSE 3

**SOCIAL CHOICE AND ELECTORAL POLITICS**

Chair: Jeffrey Banks, University of Rochester

Papers: "Uncertainty and New Political Parties." Simon Hug, University of Michigan

"Deterring Strong Challengers: A Model of War Chests in Congressional Campaigns." David Epstein, Columbia University and Peter Zemsky, Stanford University

"Institutionally-Derived Stability: Cores in Two-Dimensional Voting Games." Cheryl L. Eavey and Gary J. Miller, Washington University

"A Fuzzy Set Model of Collective Decision Making." Gregory Sanjian, Bucknell University

Discussant: Jeffrey Banks, University of Rochester

Panel 9 - 2

DEARBORN 3

**POLITICAL PARTIES, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND THE MEDIA**

Chair: John Kessel, Ohio State University

Papers: "Coverage of the 1992 Primaries on Network and Cable Television." Matthew R. Kerbel, Villanova University

"Competition and Presidential Campaigns." John Geer, Arizona State University

"Parties, Candidates or Issues: Perceptions of the Presidential Campaign, 1900-1988." Jon K. Dalager, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"Local Press Coverage and Democracy in the 1988 Iowa Caucuses." Graham Ramsden, Creighton University

Discussants: John Kessel, Ohio State University  
Barbara Trish, Grinnell College

Panel 10 - 4

**MONTROSE 1**

**S&M AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: TESTING THE SABATIER/MAZMANIAN THEORY**

Chair: Rebecca Martin Hendrick, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Policy Implementation at the Local Level: Three Models of Administrative Decision Making." Carolyn Lea Clark-Daniels, Mississippi State University

"Implementing Family Planning Policies in the States: The Sabatier/Mazmanian Framework." Deborah R. McFarlane, University of New Mexico

"Administrative Challenges in Implementing Welfare Reform: The Learnfare Experiment in Wisconsin." Stephen L. Percy and Marcus Ethridge, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Implementation Analysis of Risk Communication Legislation." Thomas H. Hatfield, California State University-Northridge

Discussant: Paul A. Sabatier, University of California, Davis  
Charles J. Barrilleaux, University of New Orleans

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Panel 11 - 9 **BURNHAM 1**

**LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS: RUNNING AND RETIRING**

Chair: Richard Fleisher, Fordham University

Papers: "Excuses, Excuses: Congressional Adjournment Dates and Incumbency Return Rates, 1946-1990." L. Marvin Overby and Timothy B. Krebs, Loyola University of Chicago

"Congressional Retirement Decisions." D. Roderick Kiewiet and Langche Zeng, California Institute of Technology

"Unfastening the Electoral Connection: The Behavior of U.S. Representatives When Reelection is No Longer a Factor." Michael K. Moore and John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Discussant: Patrick Sellers, Duke University  
Christine DeGregorio, American University

Panel 12 - 1

**PARLOR F**

**BEHAVIORAL STUDIES OF THE MODERN SUPREME COURT**

Chair: Melinda Gann Hall, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Papers: "Interpretive Theory and Judicial Behavior on the Rehnquist Court, 1986-1990." John R. Rink, Washington College

"Opinion Assignment and Opinion Writing on the Warren, Burger, and Rehnquist Courts." Jeffrey A. Segal, SUNY at Stony Brook, and Harold J. Spaeth, Michigan State University

"Federalism and the Supreme Court." Richard C. Kearney, University of Connecticut, and

Reginald S. Sheehan, University of North Texas

"Subgroup Stability on the Rehnquist Court." John W. Winkle, III, and Kevin Axelrod, University of Southern California

Discussant: Lawrence Baum, The Ohio State University

Panel 13 - 2

**SANDBURG 3**

**THE EVOLUTION AND DYNAMICS OF STATE LEVEL INTEREST GROUPS**

Chair: Robert Huckfeldt, Indiana University

Papers: "Lobbyists and State Legislative Professionalization." Christopher Mooney, West Virginia University

"The Evolution of State Organized Interests in the 1990s." Virginia Gray, University of Minnesota, and David Lowery, University of North Carolina

"The Dynamics of Interest Group Mobilization." William DeSoto, Southwest Texas State University

"Politics and Professionals: Municipal Administrator Demand For Intergovernmental Lobbying." Patrick Donnay, Bemidji State University

Discussants: Michael Berkman, Pennsylvania State University  
John P. Fren dreis, Loyola University of Chicago

Panel 14 - 3

**SANDBURG 4**

**STRUCTURAL VARIATION IN URBAN GOVERNANCE**

Chair: James Zoetewey, Hope College

Papers: "Metropolitan Organization and Local Politics: The Indianapolis-Marion County Experience." William Blomquist, Indiana University, Indianapolis

"Metropolitan Reform in Grand Rapids." Glenn Barkan, Aquinas College

"The Impact of Political Structure Upon Public Policy in American Counties." Tari Renner, Duquesne University and Victor DeSantis, University of North Texas

"Solid Waste Disposal Districts in Indiana: New Political Movements and the Politics of Growth Regimes." Austin Works, Indiana University

Discussant: W. E. Lyons, University of Kentucky

Panel 15 - 3

**MONTROSE 2**

**CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CONGRESSIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY MAKING**

Chair: William Keech, University of North Carolina

Papers: "The Changing Meaning of Partisanship in House Voting on Trade Policy." Kyoungsan Pak, Yonsei University

"The Politics of Agricultural Policy Reform: The Case of the U.S. Sugar Program." Philip Grone, Staff of U.S. Representative Willis D. Gradison

"Where You Look Shapes What You See: Did The Tax Reform Act of 1986 Really Change Anything." James L. Curtis, Pennsylvania State University

**THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 3:30-5:15 pm**

**44**

Discussant: Paul Gehman, Temple University

Panel 16 - 3

**BURNHAM 5**

**PUBLIC POLICY AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

Chair: Joseph F. Coughlin, Boston University

Papers: "Does Federal Control Make a Difference? The Impact of New Federalism Initiatives on Clean Air Enforcement." Evan J. Ringquist, Texas Tech

"The Organizational Shield: How Culture and Values Influence Environmental Management." Anita Raturi, University of Cincinnati

"The Political Economy of Risk: Superfund Policy in the 1980's." John A. Hird, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Discussant: Joseph F. Coughlin, Boston University  
Robert V. Bartlett, Purdue University

Panel 18 - 5

**CLARK 5**

**TARGETING THE MIDWEST: A ROUNDTABLE**

**SPONSORED BY POLITICAL SCIENTISTS FOR A PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

Chair: John S. Jackson, III, Southern Illinois University

Panelists: David H. Everson, Sangamon State University  
Nancy H. Zingale, University of St. Thomas  
Robert H. Salisbury, Washington University  
Robert F. Sittig, University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
Morton Sipress, University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire

Thursday, April 9, 5:30 pm (tentative)

**GRAND BALLROOM**

**THE PI SIGMA ALPHA LECTURE:**

(To be announced)

Thursday, 6:00-8:00 pm

**UNIVERSITY OF IOWA RECEPTION**

**PDR 18**

**GAY AND LESBIAN CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE RECEPTION**

**PARLOR C**

Thursday, 7:00-9:00 pm

**UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN RECEPTION**

**PDR 17**

## Friday, April 10

Friday, 7:45-9:00 am

**MPSA/MWCPS MEETING WITH MIDWEST PH.D. CHAIRS**

**CRESTHILL 11**

**AJPS EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING**

**PARLOR E**

Friday, 8:00-9:15 am

**MIDWEST WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE  
BUSINESS MEETING**

**DEARBORN 2**

## Friday, April 10, 9:00-10:45 am

Panel 1 - 3

**MONTROSE 7**

**CHANGE IN JAPANESE POLITICS**

Chair: Steven R. Reed, University of Alabama

Papers: "Japan's Changing Political Culture." Scott C. Flanagan, Florida State University

"The Evaluation of Japanese Government Performance." John Creighton Campbell,  
University of Michigan

"The Evolution of Recruitment Patterns in Postwar Japan." Steven R. Reed, University of  
Alabama

Panel 2 - 4

**SANDBURG 8**

**ECONOMICS IN REFORM: ASIAN APPROACHES**

Chair: John Dadmun, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Decentralization and Disintegration: The Dilemma of Reform and Regionalism in China." Shitao  
Huo, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The State and Sectoral Development: The Semi-Conductor Industries in Taiwan and  
South Korea." Sung Gul Hong, Northwestern University

"State Policy and Dependent Development: The Taiwan Experience." Te-Yu Wang,  
Illinois State University

"Legal Mechanisms of Decentralization in China: Reform and Control." John Dadmun,  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 3 - 4

**BURNHAM 2**

**ETHNIC-NATIONALIST DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Chair: Martin Slann, Clemson University

Papers: "Diasporas and Their Influence on American Foreign Policy." Lynn Berat, Yale University and Yossi Shain, Middlebury College

"The Native American Movement and International Relations." Franke Hess, Montana State University

"Democracy and Democratization as a Possible Solution to Middle East/North African Ethnic Politics." Bernard Schechterman, University of Miami

"Theorizing about Ethnopolitics and International Politics." Joseph S. Joseph, University of Cyprus

Discussants: Martin Slann, Clemson University  
Charlie MacDonald, Florida International University

Panel 4 - 4

**BURNHAM 4**

**POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION AND INFORMATION**

Chair: Michael X. Delli Carpini, Barnard College

Papers: "Developing a Measure of Political Knowledge: Evidence from the 1991 National Election Study Pilot Survey." Michael X. Delli Carpini, Barnard College, and Scott Keeter, Virginia Commonwealth University

"Determinants of Mass Policy Preferences: The Comparative Impact of Substantive Information and Peripheral Cues." Jeffrey Mondak, University of Pittsburgh

"Viability, Decision Rules and Information Processing in Multi-Candidate Contests." Philip Paolino, Duke University

"The Effects of Information Presentation on Attitude Formation and Information Recall: An Experimental Study of Televised Congressional Hearings." Richard H. Marshall, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussant: Wendy M. Rahn, University of Wisconsin

