

National Party Organizations and Party Brands in American Politics: The Democratic and
Republican National Committees, 1912-2016

Boris Heersink

Oxford University Press

2023

References

- Alberta, Tim, *American Carnage: On the Front Lines of the Republican Civil War and the Rise of President Trump* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2019).
- Aldrich, John H., *Why Parties? A Second Look* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- Aldrich, John H., and David W. Rohde. "The Logic of Conditional Party Government: Revisiting the Electoral Connection," (2001 accessed at <https://themonkeycage.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/aldrich-and-rohde.pdf>).
- Allen, Jonathan, and Amie Parnes, *Shattered: Inside Hillary Clinton's Doomed Campaign* (New York, NY: Crown, 2017).
- Allen, Robert S., and William V. Shannon, *The Truman Merry-Go-Round* (New York, NY: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1950).
- Abramowitz, Alan I., and Steven W. Webster, "Negative Partisanship: Why Americans Dislike Parties But Behave Like Rabid Partisans," *Political Psychology* vol. 39, no. S1 (2018) 119-135.
- Arden, Caroline, *Getting the Donkey Out of the Ditch: The Democratic Party in Search of Itself* (Westport, CT: ABL-CIO, 1988).
- Banks, Antoine J., *Anger and Racial Politics: The Emotional Foundations of Racial Attitudes in America* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Baer, Kenneth S., *Reinventing Democrats: The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton* (Lawrence, KS: The University Press of Kansas, 2000).
- Bensel, Richard, "The American Ballot Box: Law, Identity and the Polling Place in the Mid Nineteenth-Century," *Studies in American Political Development* 17 (2003).
- Bibby, John F., and Robert J. Huckshorn, "The Republican Party in American Politics," in Jeff Fishel (ed.) *Parties and Elections in an Anti-Party Age: American Politics and the Crisis of Confidence* (Bloomington, IN; Indiana University Press, 1978).
- Bone, Hugh A., *Party Committees and National Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958).
- Bositis, David A., *Blacks & the 2012 Democratic Convention* (Washington DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2012).
- Bowen, Michael, *The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

- Bowers, F. Suzanne, *Republican, First, Last, and Always: A Biography of B. Carroll Reece* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).
- Brennan, Mary C., *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
- Burns, James MacGregor, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956).
- Butler, Daniel M., and Eleanor Neff Powell, "Understanding the Party Brand: Experimental Evidence on the Role of Valence," *The Journal of Politics* vol. 76, no. 2 (April 2014).
- Ceaser, James W., *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) 123-169.
- Clinton, Bill, *My Life* (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).
- Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, John Zaller, *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
- Conley, Brian M., "The Politics of Party Renewal: The 'Service Party' and the Origins of the Post-Goldwater Republican Right," *Studies in American Political Development* vol. 27, no. 1 (2013) 51-67.
- Coppins, McKay, *The Wilderness: Deep Inside the Republican Party's Combative, Contentious, Chaotic Quest to Take Back the White House* (New York, NY: Little, Brown and Company 2015).
- Cotter, Cornelius P., and John F. Bibby, "Institutional Development of Parties and the Thesis of Party Decline," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1980).
- Cotter, Cornelius P. and Bernard C. Hennessy, *Politics Without Power: The National Party Committees* (New York, NY: Transaction Publishers, 1964; republished by Routledge in 2017).
- Cox, Gary and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).
- Cox, Gary, and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Craig, Douglas B.S., *Rehearsal for Revolt: The Ideological Turmoil of the Democratic Party, 1920-1932* (Dissertation – University of Virginia, 1989).
- Critchlow, Donald T., *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism. A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Crotty, William J., *Decision for the Democrats: Reforming the Party Structure* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

Crotty, William J., *Party Reform* (New York, NY: Longman, 1983).

Dovere, Edward-Isaac, *Battle For the Soul: Inside the Democrats' Campaigns to Defeat Trump* (New York, NY: Viking, 2021).

Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1957).

Ellwood, John W., and Robert J. Spitzer, "The Democratic National Telethons: Their Successes and Failures," *The Journal of Politics* vol. 41, no. 3 (August, 1979) 828-864.

Epstein, Leon, *Political Parties in the American Mold* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

Farber, David, *Everybody Ought to be Rich: The Life and Times of John J. Raskob, Capitalist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Farley, James A., *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948).

