

VOX POP

NEWSLETTER

of Political Organizations and Parties

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Now Playing on an iPad Near You: *The Social Bases of Political Parties*

Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

In late 2012, I sent a major publisher seven draft chapters of my manuscript on the social bases of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The manuscript traced the social composition of party identifiers for the last sixty years, beginning with the 1952 American National Election Study. In response to a very favorable anonymous review, the sponsoring editor offered a contract to publish the book.

Unfortunately, he also said that I would need to drop most of my fifty-some colored graphs, and the few used would only be black-and-white. I turned down the contract and decided to self-publish my book as an iBook for the Apple iPad. That format would allow me to keep *all* my graphs and display them in color.

To paraphrase what they say in television commercials showing daredevil acts, do not attempt to self-publish a book if you lack tenure. As professor emeritus, I am long past the tenure concern. But as an old guy, I am also not a part of the iPad culture, much less social media. Alas, my flip-top cell phone only makes telephone calls. But I am not new to computing technology. I began working with computers in 1957 during my first year in graduate school, published three books on computer usage in political science, won awards for my computing applications, and served as president of the APSA's Information Technology and Politics.¹ I also created three web sites two decades ago and still maintain them myself.² Like most modern party scholars, I regularly use desktop computers and their laptop offspring.

So I took up the challenge to write an iBook. Although a committed Macintosh user who received a grant in the late 1980s from Apple for multimedia applications, I owned neither an iPhone nor an iPad—until I bought an iPad mini in October 2012. I bought it only to view the iBook I had created on my

The State of the Parties: 2012 & Beyond
November 7-8, 2013 - Akron, Ohio
Check out the State of the Parties website for information about the conference as well as registration information.
www.uakron.edu/bliss/stateoftheparties.dot

iMac, which I did using a program called iBooks Author. My point: lacking tenure constitutes more of a barrier to publishing an iBook than lacking experience with mobile devices.

From Headquarters.....1,2,3
Scholarly Precincts.....4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15
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I published my 110-page double-column iBook on Apple's iTunes bookstore in March 2013. Titled *The Social Bases of Political Parties: Democrats and Republicans, 1952-2012 and 2032*, it is available at <https://itunes.apple.com/us/book/social-bases-political-parties/id602462683?mt=13>. More simply, go to <http://janda.org/ibook> for the link.

The iBook's Objectives

(This description comes from the iBook's Preface.) My iBook is for college-age readers studying American party politics. It has four main objectives:

1. to describe how the United States society has changed over the last sixty years in terms of occupation, education, regional growth, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and ideology;
2. to summarize how the patterns of social support for the Democratic and Republican Parties have shifted with these changes;
3. to indicate how the two major U.S. parties have articulated the political interests of their social bases in congressional voting in the House of Representatives over time; and
4. to invite readers to speculate about the future of our two-party system in 2032 by recording their thoughts on an Internet survey.

The analysis is based mainly on sixteen national surveys that asked people about their political party identification, which

Accordingly, I took the opportunity of tying the analysis of party identification to presidential voting in 2012, drawing on data from "exit polls"—over 26,000 interviews conducted by major news media with voters leaving polling places. Chapters 1 to 8 begin with boxes reporting exit poll data on the 2012 election before discussing the findings from sixty years of surveys about party identification in presidential elections. Employing the eBook's capabilities, Chapter 9 reviews the findings through interactive Recaps of figures in earlier chapters.

Chapter 10 discusses implications for our two-party system and for American party politics. It asks what is a party's purpose, to promote a principle or to win elections? Chapter 11 concludes by asking, "What Have You Learned, and What Do You Think"? Again using the eBook's capabilities, Chapter 11 poses a quiz of 25 items to test "what you have learned."

Chapter 11 also links to this Internet survey that asks "what you think" our party system will be like in 2032, twenty years after the 2012 election.³

The Future of Our Two-Party System in 2032

Let us define a two-party system as one in which two major parties alternate in control of the presidency, the Senate, or the House of Representatives—winning at least one of these institutions at least a third of the time over the next three decades.

The first set of questions asks about the two-party system.

1. *Will electoral politics in 2032 still be structured under a two-party system?*

now, I have lost money on the project. In late 2012, when I planned to publish my book on iTunes, ISBN numbers were required. They could be bought on the Internet for \$125 apiece or \$250 for ten. I bought ten. In early 2013, iTunes announced that ISBN numbers were not necessary. Anybody need nine unused ISBNs?