Panel 5 - 4 **DEARBORN 1**

**CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT**

Chair: Lawrence D. Longley, Lawrence University

Papers: "Political Substance and the Primary Voter: Why 'Issues Matter' in Presidential Primaries." John H. Aldrich and R. Michael Alvarez, Duke University

"The Relationship between Spending and Vote Outcomes in Presidential Prenomination Contests." Audrey A. Haynes, Ohio State University, and Paul-Henri Gurian, University of Georgia

"Negative Voting in Presidential Elections: An Explanation of the Decline of the Coattail Effect." Michael M. Gant and Lilliard Richardson, University of Tennessee at Knoxville, and Richard W. Waterman, University of New Mexico

"Press Treatment of Presidential Front-Runners." Michael G. Hagen, Harvard University

Discussant: Wayne Parent, Louisiana State University

Panel 6 - 8

**CLARK 10**

**GENDER AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Chair: Sue Thomas, Georgetown University

Papers: "The Gender Gap in Comparative Perspective." Ted G. Jelen, Illinois Benedictine College and Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University

"Gender and Political Ideology in American Politics." Salvatore Lombardo, Siena College

"Woman and Development: A Case Study of Iran." Zoreh Ghavm Shahidi, University of Wisconsin at Whitewater

Discussant: MaryAnne Borrelli, Knox College  
Garth Katner, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Panel 7 - 9

**PARLOR C**

**REASSESSING MARX(ISM)**

Chair: Claudio Katz, Loyola University of Chicago

Papers: "Marx and the Logic of Social Theory: The Capitalist State." Ted W. Meckstroth, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Marx's Concept of Alienation Revisited." Craig C. Hagensick, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Althusser on Ideology: A Reassessment." Leonard Williams, Manchester College

Discussant: Peter Hayes, Iowa State University  
Jeffrey Isaac, Indiana University

Panel 7 - 11

**DEARBORN 3**

**PUBLIC POLICIES AND POLITICAL THEORIES**

Chair: Joe Bowersox, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Adam Smith and Environmental Ethics." John Barkdull and Denis Collins, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Natural Law and the Right to Die." Raymond A. Whiting, Augusta College

"Rawls and the Domestic Impact of the Nuclear Weapons Infrastructure." Douglas Prostorog, Purdue University

"Healing the World's Pain." Wade Sikorski

Discussant: Joe Bowersox, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 8 - 5

**MONTROSE 3**

**METHODS I**



Chair: James Stimson, University of Iowa

Papers: "Testing the Lucas Critique: The Use of Super Exogeneity Tests." Tim Amato, University of Rochester, and James Granato, Michigan State University

"Spatial Autocorrelation in Urban Contexts." Carol Kohfeld, University of Missouri and John Sprague, Washington University

"Testing the Symmetry Assumption of Nonlinear Models." Jonathan Nagler, Texas A&M University

Discussant: John Freeman, University of Minnesota

Panel 10 - 5

**MONTROSE 1**

**THE PRESIDENT AND WORLD CHANGE, 1992**

Chair: Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College

Papers: "Presidential Power After the Cold War." Ryan J. Barilleaux and Gary L. Gregg, Miami University

"The Conservative Presidency." John J. Harrigan, Hamline University

"Presidential Decision Making and the Political Use of Military Force." James Meernik, University of North Texas

"Access as Influence: Foreign Policy Advising in the Carter Administration." Michael W. Link, University of South Carolina

Discussant: David M. Barrett, Villanova University

Panel 11 - 3

**BURNHAM 1**

**INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS**

Chair: Thomas Kazee, Davidson College

Papers: "Casework, Incumbent Issue Positions, and Voting in Congressional Elections." George Serra and David Moon, University of Miami

"Things That Go Bump in the District: Partisanship, Contacting, and Electoral Payoffs, 1978-1990." Bradford S. Jones, SUNY at Stony Brook

"Repeat Challengers: Are They the Best Challengers Around?" W. R. Mack, Texas A&M University

Discussant: Victoria A. Farrar, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Panel 12 - 7

**PARLOR F**

**COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON JUDICIAL POLITICS**

Chair: Micheal W. Giles, Emory University

Papers: "Judicial Policy-Making in Comparative Perspective." Charles R. Epp, University of Wisconsin-

Madison

"Authoritarianism and Judicial Support of Government: The Marcos Regime." Stacia L. Haynie, Louisiana State University

"Court-Legislative Relations: The Policy Role of the Courts in Three American Governmental Systems." Mark C. Miller, Clark University

"International Influences on the Canadian Supreme Court." Shannon K. Smithey, The Ohio State University

Discussant: C. Neal Tate, University of North Texas

Panel 12 - 5

CLARK 5

### RESEARCH ON STATE COURTS

Chair: Susan Gluck Mezey, Loyola University of Chicago

Papers: "The California Supreme Court and the Death Penalty." Craig F. Emmert, University of Alabama and Carol Ann Traut, University of South Dakota

"The New Judicial Federalism and State Supreme Courts." Michael Esler, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

"Out of the Closets and Into the Courts: Should Abolishing Sodomy Statutes Be Pursued in Court or at the Legislature?" Chuck Smith, University of Kentucky

"The Impact of Amici Briefs in Southern Supreme Courts." Donald R. Songer and Ashlyn Kuersten, University of South Carolina

Discussant: Robert C. Bradley, Illinois State University

Panel 13 - 3

SANDBURG 3

### STATE ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

Chair: Robert M. Stein, Rice University

Papers: "Comparing Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections." Peverill Squire and Christine Fastnow, University of Iowa

"Media Coverage of State Elections." Thad Beyle and Pat Lynch, University of North Carolina

"Economic Effects Upon Incumbency Decisions: Gubernatorial Races, 1969-1987." Ronald Vogel, University of Rochester

Discussants: Frederick Zurcker, University of South Dakota  
Gerald Wright, Indiana University

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Panel 14 - 7 SANDBURG 4

### ROUNDTABLE ON POWER AND URBAN REGIMES CO-SPONSORED BY LEADERSHIP, AGENDA-MAKING, AND POWER (LAMP)

Chair: Bryan Jones, Texas A&M University

Panelists: Marion Orr, Brookings Institution and University of Maryland  
Douglas Rae, Yale University  
Paul Schumaker, University of Kansas

Clarence Stone, University of Maryland

Panel 16 - 4

**BURNHAM 5**

**EDUCATION POLICY IN THE AMERICAN STATES**

Chair: John Witte, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "State Variation in Education Reform Initiatives During the 1980's." Gail Sunderman, University of Chicago

"Autonomy Vs. Accountability: State Government Regulation of Higher Education." Paula L.W. Sabloff and Susan B. Hansen, University of Pittsburgh

"Why Efforts to Equalize School Finance Have Failed: A Political Economy Approach." Michael Mintrom, SUNY at Stony Brook

Discussant: Kenneth Wong, University of Chicago  
John Witte, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 18 - 6

**SANDBURG 2**

**LEGISLATIVE COALITIONS IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES  
SPONSORED BY THE CONFERENCE GROUP ON ITALIAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY**

Chair: Carol Mershon, Washington University

Papers: "The Strategy of Disagreement in Bargaining Between the Congress and the President." John Gilmour, Washington University

"The Emergence of Informal Rules in Coalition Formation." Carol Mershon and Barbara Salert, Washington University

"Equilibria in Weighted Voting Games in Two Dimensional Spaces." Itai Sened, Tel Aviv University

Discussant: George Tsebelis, University of California, Los Angeles

## Friday, April 10, 11:00-12:45 pm

Panel 1 - 4

**MONTROSE 7**

### **POSTMATERIALISM AND ENVIRONMENTALISM**

Chair: Donley T. Studlar, Oklahoma State University

Papers: "Postmaterialism and Environmental Activities in Western Europe." Debra Holzhauser, Purdue University

"Is Environmentalism Necessarily a Component of Postmaterialism?" Jerold L. Waltman, University of Southern Mississippi

"On the Durability of Green Politics: Evidence from the 1989 European Election Study." Mark N. Franklin, University of Houston, and Wolfgang Rudig, University of Strathclyde

"Post-Materialism and the Economic Condition." Raymond M. Duch and Michael A. Taylor, University of Houston

Discussant: Donley T. Studlar, Oklahoma State University

Panel 2 - 5

**SANDBURG 8**

### **INWARD AND OUTWARD ORIENTATIONS: A LOOK AT TRADE, RESTRUCTURING AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN DEVELOPING NATIONS**

Chair: Jeffrey Cason, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Political Performance and Economic Growth." David A. Leblang, Vanderbilt University

"Trade and Economic Orientation in Third World Countries." Gawdat Bahgat, Florida State University

"Privatization and Non-Privatization Paths to Public Sector Reform: The Case of Egypt." Sami Baroudi, Indiana University

"The Relationship Between the European Community and North Africa, 1957-1987: The International Context of Maghrebi Domestic Development." Gregory White, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: Jeffrey Cason, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 3 - 8

BURNHAM 2

**EXPLAINING CHOICE IN SOVIET AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

Chair: Joe D. Hagan, West Virginia University

Papers: "German Unification, Soviet Fragmentation: The New Challenges of Bipolarity's Demise." Steve D. Boilard, University of California, Santa Barbara

"A Nested Game Analysis of Soviet Crisis Behavior During the War Era." Marita Kaw, University of California, Riverside

"The Rise and Decline of the U.S. Military Activity in Central America." James Meernik, University of North Texas; Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., Michigan State University; and Sherry Quinones, Michigan State University

"Presidents, Politburos, and Pershings: The Role of Leader Perceptions in Arms Race Dynamics." Robert Duvall and Joe D. Hagan, West Virginia University

Discussants: Paul F. Diehl, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Patrick Haney, Indiana University

Panel 4 - 5

BURNHAM 4

**PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICAL VALUES**

Chair: Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Papers: "Individualistic Values in the American Public." Gregory Markus, University of Michigan