Ferrell, Robert H., (Ed.), *FDR's Quiet Confidant: The Autobiography of Frank C. Walker* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997).

Ferrell, Robert H., (Ed.), *Truman in the White House: The Diary of Eben A. Ayers* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991)

Flynn, Edward J., *You're The Boss*, (New York, NY: The Viking Press, 1947).

Galvin, Daniel J., "Party Domination and Base Mobilization: Donald Trump and Republican Party Building in a Polarized Era," *The Forum* vol. 18, no. 2 (2020) 135-168.

Galvin, Daniel J., "The Transformation of Political Institutions: Investments in Institutional Resources and Gradual Change in the National Party Committees," *Studies in American Political Development* vol. 26, no. 1 (2012).

Galvin, Daniel J., *Presidential Party Building: Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Galvin, Daniel J., and Chloe N. Thurston, "The Democrats' Misplaced Faith in Policy Feedback," *The Forum*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2017) 333-343.

Garrett, Major, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride: The Thrills, Chills, Screams, and Occasional Blackouts of an Extraordinary Presidency* (New York, NY: All Points Books, 2018).

Gazell, James A., "Arthur H. Vandenberg, Internationalism, and the United Nations," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 88, no. 3 (September 1973) 375-394.

Goldman, Ralph M., *The National Party Chairmen and Committees: Factionalism at the Top* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1990).

Grynaviski, Jeffrey D., *Partisan Bonds. Political Reputations and Legislative Accountability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Hacker, Jacob, *The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton's Plan for Health Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Heersink, Boris, "Trump and the Party-In-Organization: Presidential Control of National Party Organizations," *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 80, no. 4 (October 2018) 1474-1482.

Heersink, Boris, "Party Brands and the Democratic and Republican National Committees, 1952-1976," *Studies in American Political Development* vol. 32, no. 1 (2018) 79-102.

Heersink, Boris "Examining Democratic and Republican National Committee Party Branding Activity, 1953-2012," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 21, no. 1 (2023) 142-159.

Heersink, Boris, "No, the DNC Didn't 'Rig' the Democratic Primary for Hillary Clinton," *Washington Post*, November 4, 2017.

Heersink, Boris and Jeffery A. Jenkins, *Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865-1968* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Heersink, Boris, and Jeffery A. Jenkins, "Southern Delegates and Republican National Convention Politics, 1880-1928," *Studies in American Political Development* vol. 29, no. 1 (2015) 68-88.

Heersink, Boris, Brenton D. Peterson, and Jeffery A. Jenkins, "Disasters and Elections: Estimating the Net Effect of Damage and Relief in Historical Perspective," *Political Analysis* vol. 25 (2017) 260-268.

Heersink, Boris, and Brenton D. Peterson, "Truman Defeats Dewey: The Effect of Campaign Visits on Election Outcomes," *Electoral Studies*, 49 (2017) 49-64.

Herrnson, Paul S., *Party Campaigning in the 1980s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Herrnson, Paul S., "The Evolution of National Party Organizations," in Louis Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press).

Herrnson, Paul S., "Bill Clinton as a Party Leader: The First Term," in Paul S. Herrnson and Dilys M. Hill (eds), *The Clinton Presidency: The First Term, 1992-96* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Hilton, Adam, *True Blues: The Contentious Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

Hilton, Adam, "The Path to Polarization: McGovern-Fraser, Counter-Reformers, and the Rise of the Advocacy Party," *Studies in American Political Development* vol 33, no. 1 (2019).

Hitlin, Robert A., and John S. Jackson, III, "Change & Reform in the Democratic Party," *Polity* vol. 11, no. 4 (1979) 617-633.

Holmes, Steven A., *Ron Brown: An Uncommon Life* (New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2000).

Hull, Cordell, and Andrew Henry Thomas Berding, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1948).

James, Scott C., *Presidents, Parties, and the State: A Party System Perspective on Democratic Regulatory Choice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Jeansonne, Glen, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Fighting Quaker, 1928-1933* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Jenkins, Jeffery A., "Examining the Robustness of Ideological Voting: Evidence from the Confederate House of Representatives," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (October 2000) 811-822

Jenkins, Jeffery A., and Charles Stewart III, *Fighting for the Speakership. The House and the Rise of Party Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Jurdem, Laurence Robert, *Return to the Arena: The Reemergence of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1921-1928* (dissertation - University of Louisville, Proquest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1997).