My iBook was not the only one on party politics being sold at the iTunes Bookstore. A search for “political parties” turned up 79 other titles. Some were reprints of old editions (e.g., Martin Van Buren, 1862), but some were dated 2012. I was intrigued to notice two recent titles published by prominent party scholars and good friends. The book edited by Kay Lawson and Thomas Poguntke, *How Political Parties Respond* (Routledge, 2004)—which iTunes identified as published in 2012—and Jeffrey Stonecash’s *New Directions in American Political Parties* (Routledge, 2010). So the published date listed for an iBook may not necessarily be the publication date of the original book.

Replying to my email asking how their books came to be published as iBooks, the authors said, in essence, “That’s news to me.” Tom Poguntke was unaware that his book was on iTunes and had trouble locating it after I told him. Jeffrey Stonecash put the question to his editor who replied that it was Routledge strategy to convert all their books to electronic editions and not to discount the selling price.

None of iTunes’ titles on political parties, however, seemed to be created specifically to exploit the interactive features of an iBook, which add a lot to the reading. The modal price of the 79 books was \$5.99, shared by 33 of them. Two books were free, and—believe it or not—eight iBooks cost over \$100. Routledge priced the Lawson and Poguntke book at \$159.99.

I read that Apple had sold a total of 120 million iPads by early 2013. Unfortunately, not that many political scientists seem to have bought one. Many colleagues emailed me asking whether there was a Kindle version available. I guess that I need to learn how to convert my interactive iBook to a more static eBook to run on other tablets, which might not have color or support the interactive features. That provides another challenge during my retirement.

If You Should Get the Itch

If any *Vox POP* reader undertakes the challenge of self-publishing an iBook using iBooks Author, they probably will encounter some of the problems that I faced along the way. For example, my original text repeatedly referred to my product as an iBook. That seemed a good way to assert its Apple status and to distinguish it from an eBook that could be viewed on an Amazon Kindle reader, a Barnes & Noble Nook reader, or any Windows-based tablet computer. Unfortunately, the publishing software front-end of iTunes promptly rejected my first file because iBook was Apple’s copyrighted name. I had to change eight references from iBook to eBook before trying again.

Resubmitting my politically correct eBook data file for publication failed a second time because I tried to add screen shots for the publicity page, not realizing that the horizontal and vertical pixels had to meet a special aspect ratio. Then there was a problem of overwriting my files left half-baked in the iTunes production sequence. It took almost a month following my first effort to publish on iTunes on February 11 before I succeeded in

mid-March. However, I must admit that iTunes employees were easy to contact by telephone and ready to help.

Although still not an expert on the iBooks Author software and the art of publishing on iTunes, I learned a great deal—including how to import formulas, make interactive footnotes, and create image galleries and review quizzes with the software’s “widgets.” I offer my help if contacted by anyone not dissuaded by my report.

¹ The books were *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review, Volumes 1-57: 1900-1963* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), a computer-generated index to keywords in the titles of the articles; *Data Processing: Applications to Political Science* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965); and *Information Retrieval: Applications to Political Science* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1968). The awards were from EDUCOM/NCRIPAL in 1987 for CROSSTABS, a computer program for American Government; APSA in 1992 for IDEALog, a program for analyzing political values (with Jerry Goldman); and APSA in 2005 for IDEALog.org converted to an Internet application. I was president of the ITP in 1991-92, when it was the Computer Users Group.

² The Internet sites are <http://janda.org>, my personal web page with links to political research resources; <http://USpolitics.org>, the site I maintain for users of *The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics*; and <http://PartyPolitics.org>, my own web site for *Party Politics*, the official journal of the Parties and Political Organizations Section of the APSA.

³ The Internet survey is at <http://janda.org/ibook>.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

2013 ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM

August 29-September 1, 2013

Chicago, IL

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| 35-1 | Party Group Linkages in American Politics
Saturday, August 31 | 2:00-3:45 p.m. |
| 35-2 | Parties and Politician-Voter Linkages in the Developing World
Friday, August 30 | 10:15 a.m.–12:00 p.m. |
| 35-3 | Voters’ Perceptions of Party Policies: Comparative Analyses of Accurate and Shared Perceptions
Friday, August 30 | 2:00-3:45 p.m. |
| 35-4 | Power and Persuasion in Washington: The New Ecology of American Lobbying
Thursday, August 29 | 8:00-9:45 a.m. |
| 35-5 | The Consequences of Internal Party Dynamics
Thursday, August 29 | 10:15 a.m.-12:00 p.m. |
| 35-6 | Party Adaptations to Electoral and Institutional Challenges
Saturday, August 31 | 10:15 a.m.-12:00 p.m. |
| 35-7 | Party Strategies
Thursday, August 29 | 8:00-9:45 a.m. |