"Value Change and Partisan Realignment in the United States." Edward G. Carmines and Geoffrey C. Layman, Indiana University

"Abstract and Practical Conceptualizations of Good Citizenship: Consensus/Dissensus and the Nature of Attitude Structures." Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

"Citizenship and Ollie North." Amy Fried, Colgate University

Discussant: Stanley Feldman, SUNY at Stony Brook

Panel 4 - 11 SANDBURG 2

**MASS MEDIA AND POLITICS**

Chair: Silvo Lenart, Purdue University

Papers: "Ronald Reagan's 'Issue of the Day' Strategy and Differences in Its Impact on Television and the Print Media During the 1980 Election." Cary R. Covington, Kent Kroeger, Glenn Richardson, University of Iowa; and J. David Woodard, Clemson University

"Prestige Newspaper Coverage of Foreign Policy Issues in the 1990 Congressional Campaigns." Erika G. King and Robert A. Wells, Chatham College

"News Coverage and the Framing of the 1988 Presidential Nominating Campaign." Donna Pritchard Wasserman, University of Michigan

"Strategic Framing and the Presentation of the Self." Jeremy Wood, University of Michigan

Discussant: Silvo Lenart, Purdue University

Panel 5 - 3 DEARBORN 1

**PARTISAN CHANGE AND THE SIXTH PARTY SYSTEM**

Chair: Herbert F. Weisberg, Ohio State University

Papers: "Uncontested Congressional Elections and the Rise of Split-Ticket Voting, 1952-1988." James E. Campbell and Mark A. Baldwin, Louisiana State University

"Southern Partisan Changes, 1952-1990." Richard Nadeau, University of Montreal, and Harold W. Stanley, University of Rochester

"The Rise and Fall of Republican Fortunes in Southern Senate Races, 1980-1986," John P. Frensdreis and L. Marvin Overby, Loyola University of Chicago

Discussant: Robert S. Erikson, University of Houston

Panel 6 - 10

CLARK 5

**ROUNDTABLE: BLACK CONSERVATIVES AND NEOCONSERVATIVES: SEPARATING THE MYTHS FROM THE REALITY"**

Chair: Robert T. Starks, Northeastern Illinois University

Panelists: Aldon Morris, Northwestern University  
Frederick C. Harris, Northwestern University  
Donna Franklin, University of Chicago  
Barbara L. Graham, University of Missouri  
Betty Brown Chappel, University of Michigan

Panel 6 - 11

DEARBORN 2

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACE, ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN POLITICAL SETTINGS**

Chair: Berenice Carroll, Purdue University

Papers: "The Cuban American Enclave and the Construction of Ethnicity." Louis Desipio and James Henson, University of Texas at Austin

"A Dream Deferred: The Aborted Efforts of the Parliamentary Black Caucus." Charles E. Jones, Old Dominion University

"Women in the Illinois State Legislature: Advocates for Women's Issues?" Barbara L. Poole, Eastern Illinois University

Discussant: Sally Friedman, SUNY at Albany

Panel 7 - 5

PARLOR C

**RELIGION, SKEPTICISM, AND TOLERATION IN EARLY MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Chair: Patrick Riley, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Hobbes's Attack on Aristotle and His Treatment of the Bible." Paul D. Cooke, Harvard University

"Secularization and Toleration in the Political Philosophy of Pierre Bayle." Kenneth R. Weinstein, Hudson Institute

"Skepticism and Anti-Skepticism in David Hume's Political Thoughts." Dana Chabot, University of Minnesota

Discussant: Patrick Riley, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 8 - 4

MONTROSE 3

**INTEREST GROUPS AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS**

Chair: Brian Roberts, University of Texas at Austin

Papers: "Long Term Investment in Politicians." James Snyder, University of Chicago

"Campaign Contributions and Intercandidate Transfers: A Simultaneous Equations Analysis." Jay Dow, University of Texas at Austin

"Persistence and Evolution in the Market for Senate Campaign Contributions, 1978-1990." Robert Cull, California Institute of Technology

"The Logic of Collective PACs: Trade Association Campaign Contributions." James Endersby, University of Missouri

Discussant: Brian Roberts, University of Texas at Austin

Panel 9 - 4

DEARBORN 3

**LOBBYING AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS**

Chair: Richard L. Hall, University of Michigan

Papers: "Lobbying Legislative Allies." Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia and Itai Sened, Tel-Aviv University

"Lobbying for Private, Process, and Collective Goods." Ken Godwin and Nancy Kucinski, University of North Texas

"Counteractive Lobbying." David Austen-Smith, University of Rochester, and John R. Wright, University of Iowa

Discussants: David Austen-Smith, University of Rochester  
Richard L. Hall, University of Michigan

Panel 10 - 6

MONTROSE 1

**BUREAUCRACY, REGULATION, AND POLITICAL POWER**

Chair: Paul Quirk, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Papers: "Maintaining Competition and Protecting Consumers: Politics and Economic Policymaking at the Federal Trade Commission." B. Dan Wood and James E. Anderson, Texas A&M University

"Consensus Building and Bureaucratic Control Within the Federal Reserve System." George A. Krause, West Virginia University

"Agency Professionalization and Policy Change: The Case of the FTC." Marc Allen Eisner, Wesleyan University

"The Mechanics of Executive Control over Regulatory Agencies." Daniel P. Carpenter, University of Chicago

Discussant: Kenneth J. Meier, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee  
Roger Durand, University of Houston-Clear Lake

Panel 11 - 4

**BURNHAM 1**

**THE EVOLUTION OF CONGRESS: DIACHRONIC ANALYSES**

Chair: Rick K. Wilson, Rice University

Papers: "The Twentieth Century Senate." Sara Brandes Crook, Peru State College

"Electoral Forces and Institutional Change in the United States House of Representatives: Two Case Studies." Brian D. Humes and Evelyn C. Fink, University of Nebraska

"Committee Tenure and Electoral Accountability: Reexamining The Seniority Norm." Jonathan Katz and Brian Sala, University of California, San Diego

"A Partisan Theory of Procedural Change: Creation of Minority Rights in the House, 1789-1991." Sarah Binder, University of Minnesota

Discussant: Patricia A. Hurley, Texas A&M University

Panel 11 - 10

**CLARK 10**

**ISSUES IN LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH: LEADERSHIP, COMPETITION, AND REDISTRICTING**

Chair: Sarah M. Morehouse, University of California, Berkeley and University of Connecticut

Papers: "The Effects of Leadership Position on Electoral Outcomes in State Legislative Races." Thomas Holbrook, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, and Charles Tidmarch, Union College

"Comparing Leadership Styles in Congress and States Legislatures." Malcolm Jewell, University of Kentucky, and Marcia Lynn Whicker, Rutgers University

"Temporal Competition in State Legislative Districts Between Apportionments." Norman R. Luttbeg and Samuel Hudson, Texas A&M University

"Decision Models of the Congressional Redistricting Process." Donald Ostdiek, University of North Carolina

Discussant: Anthony Gierzynski, Northern Illinois University

Panel 12 - 10

**PARLOR F**

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW**

Chair: Richard L. Pacelle, Jr., University of Missouri-St. Louis



Papers: "Privacy in Decline: A Conceptual Analysis." Patricia Ann Boling, Illinois Wesleyan University

"Wither Religious Free Exercise." Gregg Ivers, The American University

"Civil Liberties, the Modern Court, and Public Opinion." Thomas R. Marshall, University of Texas at Arlington

"The National Endowment for the Arts Controversy: Freedom of Expression Censored." Martha T. Zingo, Oakland University

Discussant: Gayle Binion, University of California, Santa Barbara

Panel 13 - 4

**SANDBURG 3**

**CAMPAIGN FINANCING IN THE STATES**

Chair: Diane Blair, University of Arkansas

Papers: "The Circulation of Political Money in Illinois Legislative Elections." Kent D. Redfield and Jack Van der Slik, Sangamon State University

"Public Finance Laws and Competition in State Races" Margaret Gust, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

"A Comparison of National and State Political Action Committees." James King, Memphis State University, and Helenan Robin, Western Michigan University

Discussant: Frank Sorauf, University of Minnesota

Panel 14 - 2

**SANDBURG 4**

**GENDER, RACE, AND PARTY IN URBAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**

Chair: Lois Lovelace Duke, Clemson University

Papers: "New Evidence Regarding Citizen Cognition of Local Government." Timothy Bledsoe, Wayne State University and Gerry Stoker, Strathclyde University

"Racial Polarization and Strategic Voting in Detroit Municipal Elections, 1957-1989." Mary Herring and John Forbes, Wayne State University

"Race and Party in Elections with Black Candidates." Thomas Carsey and Robert Huckfeldt, Indiana University

Discussants: Lorn Foster, Pomona College  
James Vanderleeuw, Lamar University

Panel 15 - 1

**MONTROSE 2**

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEMOCRACY AND MARKETS: A ROUNDTABLE ON THEORY AND METHOD**

Chair: James Alt, Harvard University

Panelists: John Freeman, University of Minnesota  
Adam Przeworski, University of Chicago  
Barry Ames, Washington University

Panel 16 - 5 **BURNHAM 5**

**POLICY BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY**

Chair: Barry Rundquist, University of Illinois at Chicago

Papers: "Land of the Free: Fee Increases and the National Parks." William R. Lowry, Washington University

"Partisanship and Institutions in the Budgetary Process." Kathleen A. Kemp and Stephanie Lee, Florida State University

"Congressional Policy-Making: The Case of Air Pollution." Lucy Drotning, University of Rochester

Discussant: Barry Rundquist, University of Illinois at Chicago

Panel 17 - 3

**SANDBURG 6**

**ROUNDTABLE ON THE ROLE OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS IN HIGHER EDUCATION**

Chair: Charles Walcott, VPI & SU

Panelists: Bruce Oppenheimer, University of Houston  
Dennis Simon, Southern Methodist University  
William Tolone, Illinois State University  
Nancy S. Lind, Illinois State University