Kabaservice, Geoffrey, *Rule and Ruin. The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party. From Eisenhower to the Tea Party* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Karol, David, "Parties and Leadership in American Politics," in Jeffery A. Jenkins and Craig Volden, *Leadership in American Politics* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2018).

Ketcham, Ralph, *Presidents Above Party* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

Kiewiet, D. Roderick, and Mathew D. McCubbins, *The Logic of Delegation: Congressional Parties and the Appropriations Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Kirkpatrick, Evron M., "‘Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System’: Political Science, Policy Science or Pseudo-Science?" *The American Political Science Review* vol. 65, no. 4 (Dec. 1971), pp. 965-990.

Klinghard, Daniel, *The Nationalization of American Political Parties, 1880-1896* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Klinkner, Philip A., *The Losing Parties: Out-Party National Committees, 1956-1993* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

Kolodny, Robin, *Pursuing Majorities. Congressional Campaign Committees in American Politics* (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

Krehbiel, Keith, "Where’s the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23, no. 2 (1993); 235-266.

Ladd, Everett Carl Jr., and Charles D. Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System: Political Coalitions from the New Deal to the 1970s* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975).

Ladd, Jonathan M., *Why Americans Hate the Media and How It Matters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Lazarowitz, Arlene, *Years in Exile: The Liberal Democrats, 1950-1959* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988).

Lee, Frances E., *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

Levine, Lawrence W., "The ‘Diary’ of Hiram Johnson," *American Heritage*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1969.

Lopata, Roy H., *John J. Raskob: A Conservative Businessman in the Age of Roosevelt* (thesis – University of Delaware, 1975).

Lowndes, Joseph E., *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

Macy, Jesse, *Party Organization and Machinery* (New York: The Century Company, 1904).

Marz, Roger H., "The Democratic Digest: A Content Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1957).

Mason, Robert, *Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

Mayer, William G., and Andrew E. Busch, *The Front-Loading Problem in Presidential Nominations* (Washington D.C.; Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

McAuliffe, Terry, and Steve Kettmann, *What A Party! My Life Among Democrats: Presidents, Candidates, Donors, Activists, Alligators, and Other Wild Animals* (New York, NY: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007).

McCombs, William F., and Louis J. Lang, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York: Fairview Publishing Company, 1921).

McGarr, Kathryn J., *The Whole Damn Deal: Robert Strauss and the Art of Politics* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2011).

McGerr, Michael, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Meijer, Hank, "Hunting for the Middle Ground: Arthur Vandenberg and the Mackinac Charter, 1943," *Michigan Historical Review* vol. 19, no. 2 (Fall 1993) 1-21.

Mendelberg, Tali, *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Milkis, Sidney M., *The Presidents and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Milkis, Sidney M., Daniel Tichenor, and Laura Blessing, "'Rallying Force': The Modern Presidency, Social Movements, and the Transformation of American Politics," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 43, no. 3 (2013).

Milkis, Sidney M., and John Warren York, "Barack Obama, Organizing for Action, and Executive-Centered Partisanship," *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 31, no. 1 (April 2017) 1-23.

Miller, Tim, *Why We Did It: A Travelogue from the Republican Road to Hell* (New York, NY: Harper, 2022).

Murray Brown, Ruth, *For a "Christian America": A History of the Religious Right* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2002).

Mutch, Robert E., *Buying the Vote. A History of Campaign Finance Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Newton, Jim, *Eisenhower: The White House Years* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2011).

Noel, Hans, *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Oberfield, Zachary W., and Adam J. Segal, "Pluralism Examined: Party Television Expenditures Focused on the Latino Vote in Presidential Elections," in Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, *The Mass Media and Latino Politics: Studies of U.S. Media Content, Campaign Strategies and Survey Research: 1984-2004* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008).

O'Brien, Lawrence F., *No Final Victories: A Life in Politics from John F. Kennedy to Watergate* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1974).

O'Dea, Suzanne, *Madam Chairman: Mary Louise Smith and the Republican Revival After Watergate* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2012).

O'Donnell, Lawrence, *Playing With Fire: The 1968 Election and the Transformation of American Politics* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2017).

Ogden, Daniel M., "Paul Butler, Party Theory, and the Democratic Party," in John E. Kersell and Marshall W. Conley (eds), *Comparative Political Problems: Britain, United States and Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1968) 117-125.