Panel 18 - 3

**SANDBURG 7**

**WOMEN IN THE JUDICIAL PROFESSION**

**SPONSORED BY THE WOMEN'S MIDWEST CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Chair: Martin Gruberg, University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh

Papers: "Gender Bias in the Courtroom: A Comparison of Male and Female Judges." Karen O'Connor, Emory University, and Amy Weinhaus

"Entering the Judicial Profession: A Comparison of Access in Electoral and Appointive Systems." Barbara J. Hayler, Sangamon State University

"Women in the Judiciary: Does it Change Anything?" Judge Janine P. Geske, Milwaukee

"Justice O'Connor and the Equal Protection Clause." Jilda M. Aliotta, University of Hartford

Discussants: Liane C. Kosaki, Washington University  
M.C. Porter

Friday, 12:45-2:00 pm

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTIES EXECUTIVE COUNCIL LUNCH

**PARLOR E**

Friday, April 10, 2:00-3:45 pm

Panel 1 - 6

MONTROSE 7

**ELECTIONS AND REPRESENTATION**

Chair: Shrikant Dash, Vanderbilt University

Papers: "Voter Choice and the Mandate for Reform in Post-Communist Eastern Europe." Alexander C. Pacek, Texas A&M

"Party, Party Disaffection, and Tactical Voting." Nitish Dutt, University of Alaska-Fairbanks and Euel Elliott, University of Texas at Dallas

"Bringing About Correspondence Between Citizens and Policymakers: A Test of Two Visions of Democracy." John D. Huber, Ohio State University, and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., University of Rochester

"Left-Right Orientations of Party Election Programs in Modern Democracies: Some Unanticipated Findings." Sean Blinn and Richard I. Hofferbert, SUNY-Binghamton

Discussant: Shrikant Dash, Vanderbilt University

Panel 2 - 6

SANDBURG 8

**THE CHALLENGE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF REGIMES**

Chair: Gretchen Casper, Texas A&M University

Papers: "Soft Landings versus Hard Crashes: A Cross-Regional Test of Regime Collapse." Randolph Stevenson, University of Rochester, Gretchen Casper, Texas A&M University

"Social Movement Organizations and Democratic Transitions: South Korea 1980-1987." Chulhee Chung, SUNY, Buffalo

"Current Political Change in China: A Transition from Totalitarianism to Authoritarianism." Jie Chen, Teikyo Loretto Heights University

"Modes of Transition and Their Legacies: Chile's Transition from Authoritarian Rule in Comparative Perspective." Gerardo Munck, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussant: Cecilia G. Manrique, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

Panel 3 - 7

BURNHAM 2

**INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE POLITICS OF INTERDEPENDENCE**

Chair: Vincent A. Mahler, Loyola University of Chicago

Papers: "The Formation of the Oil Tanker Pollution Regime: Case of Institutional Bargaining." John Barkdull, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Analyzing International Networks: A New Look at Cooperation in International Relations." Chetan Kumar, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"Cooperation and Discord in International Environmental Politics: The Impact of International and Domestic Factors on the Regulation of Transboundary Acid in Europe."

Detlef Sprinz, University of Michigan

"Domestic Priorities and European Imperatives: A Comparative Study of Farm Policy in France and Germany." Imtiaz Hussain, Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science

Discussant: Vincent A. Mahler, Loyola University of Chicago  
Karl Christian Kaltenthaler, Washington University

Panel 4 - 7

**BURNHAM 4**

**EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE SOURCES OF POLITICAL JUDGMENTS**

Chair: Ellen D. Riggle, University of Kentucky

Papers: "Mood and Tolerance: Self-Regulation in Political Judgments." Ellen D. Riggle, Todd G. Shields, and Alan L. Ellis, University of Kentucky

"The Politics of Racial Resentment: An Experimental Investigation." Tali Mendelberg, University of Michigan

"For What and to Whom?" The Influence of Race, Economic Hardship, and Core Beliefs on Attributions of Political Responsibility" David Moskowitz, Georgia Southern University

"The Framing of the Abortion Issue: Core Values, Value Conflict and Attitude Strength." Frauke Schnell, SUNY at Stony Brook

Discussant: Jon Krosnick, Ohio State University

Panel 5 - 6

**DEARBORN 1**

**PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION**

Chair: M. Margaret Conway, University of Florida

Papers: "Representation in America: Opinions, Wants, Needs and Political Participation". Sidney Verba, Harvard University, Kay L. Schlozman, Boston College, Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley, and Norman H. Nie, University of Chicago

"Attitudes, Incentives and Opportunities in Political Participation." Jan E. Leighley, Texas A&M University

"Turning American Politics Inside-Out." Charles C. Euchner, College of the Holy Cross

Discussant: Marianne C. Stewart, University of Texas at Dallas

Panel 6 - 5 **SANDBURG 6**

**RACE AND ETHNICITY IN PUBLIC URBAN POLICY**

Chair: Wayne Parent, Louisiana State University

Papers: "A Case Study of Police Brutality: Philadelphia MOVE." Suzanne Ife Williams, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"The Resolution of an 'Urban Crisis': Racial Transformation in Postwar Detroit." Jeffrey Edwards, Roosevelt University

"The Policy Preferences of Ethnic Minorities in the 1990s." Lorn Foster, Pomona College

"Gender and Ethnicity as Correlates of Responsiveness Toward Agency Clientele: An Analysis of Administrative Attitudes." Cassie Osborne and Bruce Rose, Kentucky State University, and Manindra K. Mohapatra, Indiana State University

**FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 2:00-3:45 pm**

**61**

Discussants: Jerry D. Stubben, Iowa State University  
Byran Jackson, California State University, Los Angeles

Panel 7 - 6

**PARLOR C**

**ROUSSEAU, GENDER, AND THE CANON**

Chair: Mary Lou Kendrigan, Lansing Community College

Papers: "The Nexus of Gender and Politics: A Comparison of Rousseau's 'La Nouvelle Heloise' and Stael's 'Corrine'." Lori Marso, University of South Dakota

"Claire Loves Julie: Reading 'La Nouvelle Heloise' as a Story of Women's Friendship and Resistance." Lisa Disch, University of Minnesota

Discussant: Patricia Ann Boling, Illinois Wesleyan University  
Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University

Panel 8 - 6

**MONTROSE 3**

**METHODS II**

Chair: Christopher Achen, University of Michigan

Papers: "An Application of Linear Programming to Ecological Inference." William Claggett, Florida State University, and J. Van Wingen

"Attitudes, No Opinions and Guesses." John Jackson, University of Michigan

"Respondent Variation in Measurement Error." Harvey Palmer, University of Rochester

"The Asymmetric Impact of Economic Expectations on Macropartisanship: Estimating an Error Correction Model." Robert Durr, University of Iowa

Discussant: Larry Bartels, Princeton University

Panel 9 - 5

**DEARBORN 3**

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND MOBILIZATION**

Chair: Valerie Martinez, University of North Texas

Papers: "Social Movements and the Politics of Constraint." Andrew Marchant-Shapiro, Union College

"The Context of Individual Participation: Conflict as a Mobilizing Resource." Anne Hildreth, Martin B. Shaffer, and Daniel M. Shea, SUNY at Albany

Discussants: Michelle Brophy-Baermann, University of Iowa  
Valerie Martinez, University of North Texas

Panel 10 - 8

**MONTROSE 1**

**CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESIDENCY**

Chair: Fred W. Zuercher, University of South Dakota

Papers: "Exploring the 'Two Presidencies' Phenomenon: New Evidence from the Truman Administration."

Karen Toombs Parsons, Mary Washington College

"The Presidential Veto Decision: An Investment Calculation." Jason Myers, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"The Two Presidencies Thesis--Fact or Artifact?" James M. Lindsay and Wayne P. Steger, University of Iowa

Discussants: Frank Kessler, Missouri Western State College  
Wynne Moskop, Saint Louis University

Panel 11 - 5

**BURNHAM 1**

**CONGRESS AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY: THE OLD AND NEW WORLD ORDER**

Chair: Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University

Papers: "Three Generations in Congressional Defense Politics." David L. Nixon and Rebekah Herrick, Oklahoma State University

"Legislative and Bureaucratic Interaction on Trade Policy Decision Making." Wendy L. Hansen and Yu Lu, SUNY at Stony Brook

"Congress and the Defense Budget: Possibilities of Change in the New World Order." Roger Handberg and Robert L. Bledsoe, University of Central Florida

"An Empirical Test of the Defense Subgovernment Theory, 1960-1986." Karl R. DeRouen and Clay D. Hanks, Texas A&M University

Discussant: Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University  
Daniel S. Ward, Rice University

Panel 12 - 2

**PARLOR F**

**THE SUPREME COURT AND ITS JUSTICES**

Chair: Gregory A. Caldeira, The Ohio State University

Papers: "Rating the Justices: Lessons From Another Court." Lee Epstein, Washington University-St.Louis, Tracey E. George, Stanford University, Micheal W. Giles and Thomas Walker, Emory University

"Freshman and Court Effects for Justices of the Supreme Court." Timothy M. Hagle and Carolyn I. Speer, University of Iowa

"Justice Souter and the Rehnquist Court's Conservative Revolution." Thomas R. Hensley, Kent State University

"The Judicial Odyssey of Harry Blackmun: The Dynamics of Individual Level Change on the U.S. Supreme Court." Joseph F. Kobylka, Southern Methodist University

Discussant: Kevin T. McGuire, University of Minnesota

Panel 13 - 5

**SANDBURG 3**

**DIVIDED GOVERNMENT IN THE STATES**

Chair: Lois Lovelace Duke, Clemson University

Papers: "Mixed Government and Reapportionment." Michael Fine and Richard Clucas, University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire

"Divided Government in the U.S. States." Brian P. Smentkowski, University of Kentucky

"An Analysis of the Political Determinants of Government." Sungeun Choi, Purdue University

Discussant: R. Steven Daniels, University of Alabama-Birmingham

Panel 14 - 5

**SANDBURG 4**

**EMPOWERMENT AND RESPONSIVENESS IN URBAN AREAS**

Chair: Marshall R. Goodman, University of Cincinnati

Papers: "Going Along and Getting More? Distributive Politics in Chicago's City Government." Rowan A. Miranda and Ittipone Tunyauong, University of Illinois at Chicago

"Tenant Management in Public Housing Projects." Leda McIntyre Hall, Indiana University at South Bend, and Richard Hula, Michigan State University

"Empowerment of the Poor: Old Wine in New Bottles?" Mattie Olion Chandler, Cleveland State University

Discussants: Annie Johnson Benifield, University of New Orleans  
Laura A. Reese, Eastern Michigan University

Panel 15 - 5

**MONTROSE 2**

**POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE: CROSSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES**

Chair: Duane Swank, Marquette University

Papers: "The Dynamics of Trade Unionism and National Economic Performance." Miriam Golden, University of California, Los Angeles

"Constraints on Economic Transformations in Eastern Europe and Prospects for Neo-Corporatist Solutions." Richard A. Hall, Indiana University

"Encompassing Groups and Economic Development: A Test of the Mancur Olson Thesis in Six Countries." Paul Culhane and Mahnaz Fatima, Northern Illinois University

"Workfare in Comparative Perspective." George Tsebelis and Roland Stephens, University of California, Los Angeles

Discussant: Dwayne Swank, Marquette University

Panel 16 - 6

**BURNHAM 5**

**PUBLIC POLICY IN THE NEW DEAL AND PROGRESSIVE ERAS**

Chair: Eileen L. McDonagh, Northeastern University

Papers: "Public Policy-Making Between the "Big Bang" Progressive and New Deal Periods." Ruth O'Brien, University of Denver

"Agenda Setting vs. the Autonomous State in the New Deal." Julie Soboleski, College of St. Francis

"Determinants of Labor Union Membership in the U.S., 1887-1990." James Lindeen, University of Toledo

Discussant: Eileen L. McDonagh, Northeastern University

Panel 17 - 1 **CLARK 10**

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**ROUNDTABLE ON THE ELECTION OF GOVERNING BOARDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION**

Chair: Samuel K. Gove, University of Illinois

Panelists: R. Daniel Sloan, University of Colorado  
Charles Press, Michigan State University  
Robert Miewald, University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
Peter Longo, University of Nebraska at Kearney  
Leonard Goodall, University of Nevada • Las Vegas  
David Adamany, Wayne State University  
Carla Curley, Wayne State University  
Richard T. Ingram, Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges,  
Washington, DC  
Nina Shepherd, University of Illinois Board of Trustees

Panel 18 - 2

**CLARK 5**

**A ROUNDTABLE ON RECRUITMENT AND ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN FACULTY  
CO-SPONSORED BY THE MIDWEST WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE AND  
THE MPSA COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION**

Chair: Ardith Maney, Iowa State University

Panelists: Janet K. Boles, Marquette University  
Charles O. Jones, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Randall Ripley, Ohio State University  
Gertrude Steuernagel, Kent State University  
Susan Welch, Pennsylvania State University  
Lettie M. Wenner, Northern Illinois University

Panel 18 - 9

**SANDBURG 2**

**REASON, LAW, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR JUSTICE  
SPONSORED BY THE SOCIETY FOR GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Chair: Mary P. Nichols, Fordham University

Papers: "Hope, Fear, and the Power of Reason: The Speech of Hermokrates at Gela." Clifford Orwin, University of Toronto/University of Chicago

"Aristotle on How To Preserve a Regime: Maintaining Precedent, the Private, and Peace Through the Rule of Law." Judith A. Swanson, Boston University

Discussants: Mary P. Nichols, Fordham University  
Laurie Johnson, Kansas State University  
Catherine Zuckert, Carleton College



Panel 19-2

**RED LACQUER ROOM (4TH FLOOR)**

**ROUNDTABLE ON "GETTING YOUR FIRST JOB IN POLITICAL SCIENCE"**

Chair: John P. Frenreis, Loyola University Chicago

Panelists: Mary Ann Steger, Northern Arizona University  
Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University  
Robert M. Stein, Rice University  
Carol Kohfeld, University of Missouri-St. Louis

**POLICY STUDIES ORGANIZATION BUSINESS MEETING**

**BURNHAM 3**

Friday, April 10, 4:00-5:30 pm

**PLENARY SESSION:**

**1992 AND WORLD CHANGE**

Moderator: Thomas Mann  
The Brookings Institution

Participants:

I. M. Destler  
University of Maryland

Catherine Kelleher  
University of Maryland

Norman Ornstein  
American Enterprise Institute

E. J. Dionne  
The Washington Post

**RED LACQUER ROOM  
(4TH FLOOR)**

**Friday, 5:30-6:30 pm**

**Annual Business Meeting**

**Best Paper Awards**

**Ceremony Honoring Past Presidents**

**RED LACQUER ROOM**

**Friday, 6:30-8:00 pm**

**President's Reception**

**RED LACQUER ROOM**

Friday, 6:30-8:30 pm

**MIDWEST WOMEN'S CAUCUS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE AND  
MPSA COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN RECEPTION**

**PDR 16**

**INDIANA UNIVERSITY RECEPTION**

**PDR 18**

**UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA RECEPTION**

**PDR 17**

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS RECEPTION**

**PARLOR F**

## Saturday, April 11

Saturday, 8:00-9:00 am

**MPSA NEW COUNCIL MEETING**

**CRESTHILL 11**

Saturday, 8:30-5:00 pm

**APSA COUNCIL MEETING**

**PARLOR F**

## Saturday, April 11, 9:00-10:45 am

Panel 1 - 7

**MONTROSE 7**

**COMPARATIVE POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS**

Chair: Joel Jenswold, Oklahoma State University

Papers: "Local Democracy and Innovation in Eastern Europe." Terry Nichols Clark, University of Chicago

"Consolidation of Civil Society in Post-Communist Regimes: Mobilization and Institutionalization in Russia and East Central Europe." Marcia A. Weigle, Hoover Institution and University of Notre Dame

"Bringing the Society Back In? A Comparative Study of State and Civil Society in China and Hungary." Yangi Tong, University of Utah

"Evolution of the Lithuanian Communist Party Toward Democracy." Julius Smulkstys, Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

Discussant: Joel Jenswold, Oklahoma State University

Panel 2 - 7

**SANDBURG 8**

**SOCIAL ACTORS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN DEVELOPING NATIONS**

Chair: Jin Young Kim, Syracuse University

Papers: "The Bhartiya Janata Party and the Revival of Hinduism in India." Nita Rudra and Renu Khator, University of South Florida

"Variations in Women's Politicization in Korea and Hungary." Aierie Lee, Texas Tech University

"An Oligopolistic Approach to Alliance: Alliance Formation, Size, and Burden Sharing Problem." Young-Bae Hwang, Vanderbilt University

Discussant: Stephen F. Burgess, Vanderbilt University

Panel 3 - 6

**BURNHAM 2**

**NATIONAL RESPONSES TO THE EXPANDING EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY**

Chair: Christine Barbour, Indiana University

Papers: "In Response to EEC 1992: State Industrial Policy within the Context of the 'New Regionalism.'" Richard J. Chasdi, Purdue University

"The Swedish Welfare State and Europe 1992: Politics against Markets?" Christine Ingebritsen, Cornell University

"The Norwegian Debate over Europe: The Periphery Revolts...Again." Brent F. Nelsen, Furman University

"Policy Compliance within the European Community." Christine Barbour, Indiana University

Discussant: Paul Sharp, University of Minnesota-Duluth

Panel 4 - 6

**BURNHAM 4**

**COGNITIVE BASES OF POLITICAL JUDGMENTS**

Chair: Gregory A. Diamond, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Papers: "Political Candidate Evaluation in Complex Information Environments: Cognitive Organization and Memory Processes." Wendy M. Rahn, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The Relation Between Attitude Importance and Knowledge Structure." Matthew Berent and Jon Krosnick, Ohio State University

"Political Stereotyping and the Perceptions of Politicians." Joseph Cammarano, Syracuse University

Discussant: Gregory A. Diamond, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Panel 5 - 7

**DEARBORN 1**

**MEDIA EFFECTS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS**

Chair: Susan Herbst, Northwestern University

Papers: "Turnout, Outcomes, and Media Markets: The Impact of Newspaper Competition." Jan P. Vermeer, Nebraska Wesleyan University

"Mandates in the Media: Interpretations of 'Mandate' in 1984 Presidential Election Coverage." Marjorie Randon Hershey, Indiana University

"Media, Momentum and Money: Effects of Media Coverage on Contributors to the 1988 Democratic Presidential Nominees." Diana C. Mutz, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Reading, Watching and Voting: The Direct Effects of Mass Media on the Voting Decision, 1972-1988." Kevin B. Smith, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Discussant: Susan Herbst, Northwestern University

Panel 6 - 1

**DEARBORN 2**

**UNDERSTANDING VARIATIONS IN THE ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF WOMEN**

Chair: Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University

Papers: "An Experimental Examination of the Impact of News Coverage and Sex Stereotypes on Evaluations of Women Candidates for Statewide Office." Kim Fridkin Kahn, Arizona State University

"Gender, Religion and Electoral Success." Albert J. Nelson, University of Wisconsin at La Crosse

"An Ecological Analysis of Bias in the Electoral Process: Mass Attitudes and Voting Behavior Toward Female Candidates." Brian L. Werner, Washington University

"European Electoral Structures and Women's Political Participation: A Comparative Study in the Federal Republic of Germany." Thomas D. Lancaster and Rebecca Davis, Emory University

Discussants: Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University  
Ted G. Jelen, Illinois Benedictine College

Panel 7 - 7

PARLOR C

### INTERPRETING ARENDT

Chair: Suzanne Jacobitti, Southern Illinois University

Papers: "Modernity and Politics in Heidegger and Arendt." Karen Slawner, University of Notre Dame