Plotke, David, "Party Reform as Failed Democratic Renewal in the United States, 1968-1972," *Studies in American Political Development* 10 (1996) 223-288.

Price, David E., *Bringing Back the Parties* (Washington DC: CQ Press, 1984).

Queenan, Thomas J., *The Public Career of George White, 1905-1941* (dissertation - Kent State University, 1976).

Redding, Jack, *Inside the Democratic Party* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1958).

Reinhard, David W., *The Republican Right Since 1945* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

Reynolds, John F., *The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Roberts, George C., *Paul M. Butler: Hoosier Politician and National Political Leader* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987).

Rohde, David W., *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Rosen, Elliot A., *The Republican Party in the Age of Roosevelt. Sources of Anti-Government Conservatism in the United States* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014).

Rosenfeld, Sam, *The Polarizers: Postwar Architects of Our Partisan Era* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Rubin, Ruth Bloch, *Building the Bloc: Intraparty Organization in the U.S. Congress* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Sanchez, Leslie, *Los Republicanos: Why Hispanics and Republicans Need Each Other* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 1997).

Sanders, Elizabeth, *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Savage, Sean J., *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932-1945* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991).

Savage, Sean J., *Truman and the Democratic Party* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997).

Savage, Sean J., *JFK, LBJ, and the Democratic Party* (Albany, NY.: State University of New York Press 2004).

Schickler, Eric, *Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932-1965* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Schudson, Michael, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1998).

Shafer, Byron E., *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics* (New York, NY: Russell Sage, 1983).

Silver, Adam M., *Partisanship and Polarization: American Party Platforms, 1840-1896* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2022).

Sinclair, Barbara, *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate* (Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins University Press).

Skocpol, Theda, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

Skocpol, Theda, and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Smith, Chris, *The Daily Show (The Book): An Oral History* (New York, NY: Grand Central Publishing, 2016).

Snyder, James M., and Tim Groseclose, "Estimating Party Influence in Congressional Roll-Call Voting," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000) 193-211.

Snyder, James M., and Michael M. Ting, "An Informational Rationale for Political Parties," *American Journal of Political Science* vol. 46, no. 1 (2002) 90-110.

Snyder, James M., and Michael Ting, "Roll Calls, Party Labels, and Elections," *Political Analysis* 11 (2003) 419-444.

Sparacino, Anthony, "The Democratic and Republican Governors Associations and the Nationalization of American Party Politics, 1961-1968," *Studies in American Political Development* vol. 35, no. 1 (2021) 76-103.

Stokes, Donald E., "Spatial Models of Party Competition," *American Political Science Review* vol. 57, no. 2 (1963) 368-377.

Sullivan, Amy, *The Party Faithful: How and Why Democrats Are Closing the God Gap* (New York, NY: Scribner).

Sundquist, James L., *Politics and Policy. The Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968).

Sundquist, James, *Dynamics of the Party-System* (Washington D.C.; Brookings Institution, 1983).

Thompson, Kenneth W., (ed.), *Leadership in the Reagan Presidency, Part II: Eleven Intimate Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993).

Tichenor, Daniel J. and Richard A. Harris, "Organized Interests and American Political Development," *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (2002) 587-612.

Topping, Simon David, *The Republican Party and Civil Rights, 1928-1948* (Dissertation, University of Hull, March 2002).

Topping, Simon, *Lincoln's Lost Legacy: The Republican Party and the African American Vote, 1928-1952* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008).

Ware, Alan, *The American Direct Primary: Party Institutionalization and Transformation in the North* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Webster, Steven W., *American Rage: How Anger Shapes Our Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Westwood, Jean, *Madam Chair: The Political Autobiography of an Unintentional Pioneer* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2007).

Witcover, Jules, *Party of the People: A History of the Democrats* (New York, NY: Random House, 2003).

Woodward, Bob, *The Agenda* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1994).

Woodward, Bob, *The Choice* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

Woodward, Bob *Fear: Trump in the White House* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2018).

Woon, Jonathan, and Jeremy C. Pope, "Made in Congress? Testing the Electoral Implications of Party Ideological Brand Names," *Journal of Politics* vol. 70, no. 3 (2008) 823-836.

Wright Rigueur, Leah, *The Loneliness of the Black Republican* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).