"The Turn Away from Heidegger: Arendt Between Past and Future." Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University

"Is Thinking Like Acting?" Jennifer Ring, University of South Carolina

"Building Socialism: Hannah Arendt, Bolshevism and the Project of Foundation." Robert C. Mayer, Loyola University of Chicago

Discussant: Suzanne Jacobitti, Southern Illinois University

Panel 8 - 7

MONTROSE 3

### METHODS III

Chair: Larry Bartels, Princeton University

Papers: "Voting Research as a Theoretical Enterprise." Christopher Achen, University of Michigan

"Why Are Election Polls So Variable When Election Outcomes Are So Predictable?" Gary King, Harvard University

"The Political Economy of Growth, Nonconstitutional Rule, and Leadership Succession." John Londregan, Princeton University, and Keith T. Poole, Carnegie-Mellon University

Discussant: James Stimson, University of Iowa

Panel 9 - 6

DEARBORN 3

### POLITICAL PARTIES, ELITES, AND CANDIDATE ORGANIZATIONS

Chair: John A. Clark, University of Georgia

Papers: "Party Integration in the U.S." Barbara Trish, Grinnell College

"Maverick Mayor: Henry Maier and the Democratic Party." Martin Gruberg, University of

Wisconsin at Oskosh

"Defining Political Elites." Richard Herrera, Arizona State University

"Conflict Over a Research Division for the Democratic National Committee During the Truman Administration." Sean Savage, Saint Mary's College

Discussants: Anthony Gierzynski, Northern Illinois University  
John A. Clark, University of Georgia

Panel 10 - 9

**MONTROSE 1**

**NEOINSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO BUREAUCRACY**

Chair: Jack Knott, Michigan State University

Papers: "Trunions in the Phantom Ring: An Iconography of Power in the U.S. Navy 1905-1941." Donald Chisholm, University of California, Los Angeles

"Toward a Theory of Bureaucratic Structure and Policy Innovation: Problems and Prospects." James A. Desveaux, Texas A&M University

"Applying Organizational Theory to the Government." Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin

"Administrative Errors and Bureaucratic Structure: Toward a General Theory of Organizational Reliability." Clarence F. Heimann, Michigan State University

Discussant: Lucinda K. McKinney, Southern Illinois University

Panel 11 - 6

**BURNHAM 1**

**PARTY AND IDEOLOGY IN THE LEGISLATIVE ARENA**

Chair: David Rohde, Michigan State University

Papers: "Partisanship and Deficits: Is There a Relationship?" Daniel J. Palazzolo and Andrew O. Rich, University of Richmond

"Abortion: Partisan Changes in Congress." Greg D. Adams, University of Iowa

"Conservative Policy Success in the United States Congress: A Longitudinal Analysis of Alternative Measures." Mack Shelley, Iowa State University

"Attitudinal Dimensions of Legislative Partisanship". Jonathan P. Euchner, Winthrop College

Discussant: Jason Myers, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Panel 11 - 11

**CLARK 5**

**CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE EMERGENCE**

Chair: Linda Fowler, Syracuse University

Papers: "A Formula for Candidate Uncertainty: Creating a Majority Black District." David Canon, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Patrick Sellers and Matthew M. Schousen, Duke University

"Playing Musical Chairs in Iowa's Fourth Congressional District." John Haskell, Drake University

"Challenging a 'Safe' Incumbent: Risk-Taking in North Carolina's Ninth District." Thomas Kazez, Davidson College, and Susan Roberts, Furman University

Discussants: Linda Fowler, Syracuse University  
Bruce Oppenheimer, University of Houston

Panel 12 - 3

**CLARK 10**

**THE DYNAMICS OF SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENTS: STUDIES IN ADVICE AND CONSENT**

Chair: Patricia Pauly, University of Kentucky

Papers: "The Supreme Court Justice Nomination Process During the Reagan Era: A Study in Political Game Controversy." Victoria A. Farrar, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"The Senate's Investigation of Nominees to the Supreme Court: Changing Confirmation Criteria?" Frank Guliuzza, Weber State University, David M. Barrett, Villanova University, and Daniel Reagan, Ball State University

"Towards a Theory of Interest Group Activity in Supreme Court Nominations: Tactics, Intensity, and Efficacy." Steven R. Van Winkle, The Ohio State University

"Alternative Models of Supreme Court Nomination Voting in the Senate." Herbert F. Weisberg, The Ohio State University, John D. Felice, University of New Orleans, and Leo Hennessy, The Ohio State University

Discussant: Jeffrey A. Segal, SUNY at Stony Brook

Panel 13 - 6

**SANDBURG 3**

**STATE AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Chair: Keith E. Hamm, Rice University

Papers: "Local Government Decisions: Land Use Regulation and Rural Economic Growth." David McLaughlin, Northwest Missouri State University

"Changing Nature of State Economic Development Policymaking." Margery Ambrosius, Kansas State University

"WARN and the States: Implementation of the Federal Plant Closing Law." John Portz, Northeastern University

"Local Regimes and State Government Roles in Rural Economic Development: The Case of Illinois." Richard Wandling, Eastern Illinois University

Discussant: Kenneth Bickers, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 15 - 6

**MONTROSE 2**

**THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT: PERSPECTIVES FROM OPPOSITE ENDS OF THE RELATIONSHIP**

Chair: Gary Zuk, Auburn University

Papers: "A Dualistic Approach to International Sovereignty: Financial Dependency vs. Political Independence." Gary J. Sugarman, Loyola University of Chicago

"An Evaluation of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation." Larry J. Summary and Rebecca M. Summary, Southeast Missouri State University



"The Politics of Capital Flight in the Third World." Farshad Rezazadeh-Maltes, Platteville, WI

Discussant: Michael Budde, Auburn University

Panel 16 - 7 **BURNHAM 5**

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**VALUES, THEORY, AND PUBLIC POLICY**

Chair: Edward B. Portis, Texas A&M University

Papers: "The Theoretical Analysis of Policy Arguments." William J. Ball, Trenton State College

"Voluntary Active Euthanasia in the Netherlands: Law vs. Practice." Thomas Halper, Baruch College, CUNY and CUNY Graduate School

"A Turn Not Taken: Race and Policy Research." William Miller, University of Arkansas and Patrick Kelly, St. Louis University

Discussant: Edward B. Portis, Texas A&M University  
Mary Hawkesworth, University of Louisville

Panel 17 - 4

**SANDBURG 6**

**THE UNIVERSITY AND THE DISCIPLINE IN CHANGE**

Chair: Charles Tidmarch, Union College

Papers: "Is Political Science Ready for Reform?" Gary M. Klass, Illinois State University

"Political Dynamics of Change Initiatives in U.S. Higher Education." Kay Wolsborn, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University

"The Functions of Anarchy in Universities." Carol Mock, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussants: Charles Tidmarch, Union College  
William R. Caspary, Washington University

Panel 18 - 7 **SANDBURG 2**

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**PLATO'S REPUBLIC - SPONSORED BY THE SOCIETY FOR GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Chair: Clifford Orwin, University of Toronto/University of Chicago

Papers: "Return to the Cave." Richard Kraut, University of Illinois at Chicago

"Plato's Presentation of Democracy in the Republic." Richard S. Ruderman, Colgate University

Discussants: Michael Taxman, University of Toronto & Christopher Bobonich, University of Chicago

**Saturday, April 11, 11:00-12:45 pm**

Panel 1 - 8

**MONTROSE 7**

**COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY**

Chair: Joel E. Brooks, Illinois State University

Papers: "Troubled Waters; Decision Making Processes and Water Resources Policy in the USSR, 1965-1990." Michael L. Bressler, University of Michigan

"Creating Welfare States in Czechoslovakia and Hungary: How Policy Makers Borrow Ideas from the West." Robert H. Cox, University of Oklahoma

"Saving the Planet: German New Social Movements and Global Environmental Policy." Dale Gardner, Northwestern University

"Swedish Child Care Policies in Comparative Perspective." Rebeca Christner, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: Joel E. Brooks, Illinois State University

Panel 2 - 8

**SANDBURG 8**

**LATIN AMERICA CONSIDERED**

Chair: Daniel Zirker, University of Idaho

Papers: "Argentine Democracy and the Military: Prospects for the Coming Decade." Paul W. Zagorski, Pittsburg State University

"Incumbency and Presidential Electioneering in Latin America: Theory, Practice and the Case of the Guatemalan Presidential Election in 1990." Denny Pilant and Frank Mazzella, Southwest Missouri State University

"The Amazon, the Military and Brazilian National Security." Daniel Zirker, University of Idaho

"The Political Culture of Democracy in Contemporary Central America: Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Panama." John Booth, University of North Texas

Discussant: Maureen Widzowski, University of Pittsburgh  
John Booth, University of North Texas

Panel 3 - 5

**BURNHAM 2**

**SOVEREIGNTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD**

Chair: Arthur Blaser, Chapman University

Papers: "Three Worlds of Transnational Human Rights Activity: Legalism, Pluralism, Populism." Arthur Blaser, Chapman University

"Humanitarian Intervention." Kurt Mills, University of Notre Dame

"International Law, Genocide and the Metaphysical Illusion of Self-Determination." Alon Kantor, Purdue University

Discussant: Douglas Prostorog, Purdue University

Panel 4 - 8

**BURNHAM 4**

**GROUP IDENTIFICATION AND CONSCIOUSNESS**

Chair: Sue Tolleson Rinehart, Texas Tech University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Papers: "Gender, Gender Consciousness, and War." Pamela Johnston Conover, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Virginia Sapiro, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Claytie and the Lady III: Gender Consciousness, Campaigning, and Governing in Texas." Sue Tolleson Rinehart, Texas Tech University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Jeanie R. Stanley, Office of the Attorney General of Texas and University of Texas at Tyler

"What Do They Know and Why Do They Know It: Group Identification Schemas and

Information Acquisition." Jeffrey Koch, SUNY at Geneseo

"Identification With the Nation and the Evaluation of Presidential Performance." Michael Hooper, Temple University

Discussant: Arthur H. Miller, University of Iowa

Panel 5 - 8 **DEARBORN 1**

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**VARIETIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Chair: Pamela J. Edwards, Wittenberg University

Papers: "The Contacting of Public Officials on the Local and Extralocal Levels: Results from the 1988 General Social Survey." Carol Ann Traut, University of South Dakota, and Craig F. Emmert, University of Alabama

"Life Span Civic Development and Non-Electoral Participation." Charles Parrish, Charles Elder, John Strate, and Thomas Jankowski, Wayne State University

"Political Participation in Context." Christopher J. Anderson, Washington University

"Politico-ethical Reasoning and Public Interest Group Activism." Peter J. Muhlberger, University of Michigan

Discussant: Ronald G. Shaiko, American University

Panel 6 - 9

**DEARBORN 2**

**WOMEN AND POLITICAL ROLES**

Chair: Janet K. Boles, Marquette University

Papers: "Feminists Under Siege: The Origins and Consequences of Public Opposition to Feminists." Leonie Huddy and John Bracciadetta, SUNY at Stony Brook

"Gender and Racial Disposition Towards War and Peace." Diya Dutt, University of Cincinnati

"Uncle Sam: An Equal Employment Opportunity Employer?" Mary Lou Kendrigan, Lansing Community College

"Choosing Domesticity: An Analysis of Women Whose Preference is for the Exclusively Domestic Life." Roberta Sigel and Loretta Sernekos, Rutgers University

Discussant: Robert Dion, Jr., Indiana University  
Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University

Panel 6 - 12

**SANDBURG 7**

**THE STUDY OF BLACK POLITICS: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHES**

Chair: Roger Oden, Governors State University

Papers: "Black Political Representatives: A Pooled Model of State Legislatures." Robert B. Humel, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

"Electing a Mayor of Bronzeville: Politics and the Mass Media in Chicago's Black Neighborhood, 1934-1960." Susan Herbst, Northwestern University

"New Findings on Racial Differences in Turnout and Misreporting." Benjamin Highton, University of California, Berkeley

"The Role of Race, Class and Gender in the Rise of an African-American Political Majority Council in Richmond, Virginia." Lewis A. Randolph, Ohio University, and Gayle Tate,

Indiana University

Discussant:     Michael Dawson, University of Michigan  
                      Suzanne M. Marilley, University of Notre Dame

Panel 7 - 8

**PARLOR C**

**IDENTITY, RATIONALITY, AND SELF**

Chair:             James Glass, University of Maryland

Papers: "Group Psychology and Identity in the State of Nature." C. Fred Alford, University of Maryland

"Putting Reason in Its Place." Jane Flax, Howard University

"Critical Reason and the Construction of Self: Where Did the Passions Go?" James Glass, University of Maryland

"The Communitarian Self and Liberal Harm." Peter Digeser, University of California, Santa Barbara

Discussant:     Mary Caputi, St. Mary's College

Panel 8 - 8

**MONTROSE 3**

**ELECTORAL POLITICS AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS**

Chair:             Walter Mebane, Cornell University

Papers: "Congressional Campaign Finance and the Pork Barrel." Walter Mebane, Cornell University

"Do Incumbent Expenditures Matter: Alternative Specifications for the Aggregate Model of House Elections." Michael McBurnett, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"Special Interests, Parties and Platform Divergence." Lawrence Kenny, University of Florida, and Rebecca Morton, Texas A&M University

Discussant:     James Snyder, University of Chicago

Panel 9 - 7

**DEARBORN 3**

**INTEREST GROUP STRATEGIES**

Chair:             John Mark Hansen, University of Chicago

Papers: "The Tactical Choices of Abortion Interest Groups." Malcolm L. Goggin, University of Houston

"Understanding the Tactics of Unpopular Interest Groups." Ken Kollman, Northwestern University

"From Protection to Litigation: Organized Labor and Women Workers." Julianna Gonen, American University

Discussants:     David King, University of Michigan  
                      John Mark Hansen, University of Chicago

Panel 10 - 7

**MONTROSE 1**

**POLITICAL CONTROL OF BUREAUCRATIC DISCRETION**

Chair: Kim Q. Hill, Texas A&M University

Papers: "Symbolic Reassurance and Substantive Response to Political Conditions by OSHA." Jim Twombly, SUNY, Buffalo

"The Smart-Buyer Problem: Public Oversight of Private Markets." Donald F. Kettl, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Legalism and Authority in Federal Bureaus." Cornell Hooton, Emory University

"Principals, Agents and Hazardous Waste." Charles Davis, Colorado State University

Discussants: George A. Krause, West Virginia University  
Joseph F. Coughlin, Boston University

Panel 11 - 12

**BURNHAM 1**

**ROUNDTABLE ON TERM LIMITS**

Chair: Gary Copeland, University of Oklahoma

Panelists: David W. Brady, Stanford University  
Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego  
Charles O. Jones, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Michael J. Malbin, SUNY at Albany

Panel 12 - 9

**CLARK 10**

**CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND INTERPRETATION**

Chair: Michael Fine, University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire

Papers: "Constitutional Racism: How the Framers of the U.S. Constitution Reinforced a Color-Conscious Political Identity." Paul Barton-Kriese, Indiana University East

"The Paradox of Originalism." Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University

"The Supreme Court, Constitutional Interpretation, and Civic Education." Ira L. Strauber, Grinnell College

"Whether to Entrench and Enumerate? Rethinking the Desirability of Written Constitutions." Andrew J. Taylor, University of Connecticut

Discussant: Judith A. Baer, Texas A&M University

Panel 12 - 11

**CLARK 5**

**THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND THE COLLEGE CAMPUS  
COSPONSORED BY THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTION**

**SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 11:00-12:45 pm**                      **78**

Chair: Ernest Giglio, Lycoming College

Papers: "The Contours of a New Cleavage: 'Political Correctness' Through the Eyes of the Academy."  
Gregory A. Diamond and James R. Sopp, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

"The First Amendment and Hate Speech on Campus." Ernest Giglio, Lycoming College

"Hate Speech at College: Where to Draw the Line." Kenneth P. Nuger, San Jose State University

"'Politically Correct' on Campus: The Student Perspective." Diana Owen and Ashley Andrus, Georgetown University

Discussant: Joel B. Grossman, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 13 - 7

**SANDBURG 3**

### **INTERGOVERNMENTAL AID PROGRAMS**

Chair: Bryan Jones, Texas A&M University

Papers: "Moving Money, Removing Risk: The Federal Aid System in the Reagan Years." Kenneth Bickers, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Intergovernmental Aid and Small City Needs." Michael Rich, Brown University

"The Legacy of Great Society Programs in the Reagan Era." Robert M. Stein, Rice University

Discussant: Thomas Anton, Brown University

Panel 14 - 6

**SANDBURG 4**

### **SUBURBS AS POLITICAL SETTINGS**

Chair: James Sheffield, Wichita State University

Papers: "Response to Economic Downturns: The Role of Local Administrative and Political Leadership."  
Andrew Glassberg, University of Missouri at St. Louis

"The Role of Managerial Entrepreneurs in Suburban Government Systems." Mark Schneider and Paul Teske, SUNY at Stony Brook

"Intrametropolitan Fiscal Disparity." Peter Maier, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Discussants: Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron  
Drew A. Dolan, Western Michigan University

Panel 15 - 7

**MONTROSE 2**

### **LABOR, 'POST-FORDISM', AND THE NORTH AMERICAN AUTO MARKETPLACE**

Chair: William C. Green, Morehead State University

Papers: "The Hopes of Post-Fordism? Through the Prism of Restructuring General Motors in Canada."  
Charlotte Yates, McMaster University

"Labor Process and Social Relations in a 'Post-Fordist' Auto Plant in Canada." Christopher Huxley, Trent University and CAW Research Group on CAMI, and Herman Rosenfeld,

**SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 11:00-12:45 pm**                      **79**

CAW Research Group on CAMI

"Organized Labor Between Fordism and Post-Fordism: The Case of the CAW." Ernest Yanarella, University of Kentucky

Discussant: Steve Bobson, Wayne State University

Panel 16 - 8

**BURNHAM 5**

**DELIVERING SOCIAL SERVICES: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

Chair: Richard Sobel, Princeton University

Papers: "Does Privatization Make a Difference?" Jeff Greene, University of South Carolina

"U.S. Substance Abuse Treatment Policy: A Failure for Native Americans." Jerry D. Stubben, Iowa State University

"Utilization of Social Services by the Elderly: Are Area Agencies on Aging Services Becoming Biomedicalized?" R. Steven Daniels, University of Alabama-Birmingham

Discussant: Carolyn Lea Clark-Daniels, Mississippi State University

Panel 17 - 2

**SANDBURG 6**

**ROUNDTABLE ON TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE: RESEARCH AND TEACHING**

Chair: Mel Cohen, Miami University Middletown

Panelists: Barbara Bardes, Loyola University of Chicago  
Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University  
Jan P. Vermeer, Nebraska Wesleyan University

Panel 18 - 8

**SANDBURG 2**

**XENOPHON'S SOCRATES**

**SPONSORED BY THE SOCIETY FOR GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Chair: Kenneth Blanchard, Northern State University

Papers: "The Problem of Socrates' Relation to Democracy." Paul D. Ellenbogen, Duke University

"Socrates' Dialogue with Aristuppus in Xenophon's Memorabilia." Kenneth Blanchard, Northern State University

Discussants: Dave Davies, University of Dallas  
Clifford A. Bates, Northern Illinois University

## Saturday, April 11, 2:00-3:45 pm

Panel 1 - 10

**MONTROSE 7**

### **POLICY AND BUREAUCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**

Chair: W. Rand Smith, Lake Forest College

Papers: "The Effects of Britons in Brussels: The European Community and the Culture of Whitehall." James B. Christoph, Indiana University

"Women's Issues in the European Community." Chris Bourdouvalis, Augusta College

"Eurofed: Political and Economic Issues in the Integration Process." John H. P. Williams

Discussant: W. Rand Smith, Lake Forest College

Panel 1 - 9

**SANDBURG 7**

### **COMPARATIVE ETHNIC POLITICS**

Chair: James M. Lutz, Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

Papers: "'Interfront,' 'Ravnopraie,' and the Response of the Russian-Speaking Population to the Independence Movement in Latvia." Mary I. Dakin, Indiana University

"The Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Conflict in Northern Ireland." Mary E. Kazmierczak, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"A Province Not Like the Others: Ethnicity and Political Behavior in Quebec." Robert Dion, Jr., Indiana University

"Political Participation and Political Parties in Estonia." Cynthia Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara, and Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley

Discussant: James M. Lutz, Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

Panel 3 - 9

**BURNHAM 2**

### **THE DYNAMICS OF THIRD WORLD DEPENDENCE RELATIONS**

Chair: Heidi Hobbs, Illinois State University

Papers: "Determinants of Foreign Policy Dependency: An Examination of Latin American and Middle Eastern States." Cindy M. Christian, Texas Tech University, and Khalil Dokhanchi, New Mexico State University

"Efficacy of Soviet Foreign Policy Instruments vis-a-vis the Third World." Kunihiro Imai, University of Wisconsin-Parkside

"U.S. Foreign Assistance and the Middle East." Leona Pallansch, Allegheny College

Discussants: Heidi Hobbs, Illinois State University  
John Sislin, Indiana University

Panel 4 - 9

**BURNHAM 4**

### **RACE AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES**



**SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 2:00-3:45 pm**

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Chair: Kathleen Knight, University of Houston

Papers: "Racial, Foreign Policy, and Partisan Predictors of South African Attitudes." Kevin A. Hill, University of Florida

"Bridging the Gap: Trends in Political Tolerance and Racial Attitudes Among Southerners." Michael Corbett, Ball State University

"Celebrating Difference: Community Relations in Northern Wisconsin." Paula Mohan, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: James Kuklinski, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Panel 5 - 9

**DEARBORN 1**

**DETERMINANTS OF VOTE CHOICE**

Chair: Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University

Papers: "A General Theory of Voting in Comparative Perspective." Jesse F. Marquette and John C. Green, University of Akron, and Mark J. Wattier, Murray State University

"Candidate Influence over the Voter's Decision Calculus." Charles H. Franklin, University of Wisconsin-Madison and Washington University, and Kristin Kaczmarek, Gregg Walker, and Howard Wong, Washington University

"Another Rational Voter." Christopher M. Duncan and Mary Herring, Wayne State University

Discussant: Norman R. Luttbeg, Texas A&M University

Panel 6 - 6

**DEARBORN 2**

**MULTICULTURALISM IN THE AMERICAN CURRICULUM**

Chair: Melissa Orlie, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Papers: "Multiculturalism: Its Potential and Limits in Rawlsian and Dworkinian Thought." Ray A. Furr, Jr., The University of Mississippi

"Challenges and Complexities of Multicultural Teaching." Loretta Kensinger, Priya Kurian and Cassandra Weaver, Purdue University

"Multiculturalism: Questions for Postmodernism in Theory and Practice." Julie Anne White, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: Melissa Orlie, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Rose Harris, University of Iowa

Panel 7 - 4

**PARLOR C**

**AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AFTER THE FOUNDING**

Chair: R. Booth Fowler, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Papers: "Utility, Rights, and Slavery: Another Look at Benthamism in America." Russell L. Hanson, Indiana University

"Republican Education and the Second American Founding." Siobhan Moroney, Marquette University

"Lincoln, Douglas, and the House Divided." Dave Ericson, University of Chicago

"Lincoln's Union: Moral Community and Legal Community." James T. Dunn, Jr., University of Chicago

Discussant: R. Booth Fowler, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 8 - 9

**MONTROSE 3**

**REPRESENTATION AND BUREAUCRACY**

Chair: Arthur Lupia, University of California, San Diego

Papers: "Ballot Outcomes and Citizen Preferences." Elizabeth Gerber, California Institute of Technology, and Arthur Lupia, University of California, San Diego

"Effects of Executive-Legislative Conflict on the Ability of the Executive to Communicate with the Bureaucracy." Michelle Taylor, Texas A&M University

"Policing Police Brutality: Evaluation of Principal-Agent Models of Compliance in Public Bureaucracies." John Brehm, Duke University, and Scott Gates, Michigan State University

Discussant: Doug Dion, University of Michigan

Panel 9 - 3

**DEARBORN 3**

**CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS**

Chair: Peverill Squire, University of Iowa

Papers: "When Opportunity Knocks, No One's Home: The Misallocation of Resources in House Campaigns." Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego

"Quality, Not Quantity: Strategic Politicians in U.S. Senate Elections, 1952-1990." David Ian Lublin, Harvard University

"Analyzing the Timing of Campaign Contributions: It's About Time!" Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, University of Texas at Austin

"The Spatial Mapping of Congressional Candidates and Contributors." Nolan McCarty and Keith T. Poole, Carnegie-Mellon University

Discussants: David Canon, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Peverill Squire, University of Iowa

Panel 10 - 3

**MONTROSE 1**

**RALLYING ROUND THE FLAG: STUDIES OF PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT**

Chair: Morris S. Ogul, University of Pittsburgh

Papers: "Public Evaluations of Presidential Performance: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., Michigan State University, and Dennis Simon, Southern Methodist University

"New Evidence on Presidential Support, Influence, and Its Linkage with Prestige." Kenneth Collier, University of Kansas, and Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina

"Public Decisions, Private Polls: John F. Kennedy's Presidency." Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota, and Robert Y. Shapiro, Columbia University

"Presidents and Distributional Politics." John Hamman, Southern Illinois University

Discussant: James C. Garand, Louisiana State University

Panel 11 - 7

**BURNHAM 1**

### **THE POST-REFORM CONGRESS**

Chair: Roger H. Davidson, University of Maryland

Papers: "The Organizational Life of the Congressional Parties." Thomas H. Little, American University, and Samuel C. Patterson, Ohio State University

"302(b) or not 302(b): Analyzing the Effect of Congressional Floor Budget Procedures on House Appropriators." Richard Forgette, Miami University, and James Saturno, Congressional Research Service

"Principal or Agent: The Role of House and Senate Standing Committees in the Post-Reform Congress." Forrest Maltzman, Brookings and University of Minnesota

Discussant: Steven S. Smith, University of Minnesota

Panel 12 - 6

**CLARK 5**

### **EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF THE LOWER FEDERAL BENCH**

Chair: Bridget J. Todd, Eastern Michigan University

Papers: "Race, Gender and Ethnicity in Recruitment to the Lower Federal Bench." Deborah J. Barrow, Gerard S. Gryski and Gary Zuk, Auburn University

"Judges on the U.S. Courts of Appeals: National Agents Tied to Local Interests?" Susan Haire, University of South Carolina

"Toward A General Theory of Public Law; Roe's Progeny: Federal District Court Outcomes In Abortion Cases 1973-1990." Barbara M. Yarnold, Florida International University

"Controlling Litigation and Local Legal Culture." Frances Kahn Zemans, American Judicature Society, Herbert Kritzer, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Lawrence Marshall, Northwestern University

Discussant: Bradley C. Canon, University of Kentucky

Panel 14 - 8 **SANDBURG 4**

### **ROUNDTABLE ON POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

Chair: Terry Nichols Clark, University of Chicago

Panelists: Susan E. Clarke, University of Colorado  
Edward Goetz, University of Minnesota  
Martin Saiz, Notre Dame University  
Richard Hula, Michigan State University  
Victor DeSantis, University of North Texas  
Rowan A. Miranda, University of Illinois at Chicago  
Gabor Peteri, American University

Panel 15 - 8

MONTROSE 2

**REGIONS, REGIMES AND ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING: THE CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE**

Chair: James Hollifield, Brandeis University

Papers: "The European Community's Regional Policy: Grounded in Justice?" Ross H. Miller, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Regime Stability/Political Instability Does Not Equal Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Theory, Cases, and Findings from a Panel of Experts on Italian Politics." Frank Mazzella, Southwest Missouri State University

"Beyond the Twelve: Post-Socialist Systems and the Lessons of the Second Enlargement." Jeanie J. Bukowski, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussant: James Hollifield, Brandeis University

Panel 16 - 9 BURNHAM 5

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**PERSPECTIVES ON POVERTY AND PUBLIC POLICY**

Chair: Mark R. Daniels, University of Arkansas

Papers: "Social Policy-Making in the American States." Sandra K. Schneider, University of South Carolina

"You Can't Live with Them...The Role of Organized Labor in Industrial Policy in The American States." Daniel Smith, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"Understanding the Relationship Between Unemployment and Crime." Leslie A. Leip, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Discussant: Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron

Panel 16 - 10

CLARK 10

**INFORMATION, ACCESS, ADVOCACY, AND POLICY**

Chair: David Webber, University of Missouri-Columbia

Papers: "Access and Advocacy in the U.S. House of Representatives." Christine DeGregorio, American University

"Causal Modeling of Impacts of Information on Government Decisionmaking: Mental Health Policy." Cheol H. Oh, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussant: David Webber, University of Missouri-Columbia

Panel 18 - 10 SANDBURG 2

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**THEORY AND PRACTICE**

**SPONSORED BY THE SOCIETY FOR GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Chair: Judith A. Swanson, Boston University

Papers: "Intellectual Despotism and Plato's Seventh Letter." Christopher M. Cahill, Kenyon College

"The Philosopher, the Politician, and the Aristotelian Distinction Between Theory and Practice." W.J. Thompson, University of Notre Dame

"Plato and the Spartans." V. Bradley Lewis, University of Notre Dame

Discussants: Judith A. Swanson, Boston University  
Cynthia Hinckley, California State University - San Bernardino

**SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 2:00-3:45 pm**

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**Saturday, 4:00-6:00 pm**

Human Investment Group

**SANDBURG 8**

INDEX OF PARTICIPANTS